INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN MIZORAM: A STUDY ON THE ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE AND POLICIES (2008-2013)

BY JERRY LALMUANSANGA

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(JERRY LALMUANSANGA)

Dated: _____ Department of Political Science

Aizawl, Mizoram. Mizoram University

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 (Dated 19/07/2017)
- 3. Joseph Lalhimpuia, MLA & Parliamentary Secretary i/c Education Dept, etc. Mizoram (2013 September, 2018). (Dated 09/03/2017)
- 4. J. Lalkhmutira, Durtlang North, NLUP Beneficiary (WRC-II). (Dated 23/11/2017)
- 5. J. Vanlalchaka, Kawnpui, Kolasib District, NLUP Beneficiary (Auto Rickshaw) (through telephone). (Dated 23/11/2017)
- 6. Kroschhuanga, College Veng, NLUP Beneficiary (Beauty Parlour). (Dated 20/11/2017)
- 7. K. Laldingliana, DurtlangLeitanZotui, NLUP Beneficiary (Poultry). (Dated 23/11/2017)
- 8. Lalduhoma, MLA (2008-2013) & President, Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP). (Dated 23/11/2017)

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- 13. Lalsangzuala Ngente, President, Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) (2015-2017). (Dated 09/03/2017)
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- 15. Lal Thanhawla, President, MPCC & Chief Minister, Mizoram (2008-till date). (Dated 28/10/2017)
- P. Lalchhuanga (IAS), Secretary (Education Department, etc.), Government of Mizoram, (till November, 2017). (Dated 11/03/2017)
- 17. Prof. J.V. Hluna, President, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Mizoram. (Dated 22/11/2017)
- 18. R.B. Lalmalsawma, President, Mizo Students Union (MSU) (2016-till date). (Dated 09/03/2017)

- R. Lalzirliana, Vice President, MPCC & Home Minister, Mizoram (2008-till date).
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MIZORAM UNIVERSITY

AIZAWL: MIZORAM

www.mzu.edu.in

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. Jerry Lalmuansanga is a research scholar in the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University. His Registration No. is MZU/M.Phil./418 of 22.05.2017. He has completed his dissertation for the *Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Political Science* under my supervision on the topic: Indian National Congress in Mizoram: A Study on the Electoral Performance and Policies (2008-2013). The work carried by the scholar is original and no part of the dissertation has been published in the form of paper or part of a book.

On completion of all the formalities, I am forwarding the dissertation for evaluation and further necessary action.

Dr. Ayangbam Shyamkishor
Supervisor

DECLARATION

I,	Jerry	Lalmuansanga,	hereby	declare	that	the	subject	matter	of	this
dissertation is the record done by me and that the contents of this dissertation										
did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to anybody										
else, and that this work has not been submitted by me for any other degree in										
other University or Institute.										
Da	ate:				JERR	Y L	ALMUA	NSANC	зA	
(H	lead)						(Su	perviso	r)	

CONTENTS

Declaration

Certificate

Acknowledgement

		Page No.
Abbreviations		i-viii
Chapter I	Introduction	1-39
Chapter II	Electoral Performance	40-68
Chapter III	Policies, Programmes and its	69-103
	Implementation	
Chapter IV	Achievements of the Congress Party	104-134
Chapter V	Summary & Conclusion	135-151
Bibliography		152-163

Chapter-1

Introduction

Political Parties are indispensable for the working of modern democratic government. The importance of political parties lies in the fact that democracies cannot function without the existence of political parties and political parties are regarded as 'life blood of democratic politics'. Political party is one of the most important organisations for the attainment of man's political aims. It constitutes the life line of modern politics. Political party is one of the most significant mechanisms in a democratic political system. Political parties link to the legislature and executive. In parliamentary system, the majority party forms government and tries to implement the policies outlined in its election manifesto.

A political party is a group of people having more or less the same approach to the local, national and international issues and well organised under an agreed leader to capture political power through elections. Different scholar defines political party differently in the way they understand it. For Burke, "Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed". According to Max Weber, "the term 'party' should be employed to designate an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment. The end to which its activity is devoted is to secure

¹ V.M. Sirsikar and L. Fernandes. (1984). *Indian Political Parties*. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, p. (v).

² K.N. Kumar. (1990). *Political Parties in India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications. p.1.

³ V.M. Sirsikar and L. Fernandes, *op.cit*, p.9.

⁴ Cited in Giovanni Sartori. (1976). *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for its Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p.9.

power within a corporate group for its active members".⁵ In the view of Mc Kean, "a party may (better) be defined as an organised group of the electorate that seeks to direct some policies and furnish the personnel of the government".⁶ Duverger maintain that "a party is not a community but a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, caucuses, local associations, etc.) and linked by coordinating institutions".⁷

Political party exists in all form of government in modern times. The primary goal of political party is to control political power. Often a party seeks to attain the goal on the basis of certain programmes and policies which reflect the needs and interest of the people (social groups, it represent). It means that there exist a close relationship between social groups and political parties. In other words, political parties articulate and aggregate diverse interest in the society. They are based on ideological commitments, ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional groups, economic classes and organised interests of different minds.⁸

Political party originated in the late 19th century and 20th century. In India, the first political party was established in 1885 and named it as Indian National Congress (INC). The formation of INC led to the unprecedented political socialisation and mobilisation of the masses which also recruited political actors from the local to the all India level. The articulation of interests and the communication of shared values throughout the body politics created for the first time a national consensus of sorts. A

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⁵ Cited in V.M. Sirsikar and L. Fernandes, *op.cit*, p.9.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.9.

⁷*Ibid*, p.9.

⁸ B.C. Bhuyan. (1989). *Political Development of the North East*. New Delhi: Omsons Publications. p.45.

new political culture was evolved out of which mass participation in the struggle for political emancipation took place.⁹

The first Conference for the Indian National Congress (INC) was convened in Bombay on 27th December 1885 under the chairmanship of W.C. Banerjee. The Indian National Congress launched a nation-wide movement for political reform. Though the Indian National Congress was form in the year 1885, it was not the first association to be established in India. There were different socio-economic organisations in India which were formed to challenge the nature of British administration before the formation of the INC. For instance, the Zamindari Association was founded in Bengal on 1837 by the Bengali landholders to protect their rights from encroachment. Another important association was the British Indian Association, which was formed in Calcutta (now, Kolkata) after amalgamating the 'Landholders Society' and the 'British India Society' on 31st October, 1851. It aimed to secure improvement in the local administration of the country and in the system of government laid down by Parliament. Raja Radhakanta Deb was the President of the first committee of the British Indian Association. In 1875, Surendranath Banerji, representing the educated middle classes, founded the Indian Association in Bengal which was a major step towards the foundation of the Indian National Congress. 10

The Indian National Congress dominated, guided and initiated the freedom struggle more as a mass movement than as a political party. Its 'umbrella' character enabled all classes of people, whatever their socio-economic interests or their ideological persuasion, to hold on together under the broadest consensus forged by the general will to

⁹ V.M. Sirsikar and L. Fernandes, *op. cit*, p. 39.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 42.

be free. The Congress was indeed a motley coalition of centrist, leftist and rightist elements. The 'umbrella' movement was constrained to organise itself into political party. Its 'umbrella' nature was survived, however it was not able to retain those elements within its fold in the course of the freedom struggle. As a result, it led to the natural course of break away to form other parties.¹¹

The Indian National Congress spread its wing every nook and corner of India. The formation of Indian National Congress in the North-Eastern region can be traced back to the establishment of Assam Association in 1905. It was the first political organisation in Assam. The Assam Association later merged with the Indian National Congress in the same year, i.e. 1905. During the time, any form of political activity was prohibited by the administration in Lushai Hills. The first political party (the Mizo Union) in Lushai Hills was formed only in 1946. Mizoram, the then Lushai Hills, was incorporated into the state of Assam in 1947 when the Indian Independence Act came into force. The central government immediately informed the matter to the Mizo Union which accepted the incorporation of the district into Assam state in accordance with the provision of the sixth schedule. 12

1.1 Historical Background of the Congress Party in Mizoram

The Indian National Congress (INC) in Mizoram is the oldest surviving political party in the state. It was formed in the Mizo District of Assam¹³ (the present Mizoram) on 10th August, 1961 at Aizawl. It means the existence of the Congress party in Mizoram is

¹² L.H. Chhuanawma, Lalthakima and Lal Lawmzuali. (2015). *Government and Politics of Mizoram*. Guwahati: Scientific Book Center, p. 173.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.39.

¹³ Mizo Hills was a revenue district of Assam until the upliftment of Mizo Hills into Union Territory on 21st January, 1972.

around 56 years old. The first President of the party was A. Thanglura. During the time, the Mizo District was a revenue district of Assam. As a result, the Congress unit in Mizo District was known as the Mizo District Congress Committee (MDCC). The first office bearers (OB) of the MDCC were: President –A. Thanglura, Vice-President –Lalsawia and Hrangchhuana as Treasurer.¹⁴

The Mizo District Congress Committee (MDCC) was under the charge of Assam Pradesh Congress Committee from its inception in 1961 till the upliftment of Mizo District Council to Union Territory in 1972. The MDCC became a full-fledged territorial unit of the Indian National Congress on 16th March, 1972 and came to be known as the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC). Consequently, the MPCC has been directly under the control of the All India Congress Committee (AICC).

The Congress party in Mizoram (since its formation) plays an important role in the growth of socio-economic and political development of the state. The Congress party in Mizo District of Assam made its electoral debut on the third Mizo District Council Elections held in 1962 but failed to win even a seat. In the fourth Mizo District Council Elections held in 1970¹⁶, the Congress captured 10 seats, the Mizo Union got nine seats and three seats were won by independent candidates. Out of 24 seats, 22 seats were elected directly and two were nominated by the Governor B.K. Nehru. With the help of three independent candidates, the Mizo District Council government was formed by the Congress for the first time on 2nd June, 1970. Zalawma was the first Congress Chief Executive Member (CEM). It was a remarkable event in the history of the Congress party

¹⁴ L.H.Chhuanawma, et.al, *op.cit*, p. 173.

¹⁵ MPCC is a territorial unit of the Indian National Congress in Mizoram. The MPCC is the highest committee of the Congress party in Mizoram.

¹⁶ The District Council Elections were not held in 1967 on account of insurgency in Mizo District and was held three years later.

in Mizoram.¹⁷ The Congress party in Mizoram formed their first Executive Committee (government) in the Mizo District Council and continued for around two years.

During the Congress regime in the Mizo District Council, the Mizo District Council was upgraded to the status of Union Territory on 21st January, 1972. The Congress party did not perform well in the electoral politics of Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections. The first Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections were held in 21st January, 1972. In the election, the Mizo Union forms the first Union Territory government by winning 21 out of 30 seats. While the Congress managed to win only six seats. In the second Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections held in 1978, the People's Conference (PC), a new political party established in 1975 formed the government. The PC won 22 out of 30 seats whereas the Congress captured only four seats. The third Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections were held in 1979. The PC again formed government in the Mizoram Union Territory Assembly. The PC won 18 seats while the Congress managed to win only five seats. ¹⁸

In the fourth Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections held in 1984, the Congress secured 20 out of 30 seats and formed its first government during the Union Territory period. The Congress government was headed by Lal Thanhawla as Chief Minister. After being in power for about two years and three months, the Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla demitted his office in order to make way for the Mizo National Front (MNF)¹⁹ leader Laldenga to become Chief Minister on 21st August, 1986.

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¹⁷ R.N. Prasad. (1987). *Government and Politics in Mizoram*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre. p.105.

¹⁸ L.H. Chhuanawma, et.al, op.cit, p.20.

¹⁹ Mizo National Front (MNF) was established on 22nd October, 1961 as a political party in Mizo Hills District of Assam. It declared independence of Mizoram on 1st March, 1966, then, the Government of India announced it as an unlawful organisation. The MNF and the government started negotiation from the 1970's onwards and signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on 30th June, 1986. As a part of the

This was possible after the signing of 'Memorandum of Settlement' between the MNF and Government of India (popularly known as Mizoram Peace Accord) on 30th June, 1986. As a consequence, the MNF and the Congress party joined hands and formed a coalition government on 21st August, 1986. The coalition government was formed with Laldenga as the Chief Minister and Lal Thanhawla as the Deputy Chief Minister. It was an interim government to fill the gap before the State Legislative Assembly Elections to be held in 1987.²⁰

The first Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections were held on 16th February, 1987. In this election the MNF formed government and Laldenga was sworn-in as the first Chief Minister of Mizoram (in post-statehood era) on 20th February, 1987. It was on this day, Mizoram became a full-fledged state of the Indian Union. The Congress party won the second and third Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections which were held in 1989 and 1993 respectively. Thus, Congress governments headed by Lal Thanhawla complete its full term of 10 years. In the fourth and fifth Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 1998 and 2003 respectively, the Congress party lost the elections to the MNF. The MNF formed government with Zoramthanga as the Chief Minister and completes its full term. However, the Congress party came back to power with thumping majority in the sixth and seventh Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 2008 and 2013 respectively (the details are discussed in the forthcoming Chapter, i.e. Chapter-II). As a result, Lal Thanhawla continued to be the Chief Minister of Mizoram till date. It is important to mention here that of all the existing political parties in the state, the Congress ruled for the longest period of time in Mizoram.

peace process, it was agreed that the Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla will vacant the chair of Chief Ministership for the MNF leader Laldenga.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.206.

In short, the INC ruled Mizoram for 21 years and five months in the post-Union Territory era. Here, it can be noted that it is Lal Thanhawla who has been the Chief Minister of Mizoram whenever the Congress rule the state. In other words, the present Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla controls Mizoram for 21 years and two months in the last 33 years or so.

1.1.1 Aims and Objectives:

The aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress in Mizoram are as follows:-

- 1. The core objective of the party are
 - a) Democracy
 - b) Secularism
 - c) Socialism
 - d) Non-alignment
- 2. Preserve and faithful to Indian constitution.
- 3. To work for India's independence and integrity.
- 4. To work for the re-unification of all Mizo inhabited areas under a single administrative unit who are separated by geographical boundary and promoting autonomy (including financial autonomy) by safeguarding the Indian Constitution.
- 5. Protection and promotion of Mizo custom and tradition of different Mizo tribes.
- 6. To work for the benefits of the son of the soil.
- 7. Promoting and uplifting social welfare.
- 8. To work for the promotion and upliftment of the farmers.

- 9. To work for the peaceful environment of Mizoram in order to make Mizoram as the 'most peaceful states in India'.
- 10. To cooperate with advanced developed countries in order to enhance and improve the developmental work of Mizoram and to have a wider worldview.
- 11. To work for the promotion and welfare of youth affairs.
- 12. To work for the empowerment of women and protection of their rights.
- 13. To work for the protection and betterment of child.
- 14. To provide proper care and betterment for the old age.
- 15. To promote and foster development work for the inhabitant people with the help of modern technology and advancement.
- 16. To extract and preserve the natural resources of Mizoram. ²¹

The Indian National Congress is a national party having territorial units in all parts of India. The Indian National Congress in Mizoram is a branch of the Indian National Congress having its headquarters in New Delhi. The above aims and objectives however show that the party tries to adjust with the local issues and sentiment of the people. In other words, the Indian National Congress in Mizoram localised itself by keeping the main objectives of the Indian National Congress (INC). For instance, the objective of the INC in Mizoram [Article II (4)] stated that the party tries to work for the re-unification of all Mizo who resides in different places. The party also promised to seek for single administrative unit that are separated by geographical boundary. It also promised to work for the benefits of the son of the soils. These ideas are also found in the

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²¹ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. (2014). *Constitution of the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee*. Aizawl: Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. p.6.

constitution of other state parties like Mizo National Front $(MNF)^{22}$ and Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP).

1.1.2 Organisational Setup

The organisational structures of the party are incorporated in Article-IV of the constitution of the Indian National Congress in Mizoram. They are as follows:-

1. Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee:

Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee is the apex body of the party and its headquarters is located in Aizawl, (the state capital). The party has the President, Vice President and Treasurer and is known as elected office bearers. Apart from these, the MPCC Executive Committee can also decide one post each for Working President, Senior Vice President and Vice President, if necessary from time to time. The MPCC President in consultation with the elected office bearer can appoint General Secretary and Secretary and are also known as office bearer. The office bearers in headquarters coordinate with the AICC and implement the decision and resolution of the MPCC General Assembly, MPCC Executive Committee and Mizoram Congress Committee and look after the administration of the Congress party in Mizoram.

²² The MNF Constitution expressed to preserved and safeguards Mizoram and its sons of the soil [Sl. No.6 (i)]. It also promised to work for the re-unification of all Mizo inhabited areas under a single administrative unit [Sl. No.6 (ii)].

²³ In the ZNP Election Manifesto (2013), it promised to work and promote integrity and brotherhood for the Mizo inhabited areas in different places (p.5). The party also stated that it will work for the different Mizo tribes residing outside Mizoram [ZNP Policy 'Kalphung Thar' (in Mizo dialect, 'New System') p.54].

2. MPCC Executive Committee:

There is a MPCC Executive Committee, its member comprising of—MPCC office bearers, 40 elected members, 10 members appointed by President, Congress MP's and MLA's, AICC member from Mizoram, ex-MPCC President who complete their term and current Congress member, Congress Chief Executive Member (CEM) in Autonomous District Council, District Congress Committee (DCC) / City Congress Committee (CCC) President, state level Frontal President, 10 Co-opted Member appointed by the President, 10 permanent invitee appointed by President, special invitee appointed by MPCC President, state Chief Organiser/ Dy. Chief Organiser/ Organiser appointed by MPCC President, Congress Councillor in Aizawl Municipal Corporation.

The Executive Committee is having the power to function in the administration and other business on behalf of the party. If General Assembly/ Special Assembly/ Mizoram Congress Committee cannot be convened due to emergency situation, the Executive Committee has the power to make immediate decision. If such immediate resolution shall be made, the Executive Committee should propose such resolution in the General Assembly/ Special Assembly. The Assembly resolution will be final.

3. Mizoram Congress Committee (MCC):

Mizoram Congress Committee (MCC) is the second highest committee next only to General Assembly. Its members comprise of MPCC Executive Member, District Congress Committee Executive Member, Block Elected office bearers, state level Frontal office bearers, MPCC Chief Organiser/ Deputy Chief Organiser/ state Organiser.

4. District Congress Committee (DCC):

With the approval of MPCC Executive Committee, District Congress Committee (DCC) was established in Administrative District/ Autonomous District Council Area with its headquarters in Administrative Districts/ Autonomous District Council. The DCC who have more than nine Assembly constituency had 35 elected executive member, DCC having more than four Assembly constituencies can have 30 elected executive member, DCC having less than four Assembly constituencies can have 25 elected executive member.

The District Congress Committee Executive Committee Member comprise of—President, Vice President, Treasurer, elected Executive Member, five members appointed by President, Congress MDC member, ex-DCC President who complete their term and current Congress member, Co-opted member not more than five appointed by President, Block President in City/Town, DCC Chief Organiser appointed by President, District level Frontal Organisation President. The DCC President in consultation with the elected office bearers can appoints not more than seven General Secretary and not more than 12 Secretary from the executive member.

5. State Organiser, DCC Organiser, Chief Organiser, Dy. Chief Organisers, Organisers and Senior Advisers:

The MPCC President invites state level Chief Organiser in the MPCC office bearers meeting. Dy. Chief Organisers and Organiser can also be invited in the MPCC executive committee. The DCC President appoints DCC Chief Organiser, three Dy. Chief Organiser and 10 Organiser. DCC Chief Organiser can be invited in the DCC office

bearers meeting. Dy. Chief Organisers and Organiser can be invited in the DCC Executive Committee. DCC can appoint not more than five Advisers and function as Executive Member and can be invited in office bearers meeting.

6. City Congress Committee:

With the approval of the MPCC Executive Committee, City Congress Committee (CCC) can be set up in a city of population not less than two lakhs.

7. Block Congress Committee (BCC):

Normally, one Assembly Constituency is known as Block. The MPCC Executive Committee can create more than one Block in one Assembly Constituency. Block Congress Committee (BCC) consist of—President, Vice President, Treasurer, MCC Member, Unit President from Block level, Congress Village Council President/ Congress Local Council Chairman, 10 elected member, three members appointed by President, Block level Frontal Organisation President. In consultation with the elected office bearers, the BCC President appoints one Secretary, three Joint Secretary and one Finance Secretary from the Executive Member. The elected office bearers and Secretary are known as Block Office Bearers.

8. Unit Committee:

There are Congress Unit Committee in each village/locality. With the approval of MPCC, the DCC can create more than one Unit in big villages/locality. If there is more than one Unit in village/locality, Unit Joint Committee can be set up with the approval of Block. Unit Committee consist of—President, Vice President and Treasurer, elected 10

members, two member appointed by President, Congress Village Council Member/
Congress Local Council member, Frontal President within the Unit area. The President in
consultation with the elected office bearers can appoint one Secretary, two Joint
Secretary and one Finance Secretary from the Executive Member. The elected OB and
appointed Secretary are known as Unit Office Bearers.

9. Frontal Organisations:

There are Frontal Organisations in the party in order to strengthen the Congress party. The Frontal Organisation can have their organisational constitution on the approval of the MPCC Executive Committee. The Frontal Organisations can have headquarters, district, block and unit level organisation. The Frontal Organisations are as follows-Mizoram Pradesh Youth Congress Committee (MPYCC), Mizoram Mahila Congress Committee, National Students' Union of India-Mizoram (NSUI), *Upa* Wing (Elders Wing).

10. Department/ Cell/ Sub-Committee:

The MPCC President can set up Departments/ Cells/ Sub-Committee depending upon the need. Departments/ Cells/ Sub-Committee Chairman can be invited in the MPCC office bearers meeting. If they are not an executive member, they can be present in the Executive Committee. If the President cannot attend the OB Meeting or Executive Meeting, the Secretary can attend the Meeting on behalf of the President.

The MPCC has the following Departments:-

i) Media/Communication

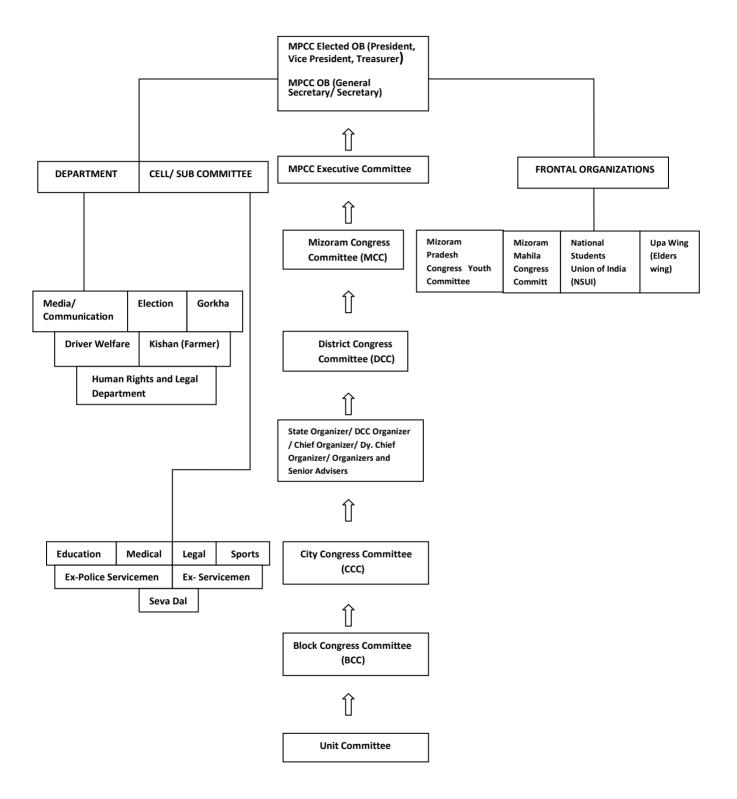
- ii) Election
- iii) Driver Welfare
- iv) Kishan (Farmer)
- v) Gorkha
- vi) Human Rights and Legal Department

The MPCC Cell which functions under MPCC are as follows:-

- i) Education Cell
- ii) Medical Cell
- iii) Ex-Police Servicemen
- iv) Ex-Servicemen
- v) Legal Cell
- vi) Sports
- vii) Seva Dal ²⁴

 24 Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee Constitution, $\mathit{op.cit},$ p.19.

Organisational Structure of Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC)



1.2 Profile of Mizoram

Mizoram, previously known as the Lushai Hills (also Mizo Hills) lies in the southern-most corner of North-East India. It is bounded on the north by Assam and Manipur on the east, south-east by Myanmar (Burma) and on the west by Tripura and Bangladesh. It is geographically divided between 92°15' (E) and 93°29' (E) longitude and 21°58' and 24°35' (N) latitude. It covers an area of 21,081 square kilometers, and has a population of 10,97,206 (2011 census). The state is divided into eight Districts-

- i) Aizawl
- ii) Champhai
- iii) Kolasib
- iv) Lawngtlai
- v) Lunglei
- vi) Mamit
- vii) Serchhip
- viii) Siaha

1.2.1 People

The early history of the Mizo remains obscure due to the absence of recorded history of the past. However, the Mizo and other sub-tribe claim to have originated themselves from what they called 'Sinlung' or 'Chhinlung'. Different interpretations have been given to the origin of Chhinlung and its tradition. Some people argued that the Chhinlung might be the present Tailing or Sinlung in the south-west China. All the writers on the subject and the oral traditional history of the Mizo agreed that the term 'Chhinlung' is either a place or a person's name which seems to be in China. The Mizo

²⁵ Directorate of Economics and Statistics. (2016). *Statistical Handbook Mizoram-2016*. Mizoram: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Mizoram. p.(viii).

and its sub-tribes claim to have originated from the so called 'Chhinlung'. From this account, even though a conjectural one, it can surmise that the original home of the Mizo is somewhere in the east.²⁶

The Mizo possess a unique social system. The women play a key role in the socio-economic development of the Mizo society, even though Mizo society is patriarchal in nature. However, if one looks closely at the inheritance law of the society, the Mizo women do not have the inheritance of property rights. Actually they do not have much inheritance right. The Mizo law of inheritance is simple. As a norms and traditions, the property of the father goes to the youngest son. The father may, however, give shares to other sons also. If there is no male member in the family, the property goes to the next kin on the male side. The Mizo society does not share the inheritance of property with the women. In fact, the women are confined to the kitchen and the field and had no voice in the day to day affairs of the family, a village or society.²⁷

1.2.2 Climate, Flora and Fauna

Mizoram is a mountainous region. As a whole, Mizoram enjoys a fairly pleasant weather and is neither very hot nor very cold. There is slight change of temperature from summer to winter and vice-versa. The climate in Mizoram is pleasant and not too humid with compare to other states in India. There are few months as springs at higher altitudes and hill tops. The Mizo depends on rain water for irrigation and drinking purposes.²⁸

²⁶ C. Nunthara. (1996). Mizoram: Society and Polity. New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company. p.39.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.3.

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²⁷ Jagadish K. Patnaik. (Ed). (2008). *Mizoram: Dimensions and Perspectives (Society, Economy and Polity*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. p.3.

Naturally under such tropical climate, the hills are clothed with a dense evergreen forest of bamboo, trees and herbs throughout the year. Vegetation growth is abundant, and almost all tropical plants are found. The forest areas offer sanctuary to wild animals, viz. elephants, bisons, tigers, leopards, bears and various kinds of deer. Jungle fowl, several kinds of pheasant and many varieties of birds are also seen in the hills.²⁹

1.3 Political Development in Lushai Hills

The political development of Lushai Hills prior to the British annexation was the history of the Lushai chiefs. Chieftainship was the only form of political institution in the Lushai Hills. Every village was under a chief. The institution of chieftainship was strongly embedded in the Lushai village administrative system from the early days. The chief was the head of the village. However, the chief appointed a group of elders called the *Upa* or Elders (Council of Elders). These *Upa* and the chief take decision for the village administration without consulting the villagers. Normally, the decision of the elders is usually fair. The chief and *Upa* decide all disputes in the village.³⁰

The history of Lushai Hills prior to the British conquest was not well recorded. There is no proper documentation about the Lushai chiefs and their relationship with the neighbouring countries. It appears that they had no connection with the Ahoms (rulers of Assam). However, they had close connection with the Pawi's and Paite's in Chin Hills. They also had contact with the kings of Tripura, Manipur and Cachar. The Lushai raided the plains of Cachar from time to time particularly when the Cachari kings were weak. The first raid of the Lushai in Cachar was noticed by the British in 1845. After that, in

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²⁹ Lalrinmawia. (1995). *Mizoram-History and Cultural Identity* (1890-1947). Guwahati: Spectrum Publications, p.2.

³⁰ K.M. Zakhuma. op.cit, p.38.

October 1865, Capt. Steward concluded a treaty with Vanhnuailiana (a Sailo Chief) and as a result, Vanhnuailiana agreed to abstain from raiding the plain people. Though there was treaty between the British and Sailo chief, the Lushai Hills was attacked twice by the British in 1871-72 and 1889-90. The Lushai expedition in 1871-72 was necessitated due to frequent attacks of tea gardens in plain areas by the Lushai.³¹

On 23rd January 1871, Alexandrapur tea garden in Cachar was attacked by Haulawng Chief Bengkhuaia and killed Mr. Winchester, the planter and captured his daughter, Mary Winchester. Many other tea gardens in Cachar, Chittagong and Tripura were also attacked. As a result, the Lushai Hills was attacked from two directions, one from Cachar and another from Chittagong by the British. T.H. Lewin (Thangliana) played a great role in this Lushai expedition by the British. Capt. T.H. Lewin team rescued Mary Winchester from the captivity of Bengkhuaia and she was sent to Calcutta via Chittagong and was handed over to her father's relative in Scotland.³²

Chin-Lushai Expedition was conducted again by the British in 1889-90 because many British subjects in the hills and plains were attacked by the chiefs of Lushai Hills and Chin Hills. The result of 1889-90 expedition was total subjugation of Chin Hills and Lushai Hills under British administration and many chiefs were punished. Lushai Hills came under the control of the British after the expedition of 1889-90. Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-90 was operated from three directions, namely, Chittagong, Silchar

³² R.N.Prasad, op.cit, p.24.

³¹ V. Venkata Rao, H. Thansanga and Niru Hazarika. (1987). *A Century of Government and Politics in North-East India, Volune III- Mizoram.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Company (Pvt). Ltd. p.6.

and Burma. The Lushai's and Chins were defeated, however direct control of British administration was not introduced.³³

The second expedition of the Lushai Hills was started on 11th September, 1889. The operation in Northern Lushai Hills Column was also successfully completed on 17 March 1890 and all chiefs were subdued. The Chin-Lushai Expedition ended with the establishment of a road connecting Chittagong and Kale in Burma. Chin Hills and Lushai Hills were then put under British suzereignty. Prior to 1891, there was no regular British administrative set up in the Lushai Hills. In 1891, the Lushai Hills was placed under two administrative systems—the North Lushai Hills with headquarter at Aizawl was placed under the Chief Commissioner Province of Assam and the South Lushai Hills with headquarter at Lunglei was placed under the Lt. Governor Province of Bengal.³⁴

The Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed a scheme for the amalgamation of North Lushai Hills with South Lushai Hills on 6th February 1894. Accordingly, South Lushai Hills and North Lushai Hills were united as Lushai Hills District on 1st April 1898, and placed under the administrative control of Assam on that very day itself. Thus, the whole Lushai Hills became a part of Assam and the Lushai Hills was under the administration of the British. After that, Chin Hills Regulations 1896 were enforced in Lushai Hills. Moreover, it was a Scheduled District by the Scheduled District Act of 1874. Later on, it was branded as Backward Tract by the Government of India Act 1919 and finally, it was clubbed as Excluded Area by the Government of India Act 1935.³⁵

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³³ K.M, Zakhuma. (2001). *Political Development in Mizoram 1946-1989: A study with special reference to Political Parties in Mizoram*. Aizawl: Zakhuma. p.38.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.39

³⁵ R.N.Prasad, op.cit, p.29

The British colonialism in Lushai Hills brought many administrative changes. When the Lushai Hills was annexed by the British, they found that every village was a unit of administration independently run by the Chief of the village. The authorities demarcated the boundary line between various chiefs of the Lushai Hills. The 'land settlement' was introduced in 1898-99 where the government apportioned village areas into the chiefs and established their boundaries. It brought to an end to the inter-tribal war between the chiefs. Moreover, the demarcating line drawn by the British was used to check the entry of non-Mizo to the Lushai Hills as it was important for the protection of the Mizo who live in a primitive life. ³⁶

In the pre-British era, the Lushai chiefs had the power over life and death of the subjects. The supreme power of the Lushai chiefs in the sphere of judiciary was curtailed by the British. The British administration also brought changes in the life style and religious beliefs of the people of the Lushai Hills. Before the advent of the British, different Mizo clans had their own Gods and worship in their own way. The annexation of the Lushai Hills by the British opened the door for a new religion, i.e. Christianity and its proliferation. Moreover, the British missionaries introduced Christianity and western education to the Lushai Hills. They introduced modern education to the people which inculcated civilized culture and modern way of life to them. It means that the British administration has brought many changes in the cultural and religious belief of the Mizo.

The foundation of formal education and its growth in Mizoram started with the advent of Christianity in the year 1894. The Christian missionaries were the forerunner in the development of formal education in Lushai Hills. It can be noted here that the

³⁶ L.H. Chhuanawma, et.al, op.cit, p.24.

Lushai's did not have their own script until the Christian missionaries invented it. During their stayed in Cachar area, the missionaries learnt some of the basic Lushai because they believed that it would be useful to prepare Roman script rather than Bengali dialect in Lushai Hills. It became the foundation and origin of all formal education in Lushai Hills. They prepare a letter in English and from 1st April 1894, the missionaries taught the new Mizo language (*A*, *Aw*, *B*) at Rev. J.H. Lorrain's (Pu Buanga) balcony. The first and only pupils were Suaka (latter Durtlang chief) and Thangphunga (latter Chaltlang chief).³⁷ Since then, there have been remarkable achievements in the field of education in the Lushai Hills, the present Mizoram till date.

1.4 Emergence of Political Parties in Lushai Hills

The introduction of western education by the missionaries help the Lushai to understand about their social and political world view. In fact, the emergence of sociopolitical consciousness in the 1920's among the people of the Lushai Hills was the product of western education introduced by the missionaries. From the early 1930's, the Lushai had became conscious of the political deprivation inflicted by the repressive system of colonial rule and the young Mizo graduates keenly felt the need to form a united front to fight for their rights. In the 1940's, when the eclipse of the empire was imminent, there were debates in the Provincial Legislature of Assam about the future state of the Lushai Hills District. During the time, the first political party in Lushai Hills was formed in 1946.³⁸

³⁷ B. Lalthangliana. (2014). *India, Burma leh Bangladesh-a Mizo Chanchin*. Aizawl: Remkungi. p. 683.

³⁸ Zakhuma, K.M., *op.cit*, p.56.

1.4.1 The Mizo Union (MU)

The first political party—the Mizo Union (MU) was established in the Lushai Hills on April 9th 1946. R. Vanlawma, an educated Mizo during the time christened the name of the party as the 'Mizo Common People Union', but it was later changed to 'Mizo Commoner's Union'. Finally, it was named as the 'Mizo Union' (MU), by dropping the word 'commoners'. The word 'commoners' was objected by the chief. Vanlawma was the forerunner in the formation of the Mizo Union, however Dahrawka was believed to be the brain behind the formation of the first political party. He could not associate himself formally because he was a government servant. Pachhunga was the first President of Mizo Union and R. Vanlawma was the first General Secretary of the party.

The Mizo Union dominated the electoral scene right from the beginning of electoral politics in the district. It began with the constitution of the Lushai Hills District Advisory Council³⁹ in 1948. The Mizo Union won the election in the District Advisory Council held in 1948. The party formed the Executive Committee (government) in the Lushai Hills District Council without a break from 1952 to 1970. The first Lushai District Council was formed by M.U. in 1952. Lalsawia was the first Chief Executive Member (CEM) of the Lushai District Council. The MU lost the fourth and the last District Council election held in 1970 to Congress. But it formed a coalition Executive Committee with some Congress MDC's (Member of District Council) headed by Ch. Chhunga as CEM in March 1971. The MU won the first Mizoram Union Territory

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³⁹ The government initiated to set up an Advisory Committee on the recommendation of the Cabinet Mission. Subsequently, the election to Advisory Council for electing the chief representatives took place on 23rd March, 1948. An Advisory Council election for the commoner representatives was held on 15th April, 1948 on the basis of adult franchise. In the Advisory Council election, the chief representatives were elected by the chiefs and the commoner representatives were elected by the commoners. [R.N. Prasad, *op.cit*, p.76]

Assembly Elections held in April 1972. In the election, the MU swept the election by winning 21 out of 30 seats. The MU formed the government in the Union Territory and Ch. Chhunga became the first Chief Minister of the Union Territory of Mizoram. After two years, the MU merged with the Congress Party on January, 1974. Thus, the history of the first political party in Mizoram came to an end after being in power for about 20 long years in Mizo District Council and also the first government in Mizoram during Union Territory period.⁴⁰

1.4.2 United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO)

The United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO) was formed on 5th July, 1947. The first President of the party was Lalbiakthanga. But, Lalmawia (an ex-army officer in Burma) was the man behind the establishment of the new party. The original objective of the UMFO was to join the Lushai Hills with Burma with maximum possible autonomy for the Mizo. The party also wanted to retain chieftainship. However, in the later stage, the party dropped its aim of joining Burma and instead wanted to form a separate hill state out of Assam.

The UMFO was mainly popular among the chiefs and the pro-independence sections of the Mizo society. A large majority of the people were more interested with the idea of abolition of chieftainship which the MU was fighting for. Though UMFO contested in the Lushai District Council and Assam Assembly elections held in 1952, the UMFO failed to win any seat. Later on, Lalmawia who replaced Lalbiakthanga as UMFO President was elected in the Assam Legislative Assembly bye-election held in 1954. The

⁴⁰ L.H. Chhuanawma, et.al, *op.cit*, p.124.

party contested in the Mizo District Council elections held in 1957, but failed to form an Executive Committee. However, the party won two out of three seats allotted to the Lushai Hills in Assam Legislative Assembly Election 1957. Lalmawia was appointed as Parliamentary Secretary in the Assam government in 1958. In 1958, the UMFO was dissolved and merged with the Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU). It means the UMFO was active as a political party for around 11 years (1947-58).

1.4.3 Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU)

The origin of Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU) can be traced back to the All Party Hills Leaders Conference (APHLC) held at Tura, Meghalaya in 1954. The conference resolved to demand for a separate hill state comprising of all the hill districts of Assam. It also decided that a 'Hill Tribal Union' would be formed to spearhead the demand for the hill state. But, Rev. JJM Nichols Roy, a prominent Khasi leader opposed the move, therefore, formation of a new party was deferred. However, prominent tribal leaders from the Khasi and Jaintia Hils, Garo Hills, Mikir Hills, North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills again met at Aizawl during 30th May-1st June, 1957. The meeting decided to form a new all-North East political organisation called Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU). The main objective of the EITU was formation of the North East tribal state or simply a hill state that would include the hill areas or the tribal areas of Assam.⁴²

B.M. Pugh of Meghalaya was the first President of EITU. Lalmawia became the first President of EITU unit in Mizoram and Lalvunga was its first General Secretary. The significance of the EITU was that it was for the first time the Mizo had a formal

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⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.135.

⁴² *Ibid*, p.135.

political relation with people from outside Mizoram for a common objective. The idea of a hill state was never realised, however the formation of the EITU marked the first step that sow the seed to separate Mizo District from Assam.⁴³

1.4.4 All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC)

On 6th July, 1960, a new political party known as All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) was formed at Tura, Meghalaya. It opposed to the 'Assam Language Bill' which was passed by the Assam government during the time. The 'Assam Language Bill' made Assamese as the official language of Assam. The APHLC was formed by the members of the district and regional council representatives from each political party in the autonomous districts of Assam, journalists from tribal areas, and others.

The APHLC aimed to fight for the establishment of the North Eastern Hill State. It advocated to use 'English' as the official language of Assam. A. Thanglura (Vice President of MU) was the first Chairman of the APHLC. The MU and EITU joined the APHLC from the Mizo Hills. The Mizo, however desire to have a separate state. So, the MU drifted away from the APHLC and demanded a separate state for the Mizo since 1963. With the disintegration of the APHLC, the EITU also ceased to exist in Mizo Hills and elsewhere. A Thanglura, the first Chairman of the APHLC left the APHLC and he formed the Mizo District Congress Committee at Aizawl on 11th April, 1961. The APHLC was not a political party, it was a political umbrella or a loose political organisation. The most important impact of the APHLC movement in Mizo Hills was that

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⁴³ *Ibid*, p.136.

the leaders of the Mizo Union were compelled to demand statehood for Mizoram since 1963.44

Besides the above political parties, the Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU) was formed by the Pawi (now, Lai) and Lakher (now, Mara) in the southern part of Mizo Hills on October, 1949 with its headquarters at Lawngtlai. The Mara left the PLTU and formed their own political party known as Mara Freedom Party (MFP) at Zawngling (Siaha District) on September, 1963 with its headquarters at Saiha (now Siaha). After the Lakhers (Mara's) left the PLTU in 1963, the Pawi (Lai) members of the PLTU simply renamed the party as Chin National Front (CNF) in 1964. 45 All these regional parties were formed in order to promote and developed their areas and also to promote and serve the interest of the people. However, Mizo Union (MU), United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO), Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU), All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC), Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU), Mara Freedom Party (MFP), Chin National Front (CNF) became defunct and disappear from Mizo politics.

1.5 Review of Literature:

Relevant and important literatures from the books and articles have been collected for the review of literature. The review of literature is divided into two parts. The first parts reviewed the related books and the second parts reviewed some important essays. The review of literature has been given in chronological order. They are as follows:-

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 137. ⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 139.

Books:

The Indian National Congress (An Analytical Biography) written by OM P. Gautam (1985) discusses the post-independence Indian party system and described it as one dominant-party system, a predominant party system or one-party system. All the studies on the post-independence party-system of India underline the dominant position of the Congress in the system (both party and political) as a whole. The author reveals that Rajni Kothari has given an analytical description of Congress dominance and appropriately called the Indian party system as 'the Congress system'. He stressed the major shortcomings of the analysis of the predominant party system within the conventional framework by saying that the party system is assumed to be stable, whereas the Indian experience indicates that a predominant party system is likely to change over time and likely to be temporary phenomenon.

Political Parties in India written by K.N. Kumar (1990) analysed the ideology of the Indian National Congress along with the integrated assertations, ideas and aims constituting the politico-social-economic programmes of the Congress party. The author also highlights the types of beliefs, attitudes and aspirations which the Congress party represents. The author also clearly highlights on various organisational structures within the Congress party.

P. Sharan's (1991) 'Congress and the Making of Modern India' in N.S. Gehlot *The Congress Party in India: Policies, Culture and Performance* clearly highlights the character of the Congress along with the ideology of the Congress. It focuses on the economic and social programme of the Congress party. The author also stressed on the

policies and programmes of the Congress Party and the significant contributions towards the making of modern India.

Deep Chand Bandhu (2003) in his book *History of Indian National Congress* (1885-2002) highlights that the course of nationalism in India and its freedom movement are intrinsically related with the history of the Indian National Congress. The author argued that the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 is the most significant in the annals of the Indian sub-continent. It was spearheaded by the educated Indian who could attract the attention of millions of people living in the far flung areas. It also stress that the anti-Raj stance under Gandhiji's leadership was successful. The author mentioned each and every activities of the Indian National Congress which have a deep bearing on political and socio-economic developments of India.

L.H. Chhuanawma's (2008) 'The Congress Party in Mizoram: An Analysis of its Performance' in Jagadish K. Patnaik *Mizoram: Dimensions and Perspectives (Society, Economy and Polity)* stated that of all the existing political parties in Mizoram, the Congress party in Mizoram rule the state for the longest period. He stressed that the Congress's role in the peace process and the signing of the Memorandum of Settlement (Mizo Accord- 1986) is equally important as that of the MNF. The author highlights the various developments and achievement in Mizoram during the Congress government that took place from the Mizo District Council period till the completion of its term in 1998.

Articles:

The article, 'Indian Political Parties' written by L.P. Choudhry (1950), argued that the Congress was not, at any rate until recently, a political party in the narrow

sense. It was more than a party- it was the chief vehicle of the Indian national movement. Various groups with absolutely divergent political and economic views found a common platform within the Congress. The history of the Indian National Congress is the history of the national movement. He further stated that one remarkable feature of the Congress which distinguished it from the other political parties is the fact that the Congress alone has a foreign policy of its own. Congress recognises the right of self determination for all oppressed peoples of the world. It opposed to imperialism and has also taken a firm stand against fascism.

The essay, 'The Development of the Indian National Congress as a Mass Organization (1918-1923)', written by Gopal Krishna (1966) described that the Indian National Congress came into being as an organisation of the newly educated, professional and commercial classes which had developed in India during the course of the nineteenth century. He argued that during the period of 1918-1923, there was broad division in the party—extremists and moderates. He further argued that the Congress leadership was still composed largely of those who had taken to the new professions of law, journalism, teaching and western medicine. A few business-men and fewer landowners were also represented. The Indian National Congress represented a broad national front and not a tightly organised party during this period.

Suhas Palsikhar (2014) in his article 'The Defeat of the Congress' argued that the Congress party's defeat in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections reflected not just its failure to retain its vote shares of the previous polls in 2004 and 2009, but also the lack of a clear social profile of its voters. He further argued that the defeat of the Congress means that time has come for the party to introspect from within the party, if not it can either decline

further or begin to redefine it. This was of course not the first time that the Congress Party has been defeated at the Parliamentary Elections, starting with 1977, it experienced setbacks in 1989 and 1996. The author express that broadly speaking, two political factors ensured that the Congress vote share would decline in these elections. One was the performance of the government involving various corruption scandals and the other was the issue of leadership as Rahul Gandhi was not seen by the voters as an equal to the then Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi in terms of experience, ability to solve problems facing the nation and representing the different social segments.

The essay, 'Congress in the Times of the post-Congress Era' written by Suhas Palsikhar (2015) described that the Indian National Congress as one such party that has always remained central to calculations of competitive politics in India. It ruled the country for over 55 years of India's existence and makes it distinct from most other parties in India. He uphold that while some continuity marks the long life of the Congress, in reality, the party has gone through many "lives." The author called today's Congress as the third life of the party. From an early post-independence party of government and development (life of hegemony), the Congress entered a more complicated phase of internal troubles and stiff opposition from outside which characterised its second life (life of confrontation) and then entered a third life when it was no more a guaranteed ruler and had to operate within a political milieu characterised as the "decline of the Congress" (life of survival).

Praveen Rai and Sanjay Kumar (2017) in their essay 'The Decline of the Congress Party in Indian Politics' analysed the General Elections of 2014. They argued that the Congress party went into a huddle and continue to lost the state elections held in

2015-2016 in quick succession and conceded the remaining political space to the BJP. The recent Assembly Elections held in five states in March 2017 were a kind of a referendum on demonetisation undertaken by Narendra Modi and a mid-term appraisal of the BJP government. The authors mentioned that the Congress is in power only in six states on its own and in Bihar as a junior partner in an alliance. On the other hand, the BJP has extended its political wings and rules in 17 states either on its own or in alliance. The Congress needs to rewrite its ideological agenda. The party can revive itself by rebuilding the party organisation from the grassroots level and set up realistic goals to do a political rebound in the distant future.

The above review of literature shows that there are many literatures on the Indian National Congress. However, there are few literatures on Indian National Congress (INC) in Mizoram. Moreover, there is no research work or project undergoing in Mizoram University (to the best of my knowledge) on Congress party in Mizoram. Therefore, the scholar studies the Congress party in Mizoram so that it can fill up the gap of literature in the field.

1.6 Statement of the Problem:

The Indian National Congress (INC) is the only national party that ever comes to power on its own in Mizoram. Besides, the Congress is one of the most popular parties in Mizoram in the sense that it ruled the state for the maximum number of years than the other parties. Therefore, in order to understand the state politics of Mizoram one needs to study the role of the Congress party because it rules the state more than 20 years since Union Territory period.

In the history of the INC in Mizoram, the party faces both internal and external challenges. For example, the party split for the first time in 1986 due to internal differences between the then party President Lalduhawma and Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla on the question of peace settlement. As a result, Lalduhawma resigned from the President's post which was followed by expulsion from the party for an unlimited period. Lalduhawma along with several Congress leaders left the party and formed a new political party known as Mizoram Congress Committee for Peace. The Congress party in Mizoram also failed to get majority in the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections in 1998 and 2003. During the time, many senior and eminent Congress leaders also left the party. Another split occurred in 2005 in which senior Congress leader J. Lalsangzuala and many other leaders left the party and formed a new party known as Mizoram Congress Party (MCP). With all the problems, the Congress however managed to come back and swept the Mizoram State Assembly Elections held in 2008 and 2013 respectively.

There are claims and counter-claims on the socio-economic and political role of the Congress party in Mizoram. Some argued that Congress party plays an important role in the over-all development of the state. The present Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla even sacrifice his chair of Chief Ministership for the Mizo National Front (MNF) leader Laldenga in order to bring peace and normalcy in Mizoram after witnessing insurgency for almost 20 years. This was a good example of statesmanship of the present Chief Minister, the leader of the Congress party in Mizoram.

The Congressmen and its supporters claimed that the Congress Ministry (2008-2013) achieved remarkably well especially in the field of socio-economic development

through their flagship programme known as New Land Use Policy (NLUP). Other achievements which they mentioned include the promotion of education, sports and youth affairs, health sector and trade and commerce relations. At the same time, the opposition parties criticised the Congress government for failing to improve the poor condition of roads, bridges and other communication network, not sincere enough in the fight against corruption, appointing six Parliamentary Secretary's (in the rank of Minister of States) to assist Minister which involves a high expenditure in the maintenance of their office, buying several costly cars involving crores of rupees for Ministers and Parliamentary Secretary's when the financial condition of the state is weak, life time compulsory tax for vehicles, etc. Also, the party flagship programme-the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) was severely criticised by the opposition parties for favouring the Congressmen and its supporters. The opposition parties also criticised the NLUP schemes as a political programme in nature. They regarded it as a populist policy rather than an effective economic programme. Therefore, a proper study of the various achievements (as claimed by the Congress and its supporters) and policies of the Congress party and its government is important to understand the nature of the party and its contribution towards the development of the state. Thus, the scholar analysed the policies and programme of the Congress party in Mizoram during 2008-2013.

1.7 Delimitation of the Research:

The history of the Congress party in Mizoram started in 1961, since then the party plays an important role in the socio-economic and political development of the state. The present study however, focuses on the electoral performance and policies of the Congress party in Mizoram during the period from 2008-2013. The Congress ruled the

state during 1989-1998 and from 2008 till date. However, one scholar had already studied the Congress party in Mizoram and their electoral performances since its inception till the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections of 2003. The Congress also lost two consecutive State Assembly Elections in 1998 and 2003. However, it came back to power after winning the State Legislative Assembly Elections of 2008 and 2013 and continued to rule till date. The tenure of the present Ministry will continue till December 2018. Therefore, the scholar studied the Congress electoral performance and its policies in Mizoram during 2008-2013.

1.8 Objectives of the Study:

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To examine the electoral strategies of the Congress party in the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections during 2008.
- 2. To study the policies and programmes of the Congress government during 2008-2013.
- 3. To anlayse the achievements of the Congress government during 2008-2013.

1.9 Research Questions:

- 1. What are the strategies adopted by the Congress party during the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections of 2008?
- 2. What were the policies and programmes initiated by the Congress government during 2008-2013?
- 3. What are the achievements of the Congress party during the period from 2008-2013?

1.10 Methodology:

The present study is qualitative in nature. It employed historical, descriptive and analytical approach to study the Congress party in Mizoram. The study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data are collected by using interview method. Nine important leaders of the Congress party including the President who is also the Chief Minister of Mizoram were interviewed in order to get first-hand account of the party and its strategies during the election particularly in the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 2008 and 2013. The former Education Minister, Parliamentary Secretary and the Secretary for Education Department were also interviewed to understand the subject. The former and present Minister for Agriculture, former Minister of Health & Family Welfare and Trade & Commerce and present Sports & Youth Services Minister were interviewed to have first-hand information of their concerned department. The President of Mizo National Front (MNF), Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Senior Vice President of the Mizoram People's Conference (MPC) were interviewed to understand the views and perspectives of the opposition parties on various policies and programme of the Congress party. Moreover, ten beneficiaries of different trades (auto rickshaw, beauty parlour, dairy farming, desktop publishing, petty trade, piggery, poultry and wet rice cultivation) of the party's flagship programme— the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) are conducted to understand the importance and effectiveness of the scheme. Some government officials were interviewed to understand the policies and programmes initiated by the Congress government. In addition to it, leaders of the students' organizations like Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP), Mizo Students Union (MSU) were interviewed to understand their opinion and

perspectives on the performance of the Congress Government. All together, the scholar interviewed (25 persons) to get first hand information on the subject.

Secondary data includes government records like gazette notification, assembly proceedings, books, newspaper, magazines, journals, pamphlets, election manifestos, party records, etc. The scholar used descriptive and content analysis to analyse the collected literatures in order to have an insight into the subject of

1.11 Chapterisations:

Chapter-I: Introduction.

The first chapter studies the historical background of the Indian National Congress in Mizoram along with their organisational structure, constitution of the party, aims and objectives, etc. It also incorporate the profile of Mizoram, review of literature, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, methodology, etc.

Chapter-II: Electoral Performance

The second chapter discusses the electoral politics of the Congress party in Mizoram during the period from 2008-2013. It covers the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 2008.

Chapter-III: Policies, Programmes and its Implementation

The third chapter discusses the policies, programmes and schemes launched and adopted by the Congress government during the period. It examines the party's flagship programme, i.e. the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) in particular and other policies in general.

Chapter-IV: Achievement of the Congress party

The fourth chapter examines the Congress government achievements in various fields, especially in the sphere of education, health, youth affairs and sports and trade and commerce.

Chapter-V: Summary and Conclusion

The last chapter summarizes the study and finding.

Chapter-II

Electoral Performance

The second chapter discusses the elections in Mizoram. The chapter is broadly divided into four main themes—the historical background of election in Mizoram, electoral strategies, election manifestos and election results. The historical background of election in Mizoram includes the initiative taken up by A.R.H. Mac Donald, the then Superintendent of Lushai Hills while introducing a representative body in the Lushai Hills District known as District Conference in 1946. It was later upgraded to the status of District Council and came to be known as Lushai Hills District Council. The chapter also discusses the elections during the District Council, Union Territory and post-statehood period up to the election of the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 2008. Its main focus is on the electoral performance of the Congress party.

2.1 Elections in Mizoram

The electoral politics of the Lushai Hills (the present Mizoram) begin with the formation of District Conference at the end of 1946 under the initiatives of the then Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, A.R.H. Mac Donald. The Superintendent believed that the Conference can assist him in the matters of administration of the Lushai Hills by giving advice to him. The Superintendent of the Lushai Hills also realised during the time that Indian independence is approaching, so he wanted to initiate some measures for the welfare and development of the Mizo. So, the then Superintendent called the representatives of the ruling chiefs and common people for a conference and drew up a plan for the future constitutional set up of the Lushai Hills which would have maximum

¹ P. Lalnithanga. (2006). *Political Developments in Mizoram*. Aizawl: P.Lalnithanga. p.10.

autonomy. The proposed area includes a part of Burma and would have access to the sea in the Bay of Bengal. The initiative was popularly known as Mac Donald Plan.²

During the time, the Cabinet Mission had reached in India in 1946 and started working for handing over the Indian administration to the Indian. At that point of time, the Cabinet Mission recommended that there should be an Advisory Committee for the rights of the citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas.³ On the basis of the recommendation of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly set up an Advisory Committee on 24th January, 1947. After the Indian Constitution was brought into force, the immediate formation of the District Council in the hills district was not possible. So, the government initiated to set up an Interim Advisory Council in the hills districts of Assam. In the meantime, the Mizo Union (the first political party in the then Lushai Hills) formulated their plan for the Advisory Council. According to the plan of the Mizo Union, the District Conference would have 40 members, 20 would represent the chiefs and the remaining 20 would be from the commoners. Subsequently, the election to Advisory Council for electing the chief representatives took place on 23rd March, 1948. An Advisory Council election for the commoner representatives was held on 15th April, 1948 on the basis of adult franchise. In the Advisory Council election, the chief

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² R.N. Prasad. (1987). *Government and Politics in Mizoram*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre. p.76.

³'Excluded Areas' were the tracts where any advanced form of government was not a possibility because of backwardness of the area. These areas were administered by the Governor himself. The excluded areas include North East Frontier Tract, Sadiya, Balipara and Lakhimpore, the Naga Hills District and the Lushai Hills District. In the case of 'partially excluded areas' discussion in the Legislative Assembly was not barred. It was allowed with the previous permission of the Governor. The Partially Excluded Areas include North Cachar Hills in the Cachar District, the Garo Hills District, the Mikir Hills in the Nowgong and Sibsagar District, the British portion of the Khasi and Jantia Hills, other than Shillong municipality and the cantonment. [(in V. Venkata Rao, H. Thansanga and Niru Hazarika. (1987). A Century of Government and Politics in North-East India, Volune III- Mizoram. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company (Pvt). Ltd. p.29)].

representatives were elected by the chiefs and the commoner representatives were elected by the commoners.⁴

The elected members of the District Conference were both from Aizawl and Lunglei areas. From Aizawl area, there were 26 elected members including 13 from chiefs' representatives and 13 from commoners' representatives. There were 14 elected members from Lunglei area, seven were from chiefs' representative and another seven from commoners' representatives. The first meeting of the District Conference was held on January 10, 1946 under the chairmanship of the Superintendent, A.R.H. Mac Donald. The Advisory Council changed its nomenclature to Advisory Committee in 1949, which functioned till 1951.⁵

It is important to mention here that prior to British annexation of the then Lushai Hills, chieftainship was the only form of government and administration in the Lushai Hills. Every village was under the rule and control of the chief. The chiefs were the supreme ruler in their own territory. The institution of chieftainship was strongly embedded in the traditional Mizo culture and customary laws. The advent of the British into Lushai Hills brought many changes into the political lives of the Lushai. As a result of the second military expedition carried out by the British in 1889-90, the whole Lushai Hills was annexed to British for administrative purpose. 6 During the time, political activity was prohibited in the district. But the closeness of Japanese troops in Burma and the political enslavement of the Mizo people at the hands of the Superintendent and the chiefs' however brought a lot of political consciousness and awakening in the district. It also influenced the educated Mizo youth politically, who do not want to hand over the

⁴ P. Lalnithanga, *op.cit*, p.11.

⁵ *Ibid*, p.12.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.9.

powers to the Mizo chiefs by the British. As a result, they took permission from the Superintendent to form a political party. The first political party was named as Mizo Union and was formed in 1946 to voice the people's aspirations. In 1947, when the Indian Independence Act came into existence, the Mizo Union was told about the incorporation of the Mizo Hills with the state of Assam. Later, the Mizo Union also decided to remain with Assam as a part of it and sent its assent to the Governor of Assam.⁷

2.1.1 Electoral Politics in Lushai Hills

The Mizo Union dominated the politics of the Lushai Hills. The Mizo Union controls the electoral politics of the Lushai Hills since the adoption of the constitution of the Lushai Hills District Advisory Council in 1948. The total strength of the Lushai Hills District Advisory Council was 35. Out of the total 35 seats, ten seats were reserved for the chiefs and 25 seats were for the commoners. From the commoner seats, 20 seats were treated as general seats, three seats for towns and two seats for women. During the period, there was another political party known as United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO) which was established on 5th July, 1947. The Mizo Union won the election in the District Advisory Council which was held in 15th April, 1948. The Mizo Union secured 23 out of 25 seats and the remaining two seats were won by the UMFO.

The first Lushai Hills District Council comprises of 24 members (18 elected and 6 nominated seats). The first election to the Lushai Hills District Council was held on 4th

⁷ R.N. Prasad and A.K. Aggarwal. (1991). *Political and Economic Development of Mizoram*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications. p.5.

⁸ Venkata Rao, et.al, op.cit, p.159.

⁹ R.N. Prasad. (1987), op.cit. p.101.

January, 1952 in which the Mizo Union won 17 out of 18 seats. ¹⁰ The UMFO also contested in all the 18 seats of the Lushai Hills District Council Election 1952. The only winning candidate from UMFO was Pachhunga from Circle of Constituency-I. ¹¹ The Mizo Union formed the Executive Committee (government) in the Lushai Hills District Council with Lalsawia as the Chief Executive Member (CEM), Hrangaia and F. Sangkunga as Executive Members. Dr. Rosiama, the nominated member was elected as the first Chairman and Tuikhurliana as Deputy Chairman. Bishnuram Medhi, the then Chief Minister of Assam inaugurated the Lushai Hills District on 26th April, 1952 at Aizawl. After two years, the Lushai Hills District change its nomenclature to Mizo Hills District as per the Lushai Hills District (Change of Name) Act, 1954 of the Indian Parliament. ¹²

The second District Council Elections were held in 25th January, 1957. Four political parties namely—the Mizo Union, the Mizo Union (Right), the United Mizo Freedom Organization (UMFO) and the Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU) were contested in the election. The Mizo Union managed to win 13 seats while the UMFO captured seven seats, the Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union got two seats and the Mizo Union (Right) failed to win a seat in the 24 member house (22 elected and two nominated seats). The Mizo Union formed an Executive Committee with Ch. Saprawnga as Chief

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¹⁰ There were six nominated seats in the Lushai District Council Elections.

¹¹ R. Vanlawma. (1989). Ka Ram leh Kei. Aizawl: M.C. Lalrinthanag. p.221 &224.

¹² *Ibid*, p.238.

¹³ V. Venkata Rao, et.al, op.cit, p.183.

Executive Member.¹⁴ During the period, the UMFO merged into Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU) in 1958.¹⁵

The District Council completed its normal tenure of five years and so the third Lushai Hills District Council Elections were held in 5th February, 1962. ¹⁶ During the time, two political parties were established in the Mizo Hills, namely—the Congress party (1961) and the Mizo National Front (1966). In the election, five political parties (the Mizo Union, the PLTU, EITU, the Congress party and the MNF) contested the election. ¹⁷ The Mizo Union captured 16 seats, EITU won two seats, the PLTU got two seats and two independent candidates also won the elections. Thus, the Mizo Union continued to rule the District Council and Ch. Saprawnga became the Chief Executive Member for the second time. Ch. Saprawnga continued in the office till he resigned from the post due to internal conflict among the members of the party on 30th April, 1963. H.K. Bawihchhuaka was installed in his place and occupied the office till the next District Council election took place. In the meantime, insurgency broke out in the Mizo Hills from 1966. The insurgency in the Mizo Hills was led by the Mizo National Front (MNF) with its leader Laldenga. As a result, election to the District Council cannot be held in 1967. Consequently, the tenure of the District Council was extended upto 1970. 18

The long overdue election to the District Council was held on 24th April, 1970. The Congress, the Mizo Union and some independent contested the election. The Mizo

¹⁴ R. Vanlawma, *op.cit*, p.243.

¹⁵ L.H. Chhuanawma, Lalthakima and Lal Lawmzuali. (2015). *Government and Politics of Mizoram*. Guwahati: Scientific Book Center, p.135.

¹⁶ V. Venkata Rao, et. al, op cit, p. 183.

¹⁷ The Congress party in Mizoram was formed in the Mizo District of Assam (the present Mizoram) on 10th August, 1961 at Aizawl. (As cited in L.H. Chhuanawma, et.al, *op.cit*, p.173). The Mizo National Front (MNF) was formed on 22nd October, 1961 at Aizawl. (As cited in L.H. Chhuanawma, et.al, *op.cit*, p.154). ¹⁸ R.N. Prasad, *op.cit*, p.105.

Union lost the fourth and the last District Council Election to the Congress party. In the election, the Congress captured 10 seats whereas the Mizo Union managed to secure nine seats and three seats were won by independent candidates. Out of 24 seats, 22 seats were elected directly and two were nominated seats. With the help of three independent candidates, the Mizo District Council government was formed by the Congress for the first time on 2nd June, 1970. Zalawma was elected as the Chief Executive Member. Within short period of time, internal factionalism within the Congress was erupted. As a result, the Congress government in the Mizo District Council was unstable. The Mizo Union took the advantage of the unstable political situation and formed a coalition Executive Committee with some Congress members which were headed by Ch. Chhunga as the Chief Executive Member in 1971. The Mizo Union formed an Executive Council in the Mizo District Council (with a break a one year in 1970) from 1952 to 1970. These clearly indicate that the whole electoral scene in the erstwhile Lushai Hills District Council was overwhelmly dominated by the Mizo Union party.

2.1.2 Electoral Politics in Union Territory era

The Mizo Hills District Council under the Assam government was upgraded to the status of Union Territory in 21st January, 1972. As a result, the first Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Election was held on 18th April, 1972. There were 30 members in the Mizoram Union Territory Assembly.²¹ In the election, the Mizo Union captured 21 seats, the Congress party won six seats and the remaining three seats went to independent candidates. The Socialist Party and the Mizo Labour Party failed to win any seat. The Mizo Union formed the first Union Territory government of Mizoram. Ch. Chhunga

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¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.107.

²⁰ L.H. Chhuanawma, et. al, *op.cit*, p. 128.

²¹ V. Venkata Rao, et. al, op cit, p.102.

became the first Chief Minister of Union Territory of Mizoram. The ministry headed by Ch. Chhunga lasted its full term of five year. The Assembly Election was due in 1977, however, it was not held on account of the prevailing law and order problems caused by the MNF insurgency and counter-insurgency measures launched by the Indian army. For the first time in the history of Mizoram, President's Rule was declared in Mizoram on 11th May, 1977 under Article 356 of the Indian Constitution. The President's Rule lasted more than one year and continued till 1st June, 1978.²²

The second Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections were held on 17th and 20th May, 1978 under the President's rule.²³ Five political parties (Congress [I], People's Conference, Mizo Union, Janata Party and Mizo Democratic Front) were in the election fray. In the elections, the People's Conference (P.C.)²⁴ captured 22 seats, the Congress won four seats, Janata Party got one seats and three seats were won by independent candidates. However, the Mizo Union (post-merger factional group) and the Mizo Democratic Front did not win even a single seat. The People's Conference (PC) party formed the government (between 2nd June, 1978 to 10th November, 1978) but it did not last long due to the defection of eight PC MLA's. The PC Ministry was headed by Brigadier (Rtd.) Thenphunga Sailo as Chief Minister. On the advice of the Chief Minister, President's Rule was imposed and the Lt. Governor dissolved the Mizoram Assembly on 10th November, 1978.

The President's Rule continued in the Lushai Hills between 10th November, 1978 to 8th May, 1979. During the President's Rule, the third Mizoram State Legislative

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²² L.H. Chhuanawma, et. al, op.cit, p.204.

²³ *Ibid.* p.326.

²⁴ The P.C. was formed at Aizawl on 17th April, 1975 under the leadership of a retired Brigadier of Indian Army Thenphunga Sailo. The People's Conference (now Mizoram People's Conference) owed its origin in the formation of Human Rights Committee in 1974. (As cited in L.H. Chhuanawma, et.al, p.144)

Assembly Elections were held in 24th & 27th April, 1979. In the elections, the People's Conference managed to win 18 seats, the Congress got five seats, the break-away faction of the People's Conference (B) secured four seats, the Janata party managed to win two seats and one independent candidate also won. Parties like Mizo Union (post-merger factional group) and Mizo Democratic Front again fail to win even a single seat. After the elections, PC Ministry was formed with Brig. Thenphunga Sailo as Chief Minister from 8th May, 1979 and continued till 4th May, 1984.²⁵ This time, the PC Ministry headed by Brig. Thenphunga Sailo lasted its full term of five years.

The fourth Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections were held in 15th April, 1984. ²⁶ Five political parties (Congress, PC, Mizo Union, Mizo Convention and Mizo Peace Forum) and independent candidates contested the Assembly elections. In the election, the Congress captured 20 seats, the People's Conference won eight seats, the Mizo Convention secured one seat and one seat went to an independent candidate. The Mizo Union (post-merger factional group) and the Mizo Peace Forum failed to win a seat. The Congress won the election on the promise that the party will bring peace and normalcy in Mizoram after 20 years of insurgency in the state. The Congress for the first time forms its first government during the Union Territory period. The Congress government was headed by Lal Thanhawla as Chief Minister. After being in power for about two years and three months, the Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla demitted his office in order to make way for the Mizo National Front (MNF) leader Laldenga to become Chief Minister on 21st August, 1986. This was possible after the signing of 'Memorandum of Settlement' between the MNF and Government of India

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²⁵ L.H. Chhuanawma, et. al, op.cit, p.205.

²⁶ V. Venkata Rao, et. al, op cit, p.332.

(popularly known as Mizoram Peace Accord) on 30th June, 1986. As a consequence, the MNF and the Congress party joined hands and formed an interim coalition government on 21st August, 1986. The coalition government was formed with Laldenga as the Chief Minister and Lal Thanhawla as the Deputy Chief Minister.²⁷ The interim government was formed to fill the gap before the State Legislative Assembly Elections to be held in 1987. The interim government (right from its formation) started the preparation for the first Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Election to be held within six month.

2.1.3 Electoral Politics in post-Statehood era

The first Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Election was held on 16th February, 1987. The election was contested by five political parties, namely—the Congress, MNF, PC, Mizo National Union and Chakma Jatiya Parisad. In the election, the MNF won 24 out of 40 seats. The Congress managed to secure 13 seats and the Mizoram People's Conference (earlier PC) got three seats. The Mizo National Union and Chakma Jatiya Parisad however failed to win a seat. The MNF party formed the government and Laldenga was sworn in as the first Chief Minister of Mizoram (in post-Statehood era) on 20th February, 1987. It was on this day, Mizoram became a full-fledged state of the Indian Union. The first MNF Ministry did not last long due to intrafactionalism within the party. Within barely 19 months of being in power, eight ruling MLA's revolted against the Laldenga leadership. The revolted MLA's were not happy for not giving them Ministerial berth. The conflict in the party led to the split of the party into two groups—MNF and MNF (D) (D means democratic). As a result, the MNF did not have the majority in the Assembly. Ultimately, the Union government imposed

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²⁷ L.H. Chhuanawma, et. al, *op.cit*, p.190.

President's Rule in Mizoram on 7th September, 1988 till the second Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections were held in 1989.²⁸

In the second Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held on 22nd November, 1989, the Congress won 23 seats, the MNF secured 14 seats, the MNF (D) also got two seats and the MPC managed to win one seat respectively. The Congress and the MNF (D) formed a pre-poll alliance which was the first pre-poll alliance for any assembly election in Mizoram. Though the MNF (D) managed to win only two seats, it helps the Congress in forming the government. Therefore, a Congress Ministry headed by Lal Thanhawla was formed on 24th January, 1989.²⁹ In other words, Lal Thanhawla became the Chief Minister of Mizoram for the second time in 1989.

In the third Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held on 30th November, 1993, there was pre-poll alliance between the Congress and the Mizoram Janata Dal (MJD) in which they agreed to put up common candidates on 24 assembly constituencies (12 seats for Congress and 12 seats for MJD) and the remaining 16 seats were opened for friendly contest between the two alliance partners. The Congress won 16 seats, the MNF got 14 seats and the MJD secured eight seats and two seats went to independent candidates. In the election, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) also contested the election, but failed to win any seat. The INC-MJD alliance formed a coalitiongovernment which was headed by Lal Thanhawla as Chief Minister. Within a short period of time, five of the MJD MLA's broke away from the party and formed a new party called the Mizoram Janata Dal (R) on 11th May, 1994 which was headed by

²⁸ P. Lalnithanga, *op.cit*, p.180.

²⁹ L.H. Chhuanawma, et. al. *op.cit*, p.209.

Lalthankunga. Thus, the MJD Ministers were dropped from Lal Thanhawla's Ministry. ³⁰ The factionalism in the MJD did not affected the ministry. As a result, the ministry lasted its normal tenure of five years.

The fourth Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Election was held on 25th November, 1998. In the election, there was a pre-poll alliance between the MNF and the MPC. The MNF and MPC contested in 20 seats as a partner and had friendly contest in another 20 seats. In the election, the MNF captured 21 seats, the MPC got 12 seats, the Congress managed to win only six seats and one independent candidate also got elected. The MNF (N)³¹, Citizens' Common Front, BJP, Janata Dal, Samata Party, Lok Sakti and Rashtriya Janata Dal failed to win any seats. The MNF and MPC coalition government was installed on 3rd December, 1998 with Zoramthanga (the MNF President) as Chief Minister and the MPC leader Lalhmingthanga as Deputy Chief Minister. The coalition government however lasted for just a year because the MPC was pull out of the coalition ministry. With the exit of the MPC MLA's from the coalition ministry, the strength of the MNF Ministry became 22 with the support of one independent MLA.³² The MNF Ministry led by Zoramthanga continued to last its normal tenure because they have the majority of its own in the Assembly. Thus, a MNF Ministry continued to last its term.

In the fifth Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held on 20th November, 2003, the MNF won 21 seats, the Congress got 12 seats, the MPC secured three seats, the Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP) for the first time managed to win two seats, Hmar Peoples' Convention and Mara Democratic Front also won one seat each.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.191.

³² P. Lalnithanga, op.cit, p.185.

³¹ MNF (Nationalist) or MNF (N) was forced by Lalduhoma on 20th March, 1997.

Parties like Ephraim Union, BJP, Janata Dal (United), Communist Party of India and independent candidates also contested in the elections but failed to win any seats.³³ The MNF managed to form government for its second term and Zoramthanga was inducted as Chief Minister for the second time. The MNF complete its term of five years till 2008.

2.2 Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Election 2008

It can be mentioned here that during 1998-2008, Congress (I) was sitting in the opposition bench. During the time, Congress party faced intra-factionalism within the party and some of the prominent leaders of the party also left the organisation. Some senior and eminent Congress leaders had lost their faith in Lal Thanhawla's leadership and they left the party. For example, a senior Congress leader J. Lalsangzuala and many other leaders left the party and formed a new party known as Mizoram Congress Party (MCP) in 2005.³⁴ It was during this crucial period of the Congress, the sixth Mizoram State Assembly Elections were held on 2nd December, 2008. With all the problems, the Congress however managed to come back and swept the sixth Assembly elections. In fact, the Congress won 32 out of 40 seats. The rest of the seats were shared among various political parties, the MNF won only three seats, the MPC captured two seats, Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP)³⁵ got two seats respectively. The Mara Democratic Front (MDF), the alliance partner of the MNF managed to win one seat from Palak

³³ Directorate of Election. (2003). *Fifth General Election to the Mizoram Legislative Assembly*, 2003, *Statistical Handbook*. Mizoram: Directorate of Election. p.(2).

³⁵ The MNF (N) formed by Lalduhoma on 1997 was re-christened its name as Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP) on 29th June, 2000. (in L.H. Chhuanawma, et. al, *op.cit*, p.164).

constituency (southern part of Mizoram). Other parties like BJP, Janata Dal, JD (U), Lok Bharti, Lok Janshakti and independent candidate did not win any seat.³⁶

The total valid vote polled in the sixth Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections—2008 was 502956. Out of the total vote polled, the Congress secured 195614 votes. The Congress got a vote share of 38.89% in the Assembly Elections 2008. The Congress rival party's the MNF party got 154132 votes (30.63%). The difference in vote share between the Congress and MNF was 41482 votes (8.23%). The MPC party received a vote share of 52222 (10.38%), while the ZNP got 51403 (10.22%) of vote share from the total vote polled. The national parties like BJP obtain 2222 (0.44%), while the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) received a vote share of 538 (0.11%), which become the lowest vote share in the Assembly Elections 2008. The registered unrecognized parties like Janta Dal (United) secured 196 (0.04%) votes, whereas the Lok Janshakti Party (LJP) got a vote share of 3307 (0.66%). Another registered unrecognised parties like Lok Bharati received 432 (0.09%) votes from the total valid vote polled. The Maraland Democratic Front (MDF), a registered unrecognized parties who contested only in Palak constituency obtain 4206 (0.84%) from the total votes. The 33 independents candidates from different constituencies got 38684, which account for 7.69% from the total votes polled.³⁷ Thus, a Congress Ministry headed by Lal Thanhawla was installed on 11th December, 2008 after almost 10 years of MNF ruled.

³⁶ Directorate of Election. (2008). *Sixth General Election to the Mizoram Legislative Assembly*, 2008, *Statistical Handbook*. Mizoram: Directorate of Election, Government of Mizoram. p.81.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.76.

2.3 Electoral Strategies

In every election, electoral strategy plays an important role in order to have effective campaign and to popularise the policies, programmes and manifestos during the elections. The success or failure of the party in the election (also winning or lossing of the candidates in the election) is largely determined by the electoral strategies it adopted. There are different types of electoral strategies followed all over the world. Political parties consider the political mindset of the electorate, the electoral strategies of the other party, election manifestos of other parties, etc. in order to have effective electoral strategy. The political parties and the candidates should be aware of the party preparedness level in order to handle and carry election campaign including campaigning in the state, visiting constituency, public meeting, etc. They should be conscious of the strength and advantages of the party, the chance and probability of winning the elections by the candidates. The voting behavior of the voters also needs to be understood and the electoral strategies should focus in order to attract the voters, to identify their problems and to understand the mindset of the voters in the elections.

Coming to the electoral strategy of the Congress party in Mizoram, the strategies adopted by the Congress party includes—house to house campaign, public meeting, publicising and exposing the election manifesto of the party, motivating and inspiring the voters, etc. According to R. Lalzirliana [(Minister for Home, Rural Development, etc.) the Vice President of the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, who was elected for the fourth time (1998-till date) from the same constituency (Tawi/ Saitual)] the Mizo people did not have good political awareness and fail to understand the nature of politics including the religious men. He stated that the Congress being the ruling party at the

Centre (then) and the Congress as a national party plays an important role in the election. The people consider the Congress party as a party for the people, and had a great faith on the party. He added that Lal Thanhawla as the President of the party and as a Chief Minister had attracted the Mizo people in the election. He even claimed that there is no leader who can challenge Lal Thanhawla in his place. He further added that the Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla demitted his office in order to make way for the MNF leader Laldenga to become Chief Minister on 21st August, 1986 after signing of the 'Memorandum of Settlement' between the MNF and Government of India (popularly known as Mizoram Peace Accord) was remarkable and praiseworthy.³⁸

Regarding the party strategies on the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 2008 after sitting in opposition bench for two consecutive terms', he stated that the poor performance of then government (MNF government) in 1998-2008 was experienced by the people and make it easy for the party preparation for the said elections. According to him, the important strategies adopted by the party before election was that the party was very careful in selecting and choosing candidates from potential youth leaders, educated and dynamic leaders, which led to the success of the party in the assembly elections held in 2008.³⁹

Contrary to R. Lalzirliana, another Congress leader H. Liansailova, (Finance Minister in 2008-2013) Treasurer of the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, stated that the Mizo people have good political awareness when compare with other states. He stated that though campaign and strategies took place, the reliability and the potential of the candidate and also the faith of the people towards the candidate is more important in

³⁸ Interviewed by the scholar on 11th July, 2017 (PM) at his residence on Armed Veng, Aizawl.

the election. He argued that (for the party and the candidates) face to face contact with the people, publicising the propaganda of the party and sharing the views with the people is some of the important strategy of the party for elections. According to him, there is no difference between the strategies of the ruling party and the opposition party in its preparation for the election and hard work is the most important part in the election strategy.⁴⁰

On the issue of the voting behavior of the Mizo people, Liansailova, who was elected twice (2003 and 2008ss) from the same constituency (Aizawl North-II) expressed that the Mizo people had a great faith in a visionary leader like Lal Thanhawla. The people had appreciated the initiative of Lal Thanhawla for establishing peace and the sacrifice for his position for peace settlement. In appreciation of his work, the people rewarded him as Chief Minister for fifth term and put their trust on his leadership. Also, many of the policies and programme are pro-poor and to remove poverty (the NLUP ⁴¹ in particular) from the state. According to him, unity within the party became very crucial in the election. He claimed that the Congress Ministry (1993-1998) falls because of the anti-incumbency factors and due to rift within the party. The MNF Ministry (1998-2008) fails to win due to anti-incumbency factor and alleged corruption-scandal. With unity and hard work in the party, the Congress managed to win an absolute majority in the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly elections of 2013 after sitting in opposition for two consecutive terms. Moreover, the manifesto of the party to remove poverty was

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⁴⁰ Interviewed with the scholars on 19th July, 2017 at his residence Bawngkawn, Aizawl.

⁴¹ New Land Use Policy (NLUP) is the flagship programme of the Congress government.

appreciated and thus won the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections of 2013 with a landslide victory. 42

Most of the Congress leaders expressed more or less similar views on the election strategies of the party. According to R.L. Vala (ex-Minister), General Secretary (General Administration Department) of the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, the Congress party is trusted by the Mizo people because of Lal Thanhawla's leadership who always fulfilled his promises to the people. He also added that the Congress party had a concrete and solid policy for the people while the other parties in Mizoram failed to produce a concrete policy. He expressed that the New Land Use Policy (NLUP), promised by the party before the election for the welfare and benefit of the farmers became one of the keystone in the landslide victory in the election. He also added that the performance of the Congress government (2008-2013) was appreciated by the people. The electorate rewarded the party in the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections of 2013 by giving 34 out of 40 seats, which became the highest record till date in the election history of Mizoram.⁴³

According to Lalhmachhuana, President, National Students Union of India (NSUI) Mizoram and ex-President of Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) in 2013-2015, politician needs to be hard work and efficient, rendered his service to the people and should have good political awareness in order to become success in politics. He argued that a politician need to be recognised by the people and should have the principles of secularism, fraternity and equality to the people in order to be elected in the elections. He stated that the role and strategies adopted by the ruling party have a positive implication

42 Ibid

⁴³ R.L. Vala was interviewed by the Scholars on 19th July, 2017 at Congress Bhavan, Aizawl, Mizoram.

in the election. He added that the election manifestos did not have a positive impact among the electorates. He argued that the Congress party had good leaders and their leadership quality cannot be compared to other political parties in Mizoram.⁴⁴

2.4 Election Manifesto

The pamphlet or the booklet issued by a political party that stated about its programmes and policies near the election is known as the election manifesto. Every political party goes to fight the battle of ballots with its own declaration in the form of manifesto to woo the voters. The manifesto is considered as crucial in the battle like weapons in a war. However, there is also a cynical among the people because manifestos are hardly implemented in toto. Every party issues manifesto and makes promise to all sections of population to get their votes. It is not necessary that they will fulfill all the promises in the manifesto. But, it is a declaration of intent and indicates what a party thinks about the voter in particular and the people in general. Normally, political party develops a specific manifesto which able to convey all the important thoughts, policies and programmes, aims and political principles of the party. It should be comprehensive and dynamic to keep up with the changing demand of political environment which can affect the state, also country's domestic politics and international relations as well.

The party manifesto act as a communicative tool or intension of the party. It is prepared keeping in mind to get maximum votes by explaining the policies, programmes and aims of the party to the electorate. The manifesto acts as the guideline as well as the mirror of the political party to function for the welfare of the public. A manifesto is a

⁴⁴ Interviewed by the scholars on 11th July, 2017 at Congress Bhavan, Aizawl, Mizoram.

⁴⁵ Asghar Ali Engineer. *Election Manifestos and Minorities: Promises Galore*. Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 33, No. 19 (May 9-15, 1998), pp. 1069-1070.

public declaration of principles and intentions, often political in nature. Election manifestos play an important role in all the countries trying to form the government at the state or at the national level. The party election manifesto can be accepted as the most significant and effective communication tool of the party which contains the plans, strategies and tactics, political thoughts and beliefs on governing the country. 46

The election manifesto of the Congress for the assembly elections held in 2008 can be broadly divided into six parts. They are as follows:-

- 1. Governance
- 2. Education
- 3. Health care
- 4. Sports
- 5. Infrastructure development
- 6. Youth Affairs 47

1. Governance: The first part of the manifesto can be termed as governance. It was place under general services in their manifesto. In the manifesto, they stated that the Mizo's used to be respected and loyal to the government since the time of chieftainship and the British administration in Lushai Hills. After the introduction of democracy in Mizoram, there was a slight difference in our perspective. At present, all the administrative set up and governance are based on vote-bank politics and there is a breakdown of law and order and absence of good principles. Therefore, in order to revive good governance in

⁴⁶ Allanson Wahlang. *Analysis of Political Manifestos through Dalit and Tribe Perspective*. Dalit and Tribal: https://dalitandtribe.wordpress.com/2010/01/21/analysis-of-election-manifestos-of-major-political-parties-in-india. Retrieved on 5th October, 2017.

⁴⁷ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. (2008). *Election Manifesto 2008*. Aizawl: Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee.

Mizoram, the Congress party promised to take necessary actions. Some of them are as follows:-

- i) The Congress pledged to set up State Vigilance Commission as an autonomous body in order to tackle corruption. It also stated that the party will consult the opposition leaders, assembly group leaders and church representatives in the appointment of Chairman and other Member of the Commission in order to prevent the misuse of power. Under Vigilance Commission, a separate forensic department will also be set up.
- ii) The party also vows to consult the opposition leader and assembly group leader in the appointment of Chairman/Chairperson and other Member of Mizoram Public Service Commission in order to ensure transparency in the recruitment process. iii) The Congress made a commitment to set up an Administrative Reforms Commission.
- iv) The Congress manifesto promised to set up Ethic Committee to ensure good governance and reliable government for the public.⁴⁸

The Congress included many good points in their manifesto, however, they failed to implement all their election manifesto like setting up of State Vigilance Commission and Administrative Reforms Commission. Also, in the appointment of Chairman/Chairperson and Member of the State Public Service Commission, the government did not consult the opposition party. The Ethics Committee was set up only by name and they did not perform well as expected.

2. Education: Education is one of the most important sectors in Mizoram. So, the Congress party also emphasizes education in their manifesto under social services sector -

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⁴⁸ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit., p.3.

- i) The party promised to establish Education Reforms Commission in order to deliver quality education to the people.
- ii) Although Mizoram University (MZU) is a central university, the Congress party pledged to give assistance and financial aid to MZU so that the university can improve its status.
 - iii) Research Scholarship will be provided to research scholar.⁴⁹

Education was given priority in every government but significant improvement cannot be observed or positive change is not visible. The Congress government set up the Education Reforms Commission with huge expenditure, but almost all the recommendations are not implemented due to financial constraint of the government. Therefore, much improvement and quality education was not achieved by the Congress government.

- 3. Health Care: The Congress made a commitment under social services that special emphasis will be made with regard to health care. Some of them are given below:
 - i) Health Insurance Scheme will be introduced for the poor.
- ii) Steps should be taken so that Referral Hospital can be utilized by the public and to establish Medical College.
- iii) Special efforts should be taken in laboratory and diagnostic services. District Hospital will be upgraded so that treatment can be held not only in Aizawl. 50

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.13. ⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.14.

The performance of the Congress government with regard to Health care is better when compare with other. The government had initiated steps for health insurance scheme for non-government employee's family and had special scheme for the Below Poverty Line (BPL). The 500-bedded State Referral Hospital which was already abandoned by the previous government was re-structured. As a result, the state Referral Hospital at Falkawn was inaugurated by Chief Minister in December, 2012 in which five departments from Aizawl Civil Hopital were transferred and started functioning in Referral Hospital. In addition to this, the Congress governments try to set up a Medical College at Falkawn and so the government submitted a Detail Project Report (DPR) for the amount of Rs.442.29 crore to the Union Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. Also, many of the district hospitals and Aizawl Civil Hospital have been upgraded and improvement can be seen with the installation and upgradation of sophisticated machines.⁵¹

- **4. Sports:** Sports have been mentioned under social services sector. The Congress party promise to take up many important steps in order to promote sports. They are as follows:
 - i) Mizoram Sports Policy will be frame within a short period.
 - ii) Stadium will be set up in every district headquarters and in big town.
 - iii) Sports and Youth Services Department should be allotted a larger fund.⁵²

The Congress government had done a good work under sports sector. The Congress government set up a fooball stadium at Mualpui, which is in the outskirt of

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⁵¹ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. (2013). 'A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013'. Aizawl: Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. p.22.

⁵² Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit, p.14.

Aizawl city. The football stadium is an international standard size soccer field with artificial turf which was surrounded by eight track race course. The stadium was also use as a home ground for Aizawl Football Club, the Champion of Indian Football League (the top football league in India) in 2016-2017 seasons. Apart from this, artificial turf/ astro turf have been place in many district football ground, hockey stadium and indoor stadiums for various sports discipline have also been constructed and have been utilized in many ways. But the government failed to frame and adopts the sports policy which highlighted in their manifesto.

- **5. Infrastructural Development:** Infrastructural development serves as an important linkage between the state economy and the advancement of the people. The Congress party also highlighted many of the important steps in the name of infrastructural development under economic services sector. They are:
 - i) Power: Some of the important point under power sector are:-
- a) Steps should be taken in order to commission Hydel Project that was initiated during the previous Congress government.
- b) Efforts will be made in non-conventional sources of energy such as solar and wind energy.
 - ii) Communication Roads: Some of the important points include:-
- a) Steps should be taken in order to complete the construction work of World Bank which was initiated during the previous Congress government.

- b) Mizoram Public Works Department (PWD) manual should be amended to suit in the state in order to improve the construction works under PWD.
- iii) River Communication: Steps will be taken in order to foster the works of Kolodyne Multi- Modal Transport Transit Project (KMTTP).
- iv) Railways: Steps should be taken in order to provide large railway services within Mizoram.
 - v) Air Transport: Some of the steps under air transport include:-
- a) With the changing demands, steps will be taken in order to have Cargo Services.
- b) With the implementation of Look East Policy by the Central government, efforts will be made in order to have a new Airport in the Southern parts of Mizoram.⁵³

Mizoram has a potential for generating around 4500 MW of hydro-electricity. The Congress government realized that power is the main driver for development, so the government gave maximum emphasis on power sector when it came back to power on 2008. At present, there are 10 hydro-power projects having a total potential output of 2470 MW that have been finalised for execution and another five projects having a total potential output of 207 MW that are yet to be finalised.⁵⁴ The Congress government was however, heavily criticised for neglecting the poor condition of the road. The Congress government took sincere effort for the availability of railway network up to Sairang (a

⁵³ *Ibid*, p.19.

⁵⁴ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.33.

village in the outskirt of Aizawl), and positive result is visible in this area. But, the Congress government cannot finalise another Airport at the southern part of Mizoram.

- **6. New Environment for the Youth**: The Congress party knew the importance of the youth and so the party promised to take steps for the youth. Some of the steps to be taken are as follows:-
- i) Youth Welfare Commission will be set up for the youth with enormous power and maximum fund.
- ii) Steps will be taken in order to establish Indian Institute of Management (IIM)/
 Indian Institute of Technology (IIT)/ Engineering College or Indian Institute of
 Information Technology (IIIT).
- iii) Coaching Centre will be set up to encourage students and youth in competitive examination with financial support.⁵⁵

The Youth Commission, established by the previous government (MNF government) in 2008 function smoothly and efficiently under the Congress government. The Youth Commission provides training and guidance for the employment of the youth. They also run coaching centre in order to encourage and help the youth in competitive examination. However, the issue of IIM, IIT and IIIT was not materialised. While National Institute of Technology (NIT) was established at Aizawl on 2014 under Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

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⁵⁵ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, *op.cit*, , p.16.

2.5 Election Result

The election to the sixth Mizoram State Legislative Assembly was held on 2nd December, 2008. Various political parties participated in the election. They were—the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Indian National Congress (INC), Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), Mizo National Front (MNF), Mizoram Peoples Conference (MPC) and Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP). In addition to this, registered unrecognized parties like Ephraim Union (EU), Hmar People Convention (HPC), Janata Dal (United) (JDU) and Maraland Democratic Front (MDF) also contested the election. ⁵⁶ In other words, the sixth Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Election 2008, was fought by different political parties including national parties, state parties and registered unrecognized parties. Mizoram Peoples Conference (MPC) and Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP) formed a prepoll alliance under the name of United Democratic Alliance (UDA). At the same time, the ruling party during the time, the Mizo National Front was in alliance with Mara Democratic Front, but confined only to one constituency, i.e, Palak constituency (southern-most part of the country). While, the main opposition parties, i.e. the Congress party fought the election alone and the rest fought the election without any alliance.

The Statistical Report of the General Election to the Sixth Mizoram Legislative Assembly, 2008 highlights that the total number of voters in the Sixth Mizoram Legislative Assembly Election in 2008 were 6,11,618 voters. Out of 6,11,618 electors, the total vote polled was 5,03,665 (82.35%). The total number of women voters include 251147 while the total men voters was 238273, which was lesser than 12874 to women.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Directorate of Election. (2008).General Election to the Sixth Mizoram Legislative Assembly, 2008, Statistical Report, *op.cit*, p.(3).

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.27.

The total numbers of contestant were 207, out of which 197 were men and only nine were women. Candidates with 86 men and five women (total 91) forfeited their deposit in this election.⁵⁸

The counting of votes for the State Legislative Assembly Election, 2008 election began on 8th December, 2008, 8:00 a.m. The overall results were declared on the same day itself (8th December, 2008). The election results surprise the political analyst, party leaders and politician. The Congress party who was the main opposition party in the last two consecutive terms and who had only nine MLA during the time swept the election by winning a thumping majority with 32 out of 40 seats. The number of Congress MLA's were increased by 23 seats which were more than double of its MLA (at that time, Congress MLA were 9), which means that the Congress alone has 80% members in the Assembly. While the then ruling party (the MNF) was decimated and managed to win only three seats and their alliance MDF managed to win one seats respectively. The then Chief Minister of Mizoram Zoramthanga lost in two constituencies. Out of the MNF MLA/ Minister, Dr. R. Lalthangliana was the only one who can retain his seats. The UDA alliance did not perform well as expected and managed to win only four seats, two seats for ZNP and two seats for MPC respectively. No woman was elected in this election.

Among the successful candidates, senior Congress leader Nirupam Chakma from Tuichawng constituency got the maximum vote polled with 10421 (56.44%) out of 22089 and set a record of highest margin of victory (3112 votes) in this election against its rival candidate Mr. Rashik Mohan Chakma from MNF party who scored 7309 votes. The

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.6.

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minimum vote polled was C. Lalbiakthanga, an independent candidate from Lawngtlai East who scored 31 votes (0.20%) out of 15227 votes. The lowest margin of victory happened in Aizawl South-I in which ZNP candidate K. Liantlinga defeated Congress candidate R. Vanlalvena only by 28 votes.⁵⁹

The Congress party comes back with thumping majority in the elections. As a result, Congress formed a new government headed by Lal Thanhawla. This was the fourth times Lal Thanhawla became the Chief Minister of Mizoram. The policies, programmes initiated by the Congress government are discussed in the next chapter.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.6.

Chapter-III

Policies, Programmes and its Implementation

The Congress government headed by Lal Thanhawla initiated various policies and programmes for the overall development of the state. The government implemented both the state and the central government policies to uplift the status of the people of Mizoram. The third chapter studies the policies, programmes and schemes launched and adopted by the Congress government during the period from 2008-2013. It examines the party's flagship programme, i.e. the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) in particular and other policies in various departments such as Education, Health & Family Welfare, Sports & Youth Services and Trade & Commerce Department.

3.1 New Land Use Policy (NLUP)

The New Land Use Policy (NLUP) is a programme initiated by the Congress party to have self sufficiency and permanent occupation for the people of Mizoram. The main objectives of the NLUP are to remove temporary or shifting cultivation and to provide reliable and permanent occupation to the farmer till they become self-sufficient. The scheme envisaged complete abandonment of jhumming cultivation in Mizoram. It is also a policy for poverty alleviation. It became the largest programme initiated by the state government in order to eliminate poverty. The NLUP programme covers a wide range of trades/activities.¹

¹ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR. (2013). *New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers)*. (A Magazine on NLUP). Aizawl: NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR Government of Mizoram. p.8.

The New Land Use Policy was initially known as the Land Use Policy. The Land Use Policy was initiated during 1984-85, but it was not popular during that time. During the time, an amount of Rs. 3,000/- only was given at a time for assistance to start a new trade/activities or as a supporting aid for the ongoing activities. The financial assistance was less and it did not have a significant impact. However, the Congress governments revived the policy during the financial year of 1990/1991 to 1997/1998 in which financial assistance was given up to Rs. 30,000-Rs. 40,000. With the revision and re-structured of the policy, the name of the programme (the Land Use Policy) was also changed in to 'New Land Use Policy' from the year 1990. The officer and staff from Agriculture, Animal Husbandry & Veterinary (AH & Vety), Industry, Sericulture and Economic & Statistics worked together on deputation basis for a particular NLUP programme. There was some impact under the restructured NLUP. However, the government achievement was however not satisfactory. There were many factors responsible for the dissatisfaction, one of them was the absence of proper coordination among various department.²

The Congress government realised that the deputation of different staff in monitoring the NLUP scheme was not good. Therefore, the government decided to have a separate Board for NLUP and different departments will function and carry on their trade and activities under the supervision of the NLUP Board. They believed that it will create a healthy competition among various departments under the NLUP programme and will bring positive results. The Congress party in its election manifesto of 2008 Assembly Elections stated that the New Land Use Policy will be the party's flagship

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² NLUP Implementing Board. (2009). *New Land Use Policy Manual 2009*. Aizawl: NLUP Implementing Board, Government of Mizoram. p.5.

programme if they come to power.³ Therefore, the new Congress Ministry (2008-2013) had set up an NLUP Board under the chairmanship of Chief Minister right after they assumed office.

3.1.1 Organisational Structure

The success and achievement of a policy, programme and scheme is heavily depended on its organisational structure. A good organisational set up leads to proper coordination and management. The NLUP had a proper and good management in terms of its structure. At the top, there is an NLUP Apex Board which is chaired by the Chief Minister, one Vice Chairman appointed by the government (MLA) and the Chief Secretary act as a Member-Secretary. The Ministers, Minister of States, Parliamentary Secretary's, Vice Chairman and Member Secretary of the State Planning Board, Commissioner/ Secretary of the Line Departments and prominent citizens appointed by the government constituted the apex board. The NLUP Implementing Board constitutes the second highest body which is chaired by the Vice Chairman of the NLUP Apex Board and the government appointed Member Secretary not below the rank of Deputy Secretary of the state. The other members of the NLUP Implementing Board comprised of the Chairman and Secretary of Monitoring, Evaluation and Social Audit Cell, the Chairman and Secretary of the Marketing Cell, Director of the Line Departments and prominent citizens appointed by the government.⁵

The government also constitutes District NLUP Implementing Committee at every district of the state. The District NLUP Implementing Committee was chaired by

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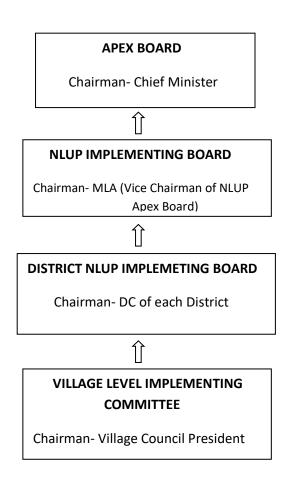
³ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. (2008). *Election Manifesto* 2008. Aizawl: Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. p.23.

⁴ NLUP Implementing Board, New Land Use Policy Manual 2009, op.cit, p.5.

⁵ *Ibid*, p.6.

the Deputy Commissioner of the district and the Chairman will appoint the Secretary. Others members include officer from every Line Departments and prominent citizens and progressive farmers appointed by the government. The Village Level Implementing Committee constitutes the lowest body which set up in every village. The Village Implementing Committee is chaired by the Village Council President (VCP) and the Secretary is appointed by the Board. The Village Council Members and prominent citizens appointed by the Deputy Commissioner of the District composed the Village Level Implementing Committee.⁶

Organisational Structure of NLUP Board



⁶ *Ibid*, p.7.

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3.1.2 Aims and Objectives

The main objective of the NLUP is to provide a reliable and consistent occupation for the welfare of the farmers. The election manifesto of the Congress party stated that it will try to provide subsistence economy for the rural farmers by giving them assistance and financial aids. This programme will also be environment friendly and will help in preservation and protection of the environment. Keeping in view of the above issues for subsistence economy, the aims and objectives of the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) were drafted as follows:

- 1. To eliminate shifting cultivation which is very unproductive.
- 2. To offer agricultural land for the individual farmers and provide permanent means of livelihood through agriculture, industry and animal husbandry sector.
- 3. To convert agricultural land into paddy fields (Wet Rice Cultivation) in order to ensure self-sufficient foods.
- 4. To protect and preserve the forest lands which are not allotted for NLUP programme so that reserved area can be utilised for the future generation of the Mizo. This will also help in maintaining the moderate climatic condition of Mizoram and will be the home for the wildlife.
- 5. To pave way for the market and selling of the items under the NLUP Programme.⁸

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⁷ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, *op.cit*, p.24.

⁸ NLUP Implementing Board, New Land Use Policy Manual 2009, *op.cit*, p.8.

3.1.3 NLUP Targeted Group

The New Land Use Policy has a proper guideline for the selection of beneficiaries. The beneficiaries include only the people of Mizoram who are permanent resident of the state. The policy targeted farmers, unemployed youth and poor families. The targeted group under the NLUP Programme includes:

- 1. Permanent residence of Mizoram having Indian citizenship.
- 2. Family dependent on agricultural activities.
- 3. Family that do not have permanent occupation, but has the will to work.
- 4. Family that are separated by at least one year from their parents
- 5. Programme initiated individually or under Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) which is considered to be reliable for continuance (convergence/ gap filling).⁹

It is important here to mention the areas or activities that are not covered by the programme as NLUP is meant for the poor and those who are engaged in agricultural and allied activities:-

- 1. People having permanent occupation, government servant, workers under deficit school, full-time workers under Mission and company, employers under public and private sector.
- 2. Permanent businessmen, registered contractor and supplier, those engaged on permanent paddy fields (Wet Rice Cultivation), those engaged permanently on farming/rearing, those permanently engaged on industrial trade/activities.

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⁹ *Ibid*, p.9.

- 3. Those beneficiaries who already received assistance and shift to another villages cannot received another assistance
 - 4. Those family that are separate not at least one year from their parent home.
 - 5. Non-Indian citizens. 10

3.1.4 Mode of Assistance

The flagship programme of the Congress—the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) was officially launched on 14th January, 2011 at Aizawl by the Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla.¹¹ The main intension of the NLUP is to alleviate the poor families and to provide permanent occupation for them. The assistance and aid given to the workers should be transparent and even a single penny should not be misused. To achieve its objectives, it mentioned the trade and the assistance it get and there is a Project Report Book for every village in order to ensure transparency within the village. The mode of assistance under New Land Use Policy (NLUP) includes:-

- 1. The assistance and aid under NLUP ranges upto Rs. 1 lakh and can be increase depending upon the needs. Also, the entire scheme should be composite scheme as far as possible. Composite scheme means that besides the trade/activity of their choice, there should be another small trade/activity (subsidiary trade/activity). The assistance should be given according to the calendar of works.
- 2. The assistance under the NLUP scheme is given in installment system according to their trade/activity. All the beneficiaries should sign their undertaking to the

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¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.9.

¹¹ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers), *op.cit*, p.8.

scheme and the officer in-charge of the government should also give his signature. As the NLUP is designed to have a significant impact, those who misused their assistance from the government should repay their assistance. If they failed to pay back their assistance, Public Demand Recovery Act, 2001 will be enforced.

- 3. If the assistance is given in cash, it should be registered in NLUP Progress Chart in which the beneficiaries, the payer and the observer should give their signature.
- 4. The mode of payment should be decided by the Implementing Board/ Apex Board and further decision can be made by the authority. Also, it should seek way for payment through Bank.
- 5. If the assistance is to be given in cash in the village, then the Village Council President (VCP) and the Village level NLUP Committee is entrusted to disburse the assistance and they should also give their signature. If there is any misused of the assistance, the responsible person should be penalised. The Implementing Board/Apex Board member should monitor the disbursement as far as possible.
- 6. The assistance will be given either in cash or in kind. The Board can decide the disbursement of fund through Bank if it is more convenient for that particular block or village.
- 7. If the assistance is given either in cash or in kind, the department should maintain the APR/Voucher from the beneficiaries and a photocopy should be send to the Implementing Board. The beneficiaries should be given Vikas Patrika (Account Book for the beneficiaries) in which the beneficiaries should maintain and any officer or staff under NLUP can monitor and audit the account book. The account book should records

the trade item, the amount given and date of payment. The beneficiaries, the government official and the Village Council or any other entrust should give their signature.

8. The other installment should be given according to the performance of the beneficiaries. If it is misused and altered in other purpose, the other installment should be banned and the beneficiaries should pay back the advance it received from the government.

9. The concerned director should supervise and audit the assistance given through his department at the end of the year and should send the Utilisation Certificate/Completion Certificate to the Chairman, Implementing Board in the month of April every year. 12

3.1.5 Trade/Activities under NLUP

The project for NLUP is taking up by eight departments [Agriculture, Animal Husbandry & Veterinary (AH & Vety), Environment Forest & Climate Change (EF&CC), Fisheries Department, Horticulture, Industries (now Commerce & Industries), Sericulture, Soil & Water Conservation] at the beginning. But the trade/activities for urban poor under the Industry Department are taken over by Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Department (UD & PA). The UD&PA Department covers 10 trade/activities for urban people under NLUP. ¹³ They are known as NLUP Line Department. They are—Agriculture, Animal Husbandry & Veterinary (AH & Vety), Environment Forest & Climate Change (EF & CC), Fisheries Department, Horticulture, Industries (now Commerce & Industries), Sericulture, Soil & Water Conservation and

¹² NLUP Implementing Board, New Land Use Policy Manual 2009, *op.cit*, p.13.

¹³ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers), *op.cit*, p.13.

Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation (UD & PA). The NLUP involves a total amount of Rs. 1525.14 crore and has three component, viz,—Management, Infrastructure and Development Component.¹⁴

Under the New Land Use Policy, the beneficiaries can select trade/activities, but the trade and activities selection will be on the basis of the recommendation of the department expert. A Marketing Cell is set up and so it is believed that the trade under NLUP will not face marketing problems. It can be noted here that the NLUP is a composite scheme, the trade/activities should be design according to the traditional method (Mizo) and subsidiary trade/activity like piggery, poultry, etc are emphasized. The trades/activities under NLUP include:-15

- 1. Agriculture Department
 - i) Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC)
- ii) Hill Terracing

iii) Sugar Cane

- iv) Red Oil Palm
- 2. Animal Husbandry & Veterinary Department
 - i) Dairy Cow Farming
- ii) Piggery
- iii) Hill Cattle/Mithun Rearing
- iv) Goat/Sheep Rearing

- v) Poultry Farming
- 3. Environment Forest & Climate Change Department
 - i) Bamboo Plantation¹⁶

¹⁴ NLUP Implementing Board. *NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP)*. Aizawl: NLUP Implementing Board, Government of Mizoram. p.1.

¹⁵ NLUP Implementing Board, New Land Use Policy Manual 2009, *op.cit*, p.15.

¹⁶ NLUP Implementing Board. (2010). *Calendar of Works for different Trade/Activities under New Land Use Policy*. Aizawl: NLUP Implementing Board, Government of Mizoram. p.14.

4. Fishery Department-

i) Pisciculture

5. Horticulture Department-

- i) Passion Fruit ii) Grapes
- iii) Mandarin Orange & Banana iv) Aloe Vera & Banana
- v) Squash vi) Arecanut
- vii) Tung (Aleuritis fordii) viii) Pineapple

6. Industries Department-¹⁷

- i) Carpentry & Wood Processing ii) Blacksmithy
- iii) Rice Hulling iv) Chow Making
- v) Petty Trade vi) Agarbati Stick Making
- vii) Tinsmithy viii) Steel Fabrication
- ix) Cane and Bamboo Work x) Draft Wood Processing
- xi) Bakery xii) Handloom
- xiii) Fruit Processing (Home Scale) xiv) Spices Processing

(Home Scale)

- xv) Tea Processing (Home Scale)
- xvi) Auto Rickshaw 2 Strokes & 4 Strokes

7. Sericulture Department-

- i) Mulbery Silk Rearing
- 8. Soil and Water Conservation Department-

¹⁷ The Government of Mizoram clubbed together the Industries Department and Trade & Commerce Department into one Directorate known as Directorate of Commerce & Industries Department on 27.6.2016. [As cited in Directorate of Information and Public Relations. (2017). *Mizoram Today 2017*. Aizawl: Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Government of Mizoram. p.22].

- i) Rubber Plantation ii) Coffee Plantation
- iii) Broom Cultivation
- 9. Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Department ¹⁸
 - i) Beauty Parlour ii) Desktop Publishing
 - iii) Hair Cutting Saloon iv) Automobile Workshop
 - v) Electronic Repairing vi) Knitting
 - vii) Leather & Hood Works viii) Video & Photography
 - ix) Shoe Repairing x) Tailoring

3.1.6 Implementation of the New Land Use Policy

The New Land Use Policy (NLUP) covers 6,025 households through Agriculture Department in order to wean away from the practice of shifting cultivation in the state. As a result, significant increase towards permanent farming system is seen in the state. The decrease in shifting cultivation in terms of hectares has been place at 39.30% in 2013 from 40,792 ha of shifting cultivation area in 2008 to 24,706 ha in 2013. The government has intervened in such a way that 1,840 ha of land has been reclaimed for rice production though settled farming system which has resulted in a significant increase in rice production. It can be noted here that Mizoram was awarded Krishi Karman Award 2011-12 by the Government of India for its achievement in increasing food grain production. ¹⁹

The Animal Husbandry & Veterinary Department (AH & Vety) is another important part of NLUP. Under this department, there are 23,022 beneficiary households. The main trades are poultry farming, piggery, cattle rearing, etc. The objective is to create

¹⁸ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.6.

¹⁹ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. (2013). *A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013*. Aizawl: Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. p.3.

a sustainable livelihood through introduction of improved technology and improved breed of livestock and poultry. A notable achievement in Animal Husbandry & Veterinary Department is that since the official launch of NLUP project in January, 2011, Mizoram Multi-Commodity Producers Cooperative Union (MULCO) has been upgraded and milk production has increased to a satisfactory level. ²⁰

The Environment Forests & Climate Change (EF & CC) Department is involved only in bamboo plantation as far as New Land Use Policy implementation is concerned. The department has given assistance to 2596 households under NLUP from which 5092 ha of land is expected to be covered by bamboo plantation. The department has carried bamboo plantation scheme through the National Bamboo Mission along with the NLUP.²¹

The Fisheries Department covered 2578 beneficiary households in the Phase-I and Phase-II through NLUP project. NLUP fund are utilised for supplying fish seeds, fish net, fish foods and other useful purpose of the beneficiary. Under Fisheries Department, Hatcheries at Tamdil and Thenzawl Fish Seeds Farms are renovated and Hatcheries at Zobawk and Ngengpui are also upgraded through NLUP funds.²²

The Horticulture Department is one of the most favoured departments by NLUP beneficiaries in rural areas. Under Horticulture Department, emphasis has been made on crop farming such as grape, orange, passion fruit, tea, etc. It is plan in such a way that by the time NLUP Phase I, II and III are completed, a total number of 27,000 households would have been given assistance by this department. Floriculture is also given emphasis

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²⁰ *Ibid*, p.8.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.6.

²² *Ibid*, p.9.

for cultivation of anthurium, roses, orchids and other exotic flowers. The Department also acts as facilitator to the cultivators of turmeric, ginger, chilli and other important spices. ²³

It can be mentioned here that the state did not have sufficient power supply to develop big industrial plants. Therefore, the government has made a thrust towards the small and micro industrial sectors which are mainly concentrated in urban areas. As a result, most of the NLUP beneficiary under the Industries Department (now, Commerce & Industries Department) ²⁴ is concentrated in urban areas. The department has a total of 64 trades from which the NLUP beneficiaries can make their choice. The beneficiary under Industry Department is envisaged to be 27,579 household after the completion of Phase-III. The Congress government has given special attention to Bamboo Development Park at Sairang which is undertaken by the Industry Department. During 2009-2010 and 2011-2012, gate and wall fencing were constructed while improvement to roads, water supply, administrative buildings and other important works were executed. ²⁵ These Bamboo Development Park can be utilised properly as Mizoram have a rich resource in bamboo.

The Sericulture Department is concerned with silk production and silkworm rearing. The silk production and silkworm rearing are agro-based. It is easily accessible and reliable, the department take up efforts to help and assist the interest person. With the implementation of NLUP under Sericulture Department, cocoon productions have been increased from 54.6 mt in 2009 to 307 mt in 2012. Also, the productions of silkworm eggs have been increased from 4.30 lakhs to 8 lakhs. The NLUP is a life-saver

²³ *Ibid*, p.4.

²⁴ Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Mizoram Today 2017, *op.cit*, p.22.

²⁵ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.4.

²⁶ Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Mizoram Today 2017, op.cit, p.95.

for this department as it is able to established better infrastructure and assistance to silkworm rearers through NLUP funds.²⁷

Soil and Water Conservation Department is another line department of NLUP. The NLUP has been like a God-send for this department because it gives a new lease of life. With broom, rubber and coffee cultivation trades under its wing, this department is the first among the NLUP line-department to give assistance to NLUP beneficiaries. The total number of beneficiaries that would benefit from this department is 10,444 households. The number could again increase when the 4th and final phase of NLUP is implemented. Broom cultivation has become quite popular under this department. The department has given special attention to rubber plantation as it is felt that Mizoram had a good potential for rubber plantation/industry.²⁸

The Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Department (UD & PA) has taken up the NLUP works from Industry Department since 2013. The UD & PA distributed assistance to NLUP beneficiaries. The Industry Department is engaging in more than 20 trades. The department is confined to give assistance to urban areas in 10 different trades. The department has earmarked Rs. 1490.00 lakhs for NLUP assistance. It has already drawn Rs. 948.00 lakhs for assistance to beneficiaries under Phase-II and Phase-III of the NLUP.²⁹

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²⁷ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.6.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.5.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.10.

3.2 Policies, Programmes and Schemes under Education Department

The Education Department under the Government of Mizoram was established in the year 1973 by the first Union Territory government as a separate directorate. The first Government of Mizoram (1972-1977) was formed with Mr. Ch. Chhunga as Chief Minister and Mr. Vaivenga as Education Minister. The first Union Territory government took a very significant decision to appoint Dr. G.N. Chatterjee, an eminent scholar and educational administrator as the first director of education for Mizoram. It was Dr. Chatterjee who laid the foundation for the new Department of Education under the UT Administration while he served as both Director of Education and ex-officio Secretary to the Government of Mizoram, Department of Education and Social Welfare, etc.³⁰

The Education Department plays an important role in the society. The Congress government initiated policies and programmes under School Education Department. It can be briefly stated as under:-

3.2.1 Education Policy of Mizoram, 2013

The Congress government introduced a new education policy for Mizoram in 2013. The Governor of Mizoram had notified the *Education Policy of Mizoram*, 2013, in VOL. XLII Aizawl, Wednesday, 20.3.2013, Phalguna 29, S.E. 1934, Issue No. 146 of The Mizoram Gazette EXTRA ORDINARY.³¹

³¹ C. Lalthanzira. (2014). *Mizoram School Education Handbook: A Compilation of Acts, Rules, Regulations, and Reports Relating to School Education in Mizoram*. Aizawl: School Education Department, Government of Mizoram. p.179.

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³⁰ School Education and Higher & Technical Education. (2010). *Towards an Enlightened and Inclusive Mizo Society: Reports of the Education Reforms Commission, Mizoram* (2009-2010). Aizawl: School Education and Higher & Technical Education Department, Government of Mizoram. p.24.

Aims and Objectives:

One of the biggest challenges confronting in Mizoram is to reform the prevailing and the existing education system as per the requirement of the present context. Education reforms need to address diverse problems of unemployment, degradation of environment, morality, drug abuse, insurgency and terrorism in the world. Therefore, the focus of education reforms is to impart education in such a manner that each student would:-³²

- find employment in public/private sector or be able to have selfemployment through skill developments;
- become a responsible, hard-working, honest, just and understanding citizens;
- appreciate the intrinsic values of humanities, importance of conservation
 of the environment and natural resources, flora and fauna, maintenance of
 preservation of law, order and peace in the world;
- be imbued with a life-long desire hunger to learn- after he leaves School, college and University, and even after he has settled down in his career;
- be equipped with life skills to face the challenges he encounters in his everyday life and also the challenges of the world at large.

The Government of Mizoram has formulated the following 10 (ten) points as *Mizoram Education Policy*. The state governments try to implement them with its available resources. The Mizoram Education Policy, 2013 can be explained under the following headings:-

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³² *Ibid*, p. 183.

1. Reorganisation and Revamp of Education Department:

The government decided to have efficient and smooth administration within the Education Department. Monitoring and supervision of educational institutions has to be re-inforced by adopting better system of inspection/supervision/monitoring and equipment. A better method of recruitment of teachers, teacher education and training, and effective system of service delivery is required. The state has to improve the position, status and social standing of teachers in order to make the teaching profession noble, dignified and respectful.

2. Universalisation of Elementary Education:

The government of Mizoram has given priority to the Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) since Indian independence. With the enactment of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, it has become fundamental rights for every child aged from 6 to 14 years. The children should be provided free and compulsory education by the government. The launching of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) have not only helped in realisation of UEE but also contributed in raising the literacy percentage of the state. Mizoram has become an exemplar of excellence in the country by promoting UEE through contributions of the local community, local elected representatives, non-governmental organizations like Young Mizo Association (YMA), *Mizo Hmeichhia Insuihkhawm Pawl* (MHIP).

3. Learning with Understanding and Comprehension:

The Mizoram Education Reforms Commission reiterates the importance of learning with understanding and comprehension and doing away with rote and

memorisation learning. It is decided to promote learning with understanding according to the needs of the child with activity-based learning from the primary stage. With the enactment of Right to Education (RTE) Act and the timely recommendation of the Education Reforms Commission, the introduction of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) in the elementary education improved the level of learning in elementary education. Similarly, semester systems are introduced in the colleges and have shown a positive result. CCE will be introduced in secondary level very soon.

4. Vocational Education (Skill Development):

Almost all of the secondary schools and colleges have offered only a general education. However, a few schools and colleges are offering vocational education. Vocational education needs to be introduced from Class-IX as a separate stream of study for students to choose their interest field of study in addition to what is presently available in Industrial Training Institute (ITI), Polytechnic and Vocational Education offered in a few schools. The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) has come up with a comprehensive scheme called National Vocational Education Qualification Framework (NVEQF) which has a ten-stage of vocational education study beginning from Class-IX up to Doctorate Degree. In order to implement this program, School Education, Higher and Technical Education and University need to have a proper linkage. Vocational education can enhance the employability of its youth in domestic job and abroad. Some colleges need to be converted into Community College utilising the infrastructure of the colleges in the state.

5. Higher Studies and Professional Courses:

The two Universities in the state, namely Mizoram University (A Central University) and Institute of Finance Chartered Financial Analysts of India (ICFAI) University (a private University established by the state legislation) are inadequate for Mizoram. The state is yet to have a Medical College and an Engineering College. The National Institute of Technology (NIT), recently set up in Lengpui is one of the valued educational institutes. The government will legislate more private Universities who are willing to impart such kind of professional course to the Mizo youth. The government of India also sanctioned two Community Colleges to be established in Mizoram recently. The governments welcome the participation of private entities in the educational system of Mizoram not as a commercial venture but as philanthropic and educator. The state government will encourage the students to study science, mathematics and technology in order to cope with the prevailing employment problem and to have a better prospect.

6. Inclusive Education:

The Central government has enacted a number of legislations to ensure that physically challenged persons, who are differently abled, get their due place. It is the solemn affirmation of the Mizoram state government to provide maximum opportunities to the people with special needs in matters of education, jobs and private enterprises. It is the intention and policy of the state government of Mizoram to give efforts to give equal opportunities to the people with special needs, and strictly implementing statutory provisions of legislations to benefit them.

7. Teachers' Welfare and Teacher Education:

The service conditions of the teachers, their welfare and future prospects are important for the teachers. Good teachers produce good students, good students contribute for the state and for the society. Therefore, the Government of Mizoram is giving importance towards improving the service conditions and their rightful place of the teacher's society. In other words, the state government is also determined to make efforts in improving the service conditions of the teachers and providing Teacher Education Institutions for them.

8. Strong Cultural Roots and Moral Values:

Apart from classroom teachings, it is important to instill moral values to children in their formative years and even later in life. In the modern society, the younger generation has to be nourished with cultural and moral values that have stood the test of time. Lessons in the textbooks should also be designed to shape and correct moral behavior and good attitude. Dignity of labour is intended to be embedded in the schools and colleges at all levels from pre-primary to University. Education is an effective means to improve society because education not only provides but also contribute towards responsibility in the society and promoting peace at all levels.

9. Privatisation in Education:

Education still continues to be one of the important obligations of state, not only in India, but throughout the world at large. In spite of the state's obligation to provide education to its people, privatisation of education from the lowest to the highest level has been found to be in vogue, not only in India but also in other parts of the world.

One of the major factors responsible for this is that private educational institutions have to compete with one another to attract students as they are commercial institutions. Therefore, it is the intention of the government to encourage private educational institutions from the state as well as from outside the state. At the same time, healthy competition should also be encouraged amongst the state-run educational institutions and the private-run educational institutions.

10. Empowerment of Community:

There are areas where the community can manage much better than the government. This is because community is also one of the important stake-holders in the society. This is one of the reasons why decentralisation depends directly on the local people. Community can be involved for the successful implementation of policies and programmes of a government for development in a society. It is important to empower the community because community based organisations like Young Mizo Association (YMA) helps in maintaining good quality while executing the policies of the government. It is, therefore, the endeavour of the state to encourage empowerment of community in education.³³

3.2.2 Education Reforms Commission

The Government of Mizoram set up an Education Reforms Commission (ERC)³⁴ under the Chairmanship of Prof. A.K. Sharma (former Director, NCERT³⁵, New

³³ *Ibid*, p. 184.

³⁴ The Congress party promised to set up the Education Reforms Commission in order to ensure quality education in Mizoram in its Election Manifesto (Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit, p.13).

³⁵ NCERT- National Council of Educational Research and Training.

Delhi) and ten other members to recommend ways and means to raise standards of education and improve its quality. The Commission's term were wide ranging, covering all sectors of education, namely, pre-school, elementary, secondary, higher and professional education. A wide spectrum of issues, including quality of education in relation to academic achievement of students and performance levels of schools, drastic reduction of school dropout, development of skills for wage and self-employment through vocationalisation of education, rejuvenating curriculum reform process, language development, education in universal human values, overhauling the system of governance, have been reflected upon in the Commission report. The setting up of the Commission is to bring education reform in the state.³⁶

The Report on Education Reforms Commission has 15 Chapters and a set of 116 recommendations.³⁷ On the basis of its understanding, the Commission has prepared its report which consists of 15 Chapters, including a consolidated summary of recommendations.

The Education Reforms Commission commenced its work from 1st July, 2009 and submitted its Report to the Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla on 30th July, 2010. Full efforts have been given for implementation of recommendations of Mizoram Education Reforms Commission, numbers of achievements have also been made in this regard. Task force, Monitoring Committee, Sub-Committee have been formed to undertake the recommendations in a systematic manner. But huge amount of funds is

³⁶ School Education and Higher & Technical Education, Towards an Enlightened and Inclusive Mizo Society: Reports of the Education Reforms Commission, Mizoram (2009-2010), *op.cit*, p.(xxi).

³⁷ Pratap Chhetri, (MIS), IPRO. Mizoram Education Reforms Commission submits its Report (Dated: 30th July, 2010). DIPR: https://dipr.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 16.March, 2017.

required to implement most of the recommendations which may not be an easy task for a fund starved state like Mizoram.³⁸

3.3 Policies, Programmes and Schemes under Health & Family Welfare Department

The Health Department under the government of Mizoram is one of the oldest departments in the state. The Health & Family Welfare Department is an administrative department headed by Principal Director. The Health & Family Welfare Department is responsible for overseeing and coordinating the functions of two Directorates—Directorate of Health Services and Directorate of Hospital & Medical Education. The Congress government initiated many steps in Health & Family Welfare Department, some of the significant policies, programmes and schemes under the department are as follows:-

3.3.1 Renovation of Referral Hospital and Establishment of Medical College

The Congress party in its election manifesto stated that upgradation steps should be taken up so that the Referral Hospital can be utilised by the public in order to upgrade to the status of a Medical College. The promised of the Congress party during the election is realised as the Congress government (2008-2013) took up the issue by a proposal of at least a 220-bedded Hospital during the 12th Plan period. This is because the Referral Hospital was abandoned as a 500-bedded State Referral Hospital by the MNF government during the previous term. ⁴⁰ According to Lalrinliana Sailo, MLA and Health Minister (2008-2013), the top priority for him as well as for the government was to take

³⁸ Directorate of School Education. *Chapter-2: Progress and Achievement (Education Reforms Commission)*. Aizawl: Directorate of School Education, Government of Mizoram. p.5.

³⁹ Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Mizoram Today 2017, *op.cit*, p.42.

⁴⁰ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit, p. 14.

steps in restoring and reinstating the Referral Hospital after he assumed office. As a result, just after one week of taking the Health Department portfolio, the Minister along with government officials visited the already abandoned Referral Hospital on 14th January, 2009. As a first measure, the State Referral Hospital located at Falkawn (at the outskirt of Aizawl city) was inaugurated as a 150-bedded Hospital by Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla on 10th December, 2012. After the inauguration of the Hospital in 2012, it continues till date and serves the people of the state.

The Congress party also promised in its election manifesto that if it comes to power, it will initiate to open up a Medical College. The Congress government realised the importance of setting up a Medical College, as a consequence, the government decided to establish a Medical College at Falkawn. So, the government submitted a Detailed Project Report (DPR) with an amount of Rs. 442.29 crore to the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Government of India. According to Lalrinliana Sailo, the proposed Medical College at Falkawn was visited by the then Medical Council of India Secretary Dr. Sach Deva on 2009. He also met the then Union Health and Family Welfare Minister in United Progressive Alliance-I (2004-2009) Anbumani Ramadoss on 29th January, 2009. Again he also met the Union Minister for Health and Family Welfare in UPA-II (2009-2014) Ghulam Nabi Azad and they assured Rs. 280 crore for the establishment of the Medical College in Falkawn, Aizawl. The Mizoram Health Minister also met the then two Union Health Secretary P.K. Pradhan (IAS) and Suzata Rao (IAS) in 2012 with regard to the DPR for the establishment of Medical College. The

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⁴¹ The scholar interviewed Lalrinliana Sailo on 12th September, 2012 at his residence in Upper Republic, Aizawl.

⁴² Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.22.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.22.

government had initiated the necessary steps for the establishment of Medical College in Mizoram. But the Medical College is yet to be established as it takes a long process in order to get recognition from the Medical Council of India.⁴⁴

3.3.2 Health Insurance Scheme

The Congress party pledged that Health Insurance Scheme based on Prime Minister Health Scheme will be introduced for the poor people who are not eligible to claim the Medical Re-Imbursement Bill. Also, the Health Insurance Scheme will include the poor HIV/AIDS patient who had taken treatment outside the Hospital. According to Lalrinliana Sailo, the Congress government introduced the Mizoram State Health Care Scheme in 2009 for the people. The government also streamlined the Health Insurance Scheme with Rastriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY) with the state matching share provided by the state government. The RSBY has been successfully implemented by the government and as a result, the Ministry of Labour & Employment, Government of India has awarded the Mizoram Health Department five times for 'Outstanding Improvement in Programme Implementation of RSBY in North Eastern Region' during 2009-2013.

3.3.3 Diagnostic Facilities and Revamping District Hospital

The Congress party in its election manifesto affirms that special efforts will be taken in laboratory and diagnostic services within different hospital in the state and should be facilitated with the modern technology. The District Hospital in each district will be upgraded so that the patient will not be referred for further treatment.⁴⁷ The promise was materialised in the sense that the District Hospital in Champhai, Saiha,

⁴⁴ Interviewed by the scholar on 12th September, 2012 at his residence in Upper Republic, Aizawl.

⁴⁵ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, *op.cit*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Interviewed by the scholar on 12th September, 2012 at his residence in Upper Republic, Aizawl.

⁴⁷ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit, p. 14.

Serchhip and Kolasib have been upgraded and installed new machines for the hospital. Also, the state's premier government hospital, i.e. Aizawl Civil Hospital is being equipped with a Hospital Management & Information System. 48

3.3.4 Other Programme, Scheme, etc under Health & Family Welfare Department

There are different programmes and schemes operated under the Department of Health & Family Welfare. One of the important programme under the department is the National Ambulance Service (NAS). It is under the programme of National Health Mission (NHM). The National Ambulance Service was introduced in March 2013 in Mizoram. All the eight District of Mizoram who require Ambulance can call/dial 102 that are operated by NAS Call Centre Staffs. The National Ambulance Service, Mizoram consist of basic transport which aimed to provide services to pregnant women and children. Free transfer from home to facility, inter facility transfer and drop back for mother and children are the key focus of National Ambulance Service within the state of Mizoram. At present, 62 Ambulances are being supported under Natioal Ambulance service within the state of Mizoram with Global Positioning Sytem (GPS) fitted on each of the Ambulance. These Ambulance are linked with the Centralised Call Centre based in Aizawl. 49

According to Lalrinliana Sailo (the then Minister of Health & Family Welfare Department), the government not only prioritise Referral Hospital, Medical College and District Hospitals in each district but also initiated steps in the reduction of infant mortality rate. The central governments give Rs. 31.32 crore to the state government in

⁴⁸ National Ambulance Service (NAS). Health & Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram: https://health.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

order to reduce infant mortality. The state government also put this best effort to eradicate malaria. As a result, within one year the malaria death rate was reduced to 31 in 2010 to 119 in 2009. Lalrinliana Sailo also stated that the government had taken sincere efforts to reduce the infected rate of HIV/AIDS⁵⁰. During the period, the government had successfully organised Red Ribbon Football Tournament. The tournament was organised twice and it was participated from all corner of Mizoram. It became a state-wise awareness campaign on HIV/AIDS awareness and had a significant impact in the society.⁵¹

3.4 Policies, Programmes and Schemes under Sports & Youth Services Department

The Congress government had initiated various policies and programme under Sports & Youth Services Department. The government recognised that sports activities are essential for building a strong and disciplined nation as well as a drug/alcohol free society. So, the Congress government took initiatives to create better facilities in sports. The department began constructing the required infrastructure for as soon as the Congress came to power at the end of 2008.⁵² People really appreciated the initiatives in sports. It analysed some of the important policy and programme under the department.

3.4.1 Construction of Stadium

The Congress party in its election manifesto outlined that it will take steps to construct stadium in every district headquarters and also in big town.⁵³ As a result, the international standard stadium conceived by the previous MNF government was taken up

⁵⁰ HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus. AIDS-Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.

⁵¹ The scholar interviewed Lalrinliana Sailo on 12th September, 2012 at his residence in Upper Republic, Aizawl.

⁵² Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.13.

⁵³ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, *op.cit*, p. 15.

by the department as soon as the Congress came to power. The Congress government shifted the location of the proposed stadium from Assam Rifles Parade Ground in the heart of the city to Mualpui, an outskirt of the city where the 3rd Mizoram Armed Police Battalion has its headquarters. Soon after the location of the stadium was finalised, the department named it as Rajiv Gandhi Stadium. The stadium comprised of international standard size soccer field with artificial turf which is surrounded by eight track race course.⁵⁴ The construction of the stadium gallery is still undertaken. The stadium was also use as a home ground of Aizawl Football Club, the Champion of Indian Football League (the top football league in India) in 2016-2017 sessions.

3.4.2 Construction of Indoor Stadium

The Congress party has promised to set up indoor stadium as a multi-sport centre within Aizawl in which various sports discipline can be practiced. The Congress party also promised to set up Sports Academy and Football Academy as soon as possible. The Congress governments while trying to fulfill its election manifesto started constructing indoor stadium in Aizawl and other district headquarters in Mizoram. Some of the indoor stadiums have been inaugurated and some are still undertaken.

3.4.3 Catch Them Young Policy

The 'Catch Them Young Policy' in Mizoram is a policy initiated by the Congress government (2008-2013). The then Sports Minister Zodintluanga at the Youth Affairs & Sports Ministers' Conference held on 3rd August, 2009 at New Delhi stated that the Department of Sports & Youth Services launched 'Catch Them Young' programme in

⁵⁴ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.13.

⁵⁵ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit, p. 15.

lieu with Government of India's policy in all the sports disciplines in Mizoram. He added that the response received so far is remarkable. If the Catch Them Young Policy goes as planned, there should be a spectacular leap towards development and performance in different sports disciplines in the near future.⁵⁶

The Mizoram State Sports Council (MSSC) implemented the government sports policy 'Catch Them Young'. The main focus of the policy is to promote the talent of young children between 6-12 years. The MSSC monitored and supervised the young children having state, national and international coaching in different sports discipline.⁵⁷

According to Zodintluanga, Minister of Sports and Youth Services Department (2008-till date), the initiative of the government in 'Catch Them Young Policy' in various sports discipline show positive result in a short period of time. He stated that the success of the state sport's policy—'Catch Them Young Policy' is seen in the national and international competition. He added that the achievement in Weightlifting in Commonwealth Games and International Boxing competition is a remarkable one for the government.⁵⁸

3.4.4 Olympic Vision 2016

The 'Olympic Vision 2016' was an initiative of the state government to increase the participation of the Mizo youths in the Olympic held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 2016. The state government had selected nine different sports discipline for the 'Olympic

⁵⁸ The scholar interviewed Zodintluanga on 5th December, 2017 at New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl.

⁵⁶ Zothankunga, IPRO. Sports Minister Conference New Delhi-ah Mizoram Sports Minister Pu Zodintluanga'n thu a sawi (Mizoram Sports Minister Zodintluanga's speech on Sports Minister Conference, New Delhi (Dated 4th August, 2009). DIPR: https://dipr.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

⁵⁷ Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Mizoram Today 2017, op.cit, p.33.

Vision 2016'.⁵⁹ The nine sports discipline includes- archery, badminton, boxing, hockey, judo, shooting, table tennis, taekwondo and weight lifting. Young talents from the rural areas would be harnessed to the maximum and sports person, who were from outside Aizawl will be provided all the facilities and brought here for coaching and training.⁶⁰ The inauguration of 'Olympic Vision 2016' begins with the Archery discipline which was launched by Home Minister R. Lalzirliana on 29th August, 2012 at New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl. Twenty archers were trained by a Sports Department Coach C. Lalremsanga, who is also a Mizo Olympian in Archery in 1996.⁶¹ Other sport disciplines are also provided training and coaching to talented sports person.

Zodintluanga, the Minister of Sports & Youth Services claims that the 'Olympic Vision 2016' did not have a significant impact in the recently concluded Rio de Janerio Olympic in 2016. But the government is proud to have one Mizo girl in the Indian women Hockey team in the Olympic 2016. He stated that the government agreed in the failure of 'Olympic Vision 2016' but the government had taken new steps for Olympic 2020. The government had started 'Olympic Vision 2020' in various sports discipline in order to increase participation in Olympic from the state. ⁶²

⁵⁹ 'Mizoram to launch Olympic Vision 2016' (Dated 17th June, 2013). Zoram Tourism (Home of Highlanders): https://www.mizoramtourism.org. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

⁶⁰ Press Trust of India. 'Mizoram to ensure maximum sportsmen to 2016 Olympics' (Dated 5th June, 2013). Business Standard: www.business-standard.com. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

⁶¹ Robert Thangmawia (MIS), IPRO. *Mizoram-ah Archery hmangin Olymic Vision 2016 chu tan a ni ta* (Olympic Vision 2016 was launch with Archery in Mizoram). DIPR: https://dipr.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

⁶² Zodintluanga was interviewed by the scholar on 5th December, 2017 at New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl.

3.5 Policies, Programmes and Schemes under Trade & Commerce Department

The Congress government in its election manifesto promised to look into the Kolodyne Multi- Modal Transport Project. It stated that it will take necessary steps to connect Sittwe port in Myanmar through river communication. ⁶³ The government had initiated policies and programmes in order to have trade and commerce with other countries.

3.5.1 Indo-Myanmar Border Trade

The Congress government (2008-2013) initiated steps to inaugurate Composite Land Custom Station (CLCS) in Zokhawthar, Champhai District. The Land Custom Station Building was constructed with the help of the Central government, with an estimated cost of Rs. 700 lakhs as a trade center to facilitate bilateral trade with Myanmar. The Composite Land Custom Station was visited by Trade and Commerce, Government of Mizoram Minister Lalrinliana Sailo along with the Central Team comprising of Director of Ministry of Commerce & Industry, i/c of Myanmar and Director of Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER), Commissioner of Customs and other top officials on 10th November, 2009. The delegates inspected the construction of godown, fumigation chamber, security barrack, Composite Land Custom Station Building, weight-bridge, four VIP Guest Rooms, electric and water supply under Trade & Commerce Department. According to the delegates, the Border Trade in Zokhawthar and Melbuk is more equipped than Border Trade at Moreh in Manipur. They also visited the proposed place for the construction of Warehouse and Shopping

⁶³ Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, *op.cit*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ Correspondent. Land Customs Station remains unutilised (1st February, 2013). The Assam Tribune: www.assamtribune.com. Retrieved on 10th November, 2017.

Complex. The central officials were satisfied with the performance of the State government in constructing the requirement and maintaining the proposed extension place of Border Trade at Melbuk (a village next only to Zokhawthar). According to Lalrinliana Sailo, MLA and Minister Trade & Commerce Department (2008-2013), the department initiated its best effort in order to equip the Composite Land Custom Station. As a result, a DPR for Food Testing Laboratory with an estimated amount of Rs. 13.13 crore have been submitted to the Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry. They also submitted a DPR of Rs. 500 lakh for the establishment of Infrastructural Investment R&D-cum-Testing Institute-cum- Food Processing Unit to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry during the period. Also, a DPR of Rs. 9 crores has been submitted to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for the establishment of Shopping Mall at Zokhawthar.

3.5.2 Indo-Bangladesh Border Trade

The Government of Mizoram is interested in building trade relations with Bangladesh. According to Lalrinliana Sailo (Minister of Trade & Commerce in 2008-2013), he met Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hassina on 24th February, 2010 at the Joint India-Bangladesh Trade Show and Bangladesh- North East India Trade & Investment Conclave, Dhaka, Bangladesh and discussed about the trade relation between Mizoram and Bangladesh. The Prime Minister stated that the Bangladesh government will take initiatives to establish Border Trade with Mizoram. He also met Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Commerce Minister, Minister for Chittagong Hill Tracts and

⁶⁵ Laldingliani, IPRO, Champhai. Central Team in Zokhawthar an Tlawh (Central Team visits Zokhawthar) (Dated 10th November, 2009). DIPR: https://dipr.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 10th November, 2017.

⁶⁶ The scholar interviewed Lalrinliana Sailo on 12th September, 2017 at his residence in Upper Republic, Aizawl.

Chittagong Mayor and all are enthusiastic about the proposals and will work in their own capabilities to have border trade relations. ⁶⁷ The Government of Mizoram has acquired a land area of 224.99 bighas at Kawrpuichhuah, near Demagiri opposite to Thekamukh in Bangladesh for the purpose of border trade with Bangladesh. Out of this area, 9 ha have been given to the Ministry of Home Afffairs (MHA), Government of India in the form of land lease for the purpose of establishing an Integrated Check Post (ICP). 68

The proposed Kaladan Multi Modal Transport Project (KMMTP) located in Lawngtlai District, Mizoram will connect sea through a path of land through Myanmar. The department had selected an area in Zorinpui, Lawngtlai District for the construction of Land Custom Station. As a result, a Detailed Project Report (DPR) of Rs. 429.50 lakhs has been submitted to the Government of India for the construction of Land Custom Station at Zorinpui, Lawngtlai District and was approved by the Government of India during the period.⁶⁹ An Inter-Ministerial Team and officials from Myanmar visited the location in April, 2012. Inter-Ministerial Team headed by Foreign Secretary visited Zorinpui on Indo-Myanmar border in April, 2012. Officials from Government of Myanmar were also present. An agreement on Zorinpui has been concluded in the Joint Statement during the visit of Hon'ble Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to Myanmar in May, 2012. Funds from Assistance to States for Development of Export Infrastructure

⁶⁷ The scholar interviewed Lalrinliana Sailo on 12th September, 2017 at his residence in Upper Republic,

⁶⁸ Media department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, op.cit, p.24. ⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.24.

and Allied Activities (ASIDE) Scheme of the Department of Commerce will be available for development of facilities in Zorinpui.⁷⁰

The achievements of all the policies, programmes and schemes discussed above is anlaysed in detail in the next chapter, i.e. Chapter-IV.

⁷⁰ Bi-Lateral Projects with Myanmar & Indian Projects to Promote Connectivity & Trade with NER (as in June 2012). Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER): www.mdoner.gov.in. Retrieved on 10th November, 2017.

Chapter-IV

Achievements of the Congress Party

The Congress government in Mizoram initiated various policies and programmes for the welfare of the people. The government implemented the central and state policies for a positive change in the society. The fourth chapter studies the Congress government achievements in various fields. It discusses the achievements of various trades in different department under the party's flagship programme, i.e. the New Land Use Policy (NLUP). It also reflect some of the important achievements especially in the sphere of education, health, youth affairs & sports and trade & commerce relations. In other words, the chapter examines the Congress government contributions towards the socio-economic development of the state.

4.1 Achievements under New Land Use Policy (NLUP)

The party's flagship programme—the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) was officially launched at Aizawl on 14th January, 2011 by the Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla and continues till date.¹ The New Land Use Policy (NLUP) directly inter-relates with nine departments called line-departments for NLUP purposes. The line departments are-Agriculture, Animal Husbandry & Veterinary (AH & Vety), Environment & Forests, Fisheries, Horticulture, Industry, Sericulture, Soil & Water Conservation and Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Department (UD & PA).²

¹ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, (2013). *New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers)*. (A Magazine on NLUP). Aizawl: NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, Government of Mizoram. p.8.

² NLUP Implementing Board. *NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP)*. Aizawl: NLUP Implementing Board, Government of Mizoram. p.1.

The achievements under the line departments are mostly (but not all) through the implementation of NLUP. These achievements are directly benefited by the beneficiaries of the policies which is around 120000 households after the completion of NLUP Phase-I, II and III. Financial assistance are given ranging from Rs. 50,000 to more than Rs.1,00,000 to each beneficiary according to the trade of their choice. An additional 15,000 households will be given assistance again during the Phase-IV. There is Chief Minister's Special NLUP Scheme launched in August, 2013 to give financial support to those who are unable to work because of illness or old age up to an amount of Rs.20,000 as and when they need assistance.³

One of the remarkable achievements under the Agriculture Department is that the shifting cultivation in rural areas reduces because the farmers as beneficiaries of the NLUP have taken steps towards permanent farming system. It is revealed that the decrease in shifting cultivation in terms of hectares has been placed at 39.30% in 2013 from 40,792 ha⁴ of shifting cultivation area in 2008 to 24,706 ha in 2013.⁵ At the beginning of NLUP, the total rice production in Mizoram was 47,201 metric ton while the total rice production in 2015-16 was 62,089 metric ton which means that the increasing percentage was 23.18%.⁶ The Government of India felicitates Mizoram with Krishi Karman Award 2011-12 for its achievement in increasing food grain production.⁷ As the NLUP covers Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY) and Sub Mission on

³ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. *A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013*. Aizawl: Meida Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee. p.1.

⁴ Ha stands for Harvested Area.

⁵ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.3.

⁶ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.1.

⁷ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-201, *op.cit*, p.3.

Agriculture Mechanization (SMAM) Convergence Scheme, it distributes Power Tillers and Mini Power Tillers to farmers at cheaper price and it help the farmers in their work. As NLUP and RKVY Convergence Scheme was carry on, 777 kms Link Road was constructed which is largely utilised by the farmers. Also, under NLUP Infrastructure Component, 265.3 kms NLUP Link Road was constructed for transporting the goods and products of the NLUP beneficiaries.⁸

The Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC) - II is one of the trades under Agriculture Department which is included in the studies. The scholar interviewed one beneficiary from WRC-II in Durtlang North, Aizawl. The beneficiary received Rs. 120000 from the department in 2011 (Phase-I). He mentioned that the assistance from the NLUP have a very positive impact in their six bighas of land. He said that he takes up new steps in their farm from the assistance. He can earn around Rs. 1.2 lakh per year from his farm.⁹

A notable achievement in Animal Husbandry & Veterinary Department is that since the official launch of NLUP project in January, 2011, Mizoram Multi-Commodity Producers Cooperative Union (MULCO) has been upgraded and milk production has increased to a satisfactory level. Moreover, under NLUP, the Department has set up 16 numbers of Piglet Multiplication Centres which have a capacity to breed 25 sows each. These centres are located at Aizawl, Sesawng and Thingsulthliah. The department also established Hatchery Farm at Tanhril in which 300 units of biogas plants have been

⁸ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.2.

⁹ Interviewed by the scholar on 23rd November, 2017.

installed in various places around the state.¹⁰ After the implementation of NLUP, the number of egg production was increased at the rate of 0.3%.¹¹

The scholars conducted studies on the three trades under AH & Vety Department (dairy farming, piggery and poultry) in Durtlang locality (Aizawl). The scholars come across that some beneficiaries engaging in piggery and poultry was successful. One beneficiary from Durtlang Leitan Ramthar locality received three pigs from AH & Vety under Phase-I in 2011. She said that from the NLUP assistance they received, they continuously engaged in the same trade and earned around Rs. 1.5 lakh from the trade since 2011 till date. Another beneficiary from Durtlang Leitan locality who is engaging in poultry farming also stated that the assistance they received from NLUP had a meaningful impact in their family income. They received 100 chickens (koiler) from AH & Vety Department in 2011/2012 (Phase-I). He said that the koiler have hatch around 25-30 eggs per day. They sold regularly and it became an important source of income for their family. After the koiler stop producing eggs, they sold it and buy broilers to continue the trade.

Dairy farming is another trade under AH & Vety Department. A beneficiary from Durtlang Leitan Ramthar who got two cows from dairy farming trade in Phase-I (2011/2012) affected his occupation as the NLUP cows from the department were sick and one died after receiving them. This led to the dead of another seven cows which he had before receiving the cow from NLUP. Though one cow survived, he sold it as the

¹⁰ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.8.

¹¹ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers), *op.cit*, p.22.

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cow was not healthy to rear. The government again gave Rs. 90000 from Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY) Scheme and they buy another cow but they sold it again as it was not healthy. The beneficiaries did not have any benefits from the NLUP, rather they suffered badly as it affect other cows. Similarly, one beneficiary from Durtlang North locality who engaged in dairy farming trade also received three unhealthy cows in 2012. These cows have problem in reproduction and did not produce milk to sell. As a result, after one year, they sold and bought another two cow again. However, due to family problem, they abandoned their main occupation and started engaging in petty trades. ¹²

The Environment Forests & Climate Change (EF & CC) Department is involved only in bamboo plantation as far as New Land Use Policy is concerned. For the conservation of indigeneous as well as exotic orchid species, three Orchidariums have been created within the state. One Orchidarium located at Sairang has been earmarked for creation of awareness/education among the public. It also aims to conserve and multiplication of various orchid species. ¹³ The Forest Department had set up Nursery and prepares tissue culture in bamboo seeds which it to be utilized not only in Mizoram, but also by other states. ¹⁴

Under Fisheries Department, Hatcheries at Tamdil and Thenzawl Fish Seeds Farms were renovated and Hatcheries at Zobawk and Ngengpui were also upgraded. The Department as a whole created and developed 1605 ha of new ponds and tanks and renovated 1400 ha of existing ponds and tanks. It also introduced Integrated Fish Farming

¹² The scholars interviewed the beneficiaries of dairy farming, piggery and poultry farming in 23rd November, 2017.

¹³ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.4.

¹⁴ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I&PR, New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers), *op.cit*, p.26.

in 118 ha of ponds and tanks and supplied inputs to 3250 ha of new and renovated ponds. RKVY funds have been utilised by the department for developing infrastructure such as establishment of two mini ice plants, purchase of Light Commercial Vehicle (LCV) for marketing of fish, construction of vending kiosks and establishment of four Feed Mill Plants with a capacity of producing two quintals of feed per day. With the implementation of NLUP, fish production have been increased to 2 Metric Ton per ha from 1.6 Metric Ton per ha. With the completion of NLUP 4th Phase, it is expected that fish production will be increased by 36%. It is important to note here that Fisheries sector under NLUP have reduced shifting cultivation by 4%.

Horticulture Department is one of the most favoured departments by NLUP beneficiaries in rural areas. Under Horticulture Department, emphasis has been made on cash crop farming such as grape, orange, passion fruit, tea, etc. It is envisaged that by the time NLUP Phase I, II and III are completed, a total number of 27,000 households would have been given assistance by this department. Floriculture has also been given emphasis to the cultivation of anthurium, roses, orchids and other exotic flowers. The department also acts as facilitator to the cultivators of turmeric, ginger, chilli and other important spices. The department plant nurseries have been set up which can produce 1,60,000 planting material. The Consultative Committee for NLUP (CCN) which studied Orange under Horticulture Department had a positive observation as they found that the land cultivated by the individual have been reduced to 22.52%. Also, the success rate of

¹⁵ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.9.

¹⁶ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.4.

¹⁷ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.4.

beneficiaries who select orange is about 46-75%. Besides these, there are lots of improvement and increase in production under Horticulture Department.¹⁸

Most of the NLUP beneficiaries under Industries Department are concentrated in urban areas. The department now fully completed the first phase of NLUP assistance in which 10,723 households have been provided financial/material assistance. There are 8856 beneficiaries under NLUP Phase-II while it is envisaged that another 8000 beneficiaries would be assisted under Phase-III, bringing the total number of NLUP beneficiaries under this department to 27,579 households. The Industries department has 24 trades under NLUP and many households had permanent occupation under this department. The department officials stated that 70% of the beneficiaries under Industry sector are expected to succeed. They argued that they did not achieve very well in urban areas while in rural areas, the success rate is around 72%. They claimed that all the beneficiaries under Auto Rickshaw trade are success and they had an income of not less than Rs. 600 per day. They claimed that all the success than Rs. 600 per day.

Auto Rickshaw business is successful trade under NLUP. The beneficiary are given Auto Rickshaw in kind and can start running their business from the day the Auto Rickshaw is delivered to them. One beneficiary from Lengpui (Mamit District) who received Auto Rickshaw under Phase-I (2011/2012) stated that the average income from Auto Rickshaw is around Rs. 800 (including oil, and other expenditure, etc.) during the period. The beneficiary sold his Auto Rickshaw in 2016 as it become old and buys a new Truck and left his Auto Rickshaw business. Another beneficiary from Kawnpui (Kolasib

¹⁸ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.2.

¹⁹ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.4.

²⁰ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.6.

District) who received Auto Rickshaw in 2011/2012 stated that the average income during the period was around Rs. 500. He agreed that for Auto Rickshaw trade, it is best to received in kind as it prevent from misuse of funds.²¹

Petty trade is a trade under Industry Department which is very common inside Aizawl area. One beneficiary from Tuikual South (Aizawl) received Rs. 50,000 under petty trade in 2012 (Phase-II). The beneficiaries stated that the amount received was very less compared to other trade. She upholds that the assistance in petty trade is very less in order to set up and run a new occupation. She opines that if the assistance is at least Rs. 1 lakh, than it will have a positive impact. She argued that if the assistance is Rs. 1 lakh, beneficiaries from petty trade can earn Rs. 2000-3000 in a day from an ordinary shop.²²

Some important infrastructures have been developed in Sericulture Department through the NLUP Infrastructure Fund of Rs.150 lakhs. The department set up rearing house in Champhai and Serchhip and proposal were made to set up in the other entire district with the help of NLUP Infrastructure Fund. Cold Storage Plan at Zemabawk has been established through NLUP fund in order to store and preserve silkworm. With the implementation of NLUP under Sericulture Department, cocoon productions have been increased from 54.6 metric ton in 2009 to 307 metric ton in 2012. It means that the production of cocoon has increased almost six times. Also, the productions of silkworm eggs have been increased from 4.30 lakhs to 8 lakhs.

²¹ The scholars interviewed (through telephone) the two beneficiaries on 23rd November, 2017.

²² Interviewed by the scholars on 23rd November, 2017.

²³ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers, *op.cit*, p.43-44.

²⁴ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.6.

Soil and Water Conservation Department is another line department of NLUP. The department has given special attention to rubber plantation as it is felt that Mizoram had a good potential for rubber plantation/industry. The department had already established six Rubber Seedling Nursery after the implementation of NLUP under the department. After the implementation of NLUP, the total selling of broom in 2009-10 was Rs. 37 lakhs which increased to Rs. 14.26 crore in 2013-14. The selling of broom in 2013-14 is more than 40 times from 2009-10. There is a tremendous increase in production in broom in Mizoram. The production of broom in 2010-11 was 1,199.97 qtls, which was increased to 2,64,449.13 qtls in 2015-16 in which the increasing production was 263249.16 qtls. After the increasing production was 263249.16 qtls.

The Cabinet Meeting on January 27, 2017 reviewed the NLUP and decided to hand over 10 trades in urban areas to Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation (UD & PA) Department. The decision was taken in order to help the responsibility of the Industries Department in distributing assistance to NLUP beneficiaries located in urban areas in 10 trades.²⁷ During Phase-II of the NLUP implementation, the department has distributed assistance to 1409 beneficiaries and will continue to do so in Phase-III as well. The department has earmarked Rs. 1490 lakhs for NLUP assistance of which Rs. 948 lakhs has already been drawn and provided assistance to beneficiaries under Phase-II and Phase-III.²⁸ Under the UD & PA Department, many of the urban people engaged in

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.5.

²⁶ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.5-6.

²⁷ NLUP Implementing Board & NLUP Media Cell, I & PR, New Land Use Programme leh Kut Hnathawktute (New Land Use Policy and the Farmers), *op.cit*, p.51.

²⁸ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.10.

new occupation, and many beneficiaries have benefitted from their trade and became an important source of income for their family.²⁹

Beauty parlour is one of the trade/activities under Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation (UD & PA). The scholar talks to one beneficiary who set up Beauty parlour in Temple Square (Aizawl). He received NLUP assistance of Rs. 100000. He set up his beauty parlour before the assistance of NLUP. He stated that the NLUP assistance was used for upgrading and buying new product for his parlour. He said that it is not possible to set up a standard parlour by Rs. 1 lakh. He added that in order to set up standard beauty parlour, it requires at least Rs. 5 lakh. However, the NLUP assistance has impact in the up- gradation to some extends and can earn an average of Rs. 1500 daily from hair cutting. He said that from hair cutting, he can earn an average of Rs. 1500 (Rs. 100 for one person in his parlour) per day. 30 Desktop Publishing (DTP) is also another trade under Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Department (UD & PA). The government provides Rs. 1 lakh to DTP beneficiaries without any installment. One beneficiary from Tuikual South who already set up Printing Press before the NLUP scheme stated that the assistance of Rs. 1 lakh cannot do anything in order to carry and set up their business. He added that in order to run DTP business, it requires around Rs. 5 lakh.³¹ It means the amount of assistance from NLUP, i.e. Rs. 1 lakh for trades/activities like beauty parlour and DTP is very less to start the business. It also shows that all the trades/activities under NLUP are not successful.

²⁹ NLUP Implementing Board, NLUP Hmalakna Tlangpui-te (A Summary Work on NLUP), op.cit, p.6.

The scholar interviewed the beneficiaries on 20th November, 2017 at his beauty parlour in Temple Square.

³¹ Interviewed by the scholars on 21st November, 2017.

H. Liansailova (Agriculture Minister and Nodal Minister for NLUP in 2008-2013) claimed that the NLUP is a policy for the alleviation of poor people and to established permanent occupation for the people. He stated that the success or failure of the NLUP cannot be measured in a short span of time. Many of the trades like orange cultivation, oil palm and other fruits involve a long duration in order to see the results. While the success in other trades like dairy farming, piggery, poultry farming, etc. can be observed in a few months or years. Among the success trade/activities of the NLUP, Auto Rickshaw is one of them as it provided the Auto Rickshaw itself and can start their business within a short span of times. He argued that some people have considered it as a political programme and some beneficiaries also misuse the funds. The failure of some trades under NLUP is due to the lack of proper monitoring process and also wrong process of the selection of beneficiaries. 32

R. Lalzirliana (Agriculture Minister and Nodal Minister for NLUP in 2013-September, 2017) stated that the success of the NLUP depends upon the person's sincerity, commitment and hardworking of the beneficiaries. He added that there are many beneficiaries who have successfully carry on their trade and became the main occupation of their family. Despite the achievements under NLUP, there are few steps which need to be revised and changed, particularly in the case of selection of trades/activities by the beneficiaries and its implementation process. He further stressed that many beneficiaries belong to poor family and utilised the NLUP assistance in order to fulfill their basic necessities which led to the misuse of funds. He reminds that the NLUP is a programme which is design for the poverty alleviation of the people.³³ The

The scholar interviewed H.Liansailova on 19th July, 2017 at his residence in Bawngkawn, Aizawl.
 The scholar interviewed R. Lalzirliana on 11th July, 2017 at his residence in Armed Veng, Aizawl.

Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla stated that the party's flagship programme is utilised by the poor and is happy to see the achievements of the NLUP beneficiaries in different trades. He exclaimed that he cannot point out any single mistake or demerits for the New Land Use Policy. He stated that the attitude of the general public needs to be positive because he considered the NLUP as an excellent policy and programme for the people of Mizoram.³⁴

There is a difference of opinion among the opposition parties with regards to the failure or success of the New Land Use Policy. The opposition leaders like Zoramthanga (MNF President) and Prof. J.V. Hluna (Mizoram BJP President) argued that the NLUP is totally failed as it is a election-oriented policy.³⁵ They claim that the governments just distribute money to the people from the state's budget. It even affected the morale of the people. The NLUP did not have proper plan and scheme and became a liability for the state. While opposition leaders like Lalduhoma (ZNP President) and Vanlalhlana (Sr. Vice President of MPC) praise the NLUP as its sound very well by its name and in its policy.³⁶ Also, the NLUP is a convergence scheme which is important for the state like Mizoram. It is because the convergence scheme led to the absence of the mismatch between the guidelines of the state government and central government. At the same time, there is failure and inefficiency in the execution, selection process as well as monitoring process. Lalduhoma argued that the NLUP seems like a primary membership enrolment drive of the Congress than a development schemes. The government did not have proper planning for facilitating the good performer, instead they check whether the

³⁴ The scholar interviewed Lal Thanhawla on October, 2017 at Chief Minister's Bungalow, Aizawl.

³⁵ The scholar interviewed Zoramthanga on 20th November, 2017 at Mizo Hnam Run (MNF General Headquarters). Prof. J.V. Hluna was interviewed on 22nd November, 2017 at his residence in Mission Veng, Aizawl.

³⁶ The scholar interviewed the MPC leader on 22nd November, 2017 at MPC General Heaqruarters Office. Lalduhoma is interviewed by the scholar on 23rd November, 2017 at his residence in Chawlhmun, Aizawl.

beneficiary remain faithful and loyal to the party or not. The government also fails to provide a reliable and profitable market.³⁷ The study found that the statement of both the ruling and the opposition parties are true to some extent.

4.2 Achievements under Education Department

As discussed in the previous Chapter, i.e. Chapter-III, the Congress government had initiated and implemented different policies in the Education Department during the period 2008-2013. One of the achievements of the Congress government in the Education Department was the formation of Education Reforms Commission (ERC) under the Chairmanship of Prof. A.K. Sharma (former Director, NCERT, New Delhi) with 10 other members. They started their work from 1st July, 2009 and submitted its Report to the Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla on 30th July, 2010.³⁸

The government of Mizoram has put maximum efforts in order to implement the recommendations made by the Education Reforms Commission. This can be seen through the formation of Task force, Monitoring Committee, Sub-Committee to undertake the recommendations in a systematic manner.³⁹ According to Lalsawta (Education Minister in 2008-2013), the government has given its utmost effort in order to fulfill and implement the recommendation of the Education Reforms Commission. But the main obstacle lies with the funding as it involves large amount of money to implement the recommendation.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Ibid*.

³⁸ School Education and Higher & Technical Education. Towards an Enlightened and Inclusive Mizo Society: Reports of the Education Reforms Commission, Mizoram (2009-2010). Aizawl: School Education and Higher & Technical Education Department, Government of Mizoram: 2010. p.(i).

The scholar interviewed Lalsawta on 8th March, 2017 at his Office Chamber in New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl.

Many of the recommendations are already implemented though some are yet to be undertaken, and some are in the process of implementation. The implementations of Education Reforms Commission are discussed below:-

1. School Education: Concerns and Imperatives

The implementation of the ERC recommendation on the structure of 'school education' can be briefly stated as under:-

- i) The Government has re-structure school education by merging Class-VIII (present High School section) to Middle section in 2011. Attempts have been made to put Class-V to Middle School as recommended by the ERC.
- ii) The State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) prepare learning materials for KG-I and KG-II and Teachers' Guide/Source Book for the teachers 'Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE)'. The guidelines of the ECCE is follow in 66 Primary School till March 2016.
- iii) The government appoints the Task Force Committee along with the Working Group to examine the 'viability of small schools'. Based on the recommendation of the Working Group, many small schools have been already amalgamated and School Amalgamation Norms were made and notified.⁴¹ The leader of the Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP)⁴² expressed that they are happy with the amalgamation of

⁴¹ Directorate of School Education. (2016). Mizoram Education Reforms Commission Report: Government Implementation in School Education Department (As on March, 2016). Aizawl: Directorate of School Education, Government of Mizoram. p.1-2

⁴² MZP is a Mizo student organisation and students body in Mizoram which was established on 27th October, 1935 in Shillong (Meghalaya) by Mizo earlier educated students. MZP has its headquarters in Aizawl.

school carried out and enforced by the Congress government and they expect that it will have a positive impact in the education system of Mizoram.⁴³

iv) The government set up two new Kendriya Vidyalaya (KV) schools at Lunglei and Champhai.

v) The government has set up one Model Schools in Lungsen Block as Model School as per the Government of India norms on the ground of Educationally Backward Block (EBB). 44

2. School Curriculum: Concerns and Imperatives

The government initiated steps to 'school curriculum' which is very important for education. Some of the implementation are:-

i) School curriculum is restructured in which syllabus and textbook have been revised and relevant topics are also included in the syllabus. ⁴⁵ Both the student associations in Mizoram- Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) and Mizo Students Association (MSU)⁴⁶ uphold that the school syllabus should reflect the Mizo culture, tradition and values of the society. They also stated that it should be designed in such a way that the student can compete at the national level in order to increase the number of Mizo who

⁴⁴ Directorate of School Education, Mizoram Education Reforms Commission Report: Government Implementation in School Education Department (As on March, 2016), *op.cit*, p.2.

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⁴³ The scholar interviewed Lalsangzuala Ngente (MZP President) on 9th March, 2017 at MZP Office, Aizawl

⁴⁶ MSU is also another Mizo students association formed in 12th February, 2001. Its headquarters is in Aizawl.

can passed the examinations conducted by the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC).⁴⁷

- ii) The State Curriculum Policy which is formulated is an ongoing process and source book for the teachers and activity book for KG-I and KG-II is prepared.
- iii) The recommendation on the case of Hindi language is considered and Hindi conversation book both in English and Mizo is completed. And for the upper primary schools, they prepared textbook and introduced from the academic year of 2012-2013.
- iv) Science and Mathematics kits are given to all government and non-government aided High School. Also, elementary and Secondary Science Textbooks under MBSE have been revised and NCERT Science Textbooks are prepared which is to be introduced from 2016-2017. Recruitment Rules for Mathematics and Science teachers is amended.
- v) The topic on 'value education' is incorporated in Higher Secondary School General Studies booklet from 2014 Academic session.⁴⁸
- vi) English is proposed as a medium of instruction from Class-VI onwards as per the recommendation.
- vi) The recommendation on Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) has been introduced from 2011 and SCERT also prepared a Source Book on CCE.

⁴⁸ Directorate of School Education, Mizoram Education Reforms Commission Report: Government Implementation in School Education Department (As on March, 2016), *op.cit*, p.5.

⁴⁷ The scholar interviewed Lalsangzuala Ngente (MZP President) on 9th March, 2017 at MZP Office, Aizawl. The MSU President R.B. Lalmalsawma was interviewed by the scholar on the same date at MSU Office. Aizawl

The recommendation on grading system is that it should introduced CCE and grading system will automatically became a part of it.⁴⁹ The MZP and MSU also highlighted that the implementation of Continuous and Comprehensive Education should be analysed as they believed that CCE was not effectively implemented and can harm the education system in Mizoram and had disadvantages for the students.⁵⁰

3. Educating Teachers

The governments also implement important recommendation in 'educating teachers'. Some of the important points are as follows:-

i) The government provides Diploma in Elementary Education (2 years) training programme for teachers who are not trained. According to Joseph Lalhimpuia (Parliamentary Secretary 2013-2017), the government prepared the rules and regulation for Primary School with regards to teacher's education. In view of teacher's education, Lalsangzuala Ngente, President of Mizo Zirlai Pawl (Mizo Students' Association), stated that they want the government to run regular training course like refresher course, orientation course, etc for the teachers in order to have effective teaching for the teachers.

ii) The recommendation on the Recruitment Rules (RR) for District Institute for Education and Training (DIET) academic staff is that proposal has been submitted to Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms (DP & AR), Government of

⁴⁹ *Ibid* n 7

⁵⁰ The scholar interviewed Lalsangzuala Ngente (MZP President) and MSU President R.B. Lalmalsawma on 9th March, 2017 at MZP & MSU Office, Aizawl.

⁵¹ The scholar interviewed Joseph Lalhimpuia on 9th March, 2017 at his Office Chamber in New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl.

The scholar interviewed Lalsangzuala Ngente on 9th March, 2017 at MZP Office in Aizawl.

Mizoram in accordance with National Council of Teacher Education (NCTE) guidelines.⁵³

4. Teachers and Teacher Organization

The government implementation of the ERC recommendation in teachers organisation is discussed below:-

- i) With regard to the under-qualified teachers, 362 primary teachers and 136 middle teachers have been forced to opt Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS). Moreover, government appointed 498 youth in place of them.
- ii) The problem of staff quarters have been addressed by constructing 141 new quarters for teachers posting in rural areas and another 61 quarters are nearly completed and DPR was submitted to North Eastern Council (NEC) for more quarters.⁵⁴

5. Engaging Adults in Education and Literacy

The recommendation on adult education and literacy is that Mizoram became the 3rd most literate states in India and efforts have been made in order to become the most literate states. Census 2011 reveals that Mamit, Lunglei and Lawngtlai District are the least literate districts and emphasised have been made to launch Special Literacy Drive. With regards to the role of library-cum reading rooms, proposal have been submitted and approved for Adult Education Programme and progress will be seen in a few years.⁵⁵

⁵³ Directorate of School Education, Mizoram Education Reforms Commission Report: Government Implementation in School Education Department (As on March, 2016), *op.cit*, p.8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.9-12. ⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.12-14.

6. Private Sector in Education:

The Commission recommended to the government to regulate the fee structure and ceiling for private schools. According to Joseph Lalhimpuia (the then Parliamentary Secretary for School Education Department), the government had formulated fee's structure and hostel rules for private schools as per the recommendation of the Education Reforms Commission.⁵⁶

While some of the recommendations of the Education Reforms Commission are implemented, at the same time, some of the recommendations have not been implemented due to the poor financial condition of the government. The Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) stated that the government is very slow in fulfilling and implementing the recommendation of the Education Reforms Commission. They also stated that transfer and posting rules should be prepared so that it will solve the problems of teacher's transfer and posting. The Mizo Students Union also highlighted that the government should take steps to have separate Colleges for Arts, Commerce, Science, etc. so that the students can confined their studies and create better atmosphere for the students. Both MZP and MSU uphold that the present condition of District Education Officer (DEO) and Sub-District Education Officer (SDEO) should be restructured because the senior Headmaster/Headmistress are appointed to the post and failed to administer the department. They also mentioned that the DEO/SDEO should be given full power within their respective jurisdiction.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The scholar interviewed Joseph Lalhimpuia on 9th March, 2017 at his Office Chamber in New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl.

⁵⁷ The scholar interviewed Lalsangzuala Ngente (MZP President) on 9th March, 2017 at MZP Office, Aizawl. The MSU President R.B. Lalmalsawma was interviewed by the scholar on the same date at MSU Office, Aizawl.

According to P. Lalchhuanga (Education Secretary, Govt. of Mizoram), the government have been taking sincere efforts in implementing the recommendation of Education Reforms Commission and many achievement can be seen in this regard. As a result, the government received 25 crore for the period of 2017-18 for infrastructural development in Education Department through North-Eastern Council (NEC), National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD), etc. He also stated that in order to strengthen the school administration, 50% of the vacant post for Headmaster in Primary, Middle and High School should be filled up through departmental examination as per the recommendation of Education Reforms Commission. He also expressed the need of having Recruitment Rules (RR) in order to have specific teachers like language, mathematics, science and general teacher's, etc. He further said that school norms & standard for every school is required in order to have quality education in Mizoram. Also, the transfer norms which are formulated by the government should be enforced in order to avoid and solve the problem of transfer and posting in Education Department.⁵⁸

The government officials, minister and other political party leader shared a common view that the setting up of Education Reforms Commission and its recommendation are good. The problem is that it failed to implement fully due to the poor financial condition of the government. Opposition leaders like Lalduhoma and Vanlahlana said that the government did not give priority to education, as a result, there is no improvement in the education system of Mizoram during the Congress regime. ⁵⁹

⁵⁸ P. Lalchhuanga (IAS) was interviewed by the scholar on 11th March, 2017 at Secretary's Office Chamber, New Secretariat Complex, Aizawl.

⁵⁹ The scholar interviewed Vanlalhlana on 22nd November, 2017 at MPC General Headquarters Office, Aizawl. Lalduhoma is interviewed on 23rd November, 2017 at his residence in Chawlhmun, Aizawl.

4.3 Achievements under Health & Family Welfare Department

The Congress government had initiated many new steps in Health & Family Welfare Department. Some of the achievements under the Department are discussed below:-

4.3.1 Functioning of Referral Hospital

The government put maximum efforts on the restructuring of the Referral Hospital. The 500-bedded state Referral Hospital which was abandoned by the previous government (MNF government) was re-structured and started functioning during the Congress Ministry (2008-2013). The state Referral Hospital at Falkawn is inaugurated by Chief Minister on 10th December, 2012. With the inauguration of the Referral Hospital in 10th December 2012, five Departments from Aizawl Civil Hospital namely- surgery, medicine, gynecology, pediatrics and dental are transferred to Referral Hospital to ease the heavy burden of Aizawl Civil Hospital and started functioning till date. At present, the Referral Hospital had 193 beds. The government has created 137 posts and filling up of the same being taken up to run the hospital successfully. The hospital started functioning and became one of the most important hospitals in the state.

4.3.2 Establishment of Medical College

The Congress government wanted to establish a Medical College in Mizoram. So they set up a Working Committee on Establishment of Mizoram Medical College in the previous Congress Ministry (2008-2013). The Health Minister (2008-2013) Lalrinliana Sailo declared during Assembly session that the government is planning to convert the

⁶⁰ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.22.

⁶¹ Health & Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram: https://health.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

'ruined' Refferal Hospital into a Medical College. He said that the estimate cost could be anything between Rs.300-400 crore. He added that a state-level committee had been constituted to follow-up the plan. He also blamed that the Hospital could not be completed as per the original plan due to gross violation of guidelines by the previous government. According to Lalrinliana Sailo, the Congress government in Mizoram has a cleared proposal to set up a full-fledged Medical College with the state-of-the-art Hospital in a shortest possible time. This would be the first Medical College in the remote and backward border state with a population of around nine lakh. The Congress government had submitted a Detailed Project Report (DPR) for the amount of Rs.442.29 crore to the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India for setting Medical College in Mizoram.

The government could not able to establish a medical college till date. However, the government initiated to establish a Medical College—'Mizoram Institute of Medical Education and Research' (MIMER) by upgrading the existing state Referral Hospital at Falkawn. The Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Government of India has approved and sanctioned Rs. 189.00 crore along with a funding pattern of 90:10. The government of Mizoram has allocated the share of the state, i.e. Rs. 5.56 crore as a 1st installment, the grant portion amounting to Rs. 4000 crore released by the Government of India. Renovation of the existing building is executed and open tender for procurement of

⁶² 'Mizoram to convert Referral Hospital into Medical College' (Dated 21st October, 2009). Nagaland Post: www.nagalandpost.com. Retrieved on 21st October, 2009. Accessed on 10th November, 2017.

 ⁶³ Goldmember. *Mizoram-ah Medical College* (Medical College in Mizoram). (Dated 9th November, 2009).
 Mi (sual).com: www.misual.com. Retrieved on 11th September, 2011. Accessed on 10th November, 2017.
 ⁶⁴ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.22.

equipment is underway. 65 Recently on 30th October, 2017, the Government of Mizoram appointed former Director of Regional Institute of Medical Science (RIMS) Dr. Lallukhum Fimate as the Director of Mizoram Institute of Medical Education and Research (MIMER). 66 The governments expect to start the Medical College in Mizoram as soon as possible. The Health Minister of Mizoram replied in the Assembly session (16th November, 2017) that the government received Rs. 102.2 crore from the central government in order to establish Medical College in Mizoram. He added that the state matching share of Rs. 11.34 crore is also sanctioned by the government. 67

4.3.3 Establishment of Cancer Hospital

Another achievement of the department is the setting up of the Mizoram State Cancer Institute (MSCI) at Zemabawk, Aizawl in 2010.⁶⁸ The hospital has been equipped with sophisticated machines. At present, there are 40-bedded inpatient wards with 14 day care beds, three Out Patient Department (OPD) for Radiation Oncology, two OPD for Medical Oncology, Department of Pathology and a Cobalt Source for treatment of cancer patients has been successfully installed with a cost of Rs. 160 lakhs which was provided by the State government in the previous Ministry (2008-2013).⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Health & Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram: https://health.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

⁶⁶ 'Dr. Fimate' (Dated 1st November, 2017). The Sangai Express: <u>www.thesangaiexpress.com</u>. Retrieved on 10th November, 2017.

⁶⁷ The Aizawl Post. (Mizo Daily Newspaper in Mizo dialect published in Aizawl). Dated 17th November, 2017.

⁶⁸ Civil Hospital Aizawl, Health & Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram: Civilhospitalaizawl.org. Retrieved on 10th November, 2017.
⁶⁹ Ibid.

4.3.4 Renovating District Hospital and Installation of Sophisticated Machines

The Congress party in its election manifesto affirms that special efforts will be taken in laboratory and diagnostic services in different hospital of the state and should be facilitate with the modern technology. The district hospital in each district will be upgraded so that the patient will not be referred to Aizawl for further treatment. ⁷⁰ The promise was somehow materialized in the sense that the Champhai District Hospital is upgraded with funds from flexi-pool of the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM).⁷¹. The Champhai District Hospital with the estimate of Rs. 1068.52 lakh was inaugurated by Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla on 30th October, 2014.⁷² The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER), Government of India conveyed approval of an amount of Rs. 1592.52 lakhs for upgradation of District Hospital, Saiha to 100 bedded hospitals. An amount of Rs. 573.31 lakhs had been released as 1st installment, budgetary transfer of fund costing to Rs. 637.01 lakhs (i.e. 573.31+63.70 lakh) was done. The state PWD had undertaken about 40% of the project.⁷³ Also, the Ministry of DoNER, Government of India has conveyed an administrative approval of Rs. 1191.51 lakhs with funding pattern of 90:10 of which an amount of Rs. 428.94 lakhs had been released as 1st installment and budgetary transfer of fund to the executing department, Public Works

Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Election Manifesto 2008, op.cit, p. 14.

⁷¹ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.23

⁷² Emily Lalrinpuii Sailo (MIS), IPRO, Champhai. *Chief Minister-in Champhai District Hospital Building Thar Hawng* (Chief Minister inaugurate New Building of Champhai District Hospital). (Dated 30th October, 2014). DIPR: https://dipr.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

Health & Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram: https://health.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

Department had already been done. Tender for execution of the project being floated by the state PWD.⁷⁴

The Aizawl Civil Hospital is being equipped with a Hospital Management & Information System at a cost of Rs. 466.51. Also, the district hospitals at Serchhip, Saiha and Kolasib and the Aizawl Civil Hospital are being improved with the installation of sterilization systems at a cost of Rs. 300 lakhs provided by the North Eastern Council (NEC).⁷⁵ With the approved cost of Rs. 280.00 lakh from NEC, a new CT Scan Machine has replaced the old one at Civil Hospital, Aizawl. The same was inaugurated on 26th September, 2013 by the Mizoram Health & Family Welfare Minister Lalrinliana Sailo.⁷⁶ The Department of Cardiology at the Aizawl Civil Hospital is being upgraded with the installation of sophisticated machine with an estimated cost of Rs. 499 lakh from NEC.⁷⁷.

The opposition leaders like Lalduhoma, Prof. J.V. Hluna and Vanlalhlana argued that the re-structuring of Referral Hospital is highly appreciated. Prof. J.V. Hluna and Vanlalhlana stated that Mizoram deserved and need a Medical College under Central government, instead of a Medical College under state government. The MNF leader Zoramthanga argued that there is no proper planning and vision to establish Medical College and it is like an election-oriented propaganda. While the ZNP leader Lalduhoma claims that the MNF was solely responsible for abandoning the Referral Hospital. He stressed that the previous governments, i.e. the MNF government build a very poor quality building and the Health Department (for a period of time) refused to take the

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⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.23

⁷⁶ Health & Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram: https://health.mizoram.gov.in. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017.

Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.23.

building. Contrary to Lalduhoma, Zoramthanga argued that the new initiative of the government was a total failure. The MNF leader stated that the Congress government did not want to continue the nearly concluded agreement with St. John Hospital (South India) for partnership in the establishment of Medical College in Falkawn in 2008.

4.4 Achievements under Sports & Youth Services

The main objective of Sports & Youth Services Department is to promote and support the youth who are interested in sports and to create a better environment for the sports personnel.⁷⁸ The Congress government took a new initiative to create a better facilitation in various sports discipline. Some of the achievements are analysed below:-

4.4.1 Construction of Major Infrastructural Development

One of the major achievements in Sports and Youth Services Department is the construction of an international stadium at Mualpui (Aizawl) known as Rajiv Gandhi Stadium. The stadium comprise of international standard size soccer field with artificial turf which is surrounded by eight track race course. The stadium was also use as a home ground of Aizawl Football Club, the Champion of Indian Football League (the top football league in India) in 2016-2017 seasons. Apart from the Rajiv Gandhi Stadium, the department has renovated the Assam Rifles Parade Ground at Aizawl with artificial turf which is the first of its kind in North East and the third in the country. Thuamluaia Field in Lunglei town and Chhangphut Field in Champhai town have been placed with artificial grass. The Hockey Field at the Boys' Hockey Academy located at Kawnpui, Kolasib

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⁷⁸ Directorate of Information & Public Relations. (2017). *Mizoram Today 2017*. Aizawl: Directorate of Information & Public Relations Department, Government of Mizoram. p.105.

District has also been constructed and laid astro-turf. The Cricket Stadium at Sihhmui, the western outskirt of Aizawl is still under construction.⁷⁹

Besides these, the Congress government has constructed Lal Thanhawla Indoor Stadium at Pitarte Tlang (Republic) in Aizawl. The department also constructed Vanlallawma Indoor Stadium in Champhai District and Ramhlun Indoor Stadium in Aizawl. The stadium was inaugurated in August, 2013. A multi-purpose hall, later known as R. Dengthuama Indoor Stadium at Mualpui, Aizawl with an estimate of 749.95 lakh was inaugurated by Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla on 20th April, 2016. The newly constructed Indoor Stadium had successfully hosted many national and state level competitions. Besides these, indoor stadium at Bungtlang and Keitum (Aizawl District), State Sports Academy at Zobawk (Lunglei District), Regional Sports Training Centre at Saidan (Kolasib District), Mini Sports Complex at Lengpui (Mamit Ditrict), YMA Playground at Hnahthial (Lunglei District), Sports Centre at Phulpui (Aizawl District), Mini-Sports Centre at Muallungthu (outskirt of Aiawl city), Indoor Stadium at Electric Veng (Aizawl), Multi-Purpose Indoor Hall at Sazaikawn (Lunglei District), etc are constructed by the government to fulfill its election manifesto.

4.4.2 Achievements in various Sports Discipline

The Mizoram State Sports Council (MSSC) stands for the promotion and endorsement of sports and games for the youth. The MSSC try to promote and support

⁸⁰ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.13

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.13

⁸¹ R. Dengthuama Indoor Stadium Hawng (R. Dengthuama Indoor stadium inaugurated).(Dated 21st April, 2016) .Vanglaini (Mizo Daily Newspaper): www.vanglaini.org. Retrieved on 30th October, 2017

⁸² Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.13

the talented sports personnel to develop and build their career. The MSSC act as a coordinator for various sports discipline to enhance training, coaching, organising competition and participating in national competition. It also acts as a facilitator to various sports discipline in disbursing funds from the government. Under the Mizoram State Sports Council, there are 31 Sports Association who received fund from the government.⁸³ The sport associations includes—arm wrestling, aquatics, archery, athletics, badminton, basketball, body building, boxing, chess, carrom, fencing, football, hockey, judo, karate, kick boxing, motor sports, muaythai, power lifting, rifle, sepaktakraw, snooker & billiards, table tennis, taekwondo, tennis, tug of war, volleyball, weightlifting, wrestling and wushu.⁸⁴

The Mizoram State Sports Council implemented state government sports policy such as 'Catch Them Young' which targets children from the age of six to twelve. 'Catch Them Young' policy was followed in various sports discipline like—archery, boxing, badminton, football, hockey, shooting, weight lifting, table tennis, taekwondo and judo. Qualified and trained coach provides training and coaching to the children so that they can compete at state, national and international level competition. Within a short period of time, the sports personnel also attain achievements in national and international level. Many state football players are playing in the highest Indian Football League like Indian League/Indian Super League, etc.

The opposition parties believed that the performance of the government in sports is good. Vanlahlana, Sr. Vice President of the MPC party stated that in the

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⁸³ Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Mizoram Today 2017, op.cit, p.104.

⁸⁴ '32 state level sports associations affiliated under Mizoram State Sports Council'. Mizoram State Sports Council, Government of Mizoram: https://sportscouncil.mizoram.gov.in. Accessed on 28th November, 2017.

globalised world, the government should initiate steps in infrastructural development in order to meet the demand of the youth. The main opposition party leader Zoramthanga argued that the funds for many of the major infrastructural development under the department were already completed during their government. He claims that with the change of the government in 2008, the Congress party had constructed and change venue of football stadium (Mualpui) and indoor stadium (Republic Vengthlang) from the allocated funds.

4.5 Achievement under Trade & Commerce Department

The government had initiated policies and programme in relation to trade and commerce, particularly in Indo-Myanmar Border Trade relations as well as Indo-Bangladesh Border Trade relations. The achievement in Indo-Myanmar and Indo-Bangladesh Border Trade are as under:-

4.5.1 Indo-Myanmar Border Trade relations

The Congress government initiated Indo-Myanmar Border Trade in order to foster trade relations with the two countries. The Composite Land Custom Station (CLCS) which was constructed with the help of the central government with an estimate of Rs. 700 lakhs failed to commission during the period of 2008-2013. However, the then Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Commerce & Industry Nirmala Sitharaman officially opened the Composite Land Custom Station at Zokhawthar on 25th March, 2015. Lal Thanhawla in his speech on the opening ceremony stated that the construction of Customs Station has been completed for a long time, but it could not be opened because no Union Minister could find the time to visit it. The Land Custom Station at

Zokhawthar is equipped with a weight bridge, plant quarantine building and toll-gate and is authorised to facilitate trade of 62 different commodities since 2012.⁸⁵

4.5.2 Indo-Bangladesh Border Trade relations

The government recognised the central government policy on Look East Policy/Act East Policy. The government also realise the importance of trading relations with Bangladesh. As a result, a DPR of Rs. Rs. 429.50 lakhs has been submitted to the Government of India for the construction of Land Custom Station at Zorinpui, Lawngtlai District and was approved by the Government of India during the period. As a first measure, a Trade Facilitation Building was constructed and was completed at the cost of Rs.108 lakhs at Demagiri (Tlabung), Mizoram. ⁸⁶

According to Lalrinliana Sailo (Minister of Trade & Commerce in 2008-20130, the Trade Facilitation Building which was funded by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was jointly inaugurated by him and Dipankar Talukdar, Bangladesh State Minister for Chittagong Hill Tracts on 10th December, 2011. They also unveiled the India-Bangladesh Shared Vision of Peace, Prosperity and Partnership stone at Kawrpuichhuah, the proposed border trade center for Indo-Bangladesh Trade. He also stated that a 'Memorandum of Understanding' (MoU) was signed between Mizoram Chamber of Commerce and Nitol Niloy (Bangladesh Company) in bamboo in 2010 at Beraw Tlang, Aizawl. Another 'Memorandum of Understanding' was signed between Mizoram Agricultural Marketing Corporation Limited (MAMCO), Government of

⁸⁵ Express News Service. MoS Nirmala Sitharaman opens Zotkhawthar Land Custom Station near Indo-Myanmar border (25th march, 2015). The Indian Express: <u>www.indianexpress.com</u>. Retrieved on 10th November, 2017.

⁸⁶ Media Department, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, A Report to the People: Achievements of the Congress Government during 2008-2013, *op.cit*, p.24.

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Mizoram and Abdul Matlub Ahmed, President of Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Bangladesh) in ginger.⁸⁷

The Border Trade between Indo-Myanmar and Indo-Bangladesh in Mizoram has started but not very significant. Lalduhoma (the President of ZNP) stated that the Border Trade is very important for the state of Mizoram. He wanted to give priority to the local product in the trade item. It is important to note that Border Trade is the concerned of the central government but the state government has to implement it. The state government fails to implement and execute the Border Trade with Myanmar. All the opposition party leaders expressed that the proposed Indo-Bangladesh Border Trade at Kawrpuichhuah, Lunglei district is in process for very long time, however, there is no achievement till now.

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⁸⁷ The scholar interviewed Lalrinliana Sailo on 12th September, 2017 at his residence in Upper Republic, Aizawl.

Chapter-V

Summary & Conclusion

Political party is one of the most important organisation for the attainment of man's political aims. Political party constitutes the life line of modern politics. Political Parties are indispensable for the working of modern democratic government. The importance of political parties lies in the fact that democracies cannot function without the existence of political parties. It is regarded as 'life blood of democratic politics'. The primary goal of political parties is to control political power. A political party is a group of people having more or less the same approach to the local, national and international issues and well organised under an agreed leader to capture political power through elections. In parliamentary system, the majority party forms government and tries to implement the policies outlined in its election manifesto.

Political Party originated in the late 19th century and early 20th century. The Indian National Congress (INC) was established in 1885 as a first political party in India. The formation of INC led to the unprecedented political socialization and mobilization of the masses which also recruited political actors from the local to the national level. The Indian National Congress dominated, guided and initiated the freedom struggle more as a mass movement than as a political party. It launched a nation-wide movement for political reform. Though the Indian National Congress was form in the year 1885, it was not the first association to be established in India. There were different socio-economic organisations (for example, the Zamindari Association founded in 1837, British Indian Association founded in 1851, the Indian Association founded in 1875, etc) in India which were formed to challenge the nature of British administration.

The INC spread its wing every nook and corner of India. Coming to the formation of Indian National Congress in the North-Eastern region, it can be traced back to the formation of the Assam Association in 1905 (as a first political organisation in Assam). The Assam Association later merged with the Indian National Congress in the same year, i.e. 1905. During the time, there was no political activity in the Lushai Hills. The first political party in Lushai Hills District was formed in 1946 and named it as Mizo Union (MU). Mizoram, the then Lushai Hills, was incorporated into the state of Assam in 1947 when the Indian Independence Act came into force. The central government immediately informed the matter to the Mizo Union which accepted the incorporation of the district into Assam state in accordance with the provision of the sixth schedule.

The Indian National Congress in Mizoram is the oldest surviving political party in the state. In the post-statehood era, the Congress party dominated the electoral politics of Mizoram. In fact, the Congress ruled Mizoram for 21 years and two months till November 2017 in the last 33 years or so. The other political party who ruled the state is the Mizo National Front (MNF). The INC in Mizoram was formed in the Mizo District of Assam (the present Mizoram) on 10th August, 1961 at Aizawl. During the time, the Mizo District was a revenue district of Assam, and as a result, the Congress unit in Mizo District was known as the Mizo District Congress Committee (MDCC). The first office bearers of the MDCC were: President—A. Thanglura, Vice-President—Lalsawia and Hrangchhuana as Treasurer.

The Mizo District Congress Committee was under the jurisdiction of Assam Pradesh Congress Committee since its inception in 1961 till the upliftment of Mizo District Council to Union Territory in 1972. The MDCC became a full-fledged territorial

unit of the Indian National Congress on 16th March, 1972 and came to be known as the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC). Consequently, the MPCC has been directly under the control of the All India Congress Committee (AICC). The Congress party in Mizoram passed through different phases during the last six decades. The party also faces internal conflict and challenges within the party. The party come across and became one of the most popular and powerful political parties in Mizoram.

The core objectives of the Indian National Congress in Mizoram lie in democracy, secularism, socialism and non-alignment. The Indian National Congress is a national party having territorial units all over the state of India. Though the INC in Mizoram is a national party, the aims and objectives of the Congress party in Mizoram shows that the party tries to adjust with the local context. In other words, the Indian National Congress in Mizoram is a localised party by keeping the main objectives of the Indian National Congress (INC). For instance, the party constitution stated that the party tries to work for the re-unification of Mizo who resides in different places. The party also promise to seek for one administrative unit that are separated by geographical boundary. It also stated to work for the benefits of the son of the soils. These ideas are also found in the constitution of other state parties like Mizo National Front (MNF) and Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP).

Coming to the organisational structure, the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) became the apex body of the party and its headquarters is located in Aizawl. The party have President, Vice President and Treasurer and is known as elected office bearers. Apart from this, the MPCC Executive Committee can decide one post each for Working President, Senior Vice President and Vice President if necessary. The

MPCC President in consultation with the elected office bearer can appoint General Secretary and Secretary and are known as office bearer too. The MPCC Executive Committee is next to the MPCC office bearers and has the power to function in the administration and other business on behalf of the party. The Mizoram Congress Committee (MCC) is the second highest committee in the MPCC, which is next only to the General Assembly. The District Congress Committee (DCC) can be established in Administrative District/ Autonomous District Council Area with its headquarters in Administrative Districts/ Autonomous District Council and became the highest organisational authority in the district. The Block Congress Committee (BCC) functions at the block level and the Unit Committee in each villages/locality functions at the bottom level.

The Congress party in Mizoram contested elections for the first time in the third Lushai Hills District Council elections held in 5th February, 1962. In the election, the INC failed to win even a single out of 24 seats (22 elected members and two nominated members). All the seat were managed to win by the Mizo Union (16 seats), Eastern India Tribal Union (two seats), Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union (two seats) and two independent candidates. In the fourth Mizo District Council Elections held in 1970, the Congress for the first time formed an Executive Committee with the help of some independent members. Zalawma became the first Congress Chief Executive Member (CEM) in the Mizo Hills District Council. During the time, the Mizo Hills District of Assam was upgraded to the status of a Union Territory in 21st January, 1972.

The Congress party did not performed well in the first, second and third Mizoram Union Territory Elections that were held in 1972, 1978 and 1979 respectively.

The Congress for the first time forms its first Union Territory government after the fourth Mizoram Union Territory Assembly Elections held in 15th April, 1984. The Congress government was headed by Lal Thanhawla as Chief Minister. After being in power for about two years and three months, the then Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla demitted his office in order to make way for the MNF leader Laldenga to become Chief Minister on 21st August, 1986. This was possible after the signing of 'Memorandum of Settlement' between the Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Government of India (popularly known as Mizoram Peace Accord) on 30th June, 1986. As a consequence, the MNF and the Congress party joined hands and formed an interim coalition government on 21st August, 1986. The coalition government was formed with Laldenga as the Chief Minister and Lal Thanhawla as the Deputy Chief Minister. The government was formed to fill the gap before the State Legislative Assembly Elections to be held in 1987.

The first Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections was held in 16th February, 1987. In the election, the MNF won 24 out of 40 seats, the Congress managed to secure 13 seats and the MPC got three seats. The MNF ministry was formed and Laldenga became the first Chief Minister of Mizoram in the post-statehood period. The first MNF Ministry did not last long due to intra-factionalism within the party. As a result, the Union government imposed President's Rule in Mizoram from 7th September, 1988 to 24th January, 1989. The President's Rule continued till the second Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections were held in 1989. In the second Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 22nd November, 1989, a Congress Ministry headed by Lal Thanhawla was formed. The Congress continued to rule the state till 1998 as it won the third Mizoram State Assembly Elections which was held in 30th November, 1993. However, the Congress was defeated by the MNF in the fourth and fifth Mizoram

State Legislative Assembly Elections held in 1998 and 2003. Zoramthanga became the Chief Minister for the first time in 1998 and continued till 2008. Nevertheless, the Congress managed to come back and swept the sixth Mizoram State Assembly Elections held in 2008 with thumping majority by winning 32 out of 40 seats. The Congress also retains its power in the seventh Mizoram State Assembly Elections held in 2013 with a landslide victory of 34 out of 40 seats in the elections. It means the Congress increased its tally from 32 to 34 in the Assembly elections held in 2013.

The Congress party used different strategies to win as much as possible in the election. The strategies used by the Congress party includes—house to house campaign, public meeting, publicising and exposing the election manifesto of the party, motivating and inspiring the voters, etc. The Congress leaders believed that for the party and the candidates, face to face contact with the people, publicising the propaganda of the party and sharing the views with the people are some of the important strategy of the party for elections. One of the most important strategies that the Congress adopted is to give party candidate to the winnable candidate. In other words, the key strategy of the Congress is to select winnable candidates from the prospective candidates. The Congress leaders do not believed that there is no difference between the strategies of the ruling party and the opposition party in its preparation for the election and hard work is the most important in the election.

The Congress leaders uphold that people appreciated the initiative of Lal Thanhawla for establishing peace and also sacrificing his position to bring peace and normalcy in the state. In appreciation of his work, the Mizo people rewarded Lal Thanhawla as Chief Minister for fifth term and had put their trust on his leadership. Also,

the party initiated and implemented some policies and programmes for the eradication of poverty in the state, particularly the New Land Use Policy (NLUP). The government schemes like the NLUP also brought more support during the election. Some leaders claimed that the performance of the Congress government (2008-2013) was appreciated by the people and rewarded in Legislative Assembly Elections of 2013 in which the party won 34 out of 40 seats, which is the highest record in the election history of Mizoram till date.

Coming to the election manifesto, the Congress party's election manifesto of 2008 can be broadly classified into three sectors— General Services, Social Services and Economic Services. The first sector (general services) comprise of 10 important themes—good governance, decentralisation of administration, legal, protection of Mizoram and Mizo unity, land revenue and taxation, ex-service and sainik, women and child welfare, rehabilitation and resettlement, labour and development of city and town. The second sector (social services) consists of six important themes. They are—media, education, health care, sports, youth affairs and information technology. The third sector, economic services contain 12 important themes, namely—infrastructural development, farming, industrial development, development of cottage industry, New Land Use Policy (NLUP) for the farmer, efforts for special economic zone, consumer affairs, self sufficiency in LPG, environment and forests, co-operative movement, tourism and development planning. Among all the above, the NLUP is considered as the most popular scheme of the Congress party. It is the party flagship programme for the state of Mizoram.

The Congress party's flagship programme— NLUP was actually initiated as a Land Use Policy during 1984-85, but it was not very popular. During the time, an amount

of Rs. 3,000/- was given as a one time assistance. The financial assistance was less so it did not have any positive impact. However, the Congress governments revive the scheme as New Land Use Policy (NLUP) during 1990/1991 to 1997/1998 in which financial assistance was increased to Rs. 30,000-Rs. 40,000. There were some positive impacts under the restructured NLUP, but the achievement was not satisfactory. The main reason was the absence of proper coordination among various government departments.

The Congress party recognised the failure of NLUP, so the party decided to have a separate Board for NLUP to implement its scheme properly. Therefore, after they assumed power, the Congress Ministry (2008-2013) set up a NLUP Board. The NLUP Apex Board is chaired by the Chief Minister and is the apex body in the NLUP organisational structure. The NLUP Implementing Board (NIB) constitutes the second highest body and chaired by the Vice Chairman of the NLUP Apex Board, one MLA appointed by the government. J.H. Rothuama, MLA from Champhai South Assembly constituency is the present Chairman of the NLUP Implementing Board. The government also constitutes District NLUP Implementing Committee at every district of the state. The District NLUP Implementing Committee is chaired by the Deputy Commissioner of the district. The Village Level Implementing Committee constitutes the lowest body which was set up in every village. The Village Implementing Committee is chaired by the Village Council President (VCP).

The party's flagship programme— the New Land Use Policy was officially launched at Aizawl on 14th January, 2011 by the Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla. The main intention of the NLUP is to alleviate the poor from the society. The government wants to include every poor family in the state as a beneficiary of the programme. Also,

the assistance and aid given to the beneficiary should be transparent and even a single penny should not be misused. In order to achieve it, there should be beneficiaries list in every district and in every village. The list should mention the trade and the assistance it get. In addition to it, there should be Project Report Book for every village in order to ensure transparency within the village. The main objective of the NLUP is to provide a reliable and consistent occupation for the farmers'. In its election manifesto, the Congress party stated that it will try to provide subsistence economy for the rural farmers by giving them assistance and financial aids. This programme is to be environment friendly and will help in preservation and protection of the environment.

The NLUP is implemented by eight departments in the beginning. But the trade/activities for urban poor under Industries Department are taken over by Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Department (UD & PA). Therefore, the NLUP covers nine Departments and are known as NLUP Line Department. They are—Agriculture, Animal Husbandry & Veterinary (AH & Vety), Environment Forest & Climate Change (EF & CC), Fisheries Department, Horticulture, Industries (now Commerce & Industries), Sericulture, Soil & Water Conservation and Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation (UD & PA). The NLUP involves a total amount of Rs. 1525.14 crore and has three components, namely—Management, Infrastructure and Development Component.

The Congress leaders claim that the NLUP is a policy for the alleviation of poor people and to established permanent occupation for the people. They stated that the success or failure of the NLUP cannot be measured in a short span of time. Many of the trades like orange cultivation, oil palm and other fruits involve a long duration in order to

see the results. While the success in other trades like dairy farming, piggery, poultry farming, etc. can be observed in a few months or years. Among the success trade/activities of the NLUP, Auto Rickshaw is one of them as it provided the Auto Rickshaw itself and can start their business within a short span of times. While, some Congress leaders agreed that some people have considered it as a political programme and some beneficiaries also misuse the funds. The failure of some trades of the programme is due to the lack of proper monitoring process and also wrong process of selection of the beneficiaries. The Congress leaders also agreed that there was some failures in the monitoring of trades/activities and selection process of the beneficiaries.

There is a difference of opinion among the opposition parties with regards to the failure or success of the New Land Use Policy. The opposition leaders like Zoramthanga (MNF President) and Prof. J.V. Hluna (Mizoram BJP President) argued that the NLUP is totally failed as it is a election-oriented policy. They claim that the governments just distribute money to the people from the state's budget and it also affects the morale of the people. The NLUP did not have proper plan and scheme, and become a liability for the state. While opposition leaders like Lalduhoma (ZNP President) and Vanlalhlana (Sr. Vice President of MPC) praise the NLUP as its sound very well by its name and its policy. Also, the NLUP is a convergence scheme which is important for the state like Mizoram. It is because the convergence scheme led to the absence of the mismatch between the guidelines of the state government and central government. At the same time, there is failure and inefficiency in the execution, selection process as well as monitoring process. Lalduhoma argued that the NLUP seems like a primary membership enrolment drive of the Congress than a development schemes. The government did not have proper planning for facilitating the good performer, instead they check whether the

beneficiary remain faithful and loyal to the party or not. The government also fails to provide a reliable and profitable market.

The study found that the statement of both the ruling and the opposition parties are true to some extent. The scholar interviewed ten beneficiaries of NLUP. Out of 10 beneficiaries, two were from dairy farming, one beneficiary each from piggery, poultry, wet rice cultivation (WRC), petty trade, beauty parlour and desktop publishing. The scholar also interviewed (through telephone) two beneficiaries from Auto Rickshaw trade.

The study found that five trades (Auto Rickshaw, poultry, piggery and WRC) are success. Auto Rickshaw business is successful trade under NLUP. The beneficiary are given Auto Rickshaw in kind and can start running their business from the day the Auto Rickshaw is received. The beneficiaries have the average income of not less than Rs. 600 per day. The study also found that poultry farming is successful. The beneficiary received 100 chicken (koiler) and have hatch around 25-30 eggs per day. They sold regularly and it became an important source of income for their family. The scholars come across that beneficiary engaging in piggery is also successful. The beneficiary continuously engaged in the same trade and earned around Rs. 1.5 lakh from the trade since 2011 till date. The scholar found that the Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC)-II is also successful. One of the beneficiary stated that the assistance from NLUP have a very positive impact in their six bighas of land. He can earn around Rs. 1.2 lakh per year from the farm.

The study reveals that dairy farming is not very successful. The scholar interviewed two beneficiaries from dairy farming and found that both the beneficiaries failed in their trade. The scholar came across that the occupation of one of the beneficiary

was affected because they received unhealthy cows and one died after receiving them. This led to the dead of another seven cows which he had before receiving the cow from NLUP. Though one cow survived, he sold it as the cow was not healthy to rear. Similarly, one beneficiary from dairy farming trade also received three unhealthy cows. These cows have problem in reproduction and did not produce milk to sell. As a result, after one year, they sold and bought another two cow again. However, due to family problem, they abandoned their main occupation and started engaging in petty trades.

The scholar found that trades under NLUP like Desktop Publishing (DTP), beauty palour and petty trade are also not successful. The beneficiary engaging in beauty parlour stated that it was not possible to set up a standard parlour by Rs. 1 lakh. He added that in order to set up standard beauty parlour, it requires a least Rs. 5 lakh. However, the NLUP assistance can have positive change in the up- gradation of the parlour to some extends. The government provides Rs. 1 lakh to DTP beneficiaries without any installment. One beneficiary who already set up printing press before the NLUP scheme stated that the assistance of Rs. 1 lakh cannot do anything in order to carry and set up their business. He added that in order to run DTP business, one requires around Rs. 5 lakh. The study found that petty trade was not very successful. One beneficiary who received Rs. 50,000 from the NLUP stated that the amount she received was very less compared to other trade. She opines that if the assistance is at least Rs. 1 lakh, than it will have a positive impact and can earned Rs. 2000-3000 from an ordinary shop.

Apart from the NLUP, the Congress government initiated and formulated an Education Policy for Mizoram— 2013. It is one of the important achievements of the Congress party in Mizoram. The Mizoram Education Policy- 2013 had 10 key points.

They are—reorganisation and revamp of education department, universalisation of elementary education, learning with understanding and comprehension, vocational education (skill development), higher studies and professional courses, inclusive education, teachers' welfare an teacher education, strong cultural roots and moral values, privatisation in education and empowerment of community. Moreover, the government also formed an Education Reforms Commission (ERC) which commenced their work from 1st July, 2009 and submitted its report on 30th July, 2010. The setting up of the Commission shows that the government wanted to bring positive change in the field of education. The Report on Education Reforms Commission has 15 Chapters with recommendation of 116 points.

The Congress government has put maximum efforts to implement all the recommendations of Mizoram Education Reforms Commission. Some of the recommendations of the ERC have been implemented, majority of them are not implemented. Out of the recommendations, the government implemented some of the issues like—school education, school curriculum, educating teachers, teachers and teacher organisation, engaging adults in education and literacy, private sector in education and educational governance in Mizoram. A huge amount of funds is required to implement all the recommendations of the Commission which is not an easy task for a fund starved state like Mizoram. However, the government officials, minister and other political party leader shared a common view that the setting up of Education Reforms Commission and its recommendation is good. The problem is that it failed to implement fully due to the poor financial condition of the state. Opposition leaders like Lalduhoma and Vanlalhlana said that the government did not give priority to education, as a result, there is no improvement in the education system of Mizoram during the Congress regime.

The Congress government also initiated some notable steps in Health & Family Welfare Department. A 500-bedded state Referral Hospital which was abandoned by the previous government (MNF ministry) was re-structured and started functioning during the Congress ministry (2008-2013). The state Referral Hospital at Falkawn was inaugurated on 2012. Since then, five departments from Aizawl Civil Hospital namely-surgery, medicine, gynecology, pediatrics and dental were transferred to Referral Hospital to ease the heavy burden of Aizawl Civil Hospital and started functioning. The Congress government determined to establish a Medical College at Falkawn, so the government submitted a Detailed Project Report (DPR) for an amount of Rs. 442.29 crore to the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Government of India.

The Congress governments also realise the importance of establishing a Cancer Hospital in Aizawl. Subsequently, Mizoram State Cancer Institute (MSCI) was established on 2010 at Zemabawk, Aizawl. Moreover, the department submitted a Detailed Project Report (DPR) to establish a 100-bedded Cancer Hospital to the central government. Some of the district hospitals, namely—Champhai District Hospital, Serchhip District Hospital, Saiha District Hospital and Kolasib District Hospital and the state's primer hospital, i.e., Aizawl Civil Hospital were upgraded and many sophisticate and new machines were installed in such District hospital.

The opposition leaders (like Lalduhoma, Prof. J.V. Hluna and Vanlalhlana) argued that the re-structuring of Referral Hospital is highly appreciated. Prof. J.V. Hluna and Vanlalhlana stated that Mizoram deserved and need a Medical College under central government, instead of a Medical College under state government. The MNF leader

Zoramthanga argued that there is no proper planning and vision to establish Medical College and it is like an election-oriented propaganda.

It can be mentioned here that the Congress party recognises sports as essential for building a strong and disciplined nation as well as a drug/alcohol free society. As a result, the Congress government took various initiatives to create Mizoram as a powerhouse of Indian sports. The major achievement of the Sports and Youth Services Department are mainly in the field of infrastructural development such as construction of stadium and laying of artificial turf/ astro turf in various grounds. For example, a multidisciplinary international standard stadium was constructed which is known as Rajiv Gandhi Stadium at Mualpui, Aizawl. The stadium comprise of international standard size soccer field with artificial turf which was surrounded by eight track race course. Apart from this, artificial turf/ astro turf have been place in different district football ground and hockey stadium. For example, Indoor stadiums namely— Vanlallawma Indoor Stadium in Champhai District, Ramhlun Indoor Stadium in Aizawl, Hawla Indoor Stadium in Aizawl and a multi-purpose hall known as R. Dengthuama Indoor Stadium at Aizawl, etc for various sports discipline are constructed during the period.

The department of Sports and Youth Services also launched and initiated sports policy and programme called 'Catch Them Young'. It is a policy which aimed to promote the talent of young children between 6-12 years. 'Catch Them Young' covers various sports discipline like—archery, boxing, badminton, football, hockey, shooting, weight lifting, table tennis, taekwondo and judo. Qualified and trained coach provides training and coaching to the children so that they can compete at state, national and international level competition. Another scheme known as 'Olympic Vision 2016' was launched to

produce more Olympiad from Mizoram. The state government had selected nine different sports discipline for the 'Olympic Vision 2016'. However, there was only one woman from Mizoram who was selected as the players of Indian Olympic Woman Hockey team. The opposition parties feel that the performance of the government in sports was good.

The Congress government takes up some steps to promote Trade & Commerce in Mizoram. The Congress government (2008-2013) initiated steps to inaugurate Composite Land Custom Station (CLCS) at Zokhawthar, Champhai district to increase border trade. With the help of the central government, the Land Custom Station Building was constructed to act as a trade center by facilitating bilateral trade between India and Myanmar. The Land Custom Station was officially inaugurated by Nirmala Sitharaman, the then Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Commerce and Industry on 25th March, 2015. However, it is not fully utilized as a trade center between the two countries. The government had initiated important steps in order to have a cordial relation with Myanmar and Bangladesh in the area of trade and commerce. The Congress government also interested and took initiatives in establishing good trade relations with Bangladesh.

From the above discussion, the study concludes that the Indian National Congress in Mizoram occupied an important place in the politics of Mizoram. It is the oldest surviving political party in the state. It is also the Congress who ruled the state for the longest period. In fact, the Congress ruled the District Council for around two years. During the Union Territory period, the Congress ruled for around two years and three months. The party ruled the state of Mizoram for around 19 years in the post-statehood era till date. Here, it can be noted that it is Lal Thanhawla who has been the Chief

Minister of Mizoram whenever the Congress form ministry in the state. In other words, the present Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla serves Mizoram for 21 years and two months till November, 2017. This is a remarkable achievement for the party in general and particularly for Lal Thanhawla. It does not mean that the parties do not face any challenges and difficulties in the past as well as in the present

Actually the Indian National Congress in Mizoram, like other political parties in Mizoram faces many internal and external challenges within the party and had experience two major split. In the past, the Congress were decimated and severely defeated in the election, but they always come back very strong. For instance, in the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Elections of 2008 and 2013, the Congress party secured 32 and 34 seats out of 40 respectively. As a result, the Congress serves the state continuously for two consecutive terms and will face the eight Mizoram State Assembly elections in the last part of 2018. Thus, the Indian National Congress became one of the most popular and powerful political party in Mizoram.

Abbreviations

AH & Vety Animal Husbandry and Veterinary

AICC All India Congress Committee

AIDS Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

APHLC All Party Hill Leaders Conference

ASIDE Assistance to States for Development of Export

Infrastructure and Allied Activities

BCC Block Congress Committee

BJP Bharatiya Janata Party

BPL Below Poverty Line

CAU Central Agriculture University

CCC City Congress Committee

CCE Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation

CCN Consultative Committee for NLUP

CEM Chief Executive Member

CLCS Composite Land Custom Station

CNF Chin National Front

CSS Centrally Sponsored Scheme

DCC District Congress Committee

DEO District Education Officer

DIET District Institute for Education and Training

DoNER Development of North Eastern Region

DP & AR Department of Personnel and Administrative

Reforms

DPR Detail Project Report

DTP Desktop Publishing

EBB Educationally Backward Block

ECCE Early Childhood Care and Education

EF & CC Environment, Forest and Climate Change

EITU Eastern India Tribal Union

ERC Education Reforms Commission

EU Ephraim Union

GPS Global Positioning System

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HPC Hmar People Convention

ICFAI Institute of Finance Chartered Financial Analysts

of India

ICP Integrated Check-Post

IIM Indian Institute of Management

IIIT Indian Institute of Information Technology

IIT Indian Institute of Technology

INC Indian National Congress

ITI Industrial Training Institute

JD (U) Janata Dal (United)

KMTTP Kaladan Multi Modal Transport Transit Project

KV Kendriya Vidyalaya

LCV Light Commercial Vehicle

LJP Lok Janshakti Party

MAMCO Mizoram Agricultural Marketing Corporation

Limited

MCC Mizoram Congress Committee

MCI Medical Council of India

MCP Mizoram Congress Party

MDC Members of District Council

MDCC Mizo District Congress Committee

MDF Mara Democratic Front

MES Mizoram Education Service

MFP Mara Freedom Party

MHA Ministry of Home Affairs

MHIP Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl

MHRD Ministry of Human Resource Development

MIMER Mizoram Institute of Medical Education and

Research

MJD Mizoram Janata Dal

MLA Member of Legislative Assembly

MNF Mizo National Front

MNF (D) Mizo National Front (Democratic)

MNF (N) Mizo National Front (Nationalist)

MoS Memorandum of Settlement

MoU Memorandum of Understanding

MPC Mizoram People's Conference

MPCC Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee

MPYCC Mizoram Pradesh Youth Congress Committee

MSCI Mizoram State Cancer Institute

MSU Mizo Students Union

MSSC Mizoram State Sports Council

MU Mizo Union

MULCO Mizoram Multi-Commodity Producer Cooperative

Union

MZP Mizo Zirlai Pawl

MZU Mizoram University

NABARD National Bank for Agricultural and Rural

Development

NAS National Ambulance Service

NCERT National Council of Educational Research and

Training

NCP Nationalist Congress Party

NCTE National Council of Teacher Education

NEC North Eastern Council

NHM National Health Mission

NIB NLUP Implementing Board

NIT National Institute of Technology

NLUP New Land Use Policy

NRHM National Rural Health Mission

NSUI National Students' Union of India

NVEQF National Vocational Education Qualification

Framework

OB Office Bearers

OPD Out Patient Department

PC People's Conference

PLTU Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union

PWD Public Works Department

RIMS Regional Institute of Medical Science

RR Recruitment Rules

RSBY Rastriya Swasthya Bima Yojana

RTE Right to Education

RKVY Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana

SCERT State Council of Educational Research and

Training

SDEO Sub-District Education Officer

SMAM Sub Mission on Agriculture Mechanization

SSA Sarva Siksha Abhiyan

UDA United Democratic Alliance

UD & PA Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation

UEE Universalization of Elementary Education

UMFO United Mizo Freedom Organisation

UPA United Progressive Alliance

UPSC Union Public Service Commission

UT Union Territory

VCP Village Council President

VRS Voluntary Retirement Scheme

WRC Wet Rice Cultivation

YMA Young Mizo Association

ZNP Zoram Nationalist Party