

## Impact of Memory and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Efforts in Mizoram

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### Abstract

*The Mizo insurgency movement called Rambuai reigned over with chaos and turbulence from 1966-1986. The immediate reason for conflict in Mizoram was the dreadful “Mautam Famine” of 1959 and the consequent lack of state action to address the condition of the Mizoram district. The Mizoram insurgency broke out with the declaration of Mizoram independence from the Indian Union by the Mizo National Front. It spawned a full-fledged Uprising in 1966. The insurgency and counter insurgency measures adopted by the Indian Government brought severe misery and sufferings and left a deep psychological and emotional impact on the civilian population of the Mizos. The use of air force, sexual violence and grouping of villages in particular turned insurgency in the district to be the darkest period in the history of Mizoram.*

*However, the biggest challenges faced by post-conflict societies are how to deal with and remember the crimes of the past. In many countries, clarification of historical memory of the past has become a cause for political debates and provoked tensions among social groups. Mizoram has not escaped the debate over historical memory of Rambuai. Nevertheless, in recent years, generations of Mizo researchers and scholars have addressed the ethnic movement from a myriad of theoretical and political perspectives to reconstruct and re-visit the untold memories. In pursuance of the growing effort, the paper will examine the post-conflict reconstruction efforts in Mizoram and the impact of memory upon the rebuilding process.*

**Keywords:** Memory, Reconstruction, Memorials, Commemorations, Mizo Insurgency.

Memory plays a crucial role in post-conflict reconstruction, as it aids the establishment of a collective memory, which in turn contributes to the creation of cultural identity, and the establishment of a narrative of truth, both of which are necessary in the rebuilding process. Using the theory of cultural trauma as its

framework, the paper is a study of trauma and collective memory; its impact and the social process through which such memory is constructed and maintained. Cultural trauma should be distinguished from the classical and popular notions of trauma, which have in common the naturalistic assumption that trauma results

from a wound inflicted on the body or the mind through an overwhelming event which imposes itself on a victim (Alexander: 2004). By contrast, cultural trauma is more contingent and involves discursive practices, collectivities, collective memory and collective identity in a struggle to define what is experienced as traumatic. (Eyerman,2011). There can be no doubt that Mizo insurgency 'Rambuai' was traumatic in the social and scholarly meaning of the term. The inhuman trauma caused to the Mizos by the Indian army during the insurgency period resulted in the death of 2116 innocent people.(Lalhmanmawia,2011) Due to the atrocities countless number of men were made handicapped or physically disabled. Moreover, almost eighty two percent of Mizoram's total population was evacuated and relocated in village groupings. More than 300,000 houses were burned to ashes and even the church buildings were not spared in many villages. Various brutalities and inhuman treatment given to the general population was to such a shameful degree that the ideals of right to live, right to freedom of expression and question of justice never gained a ground. Arbitrary arrests, detention without reasonable grounds, molestation and rape of innocent women, inhuman treatment or torture of innocents on ground of suspicion etc, were common incidents. The population also suffered a great deal at the hands of the MNF army. The trauma came to an end with the signing of peace accord between the MNF and the government of India on the 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1986.

Social scientists and human rights scholars have asserted the importance of memory both in reconciliation and healing after mass violence. However, it is difficult to determine the most appropriate way to facilitate reconciliation between groups who previously torture, rape, stole from or killed one another, as there is no 'one-size-fits-all' approach. While policies cannot remedy the murder of one's family, scholars, activists and practitioners argue that some action must be taken post- violence in order to address the trauma of these human rights violation (Caruth,1995). Nations, often in an effort to overcome a contentious past, create collective memories for the country to draw on for years to come.

The phenomena of a group shared memory has been studied under many different labels – public memory, collected memory, social memory, collective memory – all of which are not perfectly synonymous (see Young, 1993, Osborne, 1998) This article does not provide an exhaustive review of these work, but rather defines collective memory and its attributes in a way that provides a foundation for the present arguments. Halbwachs (1992, p 38) emphasized the social nature of all memory stating that individual thought is capable of the act of recollection only in so far as one places oneself within the social frameworks of memory. Along this line Hutton (1993) defines collective memory as an 'elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideals that marks out the dimension of our

imaginings according to the attitudes of the social group to which we relate' (cited in Osborne, 1998). This network is populated by what Halbwachs (1992:222-3) refers to as 'landmarks', that is, 'particular figures, dates and periods of time' which localize a society's mores, values and ideals. While Halbwachs states that 'landmarks' are always carried 'within ourselves' (1992:175), he seeks to go beyond a psychological explanation of memory (Olick and Robbins, 1998) Indeed, collective memory 'exists in the world' and such 'landmarks' and collective memories are often 'material' and are dependent on how groups interact with them (Osborne, 2001). (Zerubavel, 2003) argues that collective memory is a process of groups gaining an ample amount of social memories of their past and is a way to practice recollection so that the past becomes something that is cognitively recognizable. Monuments and memorials are common materializations of collective memory and are dealt with later.

As with all memory, collective memory is represented and reproduced in narrative form through various means such as oral telling, literature, film, monuments, memorials and commemorative events such as anniversaries and holidays. Through such media and related rituals, the stories and myths that congeal as collective memory serve as a foundation upon which collective identity rests. In the case of nations, there is no single collective memory; rather, there are many voices that overtime achieve some cohesive clarity.

In this regard, one can distinguish official collective memory from cultural memory, where different interpretations of the past confront one another (Mitztal, 2003). Individual memory and the collective memory of various groups are important of course, as they contribute to collective memory, in some cases offering a counter to official versions. The Mizo public experience of violence during Rambuai came to the fore almost a decade after the outbreak of the movement, with the formation of Human Rights Committee in 1974 by Brig. Thenphunga Sailo. Over the past few years, there has been an increase in the prominence of memorials in post-conflict Mizo society. The magnitude and cruelty of armed conflicts continue to come to light as testimonies of victims and publication of diaries, literature portraying *Rambuai*, (the trouble period) have increased studies and scholarly articles, historical records are being examined and memories are re-visited. There exists a growing attempt to unfold the truth, to retell stories, do justice to those no more, and to provide unbiased history for the future generation. *Rambuai Literature*, a book offering interesting fare of MNF narratives vaporizing the movement and also literature offering the flip side of many a story 'non MNF narratives' emanating from pastors, church elders, pensioners, ex-servicemen, school teachers and all those who have something to tell, to narrate is being published. A central aspect of the cultural trauma process is this collective attempt to locate the cause of suffering, to place blame and to point remedies.

Since the 1990s “memory boom”<sup>1</sup> of scholarship engaging in memory politics and commemoration, social science disciplines have emerged with a new found heuristic for understanding history, identity, social movements and social relations. After the rediscovery of Maurice Halbwachs’s book, *On Collective Memory*, social scientist began to re-examine the ways in which the past effect the present. One central trend within memory studies explores how communities, movements and nations remember their pasts in ways that create a sense of solidarity or exceptionality within the larger global community. Much of these trends build upon Benedict Anderson’s prominent analysis of how “imagined communities” are created and maintained to make individuals, who normally would feel little connection to one another, feel allied with one another in nationalist projects (1991). “Imagining a community” refers to the practice of sharing traditions, practicing communal rituals or encouraging ideas of common descent. (Connerton 1989)

While these studies are particularly helpful in framing the discussion of memorializing efforts in post-conflict societies, the sociology of memory has lacked rigorous scholarship on how gender shapes narratives of the past, memorialization efforts or how gender shapes who become experts of the past. While few scholars have been in exception to this rule, the vast majority of collective memory scholarship has lacked attention to gender on any analytical level. Women’s

experience of human rights abuses has often been neglected in transitional justice approaches, with lack of regard for the complex injuries and violations that women suffer. However, the issue of how to remember sexual and gender-based violence, including gendered torture, mutilation and rape of women, posed an extremely difficult challenge. This is in part due to the fact that the topic of sexual violence and discussion of sexuality more generally, is culturally taboo. The complicated process of remembering gendered violence during National or state commemoration or memorial projects within a context of silence, secrecy and shame among rape survivors, especially those who have since remarried creates challenges for public testimony. This is due to the fact that most survivors of sexual violence are uncomfortable sharing their experiences, which leads to very few testimonies of gendered violence. Moreover, no consensus can be drawn as to the best way to disseminate those narratives or facilitate discussion on such horrific and shameful acts.

Collective memory is thus an active process of meaning-making in which various social forces competes. Collective can thus be distinguished from history – the professionalized reconstruction of the past that aims at factual truth. Following Benedict Anderson (1983) and Paul Connerton (1989), we conceive of nations as imagined communities, where the construction and maintenances of collective identity is both a necessary and

ongoing process. The existence of core narratives that regulate and inform collective memory implies a nation of the past that is non-objective and fluid. Following in the traditions of Durkheim and Halbwachs, we understand collective memory as an integral part of a more general collective consciousness (Durkheim, 1995; Halbwachs, 1992). Every society requires a sense of continuity in order to maintain social cohesion overtime, and a narrated collective memory that is reinforced through everyday rituals and collective events is crucial to that (Mitzal, 2003) Halbwachs proposed that social groups – families, religious cult, political organizations and other communities – develop strategies to hold fast to their images of the past through places, monuments and rituals of commemoration ( Halbwach, 1992 )

Core national narratives and related ritual practices like holidays and commemorations are meant to cement collective identification, as they distinguish “us” from “them”, those inside and outside of the collective. The ultimate aim is to secure loyalty to the abstract collectivity we call a nation. For the nation state, it is the past that unifies and ties communities who inhabit the nation state. This can be sacred and symbolic, but is often imbued with myth. Apart from this, national past commemorate important historical events making them a living memory. The banality of such nationalist expression confirms the state agenda of

controlling public consciousness through statues, museums, etc ( Billig 1995). These form a collective reminder of the nation’s great past. It is through them that national past is converted into memory in the present..

Days of commemorations and ceremonies were shown to keep memory alive by helping to acknowledge and identify specific numbers killed, by whom, and where in order to give a voice to their stories and experiences, as well as public acknowledgement of their sufferings. Commemorative days or rituals can be especially important for survivors of violence; this provides a time where their suffering is publicly recognized. Communities acknowledged what occurred in the past including the multiple levels of wrongdoings. In Mizoram, memorials hold commemorative events on annual anniversary of the bombing of Aizawl on 5<sup>th</sup> March, 1996 – the first air raid by the Indian Air Force on civilian territory within the country. Since 2008, Mizoram has observed March 5 as *Zoram Ni* or *Zoram Day*. The idea is to revive the idea of self-determination and instill the importance of sacrifice among the younger generation. On the event of 50th anniversary of this day, Lalremruata, a progressive member of the Zo-Reunification organization expressed that “the horror of that day still haunts every Mizo, but the positive aspect is that it inspires us to secure Zo nationalism, which is already crossing the national boundaries”.

While Mizoram now has emerged as one of the most peaceful states and marching ahead as one of the most developing states of India, memories of the inferno still remain with those who survived the trial by fire. Till today there has been no satisfactory answer as to why India used such excessive force against its own citizens in order to suppress an insurgency. The event serves as good a time to go beyond just questioning the morality of the bombing, or the complexities that led to it. It serves as a platform to understand its legacy. The bombing of Aizawl to secure the Indian nation state further paralyzed the Mizos from sharing in the notion of Indian nationalism. Memory of the excessive action simply helped to cement the feeling of otherness within the Mizos vis-à-vis the rest of India. The bombing helped strengthen Zo nationalism said Zarzosanga, a Mizo scholar.

*“The bombing of Aizawl did not deter or detach the heart of Zo nationalism,”* he said. *“Instead it makes Zo nationalism more evident and alive and outside the interest and understanding of Indian nationalism. The bomb actually othered the Mizos from India and Indians. The blunder made by the Government of India with its decision to bomb Aizawl was an affirmation and acknowledgement of Mizo nationalism. (Northeast Today, 22 Sept. 2015)*

Mr. Lalhmachhuana, the president of Mizo Zirlai Pawl, 2015 in his interview said that *“we have been observing this day*

*to instill a sense of patriotism among younger generations. We must not forget the saddest day in our history”* (retrieved from Northeast Today, 28<sup>th</sup> August, 2015)

The horror that the air – strikes entail may have been forgotten by the rest of India but they remain etched indelibly in the mind of those who suffered. The embedded memory is signified by an instance when as late as 2010, there was strong public outcry demanding apology from the Government of India for all the atrocities committed during the troubled years and for the aerial attack on Aizawl on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> March 1966. J.V.Hluna, a prominent and renowned historian, in an interview stated that

*“We never wanted anything big from the centre. All we wanted is that the Prime Minister saying sorry in Parliament for all that it did in 1966.” (Times of India, 5<sup>th</sup> March, 2011).*

Such commemoration, through annual observation not only animates remembering the event, but also infuses attachment and loyalty among citizens. Public landscapes of commemoration evolve through a complex interplay of social and political forces. In democratic societies, even though special interests may promote their own agendas, there is measure of consensus involved in acts of public commemoration. The main events that is commemorated in Mizoram is ‘Remna ni’ or peace day, the anniversary of the signing of the historic Mizo Peace Accord on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1986. The MNF has

observed 'Remna ni' since the time of signing the accord; it was elevated to a state level in 2006, to commemorate 20 years of successful peace settlement. Meeting of Mizoram's major Non-Governmental Organizations and Political Parties on 29<sup>th</sup> April, 2016 decided to celebrate the 'Remna Ni' a state-wide event. The meeting resolved to set an organizing committee headed by the central committee of the Young Mizo Association (YMA), the meeting also decided that the event be celebrated in all districts of Mizoram to be organized by all NGO's and political parties and that all the church leaders across the state be asked to offer thanks giving prayers on the Peace Day. Thus, the year 2016 saw the active involvement of organizations and the church among others in commemorating the day. To mark the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the day people cutting across party lines took part in the celebrations marking a historic day for the state. The main celebration in Aizawl was held in the Assam Rifles ground, locally known as Lammual, the then Governor of the state Nirbhay Sharma hoisted a black and white flag modified from the Mizo traditional Puan, Ngotekherh which bears the map of Mizoram and a sketch of two hands clasped in a handshake while the peace symbol dove hovered above the flag. It was a poignant way to mark the spirit of peace and reconciliation, of which Mizoram has become a symbol and a substance of. The celebration held in 40 places across the state was jointly organized by all the political parties,

churches and NGO's under the aegis of the central committee of the YMA. The celebration of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary in 2018 was organized by the state apex student body, Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP), at Pachhunga University College and the event was graced by the Chief Minister and also addressed by different leaders of different political parties of the state. On the event, MNF founder president and former Chief Minister late Laldenga, Congress President and Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla and a retired IAS officer Lalkhama were commemorated for their "outstanding contributions" toward establishment of peace in Mizoram. Meanwhile, Mizoram Governor, Kummanam Rajsekharan sent his greetings to the people saying that "*Remna Ni is a watershed in the history of Mizoram as it renews our hope for a peaceful, progressive and developed Mizoram*". (Morungexpress.com, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2018). He then urged the people to remember those who laid down their lives for the cause of Mizoram, the most peaceful state in the country, and their dreams of a better tomorrow.

Memorialization is increasingly recognized as an integral part of transitional justice processes. It is seen as a component of reparation that can provide recognition and acknowledgement to victims and serve to demonstrate a new regime's commitment to tell the truth, about the past and to avoid repeating human rights violations. Memorials are purported to promote healing and

reconciliation, but, however, such claims are crouched; empirical support for them is scant. While Remna Ni does commemorate or even celebrate the end of two decades of conflict, it actually celebrates the idea of “peace”. It clearly outlines the state’s agenda of ignoring the public experiences and memories of the period. The narratives of peace, by and large, overshadow the violence and trauma suffered by the people in the troubled years. Also, though much of the Mizo-inhabited areas, even outside of Mizoram, have been equally affected by the movement, celebration remains confined to present day Mizoram alone. Therefore, the celebration of peace is concurrently connected to the success of India’s counter-insurgency campaign in Mizoram. (Roluahpuia, 2018)

Monuments and historical celebrations play a role in creating a sense of public memory, a shared narrative of our history, a framework of meaning that becomes a source of public identity. And this in turn plays into a sense of collective identity, a willingness to sacrifice for a larger cause, and a sense of commonality with one’s fellow citizens. Monuments express and advocate for public values. But this role is more complicated, because memory, social values, and meaning are not neutral factors. These are contested issues. There are political consequences of one way of telling the story against another. And so monuments are often points of contention. American historian Michael Kammen explores this topics and

probes the role that monuments and memorials play in shaping consciousness – and in being shaped by politics. Here he comments about the social and political influences that affect the concretization of “culture”. And he notes that monuments and memorials serve many different purposes. “We arouse and arrange our memories to suit our psychic needs. Historians on the left are surely correct in referring to the social production of memory, and in positing the existence of dominant memories (or a mainstream collective consciousness) along with alternative (usually subordinate) memories. Such historians are equally sensible to differentiate between official and more spontaneous or populist memories. (Kammen,9). Monuments are contested – they are sites of protests (Sturken, 1997) and places where counter memories can be formed (Young, 1993) – largely because they are involved in relations of power (Osborne, 2001).

In Mizoram, the MNF, the armed rebellion turned political party has been observing Martyr’s Day every 20<sup>th</sup> of September since 1980, when its cadres were still living in the jungles fighting for an independent homeland for the Mizos. When the party was in power for a decade between 1998-2008, it built the Martyr’s Cemetery in Luangmual, located in the state capital, Aizawl. The cemetery is constructed in consultations with local churches and all NGO’s of the locality. The foundation for the cemetery was laid in 2001 and it was formerly inaugurated



in 2008 by the then Chief Minister Zoramthanga. The cemetery is built on entirely white marble of 2,660 square meters complex, large enough to host 2,400 granite plaques designating the names, addresses and date of deaths of those martyrs in the insurgency. Martyrs cemetery is the most visible monument constructed in relation to remembrance of Mizo insurgency. It forms an important site of memory. However, despite its significance, this memorial is not without contestation, particularly in the local. This is because memories of the MNF movement are “multi-sited” in the narratives and as well as in construction of memorials. Besides the 1,563 dead commemorated at the Martyr’s Cemetery, an organization of Mizoram Martyr Families lists out 2,186 victims. There exists a sense of exclusiveness, tied with the understanding of Mizo nationalism by the MNF. In fact, although the cemetery was intended to include all those who lost their lives during the period of the movement, it, however, is exclusively for the MNF and ex-MNA members. (Roluahpuia, 2018). It is worth noting that a separate martyr monument was constructed under the initiative of the state Congress party in Mizoram. The intention was to construct an inclusive memorial which would include all those who lost their lives in the movement (*Vanglaini* 2016). Besides the doubts over the list, the issue of remembering the MNF movement is creating a tussle between the two main political parties, the MNF and the Congress party. Rather than expressing a

national consensus, the Martyr Cemetery showed Mizoram as still hopelessly divided, traumatized society, where each attempt to relegate the trouble times to the past was met with strong opposition. Clearly, the personal wounds were still too fresh and the society too traumatized that opponents could only regard the monument as another political move by the ruling party of the state.

LaCapra (1998, 184-97) has pointed out the importance of commemorations, testimonies, historical studies, and even bodily practices for national remembrance and reconciliation. Memorial days are supposed to create a shared history, allow people to exchange narratives about past sorrows, and thus enhance feelings of national identity. Yet, such ritualization of the past, and the mourning that ensues, are condemned by different sectors of Mizos society, notably the anti-MNF political parties. Riding on the presumed neutrality of material representation, the monuments, memorials, and commemorations are the expressions of political memory agendas and become, therefore, extensions, repetitions, and manifestations of social traumas rather than their substitutes.

Mizoram’s social memories are conflicting re-memberances, conflicting re-constructions of narrative wholes out of fragmentary traumatic memories because of forgetting, insufficient encoding, incomprehensibility, awareness of the sentiments of the victims and their relatives and politically divided context. The recurrent recollection of partial

traumatic experiences will therefore not unify discourse, but enhance the antagonism within Mizo society. As Lambek and Antze (1996, xx) explain, “*where conflict prevails, the reception of narrative.....may be fraught with tension. Memory becomes a locus of struggle over the boundary between the individual and the collective or between distinct interest groups in which power becomes the operative factor.*” Just as psychologists, such as Daniel Schacter (1996,5), have argued that personal memory is not one single faculty of the human mind, but a dynamic constellation of different neural structures with distinct memory processes, so the collective memory of a society consists of different social memories reproduced in different tempos, times, and ways in interaction with their context. Different groups contribute different memories to society whose confrontation continuously produces new memory configurations.

Is it possible to conceive of memorials that focus on that warning as the key element of concern connecting the past and the future?. Can we build memorials that, while addressing events and honoring victims and survivors, contribute to acts of remembrance, demand proactive engagement, and envision a better world?. In its many forms, memory has become a marker of global culture: in historiography, psychoanalysis, visual and performing arts, and media- and particularly in urban studies, public art, landscape design, and architecture. The

pursuit of memory is evident in the way real and mythic pasts are re-presented, remembered, or forgotten, marking contemporary politics and global culture. Perhaps, as the literary critic Andreas Huyssen has suggested, “*the obsessive pursuit of memory may be an indication that our thinking and living temporality are undergoing a significant shift, as modernity has brought about a real compression of time and space yet also expanded horizons of time and space beyond the local.*” (Andreas Huyssen, 2003 (1). 14). Today we think of the past as memory without borders, memory is understood as a mode of re-presentation and as belonging to the present. An important aspect of this culture of memory is the way the struggle for justice and human rights and the remembrance of traumatic events have been coupled, as nations seek to create democratic societies in the wake of mass atrocities. Though the culture of memory has spread around the globe and the political uses of memory are varied, at its core the use and abuse of memory remain tied to official histories of specific communities, nations and states. Yet, while residues of mythical meta-narratives, histories of victors, and self-aggrandizing monuments, which served to legitimized nation-states, may still be present, the cultures to which they speak have become infiltrated by repressed local or group memories; they have been subverted by forgotten micro-histories, by the appearance of vanquished others, by those who bear witness to personal and historic traumas, and by the

transformation of official monuments into monuments other.

The concept of collective memory may be extended to include the complex inter-relationship between collective memory and memory sites. Monuments or symbolically significant sites may deeply be embedded within the structure of political myths; however, the importance memory sites play in authenticating and giving political myth a commemorative focus, cannot be overestimated. Zerubavel (2003, 13) argued that memory sites represent the conscious will of a community to give these sites symbolic significance; to transform them from 'places of history' into a 'places of memory.' What is important for any analysis of a memory site are the memorializing intentions of a community. Memory sites represent images of stability by visually bringing representations of the past into the present. Moreover, the original meaning invested in a memory site is not fixed but evolves in step with the changing patterns of dominant and subordinate memories within a community. Even though a memory site could be 'read' as part of the political landscape, it was the symbolic meaning associated with a memory site that was of most importance. The symbolic meaning of a memory site changes as the collective memories associated with that site are adjusted to meet the changing needs of a community. It is therefore the interrelationship between a community and its memory sites that determines the degree to which

specific sites maintain their significance to legitimating a collective memory over time.

Nations and memory are indivisible. Misztal refers to 'communities of memory' (2003:155), in that memories help to mark social boundaries and define collective identity. Nation requires a sense of their past for reasons of social cohesion, memories of which are embodied in acts of public commemoration and in public memorials and rituals that socialize us in what to remember. Nationhood also requires us to forget. Deliberate collective amnesia or denial helps in nation building since it excludes from the national narrative items that in the here-and-now are problematic. Memory can be implicated to hamper peace process. There are two sociological issues around public memory in peace process: what it is that is publicly remembered and forgotten; and what social practices need to be adopted to culturally reproduce these selective public memories, there is no easy policy solution to these issues. However, social memory is implicated in peace, despite the close connection between memory and nationalism, social memory can be used as a peace strategy. Indeed, it is precisely because social memory is socially constructed, subject to manipulation and change- albeit slow- and affected by social context and social change, that various social practices that occasion and shape memory and remembrance can be devised to garner peace, if not also reconciliation. Social memory can be re-constructed to become a peace strategy and to help the

maintenance of peace process by re-visiting, and where appropriate re-constituting, the past for the purpose of peace.

Reconciliation is crucial in a post-conflict society in order for nation to re-establish its stability (Hamber and Wilson 2002: 38). The achievement of collective memory, reconciliation, healing, and forgiveness are, in a sense, a progression, though perhaps not linear. No form of reconciliation is achievable without first using memory to process the atrocities that have occurred. Nor can they be achieved through force. The healing process for post-conflict societies does not have a

simple, black and white structure. Strategies that succeeded in one society may fail in another. The Mizoram state embraces a selective vision representing the Mizo insurgency as the most successful case of counter-insurgency in India. However, the collective memory of Mizoram *Buai* is not a static reproduction or repetitive replay of same memories, but a contested, contradictory and heterogeneous process of selective memories among different groups. Thus, it is in the highly conflicting re-visiting, re-reading and reconstruction that the study of trauma and collective memory of the Mizo society should be sought.

#### Notes:

The “memory boom” refers to a development in which, over the last few decades, the prominence and significance of memory has risen within both the academy and society. The ‘memory boom’ has been tied to the idea of a crisis in which the abundance of memory can be attributed to a very real fear of social amnesia or forgetfulness.

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