Chapter III

Chakma Refugees, Emerging Issues and Questions of Resettlement

Introduction

The Chakmas are one of the ethnic tribal groups in South Asia. They are Mongoloid by race and Buddhist by faith, having their own distinct way of life, languages, values and culture. After the Chakma refugees migrated from the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh into Indian states of Tripura and Mizoram, which began in April-May 1986, the Chakmas came into prominent in the Indian national context.

The Chakma, who belong to the Tibeto-Burman groups of people be pronounced as Tsakma or Tsak or Thek. The word 'Chakma' or 'Tsakma' is a generic term given to a predominant hill tribe of Chittagong Hill Tracts dwellings in the corridor link of Arakan (Myanmar). They were ruled, administered and some scholars who researched on these tracts of hills from mid-18th to mid-20th century".¹ This tribe is known as Thek by Burmese and Tui-Thek by the Kukis.²

Besides, there are different small hill tribes in CHT. The Chakmas are the most important tribe in the CHT. They are divided into three sub-tribes Chakmas, Doignak and Tung Jainya. The Doignak broke away from the main tribe a century ago and fled to Arakan (Myanmar). Later few returned to Cox Bazar division, sub-division of Chittagong district. The third division

Tungjainya come from Arakan as late as 18th century and spoke Arakanese.³

**Geography of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)**

An understanding of the Chakma problems and their subsequent trans-border crossing calls for the discussion on the physical and cultural setting of Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Chittagong Hill Tracts forms the South-eastern part of the present Bangladesh, situated between 21' 25' and 23' 45' North Latitude, 91' 45' and 92' 51' East Longitude. With 5,093 square mile of surface area, the Hill Tracts area constitutes 10 percent of the total area of Bangladesh.⁴ Map 3.1 shows the geographical location of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The name of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong was given in the year 1860, when the Act XXII of that year the hilly and forest tracts to the east of the Chittagong district were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the civil, criminal and revenue courts and officers of the Regulation District, and placed under the control of a superintendent of the Hill Tracts.⁵

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (now, comprising three districts Rangamati, Khagrachari and Banderban) is geographically an isolated region of Bangladesh. It is surrounded by the Indian states of Tripura on the North and Mizoram on the East, by Myanmar on the South and by Chittagong district on the west. A land of hills and forests, it presents a sharp contrast to geographically to the rest of Bangladesh. The general aspects of the Hill Tracts of CHT are a mass of hill, ravine and cliff, covered with dense bamboo, tree creeper jungle.

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⁵ Hutchinson, NO. 2, p.1.
The CHTs can be divided into four main valley, formed by its four principal rivers. The principal rivers are the Fenny, Karnafuli, Sangu and Matamuri and their tributaries and is marked by chains of hills, which traverse it from end to end, running from the North-West to the South-East.

Jhum and wet-rice cultivation are the principal economic activities of the people commonly called 'hillmen'. Jhum is the traditional one, and apparently was used exclusively by the hillmen. Most of the wide valley flows outside the Reserved Forests had been converted to wet-rice farmland in 1960.6 A three years cycle is common on Jhum lands.7

People

Bangladesh is uniquely homogenous in the sense that 99 percent of the population speaks Bengali and identifies itself as Bengali, and 85 percent of the people profess Islam as their religion.8 There is about 1 percent of tribals, living in the CHT. Among these are 13 ethnic tribes of Sino-Tibetan descent belonging to the Mongolian group. These people closely resemble the people of North-East India, Myanmar, and Thailand rather than the people of the vast alluvial plains of Bangladesh.

The Hill people can be divided into those of Arakanese origin as the Chakmas and Moghs, and those of mixed origin, in all probability the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. People under this head include the Tipperah and Kuki tribes. The Bengalis of the plain divided them into two group. Those who can understand the vernacular of Bengali language are designated as Jumiyas, and others are designated as Kukis.9 Captain Lewin, The Deputy Commissioner during the British time, divided the various tribes

7 Ibid.
inhabiting the Hill Tracts into two classes: (I) the Khyoungtha, or children of the river; and ii) the Toungtha or children of the hills.\textsuperscript{10} The former are of Arakanese origin, immigrants from the South, and by religion Buddhists. The later are of mixed origin dwelling chiefly in the outer hills. The most important tribes in CHT are Chakma, Moghs, Tripuris, and Mros. Each tribe in the CHTs speaks its own dialects/language. The Chakmas speak a mixed language of Bengali, Pali and Sanskrit written in Burmese script. The Marmas and Moghs speak Arkanese, a Burmese dialect. The Tripuras speak a language of their own akin to Kachari. The rest of the tribal groups speak a mixed language of Assamese and Burmese origin. Irrespective of groups, the tribals have a common and rich culture. The tribal people have distinct social norms. Their rituals at birth, death and marriage as well as their dietary habits and method of agricultural differ markedly from those of the Bengalis.\textsuperscript{11} Figure 3.2 shows minor tribal groups in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

**Historical Highlight**

Chittagong originally formed part of the extensive Hindu Kingdom of Tippera; but it was conquered by the Buddhist king of Arakan in the 9th century, and from that date onwards the Arakanese appear to have generally succeeded in retaining possession of the district. In the 13th century Chittagong was temporarily annexed to the Mughal Empire, but the king of Tippera defeated the Muhammaddans in 1512 AD and reconquered the country. During the struggle for supremacy between the Mughals and Afghans, between 1560 A.D and 1570 AD Chittagong was conquered by the King of Arakan and annexed to his kingdom as a tributary province. The Mughals, however,

\textsuperscript{9} Hutchinson, No. 2, p.14.
\textsuperscript{11} Syed Azia- Al Ahsan and Bhumitra Chakma, No. 8, p. 960.
MINOR ETHNIC TRIBAL GROUPS (WEST BENGAL):

- Santal
- Koch
- Garo
- Hajong
- Khasi
- Meithew
- Santal
- Oriya
- Tipra
- Chittagong Hill Tracts

ignored this fact, and the district was assessed in 1582 by Todar Mal as an integral part of the empire.\textsuperscript{12}

The earliest record of dealings of the people of the Hill Tracts, with the British was under Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General dated 10th April 1777. \textsuperscript{13} The history of CHT is a record of repeated raids by the hill tribes, and of the operations undertaken to repress them. The earliest mention of these raids is to be found in a letter from the Chief of Chittagong to Warren Hastings complaining of violence and aggressions of a mountaineer named Kama Khan, the leader of a band of Kukis or Lushais; and that they continued without any long intermission down to 1895, when the Lushai Hills were annexed to British territory. \textsuperscript{14}

In 1829, Mr. Halhed, the Commissioner stated that the hill tribes were not British subjects, but merely tributaries, and that he recognized no right on the British part to interfere with their internal arrangements. The near neighbourhood of a powerful and stable government naturally brought the chiefs by degrees under some influence, and by the end of the 18th century every leading chief paid to the Chittagong collector a certain tribute or yearly gifts. \textsuperscript{15}

After the cessation of Chittagong to the British in 1760 the attention of the executive authorities appears to have been mainly directed to the administration. The headmen of the hill tribes were allowed to retain their authority, and the British jurisdiction practically extended only to the collection of revenue from the hills in the shape of a tax on export of cotton.

In 1860 the British government appointed the superintendent of the Hill Tracts and began to interfere with the administration of the Hill Tracts. In

\textsuperscript{12} The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central Provinces to Coampta, Vol. X, p.317.
\textsuperscript{13} Hutchinson, No. 2, p.8.
\textsuperscript{14} The Imperial Gazetteer of India, No. 12, p.319.
\textsuperscript{15} Hutchinson, No. 2, pp. 8-9.
1884, the Hill Tracts was divided into five circles and the boundaries notified in the Calcutta Gazette of the 5th September 1880 was brought into force. The five circles were as follows; 1. The Chakma Chiefs' Circle, 2. The Bohmang Circle, 3. The Mong Chiefs' Circle, 4. The Sadar Sub-Division Khas Mahal, and 5. Sangu Sub-Division Khas Mahal.

The British, that is, the CHT Regulations 1900, popularly known as the Hill Tracts Manual introduced a very important administrative reform. In this manual the Hill Tracts was divided into four circles. They are; 1. The Chakma Circle, 2. The Bohmong Circle, 3. The Mong Circle, 4. The Several Government Forest Reserve. 16

Each circle was placed under the jurisdiction of a tribal chief who was responsible for collecting revenues and managing internal affairs. The administrative set up was based on a three-tiered structure - in descending order the Circle, the Mouza, and the Para with tribal heads at each tier, the colonial government restrained the district administration from interfering in tribal socio-political affairs. Rules and procedures regarding settlement of outsiders in the CHT was an important feature of the Hill Tracts manual. Among other stringent restrictions, one had to obtain prior permission for settlement from the Deputy Commissioner who sought recommendations from the local "headman" as well as the Tribal Chief. In 1920, the Manual was amended and a new administration was formed under the CHT, (amendment) Regulation 1920 in which the district was declared a 'excluded area" independent of general administration. In 1935, the government of India Act, the Chittagong Hill Tracts was declared a "totally excluded area". These are some of the important facts about the Chakmas and the CHT before the partition of India Sub-Continent in 1947.
Genesis and Causes of the Chakma Refugee Flow

The Chakmas, larger in number and leading a comparatively more settled life, dominate the pattern of intra-tribal associations and dealing in this region. The coming up of plantations provided the Chakmas access to diversify their economic pursuits, thereby adding another dimension to their social status and lending more importance to their tribal position. To retrace the genesis and evolution of Chakma political consciousness we shall be reviewing their situation at the time of partition of the Indian Sub-Continent in 1947, then the impact of economic policies during the Pakistan phase is taken up. A review of important development involving the Chakmas from 1971 till date—after Bangladesh independence, their repatriation and finally extra-territorial aspects of the issue are also dealt with.

The Chakmas under East Pakistan 1947-1971

With the partition of the Indian Sub-Continent in 1947, the Chittagong Hill Tracts become a part of Pakistan. Published evidence is scarcely available to illustrate in any authoritative manner the nature of Chakmas' aspirations, or their specific point of view on particular events or developments before or during the Pakistan phase, that could have affected them in a manner to invite agitation. Even after the Chakmas became an element in the British foreign policy for India from 1864 onwards, their long relations with the British administration were relatively tension-free. Even during Britain's war against Japan in Burma when Chittagong part become a direct target of Japanese bomb attacks, the area of the Tracts itself, with its inhospitable and inaccessible

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terrain, remained peripheral to the action areas. The 1943 Bengal famine also did not touch the tribals of these areas in any significant manner.\textsuperscript{17}

The partition of the Sub-Continent in 1947 involved large-scale migration of population accompanied by much violence. From the CHT area, the migrations were nominal. No specific mention is found of the Chakmas having crossed over to either side in substantial number. The entire post partition decade reported no trouble in the Chakma area. In the sixties, however the first major tension was felt, with the construction and the eventual commissioning of Karnafuli dam, the project for which had been prepared by the British in the 1940s and which the Pakistan government executed in the 1960s with some modifications.

\textbf{The Karnafuli Hydro-project; its impact on the Chakmas}

The Karnafuli hydro-project was conceived as a multi-purpose scheme as early as 1906. Subsequent to the partition in 1947, the Karnafuli project became a priority development scheme. The site chosen was a village of Kaptaimukh. The Kaptaimukh site erected reservoir in the area where many of the tribals and settlers were already engaged in plough cultivation.

David E. Sopher (1963),\textsuperscript{18} who worked on population in the Hill Tracts, reported that, by the mid-1950s out of 115,000 persons living around the future reservoir area (that is, out of slightly less than half of the total district population), 50,000 were classed as belonging to families supported primarily by plough cultivation; of the 80,000 persons in the reservoir area, 55 per cent were in plough cultivating families.

\textsuperscript{17} "The Chakma Unrest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts", \textit{Spotlight: Regional Affairs}, Islamabad, Vol., No.4 and 5, April-May 1987, p. 7. The whole Issues was devoted on Chakma problem of CHT.
\textsuperscript{18} Sopher, No.6, p. 344.
In another study by Nafis Ahmed (1962), who had toured the areas to be inundated and talked to the worried inhabitants of the areas recorded their resentment. There, according to him, were initially 90,000 Chakmas and other tribals, 8,000 Muslim settlers and 1,000 Mogh hill-men. He observed that in view of the government policy not to allow any resettlement in the reserved forest areas, the alternate plan to resettle the affected people by distributing them amongst the existent tribal settlements would be equally unfeasible, in that, instead of solving the problem it would create further issues, in which a "clash of interests" was inevitable. 19

The dam intended to develop eliminate the most important economic resources of the Chakmas, the wet-rice land in the valley of the middle Karnafuli, lower Chengri, and the lower Kasalong, and also cultivated land in many smaller areas. The most authoritative prediction, based on revenue roles and census figures, indicated that about 80,000 people would have to move, if only to rebuild their houses on a hill side a few tens of feet higher up, Sopher reported. 20

By 1963, the 120,000 KW Karnafuli multi-purpose project came into partial operation. It had a total catchment area of 253 square miles (at full capacity). Initially, 50,000 acres of settled arable land, accounting for 40 percent of the districts total arable area, was submerged.

According to the report available by 1965, the government had rehabilitated 10,271 families in over 186,90 acres of flat arable land and 21,477 acres of hilly land. The largest single concentration of the rehabilitated families, numbering 3,734, was settled in over 10,000 acres of de-reserved areas in the Kasalong reserved forest. Other locations were the Chengri valley

20 Sopher No. 6, p.347.
and those parts of Ramgarh, Rangamati and Bandarban sub-divisions that had not been submerged. 21

The compensation schemes provided no relief for the jhum cultivators. Since the government levied tax only to those settled in plough cultivation, it therefore recognized these as being the only affected people entitled to the compensations offered by the government, in lieu of the lands that came under the reservoir. By the end of sixties, the government had been unable to provide enough flat arable land to those who had been displaced on account of their arable lands submerged. The government initiated certain schemes on a priority basis for occupational avenues and income generating activities that would bring benefits both to the individuals and to the national economy as a whole. Despite all these economic plans and policies of the government, the relocation programmes were faulty, inefficient and insufficient in terms of compensation and rehabilitation. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission, 1991, reported "They (government officials), today freely acknowledge that the project triggered the modern troubles in CHT. It left a deep legacy of bitterness and distrust". 22

As a result of the inundation of their homes and settlement in the valleys by the impounded water of Kaptai Hydro-electric project, in 1964, nearly 40,000 Chakmas along with some Moghs crossed over into India and entered NEFA (now the State of Arunachal Pradesh). Some 20,000 are said to have gone to Arakan in Burma. Others were dispersed within CHT.

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21 "The Chakma Unrest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts", No. 17, p. 9; And also see, Sopher, No.6. p. 349. The choices if the Chakmas, early in 1960 to relocated themselves can be categories in four: (I) to move to higher ground within their own mouza or one nearby or (2), to move away from the vicinity of the reservoir to, (a) the Kasalong Rehabilitation Area, (b) Un-reclaimed flat land in the upper Chengri and Myani valleys, or (c) some other part of the district.

The Chakmas After Bangladesh Independent, 1971

The Chakma unrest in the CHT after 1971 was an outcome of political developments. Bangladesh related directly to the new land policy formulated soon after Bangladesh emerged as a nation-state. The architect of the policy was the founding father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, who, as head of government and state scrapped the reservation laws that prevailed in the area. The changes placed all land within the political boundaries of the new sovereign state under a common law, which has given constitutional sanction.

The immediate worry of the new leader, especially, Sheikh Mujibur after Bangladesh Independence was how and where to accommodate the ever increasing population of the plain population since constraints of land and water have been two major economic problems that have been of prime concern to the politicians and policy planners. The fresh beginning as a new nation offered the opportunity of opening up new areas to accommodate future settlements of the fast increasing plain population. The CHT covering 1/11 of the total area of Bangladesh, and farming the least populated zone of the country - appeared to be the obvious choice for the purpose.

The relationship between the state and tribals, especially the Chakmas, deepened after 1971. These crises stemmed out primarily from the socio-economic problem during the Pakistan period and intensified afterwards. The intensity of the problem began to increase with new industrialization, economic policies and resources appropriation.

Lands Dispossession and Consequences

The settlement of Bengalis in the CHT from other parts of Bangladesh has occurred with massive violations of the property rights of the hill peoples. The situation in the Hill Tracts gradually changed for worse with more settlers
increasingly settling upon the tribal land. The settlements policies combined with the construction of Kaptai dam in the 1960s have generated discontentment amongst the hill people. It disrupted the hill peoples’ life considerably and resulted in a further shortage of land.

The educated section of the tribal people view the existing administrative and judicial system in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as powerful instrument to subjugate and exploit their fellow tribesmen. The tribal often has neither legal documentary basis for their cultivable land, nor adequate access to their bureaucratic organizations dealing with lands or law enforcement. The Bengali settlers are thus further encouraged to violate the tribal traditional right emanating from their notion of land use or ownership. The increased Bengali settlement programme is seen as associated with or responsible for increasing loss of land right and liberty of the tribals in the Hill Tracts. Inspite of all these, the government has however, an apparently forceful agreement for the Bengali settlement programme in the name of development for the benefit of the national economy with little or no participation by the local tribesmen.

To understand the nature of issues and political development in CHT, and politicization of socio-economic problem, it would be relevant to recapitulate the economic situation as it was in the early years of Bangladesh and after, to determine what economic policies led to social problems becoming the politics of the areas. This resulted to conflicts, making the Chakmas leaving their native place-CHT. The following analysis will show the

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government policies and the tribal perception on it. They are as follows:

**Settlement Policies of Bangladesh in the CHT**

As mentioned earlier the crisis in the Hill Tracts may be traced back to the commissioning of the Kaptai-Hydro project in 1961. The dam immediately caused a major catastrophe for the tribal people of the CHT, especially for the Chakmas.

The construction of the dam was followed by new economic and settlement policies in the CHT by the Government of Pakistan. There was a shift on government policy, which formerly had put severe restriction on the settlement of non-tribals in the CHT. Bengalis from plains began to settle in thousands, to work on new projects and to establish business and industry. The tremendous disruption of tribal life from Kaptai dam and steadily increasing non-tribal population in the CHT, the tribal became apprehensive of the new economic and settlement policies, which they viewed, posed a threat to their ethnic identity and culture. It was on the backdrop of this perspective, the tribals of the CHT began to put up some resistance. Bangladesh inherited this situation in the CHT during her independence in 1971.

The 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh places all land under a common land law. These disregard the special rights and privileges of the tribal people as a 'protected' community, a status given to them since the day of the British rule. The provision for outsiders to settle in the hills requires the permission of the headman of the area or mouza was done away. The new constitution recognized a citizen right to free movement and settlement across the country.

To accommodate the fast-growing plain population and overcrowded peasantry, the government of Bangladesh carried plans for their settlement in the Hill Tracts; the homeland of the Chakmas. The settlement policies were implemented after 1973 and envisaged the settling down of both the landless peasantry and Jhumia tribal population. By 1974 a substantial number of non-
tribal from the plain were resettled, and this gave rise to the organized resistance by the Hill Tribals.

Zia-ur-Rehman assumed power first as martial law administrator in December 1975 and a popularly elected President in April 1977. He began sponsored migration of Bengali settlers into the CHT, which formed an integral part of the larger objective of exploiting the vast economic potential of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the Chittagong division.

The Bengali settlers were provided land grants, cash and rations. They were rehabilitated in different parts of the Hill Tract by expelling tribal peoples from their homes. Agricultural lands were seized and distributed among the Bengali settlers. The steady increase of non-tribal population in the CHT generates widespread apprehension among the hill people. The tribal people apprehended that the ultimate aim of the government was to ensure that Bengali settlers outnumber them. Even though the Bangladesh Government strongly denied there was any programme of sponsored migration earlier "now it acknowledge there was ".

According to one report, after the liberation war of Bangladesh about 50,000 Bengali settlers entered the Ramgarh area. Bimal Bikkhu gave the number of the Bengali Muslims in the CHT, due to the deliberate policy of settlement by Bangladesh Government, 25,000 Bengali Muslim families settling in 1980, one lakh more in 1981 and another 250,000 in 1982. There were our 400,000 Bengali settlers throughout the CHT in 1991.

26 Kazi Mantu, 1980, "Tribal Insurgency in CHT", Economic and Political Weekly, 6 September, 6, p.1510.
27 "Chakma Unrest in the CHT", No. 17, p. 16.
29 " World Ignores Chakmas Struggles", The Hindustan Times, N. Delhi, 17 April 1993.
The demographic characters of the Hill Tracts have changed tremendously over the years. The following Table shows the growth of population in CHT (Tribal and non-Tribal).

**Table 3.1: Population Growth on the CHT (Tribal and Non-Tribal)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Increase %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>124,762</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>153,830</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>173,243</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>212,922</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>247,053</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>287,274</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>382,079</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>508,179</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>746,026</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The massive Bengali migration caused severe dislocation in the CHT socio-economic environment. "The most bitterly felt of these developments on the part of the tribal is the large-scale Bengali migration and settlement in the district". The settlement operation has been carried out in phases. And each time operations were extended to new areas, wave of Chakmas have taken refugees in Tripura.

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31 Mufazzalul Hug, No. 24, p. 82.
32 The Times of India, N. Delhi, 19 September 1987.
The Birth of Jan Samhati Samiti (JSS) and Shanti Bahini (SB)

The tribal people of Hill Tracts have a traumatic experience with the Bangladesh. Their anti-pathy intensified towards the centres that were dominated by the plain people. The hill tribal resistance surfaced soon after the Shanti Bahini significant for its oppressive militancy. It was in sharp contrast to their comparative pacific existence in the past decades. It was in 1928 in the form of political organization called the Chakma Yuvak Sangha led by Gyan Shyam Dewan set up a resistance against the power of the Deputy commissioner as the Regulation of 1900 gave absolute administrative power of the region. Despite commissioning of Kaptai Dam and its displacements of the tribal people the discontentment did not turn militant. The tribal leader contested the 1970 parliament election, suggesting their option for political participation rather than for a deliberate resistance, and in that, the Chakma leader Shri Manobendra Narayan Larma was elected.

In February 1972, a delegation of hill people's leaders led by Manobendra Narayan Larma called on the Prime Minister Sheik Mujibur Rehman and placed before him a four point charter of demand. These were: 33 (I) Autonomy for Chittagong Hill Tracts, including its own legislature; (ii) Retention of the Regulation of 1900 in the constitution of Bangladesh; (iii) Continuation of the tribal chief office, and (iv) constitutional provision restricting the amendment of the Regulation 1900 and imposing on the influx of the non-tribal in the CHT.

It was widely reported that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman advised them to do away with their ethnic identities and merged with greater Bengali nationalism. Meanwhile massive military deployment took place in the CHT as the demand of regional autonomy was interpreted as secessionist by the Bangladesh government. 34

33 Montu, No. 26, p. 1511.
Parbathya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS), was formed in March 1972, to exert constitutional pressure on the government to access to the tribal demands. Two significant demands were the rejecting of immigrants settlers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts after 1972, along with payment of compensation to tribal families uprooted by the Kaptai dam and the fixation of water level in the dam at 90 feet.

In the first parliamentary elections of Bangladesh in 1973, Shri Manobendra Narayan Larma contested under the banner of JSS and won Chittagong Hill Tracts constituency. As an M.P. Narayan Larma fought in the parliament to safeguard the tribal identity and to attain their lost right. He led a constitutional fight for tribal demands though there was widespread repression throughout under Mujib regime. Over the years the demands of the PJSS have undergone dramatic modifications. What is notable about the new demands is: (1) the call for self-determination, instead of regional autonomy; and (2) the absence of support for the maintenance of tribal chiefs office.35

The PJSS launched its armed wing Gono Mukti Fouj Shanti Bahini and Priyo Larma became its first field commander. The armed wing of the JSS-Shanti Bahini engaged armed struggle to gain tribal demands. The Shanti Bahini stepped up armed activities in 1976 and there was frequent confrontation between it and the government forces throughout, which resulted in political instability in the region and refugee flows in the neighbouring area.

Militarization of Chittagong Hill Tracts

The all-pervading presence of military and paramilitary forces in the CHT, is the most important feature in the CHT. The justification for the massive presence was that it was needed to counter and contain insurgency

35 Montu, No., 26, p.1511.
activities of the Shanti Bahini. Besides, the military directly engaged in the various developmental activities in the region. In the hills, the General Officer Commanding (Chittagong Cantonment) has occupied an important position in the civil and highest policy making body.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission 1991, gathered and reported that there are over 230 army, more than 100 Bangladesh Rifles and 80 police camps in the CHT. According to the report, the estimate military and paramilitary forces not taking into accounts village Defence Parties (VDPS) and police were as follows.36

Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combat</th>
<th>Force</th>
<th>Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>24th Infantry Division</td>
<td>80,000 Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.D.R.</td>
<td>6th Battalions</td>
<td>25,000 Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANSARS (Islamic Guards)</td>
<td>4th Battalions</td>
<td>8,000 Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>1st Battalions</td>
<td>1,500 Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>114,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Commission Report 1991, added that a conservative estimate would indicated that there is one member of the security forces for every ten hill peoples.

Development Plans

In addition to the increase in the plain Bengalis it is the nature of the developmental schemes, which is crucial. The main features of the schemes are

permanent settlement of the people as opposed to a nomadic pattern of life, extension of basic facilities to the inaccessible areas, development of forest communities through settled, instead of Jhum cultivation etc. Military have increasingly taken over civilian government roles in building roads, supplying of electricity, constructing schools, promoting local college, industries etc. The tribal leaders have seen these as the policies of assimilationists. This process of widening employment avenues, have helped the non-tribal in enhancing their dominance in the Hills in socio-economic terms. The expansion of communication network has facilitated not the development of the tribal people but easy movement of armed forces. The CHT in late 1970s witnessed more clashes between the military and armed militants. A successive government have side tracked the political aspects, and identified the problem of as either economic or as an issue of law and order. When the military try to curb the insurgent it resulted in brutal operations. There were various reports of ruthless suppression and reprisal attacks on unarmed villagers jointly by the armies and the new settlers. The Kaukhali Bazar massacre on March 25, 1980 was an example reportedly responds all previous records of brutalities committed against the tribesmen.37

As a result of these developments, the CHT area witnessed an-exodus of people, especially the Chakmas who crossed the border and stayed in various places in India as refugees. The refugee movement continued over a period of time to escape from the alleged atrocities perpetrated by the armies. There are a number of factors that compelled them to seek refuge in India. One important factor was the culmination of political crisis in the CHT.

**Spatial Distribution of the Chakmas**

The Chakmas are living in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, Mizoram, Tripura, Assam, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh States in India,
Table 3.3

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF CHAKMAS IN DIFFERENT REGIONS (1961-81)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES/REGIONS</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>41,722</td>
<td>21,993</td>
<td>20,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>19,338</td>
<td>9,967</td>
<td>9,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>22,386</td>
<td>11,626</td>
<td>10,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittagong Hill Tracts</td>
<td>220,000*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


and Arakan Hill in Myanmar. It is important to note that the Chakmas are included in the scheduled tribe lists in the states of Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Assam. However, their exact total population figure is not known due to the absence and non-availability of reliable census records. Their population and distribution patterns are taken from different sources like newspaper reports, journals and studies conducted by various scholars and organisations. Table 3.3 shows Chakma population in different regions.

In India there are a large number of Chakma refugees. They came from Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh first in 1964, after the commission of Kaptai dam and in late 1970s and 1980s due to various reasons prevailing in their home, CHT, Bangladesh. Analyzing the Chakmas population in India it is important to analyze separately the Chakmas who are Indian citizen and those of Chakma refugees in India.

Chakmas of Tripura

The Chakmas of Tripura form an important proportion among the Tripura's tribal population. The Chakmas in Tripura traced their earlier history when they move from Arakan along the river courses, which ultimately led them to the state of Tripura. The Chakma history records that the Chakma crossed over to Tripura during the early Muslim period of Bengal. In the early 1600 A.D, the Chakma’s king Sattua was reigning in the South of Chittagong, on the border of Arakan. It is also said that the King became insane and subjected his people to various treatment and atrocities. The people (his subjects) rose against their king and ultimately killed him. The widow of the king with her two daughters and some followers temporarily fled away to Tripura, where one of her daughter was married into a notable Tripura family. This is how we get the earliest traces of the Chakmas in Tripura.
Rani Kalini 1835, was the last of the independent rulers of the Chakmas. Once Nil Chandra Dewan revolted against her. To him she called the Kukis and the Lushais to her aid to which Nil Chandra's reaction was to invite the British expeditions and gradual extension of their influence in the area. It was shortly after this that Chakma in large numbers started emigrating to Tripura. At the time of partition of India in 1947, a great influx of Chakma has taken place into Tripura through mountainous tracts and river. Today, they are the fourth largest tribal group in Tripura.

According to census record of India 1961, the Chakmas population in Tripura state was 22,386 constituting 11,526 male and 10,760 female. They constitute the fourth largest tribe in Tripura. In 1971 it increases 28,662 of which 15,027 male and 13,632 female. In 1981 their number increases 34,802 with 17,965 male and 16,832 female. In 1988, S. P. Talukdar gave an estimated population of Chakma population in Tripura as 40,000 people, which constitute nearly 7% of the total population of Tripura.

The Chakmas in Tripura are concentrated in the following areas: (1) Satchand Development Block, (2) Chawmanu Development Block, (3) Dumburnagar Block and, (4) Kanchanpur Development Block. A few families of Chakma also settled in Banamalipur and Abhoynagar areas of Agartala, the state capital. Most of the Chakmas lived on wet rice cultivation or Jhum (Shifting) cultivation. But Jhuming land is becoming scarce day by day, as a result many of them are moving out of Tripura in search of virgin land in neighbouring states.

39 State-wise Census of India. But Chakmas Population was not enumerated in subsequent in Indain census.
41 Ibid
The Chakmas of Tripura are enlisted as one of the 19 Schedule Tribes listed in Tripura enjoying all the rights and facilities guaranteed by the Constitution of India. The Chakmas of Tripura are comparatively advanced than their fellow tribesmen in other states of India. There are some doctors, engineers and technicians amongst them.

A large numbers of Chakmas came to Tripura as a refugee in different phases after Bangladesh independence in 1971. They are mostly from the CHT, the adjoining areas of Tripura State in Bangladesh. They come to India due to various factors as discussed earlier in the causes and genesis of refugees' flows. Besides the Chakmas, refugees of other tribes like the Moghs, the Tripuris, the Santhals stayed in five refugee camps. These camps are at Kathalchhari, Karbook, Panchrampara, Silachari and Tukumbari. The refugees were 44,975 peoples in number and constitute 10,254 families as on 8 June 1988. Figure 3.4 shows the Chakma refugees population in Tripura.

An attempt to repatriate them was initiated from earlier years of their coming to India. Many repatriation attempts was made by the Bangladesh and Indian Governments, but failed due to the misperception by the Chakma refugees. After Sheik Hasina came to power in 1996, concrete steps and efforts to repatriate them were taken in right earnest. The last phases of refugees was repatriated from Tripura in December 1998.

The Chakmas of Mizoram

The Chakmas are inhabiting the western part of Mizoram, bordering Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, and the northern part of Arakan Hills of Myanmar. The western part of Mizoram and Tripura, bordering CHT are well-knitted together with a network of river. These strategy tracts are dominated by

Table 3.4

REFUGEES OF CHAKMAS AND OTHER TRIBES IN FIVE CAMPS
OF TRIPURA (AS ON 18TH JUNE 1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Camps</th>
<th>CHAKMA</th>
<th>MAGH</th>
<th>TRIPURI</th>
<th>SANTHAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Families</td>
<td>No. of Person</td>
<td>No. of Families</td>
<td>No. of Person</td>
<td>No. of Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathalchhari</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,341</td>
<td>5,387</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbook</td>
<td>1,192</td>
<td>5,444</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancharampara</td>
<td>1,932</td>
<td>8,198</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silachhari</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>4,141</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takumbari</td>
<td>2,911</td>
<td>13,794</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,966</strong></td>
<td><strong>31,977</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,598</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,377</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,682</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POPULATION AND FAMILIES IN REFUGEE CAMPS OF TRIPURA, 1988

MAP 3.3
The Chakmas. The Chakmas are recognized as scheduled tribe in Mizoram with having Autonomous District Council, under the Sixth Scheduled list of the Indian Constitution. The Chakma District Council solely depends on the central fund, which is given in the form of grant in-aid through the state government. The District Council has a jurisdiction on the subjects viz., (1) Forest, (2) Water Supply, (3) Rural Communication, (4) Primary Education and (5) Sanitation.

The history of Chakma in Mizoram can be traced from when, "a groups of Chakma, beyond the river Thega, i.e, western bank of the river fled to Lushai Hills, (now Mizoram)", when this part was separated from Bengal and made a district of Assam province during the British period. The area inhabited by the Chakmas became part of Mizoram in India after the partition of Indian Sub-Continent in 1947. The Chakmas are different from the Mizos in many respects. They are Buddhist by faith and speak Bengali dialect, whereas the Mizos are Christian and speak Mizo language.

In the southern region of Mizoram where the tribes of Pawi, Lakher, and Chakma are in majority, a Regional Council (Pawi-Lakher) was set up in 1953. It has the power of management and control of the following subjects 1) Allotment of Lands, 2) Forest, 3) Establishment of Village administration, 4) Inheritance of property, 5) Marriage and social custom. In 1972, three District Council areas has been set-up out of the defunct Pawi-Lakher Council. These are as follows: 1) The Chakma District Council, 2) The Pawi District Council, 3) The Lakher District Council.

The headquarters of the Chakma District Council is Kamla Nagar. The District Council has elected members, functioning under the Chief Executive. The Chakmas have two MLAs in the 40 member state legislative assembly. Chakma’s votes in at least four other Assembly Constituencies are very crucial.

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43 Talukdar, No. 40, p.60.
for winning the state assembly elections. Any neglect of this tribal community would be at the cost of six secured seats in the State Assembly. 44

The population of Chakmas in Mizoram, according to the Census records of India are as follows: In 1961 (Mizo Hill District that time) they were 19,338 peoples with 9,967 male and 9,371 female. In 1971, it increased to 22,293 with 11,807 male and 10,586 female. And in 1981, the Chakmas population increased to 39,900 with 20,822 male and 19,078 female. It is interesting to note that the earlier censuses has shown a lesser number of Chakmas in Mizoram than Tripura. But in 1981, there are 39,900 and 34,802 Chakmas population in Mizoram and Tripura respectively. Thus, Chakmas population was increased by 17,607 during the decade 1971-81 mainly due to the influx across the border.

In 1985, about 4,000 Chakmas took shelter in South Mizoram. The Mizos resented this immigration. As per the statement given by Mizoram’s Chief Minister Shri. Lalthanhawla, “the 4,000 Chakma refugees had been handed over to the Bangladesh Government.” 45 The influx of hundreds of Chakmas into Mizoram had been a source of socio-economic and political problem in Mizoram. According to newspaper reports, there were around 30,000 Chakma ‘infiltrators’ in Mizoram in 1985. There was a demand for their immediate deportation. 46

The Chakmas of Mizoram are very backward, both economically and educationally. Bengali is the medium of instruction in school. According to the Mizoram Encyclopedia, Vol.1, the Chakmas population in 1990 was 45,000. 47

44 Ibid., p.82.
45 The Statesmen, Calcutta, 5 March 1986.
46 “Mizo CM Singing a Different Tune”, The Statesmen, Calcutta, 30 June 1996
The Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh

The history of Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh can be traced back from the year 1964, when few thousand Chakma families came over to India from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). They were originally hailed from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the present day and are actually displaced people. They were displaced by the famous Kaptai dam, which had inundated more than 40% of the total arable land and displaced about 100,000 people in the CHTs. The Hajongs, who are Hindu by faith, from the Mymensingh district (of Bangladesh), of the erstwhile East Pakistan, migrated along with the Chakmas to NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh).

In 1964 and the following years nearly 64,000 Chakmas came to India and entered North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) now Arunachal Pradesh, from their traditional homeland, Chittagong Hill Tracts. As mentioned earlier the developmental policy of the then government of Pakistan, stressed economic growth, especially large capital intensive project. This construction of the Kaptai dam was a major catastrophic for the tribal people, especially for the Chakmas. In addition to this, religious persecution of the Chakmas and blending the ethnic Mongoloid Chakma community with the Bengali Muslims by the Pakistan authority has forced a large number of Chakmas to crossed over to India.

The Chakmas had little knowledge about the NEFA, (Arunachal Pradesh) when they crossed over to India. It was an arrangement made with the government of India and the Chakma leaders that the refugees (the Chakmas and the Hajongs) were finally rehabilitated under the five settlement schemes in the then Tirap (now Changlang), Lohit, and Lower Subansari (now Papumpare) district. The Chakma refugees crossed over into India with the motive of living with their ethnic brethren who had earlier settled in Tripura. But the Government of Tripura was against accepting the Chakma refugees into Tripura. The Chakma leaders in Tripura left no stone unturned to gain
favour of the government of Tripura for accommodating the Chakma refugees in Tripura, but all their efforts failed. Meanwhile, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, the Relief and Rehabilitation Minister Government of India, accorded sanction for grant of cash doles to Chakma refugees who were living to settle down in Bihar. But Shri S.K. Chakma (One of the Chakma leaders in Tripura) vehemently opposed the acceptance of cash doles from the government, as this state would not be suited to the Chakmas. At that momentous juncture the government of India was contemplating a scheme to accommodate a large number of Garo Sangma refugees in NEFA, now Arunachal Pradesh. Having become aware of this scheme the Chakma leaders called upon all Chakma refugees to settle down in NEFA. 48

Displacement and Movement

The Chakmas refugees put up first their camp at Manu Ghat, in Tripura. They moved in batches on foot up to Pechartal. About 300 families had already been sent to Bihar by that time. 49 Some of the refugees who had already received cash doles from Bihar Government were first not allowed to move along with other refugees, but failed due to stiff opposition from the refugees. From Pechartal, the refugees were moved to Dharmanagar (Tripura), by hired lorries and from there they travelled by train and reached Ledo, the threshold of NEFA. The Government of India arranged to shift refugees from Ledo, Assam, to Miao in Tirap district and made them settled down at Diyun.

The first batch of Chakma refugees comes via Tripura and settles in Arunachal Pradesh. Their total number was 500 families. 50 The majority of the Chakma immigrants moved to India via Demagari, Mizoram only after the first batch had settled in Arunachal Pradesh. After Demagiri refugee transit camps

49 Ibid., p.102.
50 Ibid.
were constructed with satisfactory relief work and then they were taken to Manachara, Transit Camp, Cachar, Assam. The flow of refugees continued throughout 1965. They were brought to Ledo transit Camp (as like earlier refugees), in 1966 and resettled in NEFA in due course of time. Many of them were resettled in the Debang area, a predominantly hilly, unirrigated and sandy area unfavourable for human habitation. The Chakmas who had been sent to Bihar earlier were brought back to NEFA in 1968.

The total number of families rehabilitated in Tirap district was 1,976, which constitute a population of 16,000. Nearly 300 families were settled in Balijan and Kokila area of Lower Subansari district and Chowkham area in Lohit district with an equal share. The total population was estimated, approximately, at 4,500 in both these districts.51

At present, the exact number of Chakmas and Hajongs in Arunachal Pradesh are not available. No census reports gave their numbers, at the same times scantly reports available gave different numbers. The census of India 1991 gave the total number of population in Arunachal Pradesh as 858,392 peoples. The Arunachal Pradesh Chief Minister, Shri Gegong Apang offered that the Chakmas and the Hajongs population in the state was 35,000 persons and 8,000 persons respectively, totaling 43,000 persons for both the communities. 52

The Committee for Citizen Rights of the Chakmas' of Arunachal Pradesh; the committee claimed that it is well-versed with the problem of the Chakmas and spearheading the movement for their citizenship rights gave the Chakmas and the Hajongs population as about 60,000 persons in Arunachal Pradesh.53 According to the memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, May 1994, the All Arunachal Pradesh Students' Union, alleged that, "the

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51 Ibid., p.103.
52 The Times of India, New Delhi, 11 October 1994; The Assam Tribune, Guwahati, 12 January 1998.
53 The Times of India, New Delhi, 26 May 1994.
number of Chakma population has shot up to one lakh within a short span of three decades".54

Resettlement

The Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh are concentrated in pockets in three districts mainly, Lohit, Papumpare (earlier Lower Subansari) and Changlang (earlier Tirap district). It is worth mentioning that the Chakmas and the Hajongs are not spread all over within these districts. They are concentrated in a particular area. In Papumpare district, they are settled in Baijan and Kokila areas; in Changlang district, they are in Miao, Bordumsa, Diyum and Chowkham area (Debang area and lower part of Noa-Dehing Valley). According to reports available in 1995, the total population of the Miao subdivision was 70,000 and about 27,000 are Chakmas and Hajongs, there are unspecified members of Tibetans, the rest are others.55 And Diyum Panchayat, in Changlang district comprises eighty percent of the Chakmas and the Hajongs. In the other areas it is difficult to obtain about their absolute numbers.

The Chakmas in the then, NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) were finally rehabilitated in five settlement schemes. The total numbers of families in these five settlements were 1,576. They were resettled there and started a new life and built a new society.56

When the Chakmas and the Hajongs come to this region, they were given 18 bighas of land per family in Lower Subansari (now Papumpare) and 5 to 6 acres of land per family in Tirap (now Changlang) and Lohit districts. They were issued trade licenses, ration cards, scheduled tribe certificates, given

54 Memorandum Submitted to the Prime Minister of India by, The All Arunachal Pradesh Students' Union, Itanagar, Arunachal Pradesh, May, 1994, p.4.
56 Talukdar, No. 40, p.103.
employment rights and some even exercise their voting rights in Arunachal Samiti and State Assembly elections. All of them were given 3 years of free rations as a rehabilitatory measures, so that they can start their life afresh in the then NEFA, (Arunachal Pradesh). All these arrangements were done at the instance of Shri Mahavir Tyagi, the then Union Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of India, who had visited the camps and offered schemes for the rehabilitation of the refugees.

The Government of India settled them all in the present sites, which was sparsely populated and a vast tracts of practically uninhabited land. In the Miao and Diyum area, the Singpho Chief who had customary right to settle people on land under his jurisdiction had given his consent after consulting his fellow tribesmen. The Deputy Commissioner had in his official capacity endorsed the grant of land to them. The Chakmas felt that at last they had reached a place where the people were friendly and where they and their descendants could live in peace. They contributed with their hard labour to harness the productive potentials of the area and over the years became the main suppliers of vegetable and various agricultural commodities to the semi-urban areas coming up in the region.

The refugees had experienced resettlement problems from the very beginning. The refugees who settled in Debang area and lower part of Noa-Debang valley endured great hardships due to infertile granite soil, which yielded one crop only. Many refugees were uprooted from their settlements areas as a result of the Debang river flood every year, ultimately, within a short span of time it led to the disintegration of the settlements. Thus innumerable number of families turned landless and the Government of

Arunachal Pradesh has not taken any positive step for resettlement of these refugees. It was also reported that, there is no development scheme especially for the Chakmas and the Hajongs. However, being hard working peoples they were able to partly develop the area on their own. They have reclaimed the inhospitable terrain mainly for agriculture purposes.

The Chakmas were absorbed in Arunachal Pradesh in the early sixties, but did not enjoy the same rights as the local tribes. The fate of these Chakmas and Hajongs is still hanging in balance as they have failed to win the right of citizenship even after 35 years of immigration into India.

**Emerging Issues**

There are some important issues and consequences which need to be highlighted, even after the final repatriation of Chakma refugees from their camps in Tripura state. The issue and interest to geographers, as mentioned in chapter II, is related to the extent that refugee is a burden on the host country. The Chakmas came to India as refugees from CHT, Bangladesh in early 1960s and after Bangladesh independence in 1971, the burden for their resettlement and rehabilitation in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) and six refugees camps in Tripura state, were solely borne by the Indian government, with insignificant help from outside, unlike in the case of Tibetan refugees. But it is unfortunate that no detail informations are available on this issue.

The second important issue on Chakma refugees is its affects on the foreign policy between the host country-India and Bangladesh. The refugee problem becomes an important issue, as the host country, India, used Chakma refugees issues against the origin country, Bangladesh, to serve it's own interests. This issue shall be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

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59 Ibib., p.3.
The third important issue in studying the Chakma refugees, can be gauged from the relationship between the refugees and the host population. As stated in the forgoing discussion on the Chakma refugees in the state level politics we can gauged the intensity of revolt and tension generated in the state-level politics whether in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram or Tripura.

In the case of Tibetan refugees, we rarely find tensions being generated between the host population and the refugees. However, there are some scholars who observed that there are underlying tensions between the refugees and the host elite. On the other hand, our study and media reports confirmed that there are tensions everywhere, where Chakma refugees are present.

Conclusion

In the present study, it has been observed that the Chakma problems in Chittagong Hill Tracts are politico-economic and the crisis center around appropriations of resources. The status of 'excluded area' during the British rule was changed after, 1947. The Pakistan and Bangladesh governments' policies of plain-Bengali resettlement in the hill tracts resulted in increasing number of the new settlers. After Bangladesh emerged as an Independent nation in 1971, it further complicated the political problem that resulted in many conflicts and the influx of the tribals people from CHT, especially Chakmas to India. All these political development and problem in CHT, Bangladesh were the results of the government policies, programmes and its attitude towards the tribal people.