Chapter-V

TREATMENT METED OUT TO THE CHAKMAS IN THE
REFUGEE SETTLED AREAS AND RESPONSE OF
CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS

"Happy indeed we live, friendly amidst the hostile. Amidst hostile men we dwell free from hatred"

-Dhamapada. 197-
CHAPTER-V

TREATMENT METED OUT TO THE CHAKMAS IN THE SETTLED AREAS AND RESPONSE OF CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS

Generally refugee camp or settled areas is a place built by the government or NGOs to receive refugees. People may stay in these camps, receiving emergency food and medical aid, until it is safe to return to their homes or until they get retrieved by other people outside the camps. In some cases, often after several years, other countries decide it will never be safe to return these people, and they are resettled in ‘third countries,’ away from the border they crossed. Since refugee camps are generally set up in an impromptu fashion and designed to meet basic human needs for only a short time, when the return of refugees is prevented (often by civil war), a humanitarian crisis can result.

Displacement, relief and rehabilitation should be viewed from a rights based perspective rather than as an administrative/governance issue that focuses on needs of beneficiaries. For instance, the lexicon of welfare/charity i.e. ‘gratuitous relief’ and ‘beneficiary’ should be jettisoned for language that respects human rights of the displaced or to-be-displaced people. In all instances of displacement, there should be minimum non-negotiable human rights standards that should be adhered to for all and especially for vulnerable and marginalized groups such as women, children and elderly persons. As part of relief and rehabilitation, authorities provide food, potable water, clothing, shelter, basic health care, education etc. It is important to note that access to these basic minimum services is not a matter of welfare or charity but is a human right. Basic minimum standards for such facilities/services should be defined. There is a need for Central and State Governments to re-examine and amend laws, policies, plans, regulations and practices to mainstream and integrate human rights concerns on issues related to relief and rehabilitation.

Authorities concerned with rehabilitation activities should be sensitized about human rights through capacity building. All affected persons have the right to be treated with dignity. In particular, no arbitrary decision, without reasoning should be taken in the matters that affect their source of food, shelter and livelihood. Furthermore, before any such decision is taken, they should have right to be heard/consulted. They should also have the right to appeal against such decisions in appropriate forums. All affected persons have the right to be treated without any discrimination in matters relating to rescue, relief and rehabilitation. In respect of vulnerable groups among them such as women, disabled, elderly persons and children, the appropriate authority shall take special measures to protect their rights. Chakmas who have resettled in Arunachal Pradesh country shall not be discriminated against as a result of their having been displaced. They shall have the right to participate fully and equally in public affairs at all levels and have equal access to public services. All affected persons have the right to information regarding all aspects related to immediate humanitarian assistance, relief and rehabilitation. Adequate measures to guarantee to those to be resettled, full information on the reasons and procedures for their displacement and, where applicable, on compensation and relocation and proper publicity by the State Government so as to enable the affected people to become aware of their entitlements in the form of relief and compensation. All the third generation Chakmas persons, in particular children, have the right to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory at the primary level. Education should respect their cultural identity, language and religion. Education facilities should be made available as soon as conditions permit. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full and equal participation of women and girls in educational programmes and should have the right to an adequate standard of living. At the minimum, regardless of the circumstances, and without discrimination, competent authorities shall provide with and ensure access to:

a. Sleeping accommodations (tents).
b. Hygiene facilities (cleaning and toilets).
c. Medical supplies.
d. Communication equipment (e.g. radio).
e. a. Essential food and potable water.
f. b. Basic shelter, clothing and housing.
g. c. Essential medical services and sanitation.
h. d. Free and compulsory education to their children.
i. e. Transportation and other means of communications.
j. f. Security to the life and property.

In many cases it has been reported that the refugee camps are dirty and unhygienic. Chakmas on another hand do not have any of the facilities as mentioned above. The refugee regime in India largely ignored in such a way in which one finds very difficult to understand what exactly the problem with this regime is. The very unfortunate thing of the Chakma new settlement is that they even have not been given shelter or any house material. Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh are given either open areas or big forest or forced to live as they like particularly in the areas of Papumpare, Changlang and Lohit. Chakmas over a period of time made these places to live and find their livelihood through agriculture. They built houses with bamboos, canes and leafs and cleaned the forest areas which allotted to them. As per my survey is concerned, I found that Chakmas are very hard working people who produce every thing accept salt. This is not easy for any one to clean forests in mountains and made a place to live, particularly in the state like Arunachal Pradesh which is one of the most hilly and tough regions of India.

Districts—Villages where Chakmas are Concentrated in Arunachal Pradesh

As per the population of Chakmas is concerned, Changlang is having 40,000 and is the highest in number followed by Lohit with 15,000 which stands second and lastly Papumpare has only 5,000 population respectively. Chakmas in Kokila (Papumpare) is on the border of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. It is largely one of the most conflicting areas, where always there is a conflict between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh and Chakmas are always getting trouble because Chakmas are on this border land. Also it is highly flooded zone. In rainy season particularly April, May, June, July and August it has floods with lots of destruction of life and property.

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3 The propaganda generally Arunachalees so far making is not correct on the issue related to Chakmas. It is India Government who granted land to the Chakmas and made it clear to make it the place of living. Chakmas cleaned only some of the areas where they allowed resettling. So far my field work is concerned; largely the Arunachalees are involved in deforestation and smuggling of timber and other natural resource with the neighboring states. Arunachalees engaging Chakmas and Illegal Bangladeshis for the purpose of smuggling particularly timbers, elephant teeth, and other natural resource. The Bangladeshis are bounded labourers in Arunachal Pradesh who works only for food.
As per Government of India record is concerned their population is approximately 60,000⁴.

Chart: V (A)

MAP OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Chart: V (B)

DECADAL GROWTH OF CHAKMA POPULATION IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH (1964 TO 2004)

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⁴ As per report by various NGO's like SNEHA in New Delhi as well as Government of India and Arunachal Pradesh in its 2001 census report, also reported by South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre (SAHRDC).
Presently Chakmas are resettled in the three districts/villages respectively which are given as below:\footnote{These are the villages where Chakmas are resettled in Arunachal Pradesh. All these villages and Districts are in the official list of Government of Arunachal Pradesh as well as Government of India.}

1. **Papumpare**
   a. Kokila

2. **Changlang**
   a. Gautampur Village
   b. Santipur Village
   c. Joystipur Village
   d. Abhaypur Village
   e. Dumpani Village
   f. Rajnagar Village
   g. Joshnapur Village
   h. Dumpattar Village
   i. Udaypur Village
   j. Modoideep Village –I
   k. Modoideep Village- II
   l. Kamakhyapur Village
   m. Vijoypur Village- I
   n. Vijoypur Village- II
   o. Vijoypur Village- III
   p. Dharmapur Village- I
   q. Dharmapur Village- II
   r. Ratnapur Village
   s. Golakpur Village
   t. Milanpur Village

3. **Lohit**
   a. Chakma Basti- I
   b. Chakma Basti- II
   c. Chakma Basti- III
PAPUMPARE

It is the most developed city of Arunachal Pradesh because Itanagar is in this district. Largely Nyishi are the majority community in this district. It has a border called Balijan and Kokila which divide Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. It is one of the most conflicting areas as for as state boundary and land is concerned. Earlier Chakmas were largely settled in Balijan but over a period of time they were shifted forcefully and resettled to the new place called Kokila, which is the flooded area. For a period of minimum four to five months, this area remains under flood and heavy rainfall. Being a low-lying area, the Chakma inhabited region is always under a deluge.

CHANGLANG

Changlang the biggest district of Arunachal Pradesh has maximum population, largely of Buddhist origin. Maximum Chakmas are concentrated to Diyun and Mieo. The condition of Chakmas is better of as compared to other two districts where Chakmas are settled and the reason is the activeness of civil society groups particularly the SNEHA⁶.

LOHIT

Lohit is also having good number of Chakma population. They are living in three bastis (villages). These bastis are always under threat of flood every year. Loss of life and property is very common. My field work found that the oldest people who migrated from CHT and Rangamati are living in these three bastis of Lohit districts.

⁶ SNEHA is the only effective NGO working in Arunachal Pradesh for Chakmas.
Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Chakmas in the Settled Areas

Table: V (A)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Conditions of the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having Right to Vote</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Having Right to Vote/Rejected</td>
<td>30+40=70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship Rights</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart: V (E)

POLITICAL CONDITION OF CHAKMAS

- Minor 20%
- Not Having Right To Vote 30%
- Rejected 40%
- Having Right To Vote 10%
The social condition of the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and India in general is very rich. They do not have caste system or any type of division we see in other religions. Socially, they live together, eat and participate in all the occasions without any differences. They marry freely without any restriction based on caste, sex, tradition, rich, poor etc. Chakmas are largely Buddhist religiously. During my field work I did not find single Chakma to be other than Buddhist and no report of conversion in any other religion. It is also appreciable that though they are facing huge discrimination from every side of States as well as Central Government and everyday violence by the AAPSU activists and Arunachalees but even then they have a strong and deep feeling that they are in good religion and one day definitely things will change. Politically very few Chakmas are enrolled in the electoral list and they are voting without choice. Many Chakmas who are born in India are still waiting for their enrolment in the electoral roll and their application is being rejected many times starting from 2004, 2007 and 2008 respectively. There is also a very confusing picture which I could not understand that how many Chakmas are having right to vote but they are not the citizen of India and the dilemma is that the political parties in the state are using these Chakmas as their vote bank. They are interested to include these Chakmas in the electoral process but not interested in the inclusion of citizenship rights. Chakmas are fighting since 1964 and it is almost five decades delay to get their citizenship rights. Their applications for the citizenship rights are still under process. When I asked to one of the Chakma leaders about the issue of citizenship application he told that the Arunachal Government is being run by the AAPSU activists and the politicians as well as State Government is not interested to forward their application to the central authority for the grant of citizenship rights. He gave one funny example also. He said that,

"the state government officers throw our application in air, the forms which fall on the mosquito net are being accepted as in process, those fall on the bed are accepted as under process and those fall on the earth being rejected. This is the way of working of state government officials when it comes to our matter, he told Arunachal is more worse than any other state of India and here we see a complete jungle raj. No rights to survive and we have no basic rights which consider us as human being of this universe".

7 Arunachalees here I mean the tribals (settlers) of Arunachal Pradesh.
8 This information is mainly part of my field work conversation with the head man and other most senior members of the Chakma communities.
In 2004 the Election Commission has warned that it would not hold Assembly polls in Arunachal Pradesh unless the State Government includes the Chakmas in the electoral rolls. The Chakmas are living in Arunachal Pradesh for more than five decades. The commission was irked by the Arunachal Pradesh Government’s decision against enrolling the Chakmas in the voters’ list for not having Inner Line Permit - a permit that is required to visit certain Border States. As a result of this, the commission from January 2 has already stopped its ongoing revision of the electoral rolls in four Assembly segments that also form parts of the Lok Sabha constituencies in both East Arunachal Pradesh and West Arunachal Pradesh constituencies. The conduct of any and all elections in the four assembly constituencies of Doimukh, Chowkham, Bordumsa Diyum, and Miao along with all election related work, including the preparation or revision of the electoral rolls there shall stand suspended until further orders, ruled the commission, and in an order dated January 2, 2004. The commission was compelled to take this drastic measure, as the State Government officials engaged in the electoral roll revision, in an unprecedented step, refused to entertain the commission’s repeated instructions to include the Chakmas. Their refusal was based on a State Cabinet decision taken on May 14, 2003, to not include non-Arunachalese people in the electoral roll unless they possessed the Inner Line Permit, issued under the Bengal East Area and Frontier Regulation, 1873. Terming the decision as ‘wrong’ the commission has pointed out that even the Supreme Court of India and the Delhi High Court, in their respective orders on two different petitions dealing with the question of the settlement of the Chakmas in the state and granting of Indian citizenship to them, have held that the Chakmas, born in India on or after January 26, 1950, but before July 1, 1985, and living in the state, are to be treated as ordinary residents of the state and are entitled to be registered in the electoral roll of the state. The commission had also met the Arunachal Pradesh Chief Minister on August 28, 2003, and on the basis of the Supreme Court order dated January 9, 1996 and the Delhi High Court order dated September 28, 2000, had conveyed to him that so long as the Chakmas were ordinary residents in the state, they could not be denied their Constitutional right of enrolment of their names in the electoral rolls of the state. Subsequently, in September 2003, the commission had also conveyed to him through an official communication that, the preparation and revision of the electoral rolls was a constitutional duty conferred on the commission by Article 324 (1) and the state Cabinet resolution refusing voting rights to the Chakmas was an hindrance to the
commission's constitutional obligation to prepare and revise the electoral rolls. This, in turn, will adversely affect the free and fair conduct of the elections, said the commission in its September, 2003 communication to the State Government, requesting it to suitably amend or altogether scrap its Cabinet resolution. The State Government's refusal to comply has resulted in an impasse.

**Chart: V (G)**

**ECONOMIC CONDITION OF CHAKMAS OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH (PAPUMPARE, CHANGLANG AND LOHIT)**

The economic condition of Chakmas is so poor and unfortunate to believe that even after fifty years some sections of the society are living under poverty and just surviving with one time meal in a day. They are living Below Poverty Line (BPL) and government does not have any plan for these marginalized sections of the society. Not a single scheme I found by Government of India, Government of Arunachal Pradesh as well as any civil society to bring some necessary economic changes to improve the conditions of the poor Chakmas in all the three districts of the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. Chakmas are largely concentrated in the three districts of Arunachal Pradesh viz. Papumpare (Kokila), Changlang (Diyun) and Lohit (Chakma Basti's). It is unfortunate to say that the entire settlement of the Chakma is largely on the bank of river which always remains flooded in the rainy seasons. As per my field survey is concerned all the districts where Chakmas are settled are concentrated in the flooded areas. In Kokila (Papumpare) the bank of the river where Chakmas are

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10 Basti here refers to the villages. It is the local dialects used in all the states of India's Northeast.
settled is Hollongi. In Diyun, Changlanng it is called Neo Deheng River and in Lohit it is called Darang River.

Chakmas produce every thing although it is largely a barren and flooded area. They cleaned their settled areas granted by the Government of India in 1964. It is also reported that the land largely captured by the local tribals like Adis, Khamptis, Shingpos and Nyishi. Arunachalees captured the land in Kokila and it is reported that they captured nearly 60 percent of the Chakma land granted by the Government of India. Now the condition is that all the Chakmas are working as labourers\(^11\) in the lands of Arunachalees to get two time meal. It is also reported that some time Chakmas are not given any remuneration as they are working, and beaten up by the local people when ever they ask for their remuneration. The income level of all the Chakmas as per questionnaire is concerned, is not more than INR 2000 to 2500. Now the question is how these Chakmas are surviving. So the simple answer is that the cost of living in Arunachal Pradesh is very low and secondly, the food habit is very different as compare to the other parts of India.

In June 2007, the State government of Arunachal Pradesh headed by Chief Minister Dorjee Khandu formed a high power committee to find out an amicable solution to the Chakma issue\(^12\). The high powered committee headed by Speaker of the Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Setong Sena and included, among others, all four Members of Legislative Assembly of the Chakma inhabited Assembly Constituencies as members. Both the AAPSU and the CCRCAP welcomed the establishment of the Committee\(^13\).

At the same time, over 12,000 Chakmas eligible voters continued to be denied enrollment into electoral rolls. Electoral activities in the four Chakma inhabited Assembly Constituencies of 14-Doimukh, 46-Chowkham, 49-Bordumsa-Diyun and 50-Miao remained suspended as a result of complaints of bias on the part of the local electoral officials. On 6 September 2007, the Election Commission of India revoked the suspension and ordered the conduct of Special Summary Revision of electoral rolls. The Election Commission issued specific guidelines as to how to conduct the revision of electoral rolls in the Chakma areas. As earlier, the local electoral officials who are also employees of the State Government of Arunachal Pradesh did not

\(^{11}\) SNEHA stands here for love, it is a Pali word.


\(^{13}\) Ibid.
comply with the guidelines and instead they imposed their own directions to ensure that even the 1,497 previously enrolled voters were deleted. As many as 36 out of 326 enrolled voters were deleted from 14-Chowkham Assembly Constituency even before beginning of the Special Summary Revision 2007\textsuperscript{14}.

In 49-Bordumsa-Diyun and 50-Miao Assembly Constituencies several Chakma villages were not even officially informed about the revision process and were informed only after the Election Commission of India issued specific instructions following complaints from the Committee for Citizenship Rights of the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh. The Chakma claimants were subjected to harassment, humiliation and were openly discriminated by electoral officers led by the Deputy Commissioner of Changlang district Hage Batt, who has been designated as Electoral Registration Officer of 49-Bordumsa-Diyun and 50-Miao Assembly Constituencies. Instead of conducting the hearing of claims and objections at Diyun, Mr. Batt sat at Bordumsa, which is 60 kilometers away from Diyun. As there were no means of transportation between Bordumsa and Diyun, none out of 7,311 Chakma claimants from Diyun Circle could appear for hearing. The hearings were re-held at Diyun only after the Election Commission intervened on complaints from the CCRCAP. Taking cognizance of these violations of its guidelines by the local Electoral Officials, the Election Commission of India deputed two teams to the four Chakma inhabited Assembly Constituencies. But justice continues to elude the Chakma citizens as the Election Commission has again failed. In February 2008, the Election Commission ordered the publication of final rolls in three of the four Assembly Constituencies (14-Doimukh, 46-Chowkham, and 50-Miao). 49-Bordumsa-Diyun remained in abeyance until further orders. Out of about one thousand eligible voters, the names of only 201 claimants were included in the electoral rolls in 14-Doimukh while in 46-Chowkham, out of more than 1400 new claimants the names of only 14 were enrolled and names of 44 previously enrolled voters deleted. Similarly in 50-Miao, only 1 out of about 4500 new claimants was included in the electoral roll\textsuperscript{15}. The Election Commission of India assured the CCRCAP that it would send 2 more teams to Itanagar to examine

\textsuperscript{14} See website, http://ceoarunachal.nic.in, for detail information on the voter list in Chakma settled districts (constituencies), Office of the Chief Electoral Officer Arunachal Pradesh.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
claimants’ documentation from 49-Bordumsa-Diyun. At the end of the year, the Election Commission of India had failed to enforce its guidelines\textsuperscript{16}.

**Incidence of Discrimination**

Here the discrimination largely connected to the term ‘adequate’ means that these services are available, accessible, acceptable, and adaptable. Availability means that the goods and services are made available to the affected population in sufficient quantity and quality; Accessibility requires that the goods and services (a) granted without discrimination to all in need, (b) within safe reach and can be physically accessed by everyone, including vulnerable and marginalized groups, and (c) known to the beneficiaries; (iii) Acceptability refers to the need to provide goods and services that are culturally appropriate and sensitive to gender and age; (iv) Adaptability requires that the goods and services be provided in ways flexible enough to adapt to the change of needs in the different phases of emergency relief, reconstruction\textsuperscript{17}.

During the immediate emergency phase, food, water and sanitation, shelter, clothing, and health services are considered adequate if they ensure survival to all in need of them. The concerned authorities after reasonable verification shall issue to the affected and displaced persons all documents necessary for the enjoyment and exercise of their legal rights, such as passports, personal identification documents, birth certificates, death certificates and marriage certificates. Any lack of access to such legal documents or not having such legal documents shall not disentitle them for recompense\textsuperscript{18}. But none of the concepts applies here when it comes to Chakmas proved during my field work. I found a large list of intentional discrimination by the AAPSU as well as State Regime. But let me bring few point and analysis which I experienced in my field work when I interacted with these excluded peoples:

1. Election Commission of India sent K.R.Prasad as the representatives from Centre to see and verify the candidature of Chakmas particularly in the Changlang Districts of Arunachal Pradesh in 9\textsuperscript{th} February, 2006 for the inclusion of Chakmas in the electoral role as well to grant citizenship. State

\textsuperscript{16} See website http://www.achrweb.org, article published by the Asian Centre for Human Rights.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{18} See website, http://nhrc.nic.in, NHRC Recommendation on Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons, New Delhi August 22, 2008. The following important recommendations and suggestions emerged at the National Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons organized by the National Human Rights Commission on 24-25 March 2008 in New Delhi.
Government of Arunachal Pradesh with the help of AAPSU took that representative to the different route and shown non Chakma community as well as other area and said that this is Diyun of Changlang and not informed to a single Chakma that some one came from Delhi to meet Chakmas. Finally, the Indian government representatives made a report that not a single Chakmas came to meet me and the condition is that there is no problem with the Chakmas and the Arunachalees.

2. There is not a single case registered in the Kokila, Papumpare police station on the violence done by the AAPSU, in many occasion. When I asked about the views of AAPSU, one of the senior Chakma told that, "I do not understand what criminalization is! And how Chakmas are criminal?" He was asking the definition of crime. He told one small boy of his village below the age of 18 years just stole four bananas and for that he was kept in prison for at least four years without trial and order of the court. It was largely supported by the AAPSU and the state government officers. And such many more similar examples he gave with full tears in his eyes.

3. Gayanjoti Chakmas one of the old Chakma heads share why Chakmas being popularized by Arunachalees as criminals, generally Khamptis, Shinkpos and Adis are the people who forcefully compel Chakmas to work in the field, go for hunting with them, and do other things as they order. For them Chakmas is nothing but bounded labourers. They engaged Chakmas to cut timbers, kill elephants, and many more. Once upon a time one Shingpo leader of the area engaged few Chakmas forcefully and told that you all have to come with me for hunting elephant. He told that you Chakmas just have to help me for capturing elephant. When Chakmas reached to the jungle, Shingpo leader told that you have to kill the elephant because I need the teeth of the elephant, but Chakmas refused to do so. Then Shingpo started fooling innocent Buddhist Chakmas by saying that, the teeth are very costly in the market and if you help to kill this wild animal you will get your share and at least you earn some thing to get food. Finally Chakmas accepted to help him but not to kill. Shingpo told that I will kill just you have to arrange all the things. As according to plan things went positive. With the help of Chakmas Shingpo killed that wild elephant and as plan taken both the big teeth. Shingpo took that teeth to his house and was planning to sell in the market. Next day
Chakmas went to his house and started one tooth as the deal was accepted, but Shingpo refused to give the teeth to the innocent Chakmas by saying that you people do not know any thing about the market and also it is very risky to take teeth out side because it is a crime to do this. So you all just go back to your house I know how to sell, I do it and once I get the money I will inform you. You all just come and collect your money. Chakmas believe Shingpo and return back with the hope that they will very soon get their reward. But the things changed very differently. Shingpo sold two teeth and got good money but did not inform any of the Chakmas. Chakmas after many days went once again to ask their share, but as I said things got very different, Shingpo when he saw Chakmas got angry started beating Chakmas with his other family members and called upon police to catch. Shingpo told police that these Chakmas are criminals these six Chakmas killed my domestic elephant, taken teeth and sold in the market. Police also belongs to their community supported Shingpo and arrested all the six Chakmas and jailed for many years and declared that Chakmas are criminal. After this case many AAPSU activist took the opportunities to unite local Arunachalees against the Chakmas. In that case many Chakmas were killed; their houses were burnt, their property being looted. After ward Chakmas started living fearfully. After this incidence, Chakmas finally declared in the state that Chakmas are criminals. After this incidence all the opportunities have been blocked. Complete economic blockage, education stopped, basic health facilities being suspended and many more explained by saying as one of the biggest black spots on human civilization in the 21st century.

4. Many AAPSU activists and state government officials told me that the Chakmas are now days engaged in robbery and recently they looted SBI bank in Itanagar. When I enquired I found it was completely false rather I found SBI being looted by the Arunachalees (Government officials, news appeared in the Times of India, January, 2009).

5. First Chakmas allowed settling in Ledu (Changlang), the hilliest and dense forest areas. Over a period of time Chakmas with their hard work made it a place to live like. Latter, many Shingpo came from others parts of Arunachal Pradesh and started claiming that the Chakmas settled areas are ours and started torturing Chakmas to leave the land. Finally conflict become more
violent in the area and by looking all this situation the Deputy Commissioner of the District Mr. Lokhande (IAS) in October, 2007 mediated between the Chakmas and the All Arunachal Mismi Student Union (AMSU) and drawn the boundary by saying that this is the area given to Chakmas and these are the areas where Mismis can used for their purpose. Finally both the groups accepted to solve the problem but latter after few months AMSU started creating problems to the Chakmas by saying that we don’t accept the solution given by Mr. Lokhande and this is our land we can do any thing without asking any one. Even what ever Chakmas produces in their field has been taken by the Mismis forcefully. By looking all these many conflicts took place in between the Chakmas and the Mismis over a period of time.

6. In November 2005 Zila Parisad Member (ZPM) Mr. Ongla an Singhpo leader kidnapped by the AAPSU activists demanded 10 lakhs from his family and latter murdered brutally after taking money and told entire every one that it has been done by the Chakmas to bring an anti-Chakmas feeling in the local populations.

7. As per Arunachal Panchayati Raj Institution is concerned, head of the village is called ‘Gam Bura’¹⁹ but in Chakma village is ‘Head Man’.

8. Chakma students are not getting admission after 8th because there is only 15 primary 2 secondary and only 1 higher secondary school in Changlang, which is 10 kilometer from Diyun (Chakma settled area). And over all it is 25 to 30 kilometers from all the primary and secondary school if we take an average of all the Chakma settled areas.

9. There are no roads at all in all the three districts where Chakmas are settled.

10. Chakmas are facing flood situation in their areas and Government have not initiated a single programme to control even after four decades.

11. There are no electricity facilities.

12. Not a single Chakmas found as a government employee in the state.


¹⁹ GAM is the head of the village and representative of the community as per Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Institution is concern. Arunachal Pradesh have their own training centers for all these GAM’s called Gam Training Centers (GTC), but it has reported and my survey proved that there is not a single GTC in these three districts where Chakmas are settled.
14. Generation which is born in India as per the rule of the constitutional provisions to be the citizens of India is not being included to be the Indian citizens.

15. No response either from the UNHRCR, under any migration provisions as well as any civil societies.

16. Many primary schools where Chakma children’s are studying have complete shortage of regular teachers, even in these schools Chakmas themselves managing teachers by paying money.

17. All the central, as well as UNCEF/International organization programmes have been suspended in all the three Chakma settled districts, Anganwadi Programmes, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, National Rural Grantee Scheme, National Health Mission Scheme, and many more.

Categorization of Chakmas

![Chart: V (H)]

CATEGORIZATION OF CHAKMAS IN THE STATE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

- 80% Chakmas Originally Settled
- 15% Inter-Districts Migration
- 5% Inter-State Migration

So far Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh are concerned they are concentrated to the three districts particularly in Papumpare (Urban), Changlang and Tirap
respectively, Government of Arunachal Pradesh violating all the basic rules and laws defining in their own way by categorizing these Chakmas into three categories:


b. Inter-Districts migration and settled in Papumpare, Changlang and Lohit

c. Inter-State migration and settled in Tripura, Mizoram, Assam, West Bengal, Mizoram.

In its first part Chakmas who directly migrated in the year 1964 and settled in various parts of India and latter brought to NEFA (present Arunachal Pradesh) originally. Secondly, inter-state migration from within the state because of the situations like floods, life threat, livelihood etc. They generally migrated within the state and mixed with the other Chakmas in the districts particularly the Changlang, Lohit and Papumpare. And lastly, intra-district migration for example the first Chakma exodus happen in the year 1947 just after independence and they granted citizenship as well as scheduled tribes status and mainly settled in the states of Assam, Tripura, West Bengal, Mizoram etc. but latter migrated for job, education and some other purposes and married and settled in Arunachal Pradesh over a period of time.

The Tapun Area Welfare Society (TAWS) an Arunachalees civil society group has accused the Centre of being soft on Chakma refugees, which had allegedly encouraged them to destroy forests at Diyun range under Lohit district. The society alleged that the refugees were violating the prescribed norms fixed during their resettlement from Mizo district to Tirap Division of the then NEFA. The administrative blessings in one form or other by the State Government have further accelerated their (refugees), well-planned intention of encroaching the entire Dihing Valley, including Mishmi land in Kathan, New Kathan, Tumba and Tilangkiong villages under Wakro circle of Lohit district. They alleged that owing to the administrative backing the refugees have resorted to extreme steps against the indigenous people of the said villages in way of theft, looting and taking away mithuns and other domestic cattle.

"Last year, the refugees, in large numbers, marched to Kathan village and destroyed the altar of the community's Tamla rituals, the society said, adding the refugees also took hostage six youths of All Mishmi Students' Union. "In February, the refugees once again walked into the village and torched a house".

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20 This information is mainly part of my field work conversation with the head man and other most senior members of the Chakma communities.

21 It is reported by the Tapun Area Welfare Society (TAWS) an Arunachalees civil society group, See for detail information published by webindia123, www.news.webindia123.com.
The society also questioned the state government as to why it was not initiating any measures against the Chakmas who had been killing and torturing the locals. But so far my field survey is concerned I did not find any thing in which Chakmas were involved in killing and torturing locals. There is no proving of such cases in any of the Chakma settled districts. It is all rumors created by the Arunachalees particularly the AAPSU and other student organizations as well as local based civil society groups for their political or economic gain.

Response of Civil Society Groups

Avoiipur is a small Chakma inhabited village in the district of Changlang. Elderly Chakmas remember that they had come to India in the year 1965 and they term it as the year of Borporang since they came as refugees. They took refuge in the states of Bihar, Mizoram, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh. According to the judgment of the supreme court of India Chakmas are entitled to be the citizens of India. Arunachal Pradesh government has been unable to accept the Supreme Court judgment and they still consider them as foreigners. Chakmas living here have been deprived of accessing resources from the state govt. The Chakmas living in other states are in a more comfortable position than them. The situation worsened in the year 1995 when the Chakma students were not allowed to attend classes in the schools run by the Arunachal Pradesh Government and it is still continuing. The well to do families could send their children to other states but in Avoiipur and its nearby villages consisting of very poor families, the children remained at home. By looking all these problems SNEHA, a Delhi based NGO then took up the initiative to start a school for these deprived children. They named the school as SNEHA School, a Pali name meaning 'Love'.

It was established in the year 2003 with 109 children in the village of Dumpani in Changlang. The school is presently located in the village of Avoiipur. It started following the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), New Delhi, India with the aim of preparing the children for the class X and Class XII examinations. The medium of instruction is Hindi and English. NFI-SDTT nucleus

22 Ibid.
made a visit to the school from 10th to 13th of April 2007. The Nucleus had a meeting with the teachers and guardians separately and also with a handful of students. The nucleus also made visits to the surrounding villages and spoke to people of different ages, backgrounds and also religious leaders. The specific observation has been made like, the school has been upgraded to Class VII, pucca office building has been inaugurated by State Health and Family Welfare Minister of Arunachal Pradesh.24

The guardians of the area stated that SNEHA is providing good education to their children and have good future if they sent their children. The villagers have started owning up the school as the guardians provide physical support and labour if there are any infrastructure works. The guardians have also built a thatched hut in the school premises so that SNEHA could accommodate more students dividing the classes into sections. The teachers are committed for the cause of Chakmas as most of them are members or have been members of the Arunachal Pradesh Chakma Students Union (APCSU). The Teachers give attention to each and everyone student as weak students are kept after school for extra Classes. Reference books for the teachers are being accumulated. Majority of the Chakma students are the first generation learners. It is also reported that they have more then 85 percent pass put in each and every classes starting from nursery to class VIII. Students of this school speak good English as well as Hindi. Apart from English and Hindi, Chakma language also introduced by Arindam Dewan, Head Master of SNEHA. The school has been divided into four houses to install in them a sense of healthy competition. Students from far away villages are staying in the houses of teachers. A Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) has been formed for addressing the grievances of the teachers and the guardians.25

Over a period of time Mahabodhi School and St. Judes English medium schools come up in the areas to accommodate Chakma children including other ethnic groups and started providing good education with hostel facilities in the areas.26

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24 See website, http://www.sneha.org.in, the report published by the SNEHA, New Delhi.
25 Ibid.
26 Explored during my field work in the districts of Chakma settled areas of Changlang and Lohit.
Chart: V (I)

SCHOOLS IN THE CHAKMA SETTLED AREAS (CHANGLANG)

Chart: V (J)

SCHOOLS IN THE CHAKMA SETTLED AREAS (LOHIT)

Chart: V (K)

SCHOOLS IN THE CHAKMA SETTLED AREAS (PAPUMPARE)
Basic Relief and Rehabilitation Policy Recommendations

The basic principles in the National Relief and Rehabilitation Policy (NRRP) must be incorporated in the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2007 (R&R Bill). For instance, the five year residence limit\textsuperscript{27} is higher than the one in the NRRP, which only specifies three year residence\textsuperscript{28}. Given that inter-state and intra-state migration for work occurs at a large scale in India and that the beneficiaries of these provisions are among the most poor and vulnerable sections of our society, it would be appropriate to lower the limit of number of years to three. There should be a mechanism to ensure equitable sharing of project benefits with the displaced people. This may be in terms of providing direct or indirect employment or reservation of a quota of shares etc\textsuperscript{29}. The conditional availability of certain resettlement provisions in the Relief and Resettlement Bill are a matter of concern (S.36(1) reads

"Each affected family owning agricultural land in the affected area and whose entire land has been acquired or lost shall be allotted to agricultural land or cultivable wasteland if Government land is available in the resettlement area". S.41(i) provides, "In case of a project involving land acquisition on behalf of a requiring body-(i) the requiring body shall give preference to the affected families in providing employment in the project, at least one person per family, subject to the availability of vacancies and suitability of the affected person for the employment"). S.49(4) says, "Each affected family of Scheduled Tribe followed by Scheduled Caste categories shall be given preference in allotment of land-for-land, if Government land is available in the resettlement area"\textsuperscript{30}

Alternatives should be spelt out if these conditions are not met. The Bill should be in line with other existing legislations such as those related to lands of tribal peoples or forest lands. Time limit should be defined for various stages in the process for acquisition of the land. Besides, where land has been acquired and has not been used for the intended purpose or any other public purpose, then instead of auctioning the land, option should be given to the original owner to take it back on laid down terms\textsuperscript{31}. There shall be no arbitrary displacement of individuals from their home or place of habitual residence by state authorities. In particular, public interest should

\textsuperscript{27} See in detail sections 3(n), 3(d), 3(iii), 21(2)(vi) 35(2) of Relief and Resettlement Bill, 2007.
\textsuperscript{28} See in detail Sections 6.4(vi), 3(o),7.3, 3.1(d), 3.1(b)(iii) of NRRP.
\textsuperscript{29} See Reports by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 14\textsuperscript{th} Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement, Geneva; 30 June-2, July 2008, Pp. 4-57.
\textsuperscript{31} See in detail the section 22 of the Land Acquisition Bill.
justify any large-scale development project. In all cases of large-scale development projects, authorities should hold public consultation with people likely to be displaced. The concept of ‘eminent domain’ should be in line with constitutional obligations and the proposed amendments to the land acquisition act and the relief and resettlement bill should provide for more scope for consultation/participation of affected people both in the acquisition as well as relief and rehabilitation process. Under the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2007, a multiplicity of authorities is sought to be created. In several cases, modalities relating to their operation are ‘as may be prescribed’ by the Government. It is imperative to define their roles so that they are complementary and there is synergy in their functions. The guiding principle in cases of development related displacement should be minimal displacement. Where agricultural land is sought to be acquired, it should be mandatory that area of wasteland equal to double the area acquired will have to be acquired and reclaimed for public purpose or at least funds for the same should be deposited in a special fund to be created for the purpose of rehabilitation of displaced persons or in the Central Relief and Rehabilitation Fund (CRRF). People who are displaced due to development projects include not only property owners but also others such as tenants, farm labourers or others whose livelihood may be dependent on the land even though they may not have legal title to it. Therefore protection of their rights must be ensured. It shall be mandatory for all local bodies to formulate land use plans and building rules so as to minimize and regulate conversion of agricultural lands for other uses. No non-agricultural activity should normally be allowed in areas marked for agriculture unless there are overriding and compelling reasons in public interest.

32 According to Section 6(2) of the Relief and Resettlement Bill, 2007, the public hearing undertaken in the project affected area for the environmental impact assessment shall also cover issues relating to social impact assessment. The Bill does not envisage public hearing for social impact assessment where no environment impact assessment is required. Public hearing should be held during all instances of social impact assessment.

33 See sections 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 19 of the Relief and Resettlement Bill, 2007, envisage creation of various administrative authorities.

34 Reading Section 3(b)(iii), 3(c) and Section 20(i) of Relief and Resettlement Bill, 2007, it appears agricultural or non-agricultural labourers, landless person, rural artisan, small trader or self-employed person will be covered under this Act only in cases where there is likely to be involuntary displacement of four hundred or more families en masse in plain areas, or two hundred or more families en masse in tribal or hilly areas, DDP blocks or areas mentioned in the Fifth Schedule or Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. An explicit provision to this effect should be provided in the R&R Bill to guarantee the rights of this category of people. LA Bill also should reflect the interest of people who do not have legal title to the land.
It has been the experience that where infrastructure projects like highways, roads are planned, the land values of the adjoining areas go up. Appropriate legislation should be put in place to charge additional duty/tax for such enhanced value, at least at the time of the subsequent transfers of the land and sums so collected should be transferred to the Central Relief and Rehabilitation Fund or any special fund created for the purpose of rehabilitation of displaced persons. Social impact assessment and understanding local aspirations are best captured through continuous dialogue with local people who are affected and NGOs. Hence while carrying out social or environment impact assessment, local people especially those who are likely to be displaced or some expert NGOs may be consulted. Norms of social impact assessment should be laid down and at least three alternatives should be examined in the same or different areas\(^\text{35}\). Where there are multiple displacements, it is necessary to compensate the displaced people appropriately e.g. by enhancing the solatium amount provided for in the bill or otherwise. Regarding service of notice under LA Act, Section 45(3) provides,

"When such person cannot be found, the service may be made on any adult male member of his family residing with him, and, if no such adult male member can be found, the notice may be served by fixing the copy on the outer door of the house in which the person therein named ordinarily dwells". The reference to ‘adult male member’ is in violation of gender equality and autonomy of women and the term ‘adult male member’ may be replaced with ‘adult member’\(^\text{36}\).

Other Recommendations on displacement on account of natural and man made disasters including conflicts particularly the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2007 must explicitly cover persons displaced due to violence as also due to natural or other man-made disasters. The NRRP as well as the R&R Bill, 2007 have to be comprehensive. The reference to any ‘involuntary displacement due to any other reason’ is very vague. It does not specifically cover conflict induced and disaster induced displacement. Also the definition of disaster has to be widened taking into account the environmental vagaries in different parts of our country. For instance, soil erosion does not fall within the category of natural disaster\(^\text{37}\).

\(^{35}\) Section 4 of the Relief and Rehabilitation Bill should be appropriately amended to reflect this.

\(^{36}\) Ibid.

\(^{37}\) According to Section 2 of the Relief and Resettlement Bill, 2007, the provisions of this Act shall apply to the rehabilitation and resettlement of persons affected by acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 or any other Act of the Union or a State for the time being in force; or involuntary displacement of people due to any other reason.
In disaster related displacement, rehabilitation is the biggest challenge. There is a need to address as to how one rehabilitates displaced persons in locations similar to their former residence. In instances relating to displacement on account of conflicts, there is a need to focus on what assurances would displaced persons require in order repatriating to former place of residence voluntarily? People displaced on account of conflicts or natural disasters should be able to return to their former places of residence voluntarily in safety and dignity. Authorities should ensure that their property is protected against destruction and arbitrary and illegal appropriation when they are displaced. When they return to their places of habitual residence, they shall not be discriminated against. Authorities shall assist the returnees to recover, to the extent possible, their property that they left behind or were dispossessed of upon their displacement. Where it is not possible to recover property and possession, then authorities shall be responsible for providing just reparation to them. Temporary Settlement should not be long drawn and there should be a time frame for the completion of relief and resettlement of people displaced on account of conflict and natural disasters. In the case of conflict, natural or human-made disasters, there is a need for a larger vision, which emphasizes the ‘prevention’ aspect of displacement. The Central Relief Fund (CRF) should be renamed as CRRF and funds should be set aside for rehabilitation of displaced individuals. All affected and displaced persons have the right to security for their physical well being and their property. Security agencies functioning under the administrative control of the States/Central Government must be geared towards preventing looting and other anti-social activities, and instilling a sense of security amongst the affected and displaced persons.

All affected and displaced persons have the right to immediate humanitarian assistance. In particular, they have right to food, shelter, healthcare (including mental health care) and education. To ensure smooth rescue, relief and rehabilitation, lists of person dead or missing as also property damaged fully or partially etc should be prepared in a transparent manner at the earliest and authenticated by appropriate authority. Such lists should be given wide publicity so that people can easily have access to the same. Special attention should be given to the vulnerable groups, e.g. disabled persons, women, children and the elderly in this regard. All affected persons have right to information about their missing relatives, friends, colleagues etc. Authorities concerned should put in place appropriate arrangements to collect
information about missing persons and keep their kin/relatives informed about progress in the matter. Similar efforts should be made and arrangements put in place about identification of dead and dissemination of information about them, and handing over their mortal remains to their kin after following all procedures. Till then, the mortal remains shall be preserved properly. If the dead are not identified within reasonable time, their last rites may be performed after obtaining appropriate orders and with full respect for dignity as per customs of religion to which she/he is believed to belong based on prima facie evidence. The concerned authorities after reasonable verification shall issue to affected and displaced persons all documents necessary for the enjoyment and exercise of their legal rights, such as passports, personal identification documents, birth certificates, death certificates and marriage certificates. Any lack of access to such legal documents or not having such legal documents shall not disentitle them for recompense\textsuperscript{38}.

As per my field work is concerned I prepared three sets of questionnaire. One set was especially for the Chakma refugees, second set was for the government and non-government employees, lastly the third set was for the common people and student activists. The survey was largely randomly conducted on the Chakma settled areas particularly Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang. While my field works I found very less people to be less interested on the issue of Chakmas because one of the oldest issues of the state and today is ringing around the development programmes. I found very different answers what I was expecting particularly from two different groups of people one Chakmas who have been fighting since 1964, which is more then five decades. Another group is Arunachalees who are very much against Chakma settlement even today and with the help of State Government missionaries excluding Chakmas from basic survival, for example right to have food, work, life, liberty. Let me examine the question which I received from respondent at the time of my field work. First I could bring the over all view of the Chakmas.

\textsuperscript{38} See website, http://nhrc.nic.in, NHRC Recommendation on Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons, New Delhi August 22, 2008. The following important recommendations and suggestions emerged at the National Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons organized by the National Human Rights Commission on 24-25 March 2008 in New Delhi.
Questionnaire for Chakma Refugees

How do you feel as a refugee?

When I asked this question, they said that it is really very bad to be refugee. They are very confused to recognize themselves that whether they are refugees or just migrants because they are not getting anything as per refugee protection and facilities are concerned. Many share that they are below animals, in this globalized and liberalized world, 'we are not even recognized as human being'. We are in the air and not the part of this universe. Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh compel to live like a life of animals in the jungle. The India’s refugee regime is not trying to see the problems and discrimination which Chakmas are facing in their day to day life. Chakmas are one of the most excluded communities in India and their condition is worst than any communities.

How long staying in India and do you have right to vote?

It is very difficult to understand; on what way India is going and protecting whom. The answer of this question was like those who migrated I mean the first generation and settled in 1964 do not have right to vote but the very unfortunate things I found is that the second generation also living without citizenship rights even after the various judgments by Supreme Court of India, Delhi High Court and Guwahati High Court. Very few Chakmas of second generation are having right to vote in the three districts where they settled (Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang). I here find very difficult to understand that a person is not a citizen of India or he/she does not have citizenship documents but he/she is having right to vote. Largely I found the political parties and AAPSU, AMSU, ANSU and other student activists in Arunachal Pradesh using these innocent Buddhist Chakmas for their vote bank by hook or by Crooke. What ever the case may be but the fact is that the second and third generation is largely waiting for their citizenship rights as well as basic survival.

It also explored during my field work that many Chakmas who were included in the electoral rolls of 2004, 2005 and 2008 had been deleted in the revision list of 2008 by the electoral officer of the districts particularly the Chakma settled areas of Arunachal Pradesh. They only give reason about these is that they did not fulfill the criteria to become the voters. But the basic question is if now this is the case how these Chakmas were included without verifying the application and other documents.

39 These are the three strong student organizations effective in Arunachal Pradesh.
as per the constitutional provisions are concerned. It is also unfortunate that many political parties in place of granting citizenship rights, they are playing with these communities by including in the electoral list and after election they are deleting the names of the Chakmas who included at the time of election\textsuperscript{40}. The case of inclusion and exclusion is one of the common activities of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

**Will you want to go back to the country from you migrated?**

As it is well known that the Chakmas migrated very long back to 1964 from CHT and Rangamati. They first settled in the parts of India and latter resettled in NEFA then present Arunachal Pradesh. Over a period of time it becomes a bone of contention between the two regimes as well as various student organizations. In response to this question I did not find any Chakmas who wanted to go back to the place from they migrated. When I asked this question to first generation they said that they migrated 50 years back and there is no point of going back because the Government of India who took responsibility to settle us and our children are born here, now we do not have any other home to go back. The second generation in response told that they born here and no point of going back and also claiming Indian citizenship for normalcy and survival. Third generation is small children's studying in the schools and also has fair desire to become the most responsible citizen of India.

**Incident of violence you feel in your area?**

On the issue of violence more than 99 percent Chakmas responded that the violence in the settled areas is very common by the Arunachalees and AAPSU activists. Particularly the Adis, Nyishi and Khamptis are the community of Arunachal Pradesh engaged in creating problems in the settled areas. The very common violence of 1995, 2002 and 2007 are well known in which houses and properties of Chakmas were burnt. In that year many Chakmas were killed by the AAPSU activities and one of the unfortunate things is that till now no case has been registered by the government of Arunachal Pradesh on the killing and violence even after complaint by the Chakmas.

**States/Central and other civil society’s Response towards the refugee?**

On the response relating to the help or any type of support Chakmas responded hundred percent that there is no response from any single organization.

\textsuperscript{40} For detail information see the list of electoral lists of the Chakma settled areas of Papumpare, Changlang and Lohit.
Chakmas are not getting any help from either State or Central Government. Civil societies are also absent in the area and the small non-government organization who are working in the region excluding Chakmas in many occasions.

**Do you feel any discrimination in day to day life?**

There is a huge discrimination in which Chakmas have been excluded in every aspect of life. They are even not getting basic human survival. They are doing everything by their own and State Government largely excluding these communities to be the part of any developmental activities. Even money which is coming from the central government is largely used on the welfare of the Arunachalees, not the Chakmas. Chakmas children have to study in their managed schools and not getting admission in any of the government schools run by the government of Arunachal Pradesh. Chakmas have been treated differently by both the State Government officers as well as common Arunachalees. When ever Chakmas go to government offices they are treated like animal. There are no roads in the entire areas where Chakmas are settled (Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang). No electricity, no schools, entire Chakmas settled areas are flood prone in which Chakmas every year lost their field products, houses and properties. Some time state authorities and AAPSU activities do not allow Chakmas to sell their field products in the market. Largely they are facing economic blockades. Even the central educational scheme system has been suspended in the Chakmas settled areas like Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, Anganwadi Programmes and many more.

**Do you see any positive future of your children?**

To answer this question many of the Chakmas expressed their strong emotions with tears. Hundred percent said that they do not see any positive future of their third generation children to be the part of Indian society with normal citizen of India. All the schools where Chakma children are studying are being run by the Chakma volunteers themselves. In Changlang SNEHA a Delhi based organization run by Chakmas itself working for the education of the Chakmas. The state government is not taking admission to these Chakmas only because they are refugee’s children. Condition in Papumpare which is the capital city of Arunachal is worse. Lohit as compared to these two districts is far better where Chakmas asserting themselves to bring some changes in the Chakma society but fail to bring. The reason is that the State Government is in the support of AAPSU activists and common Arunachalees and all these are against the Chakmas.
What rights you have as a refugees in India?

To answer this question many responded we are not more than animals in the jungle because animals that are living in the jungle do not have any rights and we are not more than them. A few answered that they have only right to vote and nothing more. They have been living since 1964 and have no rights. In this regard they are not getting any response from any of the government either it may be the state or the central. So largely they are also confused that whether they are refugees, Indian citizen, illegal or legal migrants. They are still, not understanding why second and third generations are not getting citizenship rights even after five decades of struggle as well as various judgments and directions given by the Supreme Court of the land.\(^{41}\)

*Questionnaire for Officers/Government and Non Government Employees*

What do you feel about the Chakma refugee of Arunachal Pradesh?

On the question regarding the issue of Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh many State Government officers responded very violently by saying that Chakmas are criminals and dacoits. They are creating lots of problem in the state by looting banks, kidnapping Arunachalees but when I did cross questioning they confused and finally I found that they are highly unaware about the Chakmas in the region. The most unfortunate thing is that they even they do not know about the history of the Chakmas in the settled areas.

Do you see any difference between the Chakma refugees and other refugees settled in India over a period of time?

On this question they are unaware about the general refugees in India. They don’t have any idea about the other refugees in India migrated over a period of time. Mostly, they said all the refugees are common and also said that what ever the case may be the Chakmas are outsiders and they have to leave the state as soon as possible and we will go to any extent to kick them out. They are saying that any type of refugees in India is a problem in for the country. They also responded they are unable to adjust with the local people. They should return back to their original place of origin.

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What do you think about their citizenship rights?

They should not be given citizenship rights because they are refugees in the region. Having no citizenship rights they are treated as refugees. Maximum said they should not be given citizenship rights.

Do you support Chakma refugee movement in the state so that they could get their right? (If Yes/No: why?)

No because they are not Indian and they have no rights to claim any rights in Arunachal Pradesh.

Would you suggest any solution to the problem?

They should return back to their original home from where they migrated. Maximum number of respondent said they don’t know what should be the solution to the problem and the reason is that they have little knowledge about the issue of Chakmas.

Questionnaire for Common People and Student Activists of Arunachal Pradesh: What do you feel about the Chakma refugee of Arunachal Pradesh?

Chakmas are outsiders and migrated from Bangladesh, they should go back to their original places from where they migrated. They are creating lots of problems in our state. They are criminals and ISI agents. They are looting banks, kidnapping and involved in all the criminal activities happening in the region. They are also capturing our land and properties.

Do you see any difference between the Chakma refugees and other refugees settled in India over a period of time?

Most of the AAPSU activists responded more rhetorically by saying that refugees are refugees. There is no question of identifying different set of refugees. All the refugees are problem for the country and they should go back to their original country from where they migrated.

What do you think about their citizenship rights?

Chakmas are not Indian. They are Bangladeshi and migrated long back. They do not have right to claim for citizenship rights. It is illegal to claim to be an Indian citizen.

Do you support Chakma refugee movement in the state so that they could get their right? (If Yes/No: why?)

We do not support Chakma movement in the state and they should not get their rights to be the part of Arunachal society. They are illegal migrants and must go
back to their country. Once they get all the rights they will start sharing our economy, land, job and many more and that will be the threat to our state and people.

**Would you suggest any solution to the problem?**

One of the most important reasons for not solving the issues even after five decades as per my survey and conversation with many AAPSU activists proved that they have very low knowledge about the Chakmas. I surprised to know that many of the activists even do not know from where Chakmas migrated, their history, their religion and many more things related to the Chakmas. It is completely the case of illusion and Chakmas are alien for Arunachalees. My survey also found that many Arunachalees even have never seen that how Chakmas look like and how they are and what are their settlement areas in Arunachal Pradesh. So the simple conclusion of the solution to the problem what I come across is impossible because Arunachalees do not know about the problems and what I feel that if some one do not know the problem cannot think for solution. The only solution Arunachalees suggested me is to kick them out of Arunachal Pradesh as well as from India. They are illegal migrants and do not have moral rights to claim citizenship rights as well as scheduled tribes’ status.

After my widespread field work I come to the conclusion that Arunachal Pradesh is no more the 'land of peace' rather it is the 'land of discrimination' and one of the most worse state then any other states of the republic of India in terms of human security and representation is concerned. The states Inner Line Regulation Act (ILRA) is also creating lots of problems not only to the Chakmas but also to all the Indians who are more than 40 percent and working for the welfare and development of the state. State Government using ILP as the easy tools to harass Chakmas in many occasions by asking, even not required. Some time State Government does not issue ILP and demand from the Chakmas and put in the jail and harass. The Government of India should take a necessary step and remove all the British policies so that its citizens should live freely without discrimination in any part of Indian Territory. I personally do not understand why Government of Indian is following all the British policies even after sixty two years of independence. All these inhumane policy, harassing Indians should be removed.