CONSEQUENCES OF DISPLACEMENT
Chapter 4

CONSEQUENCES OF DISPLACEMENT

Hirakud Dam

4.1 Introduction
National development has been largely equated with economic growth and surplus generation during the period of India's post-independence. The large scale industrialization and massive infrastructural development promised to set India on the path of modernization and development. Immediately after independence, a series of large dams were planned and built on the major rivers of India. Our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called dams as “secular temples of modern India”. Large dams promised to solve the problems of floods, hunger and starvation by providing irrigation and enhancing food production and providing much needed electricity for industrial development. But the outcome of such project has been causing enormous displacement.

The sole responsibility of dam building in India has been put on by engineers and technical experts. The social and ecological costs of large dams were grossly underestimated and largely ignored. Large scale displacement has been justified by invoking the utilitarian logic of “few people have to sacrifice for the national interest or goods”. However continuous people's movement and work of researchers have brought the social, ecological and political considerations of large dams to the forefront in recent periods.

India is one of the largest dam building nations in the world, there are 4291 dams in India. 3596 have been built and 695 are under construction. One of the facts about dam building in India is the absence of reliable data base on performances as well as the impacts of large dams. The official data particularly are dismal due to lack of its authenticity and lack of concerns of the state towards displaced people and it reflect the dominant attitude of neglect. Thus it prompted us to rely on independent estimates. But the independent estimate varies from person to person. However there is an agreement that dams are single largest cause of displacement accounting for about 75 to 80% of the
total displacement in India. It means about 4 crores persons have been displaced since independence.

It has been pointed out that the majority of the displaced belong to the poor and deprived classes. Almost 40% of the displaced are the Scheduled Tribes and 20% belong to the Scheduled Castes. The tribal communities accounts for just 8% of total population of India. It means 40% of the tribal populations are displaced persons. Tribal and Dalit communities are socially, economically and politically the weaker section of the society in India. Although the constitution of India has empowered equal opportunity to all her citizen by providing special protection to the weaker section, they are still being marginalized in the process of ‘national development’. They are being uprooted from their ancestral land and are forced to migrate to the urban areas in search of employment and become landless labourers. The deprived classes have been paying the prices for “development” of the urban areas and large farmers by providing irrigation and electricity. Dams have been served as another instrument of dominant classes for appropriating the two most important natural resources—water and land from less powerful communities like adivasis in an unequal society like India (Patwardhan 1999: 1-12).

4.2 The Institutional and Political Context of Displacement in India
4.2.1 Land Acquisition: Law and Policy in India
The most important factor that displaces the people is the prevailing Land Acquisition Act (LAA) of 1894. In India the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (LAA) empower the state to enjoy unlimited power over land within its territory. It follows that the state has the right to invoke this right for ‘public good’ and the consequent compulsory acquisition of the land can not legally be challenged or resisted by a person or community (Baxi 1989: 164-171). The doctrine of ‘eminent domain’ in India enjoys the power for the acquisition of land (Hemadri 1999: xxxii-xxxiv, Fernandes 1999, Bartolome 2000: 9, Ramanathan Usha 1995, Sharma 2003: 907-910). The LAA of 1894 was an important legal instrument of economic control, oppression and exploitation promulgated by the British government. By justifying the concept of ‘public domain’ the British were able to legitimize
Consequences of Displacement

controlling over land. The main intention of the British government was to acquire land for railways, expansion of trade routes, conversion of the forests and pasture land into plantations of tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, establishment of army cantonments and ordinance factories, construction of dams and canals etc. In such cases the displaced were mostly the forest dwelling communities, tribals and the farmers.

There is another kind of displacement caused by British introduced Act, known as Indian Forest Act of 1865. It facilitated acquisition of large forest areas for building railway lines. It established absolute control over the forests land in the name of public goods and converted them into state property. Thus the community dependent on forests for their livelihood lost their source of earning and customary rights (Fernandes 1997: 8-9). The LAA, which was formulated in the British era, has still been prevalent in the independent India. The power of eminent domain, as discussed earlier, to acquire private land for forestry and other public purposes is provided through article 31A and 298 of the Indian Constitution. Forests were initially placed on the State List of the Constitution of India, but the 42nd Amendment Act of the Constitution transferred the forests resource from the State List to Concurrent List. It means both the central government as well as the state government have the ultimate authority to make laws relating to forests. The centralization of administration and its control over forests land have further strengthened the process of displacement (Upadhyay 2002: 12, 19).

4.2.2 International Finance and Dam Building in India
Both domestic and international financial institutions support dam building in India. The central and state governments also share of the funding for large dams. The World Bank started lending for large dams in India in the 1970s and gradually it became the largest foreign donor to public sector irrigation projects in India. Although the World Bank fund to large dams in India constitutes only 26%, but its displacement shares 62% of the total number of people displaced. Although dams provided electricity, irrigation etc, conflicts arose in 1980s between people and the state due to the lack of resettlement policies for the displaced (International River Network 2007). There were massive public campaigns against Indian dam projects such as Sardar Sarovar, Tehri, Maheshwar, Omkareshwar,
Tipaimukh and more recently Allain Duhangan. These campaigns were successful in raising awareness of the negative impacts of dams and large hydropower projects and the responsibility of financial institutions in industrialized countries for financing such projects. It prompted the World Bank to withdraw from financing dams in India in 1993. After that, the World Bank distanced itself from lending for large dams in India for over ten years. But again in December 2003, the World Bank decided to double its infrastructure lending for India and announced that it was going to resume lending to large dams. In 2003, the Government of India proposed over 160 new hydroelectric projects to double the current electricity generation in the country. Most of these projects will be carried out by India’s National Hydropower Corporation (NHPC). The World Bank has announced its willingness to support the government in its expansion plans for the hydropower. Besides it, financial institutions from Sweden, Norway, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan and Germany had provided loans to NHPC. Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, Credit Commercial de France, HSBC, the Nordic Investment Bank, the Export Development Corporation, the Japan Bank for International Cooperation, ABN Amro, ANZ, Barclays, Natwest, Standard Chartered, Sumitomo and a syndicate headed by Deutsche Bank extended loans for building hydropower dams in late 2003 (International River Network 2005).

4.2.3 Privatization and Market in India
With the advent of New Economic Policy, the large scale private investments and inflow of foreign investment demanding more lands in order to compete in the world market. India’s moves towards privatization, inviting multinationals has further intensified the extent of displacement. Particularly the tribal communities are the most victims in era of the new Economic Reforms. Greater purchasing power of the multinational companies makes the process of land acquisition much easier and rejection of the draft National Policy for Resettlement, which recognizes some basic rights of the displaced people. This process is treating the natural resources as mere commodities, rather than recognizing the importance as means of livelihood for several communities. The state instead of safeguarding the rights of the citizens, has been acting as an ally and promoter of private companies without responding to the basic human rights. Sometimes, the state resorts to
repression and brutal police action, when people demand for their rights (Patwardhan 1999: 12).

4.3 Hirakud Dam and Anti-Dam Agitation
There was a large scale opposition from the local population as soon as it was decided to build dam at Hirakud. Mr. Radhakrishna Biswas Rai, a minister first announced that the construction of Hirakud dam would save the delta from the ravages of flood, the most fertile land and thickly populated region of Orissa. As the first notification came on September 13, 1946 for acquisition of land in 95 villages, strikes were organized in Sambalpur town. This revoked the local people to ask as to why Sambalpur should suffer for coastal people. It is irrational to displace large number of people from Sambalpur district in order to save the prosperous coastal delta from floods. Besides it, it was opposed by Mr. Rangaya, ex-chief engineer of Mysore. He subsequently released a 26 pages report and submitted his logics for the opposition of the dam at Hirakud. The argument made by him was that the dam would destabilize Orissa’s economy due to the absence of any proper estimate of cost and benefit of the dam construction. The idea of generating electricity from Hirakud was shown by him to be very expensive as there was no natural waterfall and he rather suggested for the creation of thermal power plant. He viewed the idea of navigation as a doubtful proposition, especially in the context of modern locomotives and changes the nature of trade and commerce. He also expressed his doubts on the life span of dam due to the large amount of silt in the river.

The local leaders along with some ex-bureaucrats took an active role in opposing the dam construction. The prominent among them were Mr. Bodhram Dube, Mr. L.N. Sharma, Prasana Panda and Sradhkar Supakar. They demanded that if the dam was constructed for flood control, then the people of flood affected areas would be displaced. Mr. Bharat Nayak, an ex-deputy minister in a public meeting rejected the idea of dam construction and argued that the displacement would create enormous emotional problems for those people leaving their ancestral homes. Alternately he suggested, due attention should be given for the better improvement of embankments. Mr. L.N. Mishra argued that it would result in the loss of fertile land of 310 villages and loss of abundance
Consequences of Displacement

of minerals. Mr. Dube pointed out that, the flood problem in Orissa dates back to the introduction of canals at Cuttack and Puri; therefore construction of dam would not solve the problem. Further he argued that the establishment of various industries in and around the Sambalpur district would not provide any benefit to the local people. Rather the rich and the industrialists would reap the benefits and the local people would be employed as daily laborers.

In the last week of month of May 1947 a Satyagraha was started under the leadership of Dr. Danardan Pujari and her wife Kamala Devi in Sambalpur to stop the construction of Hirakud Dam. But they were arrested for three months on the first day of Satyagraha. Later on the third day Dr. Sradhakar Supakar, Prasanna Kumar Panda, Satrughna Panda, Chintamani Hota, Purandar Panda and Srinibas Mishra etc were arrested. Sankar Prasad Mishra, Hari Charan Padhi, Durga Prasad Mishra, Sairendri Nayak, Anantaram Mishra and Ishwar Prasad Mishra etc had made immense contribution in this movement. A series of public meetings were also organized under the leadership of Gountias (village headman) of different villages. A resolution was adopted to oppose the project work through peaceful agitation under the leadership of Mr. Dube and to take steps to separate Sambalpur from Orissa and to demand withdrawal of prohibitory laws. The demand for separation of Sambalpur from Orissa formed an important basis for organization of the masses against the dam (Pattanaik, undated: 52-53). Once the demand for separation of Sambalpur from Orissa formed an important basis for the organization and mobilization of the people, the local congress leaders withdrew from the agitation charging it as a conspiracy by the former rulers of Garjats against democratic planning and development and trying to perpetuate feudal rules propagated against national sentiments. The move was also disapproved by the state and national congress including Gandhiji. Gradually the movement lost its momentum due to the imposing image of the Congress. The arrest of important leaders, withdrawal of congress leaders and betrayal of Budhuram Dube stopped the progress of the agitation. Finally it came to a halt once the construction work was inaugurated. The inauguration of the dam was done by the then governor of Orissa including the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on April 12. 1948. The dam has been presented as a symbol of modernization which could bring new

4.4 Hirakud Dam and Displacement

The provision of compensation of any of the development project can easily be estimated, when there is the availability of records and database. But the records and database in many cases differ, when it is compared between feasibility reports and the governmental provisions after the end of the construction of the certain project. Further differences appear between governmental provisions and its actual implementation. In this context, here the process of compensation of the Hirakud dam will be analyzed under two stages. The first stage is the provisions made in the feasibility report. The second is the actual implementation by the government and the people’s response towards the state.

The feasibility report proposed 135,000 acres of land will be submerged under the Hirakud dam reservoir and out of which 70,000 acres will be cultivated land. Estimation had been made that about 168 villages would submerge covering 08 police stations areas of Sadar and Bargarh sub-divisions of the Sambalpur district (Government of India 1947: 315-317).

But after the construction of the dam it submerged 183,000 acres of land, out of which 123,000 acres were cultivable land. There were 325 villages submerged in the dam covering 09 police stations. Out of these total 325 villages, 291 villages submerged in Orissa and 34 villages in Madhya Pradesh. There were 26,501 families displaced in the Hirakud Dam project (Government of Orissa 2007: 01).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: Proposed Estimation in 1947 and Actual in 1957 after the Completion of Hirakud Dam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proposed (1947)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submergence of Total Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submergence of Cultivable Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Families Displaced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Villages submerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Police Stations Submerged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 8:- List of Villages Acquired for the Submergence in the Project Hirakud Dam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1. No</th>
<th>Name of the Police Station</th>
<th>No. of Completely Acquired Villages</th>
<th>No. of Villages where Basti-sites submerged but cultivable land &amp; some houses remained outside</th>
<th>No. of Villages where only land have been submerged</th>
<th>No. of Villages where land acquired beyond 632 R.L.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Rampella</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mura</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mahadeypali</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Attabira</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Ambhabhona</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Jharsuguda</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Katarbaga</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Sason</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Sadar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Villages acquired for submergence of the Hirakud Dam can be classified into three categories. There are completely submerged villages, partially affected villages and villages acquired beyond 632 R.L. The dam completely submerged 116 villages, partially affected 133 villages and 42 villages acquired beyond 632 R.L\(^1\). Among the 133 partially affected villages, 48 villages where Basti-sites or the houses submerged but the cultivable land and some houses remained outside. Rest 85 villages where land have been submerged and Basti-site or the houses remained outside.

4.5 First Phase of Compensation

A new department known as ‘Hirakud Land Organization’ was set up by the state government for orderly evacuation, resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced people. There were three officers working under the Hirakud Land Organization. Such are (i) the Land Acquisition Officer (ii) the Land Reclamation Officer and (iii) the Settlement Officer. The duties of the Land Acquisition Officer are to determine the

\(^1\) The Hirakud Dam has been designed for the highest water level capacity of 630 feet. But it has acquired the land beyond 632 feet. The acquisition of extra two feet by the government was primarily for the waves of the reservoir. Therefore it further acquired 42 villages.
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amount of compensation and make payments to displaced persons for their land, houses, trees, etc. Additional Land Acquisition Officer deals with compensation claims for properties acquired for the evacuation of the canals. The Land Reclamation Officer assisted by an Executive Engineer is responsible for reclaiming the forest area by mechanical operations to mark into agricultural fields. The Resettlement Officer is responsible for evacuation and providing reclaimed land to the displaced for resettlement. This department consisted of an Agricultural Officer, a Medical Officer and their assistants (Agarwal 1967: 71-72). The first phase of compensation was started on 14th April 1949 and the Hirakud Land Organization was abolished in 1978 working under the supervision of Revenue Divisional Commissioner (Government of Orissa 2007: 3).

Land

Most of the displaced villagers were dependent on agriculture and for many centuries improving the lands for cultivation of paddy and other crops. The whole tract lies in close proximity to the Mahanadi and its tributary, the Ib River. The value of the agricultural land of this district mainly depends upon its positions and fertility. There are six kinds of lands according to their relative productivity. These are Bahal, Berna, Barcha, Mal, Bari and At. Each class of land has its own market value. There was the prevalence of Raiyatwari system during that period and the people were giving raiyats for their cultivated land. The rates of rental were very low in the non-plain area at the project site in comparison with those for similar lands in the coastal districts. Hence the provision for compensations for the raiyat lands according to the rules will be much less than the market value. If the raiyati holdings are compensated at the market value, following are the rough rates showing the minimum and maximum value of each class of land estimated in the feasibility report (Government of India 1947: 315-317).
But in actual practice compensations for lands were not followed according to the plans proposed in the feasibility report. The people did not get their compensation according to the types of lands submerged. They got uniform rate for all types of lands. The study shows that the paid compensations vary from person to person. There was even no uniform rate for all the people. The rate of compensations for submerged cultivable lands was paid ranging from Rs.200 to Rs.600 rupees per acre. The rate was determined according to the status of the displaced people and his influence in the society. It was primarily due to the presence of feudal society. The big land holders locally known as Gountias generally got more amounts of compensations as compared to the general people. The common people in many cases got very low amounts of compensations for their lands which are too less than the market value. 

Pasture

Under the Land Acquisition rule when pasture land is acquired for public purpose, it simultaneously acquired other lands in order to compensate the lost pastures primarily providing for grazing purposes. But in the present case of Hirakud dam, the feasibility report did not mention any rule for compensating the right of pasturage, collecting fuel, timber etc, from the village wastes. It has mentioned that it was impossible to accommodate all the displaced in the newly resettlement villages. Hence assurance of providing pastures was not given to all the displaced. Assurance had given only to the displaced who will be resettled and rehabilitated in new villages. While the remaining will be allowed to exercise the same rights in villages in which they will settle. The total area of village wastes including village forests in the submerged area is about 55,315 acres. As there is no sale of village waste, its market value can not be ascertained and
Thus the amount of compensation had not been mentioned (Government of India 1947: 317-318).

The study shows that the government has not provided any kind of pasture lands in the resettlement and rehabilitation camps as per the provision made in the feasibility report for the lost pasture lands. Getting pasture lands was a distant dream for the displaced people those who are staying in resettlement and rehabilitation camps. The government had not even provided cultivable lands for the displaced to maintain their livelihoods. The rehabilitation authority only dropped the displaced people with their transportable belongings in the camps without providing them cultivable lands. The government only cut all the big and valuable trees and declared those as cultivable lands. But in reality those lands were in the form of semi-forests land, which are not cultivable. The rehabilitated people took more than five years to convert the semi-forests lands into cultivable lands by their own labour.

Houses

The houses in the submerged area may be brought under the following seven classes.

(i) Pucca house with brick or stone and lime and masonry terraced roof.
(ii) Semi pucca house with brick and mud lime plastering with country tile roof.
(iii) Dhaba house with walls made up of sun-dries and burnt bricks with country tiled roof over timber or bamboo and mud plastered roof.
(iv) Dhaba house as above with thatched roof for second low floor.
(v) Katcha house with walls of sun-dried bricks and country tiled roof.
(vi) Katcha house with thatched roof.
(vii) Thatched small houses of poor people.

The Hirakud Dam Project envisages the acquisition of 163 villages with numerous villages. Most of the buildings and houses in the rural area have generally been constructed for the purpose of residence not for rent or sale. No data regarding their rental value is available and hence there is no market value of such buildings. If the cost of

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3 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-_barangmal).
buildings and huts are evaluated at the prices of materials at the probable year of construction minus the cost of depreciation, the displaced villagers will be hard hit. There were 163 villages to be submerged and the total number of houses submerged would be 17,700. Following table shows the present cost of constructing similar houses, if they are given.

Table 10: Estimated number of Houses to be Submerged and its Estimation of Compensations of Hirakus Dam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Rough Cost of Construction per House (Rs.)</th>
<th>Rough Number of Houses</th>
<th>Total Cost of Construction (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>10,62,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>10,62,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>13,27,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>3,540</td>
<td>35,40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>3,540</td>
<td>21,24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3,540</td>
<td>14,16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>5,310</td>
<td>13,27,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,18,59,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowances for persons having more than one house say 20% of classes IV to VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16,81,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,35,40,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


But in reality the acquired villages for dam was much more than the estimation made in the feasibility report. There were total 325 villages acquired. There is no exact data regarding the number of houses acquired for the dam, but it is sure that it is much more than the estimation made in the feasibility report. The study shows that the displaced people have got the compensation for their submerged houses as per the amount proposed in the feasibility report. But the amount that had been proposed in the feasibility report was too less to construct a new home. Therefore it took several years for them to construct a new house in the new place by their own labour. 

4 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). He has surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-Barangmal).
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Temples

Estimation had been made in the feasibility report that about 30 pucca temples in 95 villages with hamlets and 60 semi pucca and katcha temples would be submerged besides minor places of worships. Following are the rough rate of compensation for temples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Temple</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Rough Cost of Construction per Temple (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total Cost of Construction (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pucca Temples</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katcha Temples</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For additional submerged villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


My study shows that the government has not given any compensation for the submerged temples to the displaced people either made of kachha or pucca.

Wells

There is no exact record of private masonry and ordinary wells belonging to the people in the submerged area of 95 villages. The rough estimations made in the feasibility report was 200 masonry wells and 400 katcha wells including irrigation wells belonging to private persons. The compensation for each masonry temple was fixed Rs. 250 and Rs. 60 rupees for katcha temple after deducting half for depreciation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Well</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Rough Cost of Construction per Temple (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total Cost of Construction (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masonry Well</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katcha Well</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>74,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For additional submerged villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,11,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). He has surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-Barangmal).
The study shows that the displaced people have got the proposed amount of compensations for wells mentioned in the feasibility report. But the amount mentioned in the feasibility report was very less argued by the displaced people\(^6\).

**Schools**

There are about 45 schools in the submerged area of 95 villages with hamlets; (Middle English and Primary). The cost of compensation was estimated Rs.1,000 rupees per school for construction excluding the value of land.

**Table 13:** Number of Schools to be Submerged and its Estimation of Compensations of Hirakud Dam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Rough Cost of Construction per School (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total Cost of Construction (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For additional submerged villages roughly 50%</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>67,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The study shows that the government has not given any compensation for the schools of submerged villages. It is primarily due to the displaced people of one village did not resettle in one place. They settled in different villages and they availed the facility of schools of host villages\(^7\).

**Tanks**

Most of the villages and hamlets have their tanks for supplying water for irrigation and bathing. About 600 tanks for irrigation belonging to private individuals and 95 Government tanks was estimated to be submerged. Generally the compensation is calculated on the cost of excavating similar new tanks. The cost of compensation varies from Rs. 700 to Rs. 3,000. Here Rs. 1,000 have taken as the mean value for each tank.

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\(^6\) The study was done by me during my field study (1\(^{st}\) June 2008-5\(^{th}\) July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-Barangmal).

\(^7\) The study was done by me during my field study (1\(^{st}\) June 2008-5\(^{th}\) July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-Barangmal).
Table 14:- Number of Tanks to be submerged and its Estimation of Compensations of Hirakud Dam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Tanks</th>
<th>Rough Cost of Construction per Tanks (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total Cost of Construction (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For additional submerged villages roughly 50%</td>
<td>3,00,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,00,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The study shows that the displaced villagers did not get any compensation for the submerged tanks. As it was commonly owned by the villagers and the people resettled in different places by themselves and the government did not give compensations for those submerged tanks. Only the tanks privately owned by the displaced people were given compensations. But these tanks were not compensated as per the amount proposed in the feasibility report. Rather those were compensated as land. They did not get the costs of converting the land into tanks from the government. The amount of compensation which was proposed in the feasibility report was also too less. It was impossible to make a tank with one thousand rupees during that period.

Trees
The valuation of the trees for compensation depends on value in case of fruit bearing trees and the value of wood in case of non-fruit bearing trees. Therefore compensation will depend on the amount of fruit or wood which ever is greater. There is no data available of the number of timber trees and fruit bearing trees. The rough value of a fruit bearing tree will vary from Rs. 10.00 to Rs. 30.00, while that of a timber producing tree from Rs. 5.00 to Rs. 15.00. Rs. 10.00 was taken as the mean value. The rough estimate, each village with hamlet has about 200 trees including fruiting trees including orchards. The average submergence of trees was calculated as 200 per village. The total estimation for 163 villages therefore would be Rs. 3, 26,000. Estimation has roughly worked out a figure of Rs. 5, 00,000 for the compensation of submerge trees including the additional villages. The meaning of additional villages is not understandable as it has not been defined in the feasibility report.

8 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-Barangmal).
Consequences of Displacement

It is very difficult to picture the actual compensations in terms of submerged trees. My study shows that many people have got the real amount of compensation of their submerged trees. And many of them also have not got due to the conflicts between themselves regarding the ownership of trees. There are many cases of conflicts about the ownership of trees and at last the third party gets the benefits of compensations. In many villages the real owner of the trees did not get the compensation. Rather the compensations were given to Gountias (Village Headman). The Gountias had considerable influence in the society as well as over the officials during that period and they managed to grab the compensation as they could by cheating the common people.\(^9\)

4.6 Displacement and its Impacts

4.6.1 Displacement of People and Livelihoods

Among the 325 villages submerged in the Hirakud Dam Project people of the ‘Jamda’ village were the first displaced from their village on 2\(^{nd}\) April 1948. The village was inhabited by 24 families mostly from the Harijans and Adivasis. Each family had few lands and was cultivating different vegetables. Besides it they were earning their livelihood by fishing from the river and some were working as cobbler and village guard. The village Jamda lost its name and a new city established in its place known as Hirakud. The displaced were informed that the dam would not only provide them a wide opportunity of accelerating their livelihoods like fishing, intensive and irrigated cultivation, but also supply electricity to light the whole of Orissa. Nobody would remain poor in the district of Sambalpur (Supakar 1988: 4-8). The fortune of the people would change by the blessing of the Hirakud Dam.

The displaced people were rehabilitated in 18 different camps. These camps resettled 2,243 families out of 2,6501 displaced families from 249 submerged villages of Hirakud Dam. Only 8.46% of people have been rehabilitated out of the total displaced and rest of

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\(^9\) The study was done by me during my field study (1\(^{st}\) June 2008-5\(^{th}\) July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipal & Nua-Barangmal).

\(^{10}\) There were 24 families first displaced from the village Jamda. They are Gautam Kalo, Chema Kalo, Niranjan Bhoi, Jai Bhoi, Ganda Jhankar, Gurbari, Kangalu Bhoi, Bahadur Bhoi, Ganesh Bhoi, Suaag, Hema, Ujjal Bhoi, Ratan Bhoi, Braja Bhoi, Sumitra, Balmakund Ganda, Anand Ganda, Ruilu Bhoi, Baidehi, Rudha Ganda, Baishnava Chamar, Bharat Chamar, Bidhyadhar Bhoi.
the people resettled themselves by their own effort and remained as the internal displaced people (IDPs) (Government of Orissa 2007:1). The reason for this are varied. Some felt that the camps were too far from their original village. Others had no faith in the government scheme and found the uncertainty of the new location. Many people took the advantage of the hospitality of a neighboring village and opted to settle there. Besides it, various people found difficulties in shifting their luggage (tile, bricks, wood etc) and cattle to the rehabilitation camps which are 50 to 60 km away (Viegas: 49). The resettlement of only 8.46% displaced people out of proposed 50% is primarily due to the remote location of the rehabilitation camps. Many of the camps are still located in the densely forested area, which was inadequate infrastructural development (Government of Orissa 1989: 4-5). The details about the resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced have been described in the next chapter.

The people of Orissa primarily depend on agriculture. It has been the prime source of their income in maintaining their livelihoods. The displaced people were residing in the whole tract lies in close proximity to the Mahanadi and its tributary, the Ib River. The fertile lands besides the river valley had a great contribution in accelerating their agricultural economy. Each and every people had their self sufficient economy by practicing plough cultivation. People were both directly and indirectly depended on the River Mahanadi for agriculture and other activities like fishing. Rice was the prime cultivation practiced by the people. Besides it, rabi crops was also being cultivated during the non-monsoon season. People had their well and self sustained agricultural economy in the region. But the displaced villagers faced great difficulties when they lost their productive cultivable lands by the construction of Hirakud dam.

The displaced people moved towards different places to settle themselves by their own initiatives. It was a great agony for them by losing all their productive assets and settled in new places with very little compensation. Many of the people settled in their near by villages and some went to their relatives villages. The compensation money was so low and it was too less than the market value. Thus it became very difficult for the displaced to buy new agricultural lands in the new places. The value of the land also increased to a
great extent during that period due to the huge demand of lands made by the displaced. Even there was scarcity of lands in the market to buy.

The most affected people due to displacement in terms of livelihood are the landless people. They are the tribal people, daily wage laborers, barbers, car painters, blacksmiths, village priests (Jhankar) & village guards (choukidar) etc. The displaced tribal are primarily from the Kisan, Kol, Bhuiya, Sangara, Kandh etc community. The tribals were primarily dependent on forests resources for their livelihood. They had their self-sustained forests economy continued from generation to generation. However, more or less the tribal people were practicing plough cultivation. But they had no legal record of their land and thus deprived of compensations. Those lands were considered as forests land. The displacement made by the Hirakud dam marginalized the tribal people from their forests economy and forced them to flee to cope up with the market economy. It became very difficult to get any employment in near by villages or in the urban area. It became very difficult for them to arrange even two meals a day. Many of them are forced to enter into the forests in order to make the agricultural land to regenerate their livelihood. But making agricultural land by clearing forests also became a difficult task for the displaced when there was no food to feed them. Many of the people faced severe livelihood crisis.

The other types of affected community are the barbers, carpenters and blacksmiths those who were maintaining their livelihood by practicing their occupation from their generation to generation. But they lost their occupations while they displaced from their villages. They lost their clients as well as their occupation and it became very difficult for them to maintain their livelihood. The same problems were being faced by the petty businessmen when they lost their clients. The problems of village priests and village guards were little bit different from the barbers, carpenters or the petty businessmen. The village priests and village guards had quite sufficient amount of lands. But they did not get any compensation from the government. Because the lands belong to them were gifted lands by the villagers for their service. The absence of legal ownership of such lands deprived the village priests and village guards to get compensations for their lost
land. They faced a great hardship while they lost their occupations. The absence of any government help further accelerated the livelihood crisis further.

The degree of livelihood crisis varies from the completely submerged village and the partially submerged villages. There are two types of partially submerged villages. The first category includes the families only lost their lands and their houses remain intact outside the reservoir. While the second category includes the families only lost their houses and their lands remain intact outside the reservoir. In such cases many people left those places and settled in new places according to their own suitability. But many of the people are still staying in the periphery of the reservoir. There have been large social changes primarily in the partially submerged villages. These people who have lost their lands had no alternatives for their livelihood besides fishing in the reservoir. These people who had no experiences of fishing earlier were forced to practice fishing. Many of the non-fishing community including the Brahmin are now practicing fishing in order to maintain their livelihood. Besides it, many of them are also practicing cultivation in the fringe lands while the water level of the reservoir goes down.

1.2 Human Health
There were severe health problems when the people were displaced from their villages due the construction of Hirakud dam. The people have been staying from generations in their native places and well accustomed with the environment. But they faced a severe health crisis when they shifted from their own environment to different environment. The health crisis of the Hirakud oustees can be divided into two. One is the immediate health crisis when they shifted from their native places to new places and another is post-resettled health crisis.

The immediate health crisis is more severe and pathetic for the displaced people in comparison to post-resettled crisis. During the period of displacement people faced various diseases including Malaria, Dyerria, and Dysentery etc. Among all the diseases

\[\text{11} \quad \text{The study was done by me during my field study (19 June 2008-5th July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipali & Nua- Barangmal).}\]
Malaria was very much rampant among the displaced. It was primarily due to the region was densely forest area. Many people have died out of Malaria due to the lack of doctors and hospitals. The hospitals were far away from the resettled villages. The communication system was so bad that people unable to reach the patients in time to the hospitals and the people had been dying. It is true that the non-displaced people of the region were also suffering from various diseases and had been dying out of Malaria due to bad health infrastructure in the region. But the intensity of the health problems was more in case of the displaced people due to their new settlement in the new region. The government also did not make any arrangements for the displaced people for their better health. There was extreme scarcity of hospitals and doctors in the region and thus the people were treated primarily by the local medicines made up some medicinal plants, herbs and roots. Simultaneously many of them faced psychological problems due to their lost native places and including all their movable and immovable properties. Many of the people died due to their unbearable psychological trauma.

4.6.3 Gender

The displacement made by Hirakud Dam made little bit more impact on the women than the men. Women faced a great difficulty in maintaining their livelihood. Women in general in that region were engaged themselves in their household and agricultural activities in maintaining their livelihood. They have their equal role as like the men in agriculture and both were interdependent to each other for their agricultural production. But the displacement made by the construction of Hirakud Dam deprived thousands families from their agricultural lands. The low compensations as well as no compensations forced many families to become a wage laborer in order to maintain their livelihood. It was a very pathetic condition for many of the families to become a daily wage laborer, who were earlier the masters. Women faced a great difficulty when they practiced wage laborer for their livelihood. The women were carrying out both the household activities as well as the wage laboring simultaneously. On the other hand in case of men they were free from household activities. Displacement made the women

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12 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipali & Nua-Barangmal).
double burdened than the men. The impact of displacement made by Hirakud Dam was more on the women in maintaining their livelihood in particular and household activities in general.

4.6.4 Displaced and Host Communities

It has been mentioned earlier that the displaced people resettled by themselves in near by villages and their own relatives villages. The people did not have the belief on the government resettlement and rehabilitation programme. Only 8.46% of people have been rehabilitated out of the total displaced and rest of the people resettled themselves by their own effort. My study shows that so far as the resettlement is concerned in the near by villages, there was no conflicts between the displaced and the host communities. The displaced people were positively welcomed by the villagers. There established a good relations among them both socially and culturally. There are various reasons behind the harmonious relations between the displaced and the host communities. The displaced people resettled in nearby villages but did not disturb the host communities in their individual life. There was a large chunk of government forests lands as well as barren lands available for the displaced people to make cultivable lands for them. Thus they independently resettled themselves without the encroachment of the lands of the host communities. On the other hand the host communities got the displaced people as cheap laborer to work in their agricultural lands. As culturally both the displaced and the host communities are homogenous and an acrimonious relation established among them. It is true that the society is divided into various castes and it is very much rigid in the Indian society. But everybody is very conscious and kept themselves within their limit. Even if various lower castes resettled in the higher class villages, conflicts did not arose just because of their consciousness and kept themselves within their limit. A well understanding among them established a pleasant atmosphere. There are certain cases of land disputes in many places in terms of lands between the displaced and the host communities. But lands disputes are very common in villages and it is wrong to argue that the land disputes arose due to the resettlement of the displaced people and the

13 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipali & Nua-Barangmal).
scarcity of lands. These cases are very minimal and can not be taken into granted. Overall there is a harmonious relationship between the displaced and the host communities both in terms of socially and culturally

**KAPTAI DAM**

4.7 Introduction

National development has been largely equated with economic growth in Bangladesh. The large scale industrialization and massive infrastructural development promised to set Bangladesh on the path of modernization and development. Immediately after independence, a series of developmental projects were planned in Bangladesh. But the outcome of such project has been causing enormous displacement. Although there are very few dams constructed in Bangladesh, huge numbers of people are being displaced by other developmental activities. Such are in mining activities, state sponsored commercial crops and cultivation. The social and ecological costs of developmental projects were grossly underestimated and largely ignored. Large scale displacement has been justifying by invoking the utilitarian logic of "few people have to sacrifice for the national interest or goods". It has been identified that the majority of the displaced belonged to the poor and deprived classes and the tribes. The largest occurrence of development induced displacement is found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in South-East Bangladesh.

The region occupies a physical area of some 5,000 square miles (13,000 square kilometers) or ten percent of the total land area of Bangladesh. It is divided into three districts (Rangamati, Khagrachari and Bandarban) in 1989. This mountain frontier region lies at a strategic location between India and Burma, where South Asia meets South East Asia. It is also full of rich natural resources and 60 percent of Bangladesh forests are located in the region. It is inhabited by twelve distinct tribals speaking wide range of languages, adheres to different creeds and organized in different social structures. They are the Chakmas, Marmas, Tipperas, Murungs, Tanchaungs, Kamis, Ryangs, Lusheis, Bawn, Khumi, Sak, and Pangkhua. They have their own language/dialect and all belong

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14 The study was done by me during my field study (1st June 2008-5th July 2008). I have surveyed two resettled villages (Goudpali & Jammal) and two rehabilitation camps (Kadlipali & Nua-Barangmal).
Consequences of Displacement

to the Sino-Tibetan descent group and closely resembles with the people of north-east India, Burma and Thailand and sharp distinction to the people of plains of Bangladesh. The Chakmas speak a mixed language of Bengali, Pali and Sanskrit written in Burmese script. Rests of the tribal groups speak a mixed language of Assamese and Burmese origin. In terms of religious belief and practices, the Chakmas, Marmas and Murungs are Buddhists; the Tripura or Tipperas are Hindus; the Tanchaungs, Ryangs and the Khumis are animists. Among them the Chakmas are the large in numbers constitute about 85% of the total tribal population along with the Marmas and Tripuras. Howener they have their rich cultural heritage irrespective of their diversified language and religion and all commonly practice swidden or shifting agriculture, locally known as Jhum cultivation (Gain 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, Gankovsky 1974: 220-230; Schendell 1992: 95-97; Behera 1996: 985-986; Khan 2003: 9-15).

During the pre-colonial period the tribals were semi-independent and at times independent entities. Each and every tribe was a self-sufficient economic unit as well as self administered political unit, with inter-tribal relationship regulated by tribal customs. The Mughals annexed the Chittagong hills in the mid-seventeenth century after a protracted war. However the Chakmas were not completely subjugated by the Mughals rather it led to the accommodation of two parties. The Mughals levied tax on trade between Chitagong hills and plains, and the Chakmas agreed to pay trade tax to the Muhgal court and in return were assured of local autonomy (Behera 1996:986). The Mughal administrators of Bengal were aware of that the hill indigenous people of the CHT were dependent on the market of Chittagong for day to day necessities and this prompted Mughals to levy trade tax (Roy 1998: 57). But the Mughals hardly interfere in the day to day or political affairs of the tribals. Their relationship was principally commercial and limited to tax or revenue collection (Behera 1996: 986). The Chakmas were administered largely in the form of decentralized governance by their own local tribal chiefs might be regarded as “tribal” confederacies until its colonization (Roy 2004: 117). But the control of Mughals over the CHT was not free from contestation with various external powers. From the sixteenth century the powerful powers like the Portuguese traders and pirates, Burmese state agents and Mughal emissaries increasingly
Consequences of Displacement

were playing interplay of alliances and counter-alliances. At last Mughals were defeated by the British colonial power in the mid-eighteenth century and the CHT went under the domain of British control (Schendel 1992: 97; Khan 2003: 9).

The British East India Company annexed Bengal in 1760. The East India Company motivated by the economic and strategic concerns and started a military campaign to enlarge their area of influence eastward (Roy 1998: 57). The ample amount of available resources in the CHT and its geographical location for creating buffer zone between two empires: the Burmese empire on the west and Indian empire on the east encouraged the East Indian Company to keep CHT within its realm. The strategic plan can be best understood from the First Anglo-Burmese War and the occupation of Arakan in the year of 1824-26 (Bhattacharya 2001: 323-324). The British Military campaign in the CHT started around in 1776 and almost long lasted up to a decade with stiff resistance from the hill people especially from the Chakmas. Finally in 1787, the Chakma Raja, Jaun Baux Khan entered into a peace treaty with the British Governor General, Lord Cornwallis and the Chakmas territory went into the empire of British. The Chakma Rajas were never militarily defeated before by any power (Roy 1998: 57) but could not resist the attack of British due to its huge military power in comparison to small arms group of Chakmas. Colonial annexation to CHT had far-reaching consequences (Schendel 1992: 108). The small area of mountain ranges declared as an autonomous as administrative district in 1860 by the British called as “Chittagong Hill Tracts” (CHT) and was administered from Calcutta as part of Bengal province. The Chittagong hills had never been incorporated in a state and it was the first time for Chakmas entered into the state system in 1860 (Khan 2003: 10; Schendel 1992: 108).

Afterwards the policy of exclusion was adopted by the British in CHT in order to hold exclusive grip over it. The British policy on the CHT was guided by two main objectives based on divide and rule policy: (a) protection of the political, economic and military interests of the British, (b) keeping the hill people segregated from the Bengalis. The rising tide of commerce and trade, encroachment of Bengali moneylender, business men, entrepreneurs and the process of ‘Bengalization’ into the hills prompted the British to
introduce CHT Regulation of 1900, declared it as excluded area. Another cause behind introducing this regulation was to cope up with the nationalist movements spreading in the plains of Chittagong in the beginning of the century (Mohsin 1997a: 26-27; Bhattacharya 2001:325). The Santal Rebellion had erupted across the deltaic plains of Bengal, some 400 km away to the west in 1855. The CHT Regulation of 1900 had provided protection of ‘tribal’ rights and status of regional autonomy. But adversely this regulation isolated the hill people from the plains land of Bengal. The hill people denied access to power and remain subordinated by the British overlord. This policy was distinctly anti-Bengali and it prohibited the Bengalis to migrate to the hills. The introduction of CHT Regulation of 1900 was accelerated by various manipulations. In 1865 the Indian Forest Act was passed. The Act barred the hill people from entering and using the resources of the hills is an attempt to protect the forest resources. The colonial British government claimed the hill forests to be ‘reserved forests’, denied the cultivators to cultivate in those areas and stopped the jum culture and encouraged the people to practice plough cultivation. The main reasons behind this policy was colonial ownership of all land in the hills and give out to European entrepreneurs especially to tea planters and use the forest resources for railway sleepers. In fact the colonial power was not so much interested in protecting the rights of the hill people rather the main motivating factor was to earn revenue from trade gathered from the cultivators via territorial chiefs. Although the CHT Regulation of 1900 empowered the hill people within their hill territory, but they were powerless outside it (Schendel 1992:110-115).

But the Regulation maintained the traditional institutions of the Circle Chief and Headmen. On the other hand all the executive, legislative and judicial power was vested in the DC. The powers of the Circle chiefs were limited to collection of taxes and dispensing justice in the traditional courts. The Mouza Headmen were responsible for the collection of taxes and dispensing justice in the traditional courts. They passed the tax to the Circle Chiefs and who passed it to the DC.

Rule 34 of the Regulation restricted possession of land by outsiders in CHT, but did not total ban upon it. Land could be acquired for the following purposes: [Rule 34 (b)] for
plantation on commercial basis; [Rule 34 (c)] for industrial purpose; [Rule 34 (d)] for residential purpose; [Rule 34 (e)] for commercial purpose. Under Rule 52, non-indigenous people were not permitted to enter or reside in the CHT without obtaining permission from the DC. More importantly under Rule 51, the DC had the power to expel anybody from the CHT within 24 hours if he or she was found to be undesirable. The Manual also introduced measures to protect the hill people from the money lender.

The provision of the Manual, though seemingly favorable to the hill people at one point of time but later on jeopardized their interest. Although the Regulation empowered the hill people in terms of protection but failed to keep their sovereignty. The main loophole of the Regulation was that Rule 34 had left scope for the acquisition of land for commercial and residential purposes. This favored the Bengalis to enter into the CHT. In 1933 Rule 52 was repealed by the British in order to make the hills more profitable (Mohsin 1997a:27-32).

In 1919 the Government of India Act, was declared CHT as ‘backward tract’ (Bhattacharya 2001:328). The Government of India Act 1935 also defined it as a ‘totally excluded area’ (Behera 1996: 987). Therefore the CHT remained immune from the turmoils of the anti-British nationalist movements of the Indian subcontinents. This movement soon acquired to communal dimensions. The Muslim League appeared the champion of the separate Muslim state while Indian National Congress for secular state. The people of CHT could not associate themselves with the politics of Muslim League, because 95 percent of the hill people were non-Muslim. The Chakma elites approached the Congress leader to merge the CHT into the Indian Union for their secular approach. Later the tribal chiefs also demanded area to be remain as ‘totally excluded area’ and requested the British administration to make a confederation and join them with the states of Tripura, Manipur, Kuch Bihar and Khasi. There was also no consensus of opinion among the Hill people on the future administrative structure of the CHT. The Chiefs preferred the establishment of pure monarchy in the CHT, the moderate led by Kamini Mohan Dewan (a Chakma notable) preferred a constitutional monarchy on the British model while the extremist led by Sneha Kumar Chakma preferred a Republican form of
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government. These differences reflected the total unpreparedness of the people of CHT to face the new situation. The Bengal Boundary Commission in the meantime invited representations and memoranda from different parties. The Muslim League submitted its memorandum on 17th July 1947 and made a strong case for the incorporation of the CHT into Pakistan. While the Congress remained silent about it. It was argued that East Bengal had no source of power except development of hydroelectricity and one of the main sources was the River Karnafully, which lies in CHT. Ultimately the Bengal Boundary Commission headed by Cyril Radcliffe, awarded the CHT to Pakistan on 16th August 1947 (Mohsin 1997: 35-37; Bhattacharya 2001:328-329).

India got partition after the departure of British and a new country was formed known as Pakistan. India and Pakistan got divided on the basis of Hindu and Muslim religion. Although the Hill people were interested to be a part of Indian union but such unexpected declaration was a great blow for Chakmas. Indian flag was hoisted soon after the independence of India at Rangamati by the Chakmas, but it was pulled down by the Pakistani Army after five days on 21st August. No specific reasons have been mentioned by the Radcliffe Boundary Commission for taking such declaration. Many of the studies have attributed these following factors.

- Ferozepur being a Muslim majority in the area of Punjab was belong to Pakistan. But the Zira sub-division of Ferozepur was awarded to India against the principle of Partition Act. The reason behind such declaration was Zira sub-division was compact of Sikh communities. As a result Chittagong Hill Tracts was compensated to Pakistan, a region dominated by Buddhist minority (Talukdar 1994: 64-65).

- The sea port of Calcutta being a Hindu majority was allowed to India and in the same logic CHT was awarded to Pakistan, the region dominated by non-Muslim (Hazarika 1995: 282). Another analogy may be made here; although Murshidabad was dominated by Muslim went to India, as the holy Ganges passes through this district, the same reason was applied to CHT and it went to Pakistan (Talukdar 1994: 64-65).
Pakistan had two wings, known as East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) and West Pakistan, but dissimilarities arose between them over the issues of establishing democracy, national language status to Bengali and of distributions of national revenue. This led to national movement led by Awami League (AL), earlier known as Awami Muslim League founded in 1949 by a faction of Muslim League. Thus the Muslim League did not consolidate its position and gradually the national movement developed into the war of independence. The war ended with the great defeat of West Pakistan and East Pakistan emerged as an independent state in December 1971 with the complete support of neighbor country India.

4.8 Institutional and Political Context of Displacement in Bangladesh

4.8.1 Land Acquisition: Law and Policy in Bangladesh

The most important factor displacing the people is the prevailing Land Acquisition Act (LAA). The undivided Indian Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (LAA) empower the country Bangladesh to enjoy unlimited power over land which was promulgated by the British government. The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 justifies the concept of 'public domain' and the British were able to legitimize controlling over land. The main intention of the British government was to acquire land for railways, expansion of trade routes, conversion of the forests and pasture land into plantations of tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, establishment of army cantonments and ordinance factories, construction of dams and canals etc. In such cases the displaced were mostly the forests dwelling communities, tribals and the farmers. There is another kind of displacement caused by British introduced Act, known as Indian Forest Act of 1865. It facilitated acquisition of large forest areas for building railway lines. It established absolute control over the forests land in the name of public goods and converted them into state property. Thus the community dependent on forests for their livelihood lost their source of earning and customary rights. The LAA, which was formulated in the British era, has still been prevalent in the independent Bangladesh but in varied forms (Zaman 1996: 692-696; Fernandes 1997: 8-9). For example the Government of Pakistan proclaimed the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Land Acquisition) Regulation, 1958 in 25th June 1958 for the land acquisition in Chittagong Hill Tracts and it violated the CHT Regulation of 1900 (Government of Pakistan 1958).
Similarly the Government of Bangladesh acquired lands for Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Project. The Act is known as Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge (Land Acquisition) Act, 1995 (Government of Bangladesh 1995).

4.8.2 International Finance and Dam Building in Bangladesh
There are few Dams in Bangladesh as compared to India and China. Bangladesh has not constructed huge dams like other countries, thus it is very difficult to specify donor agencies associated with finance for the dam construction in Bangladesh. However presently, all major infrastructural development projects in Bangladesh are externally funded by multilateral and bilateral agencies, such are World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Overseas Development Authority, Canadian International Developmental Agency and many other agencies. Large projects typically affect the people through the loss of agricultural land, forests land and eventually displace them from maintained livelihood system (Zaman 1996: 692).

4.9 Kaptai Dam and Anti-Dam Agitation
The Chakma Raja Tridev Roy, East Pakistan Legislative Assembly Member Kamini Mohan Dewan and a few other regional leaders registered their protests against the Kaptai Dam from their respective positions. Students like the Chakma born fighter Manabedra Larma and Binoy Kanti Khisa of Chittagong distributed booklets explaining the ill effects of dam and mobilized the people to protest against the proposed dam to construct in the Kaptai. But they were immediately arrested by the policemen and were confiscated in the jail. The overall political situation of East Pakistan was stifled under the iron rule of Ayub Khan. Public protect against the authorities was an impossible phenomenon during that period. The protests were isolated and the participation of common people failed to stop the construction of the dam.

It was primarily due to the lack of political consciousness among the people and their lack of education. In the sixties there was no strong political organization in the region to mobilize the people to protest against the dam. The tribal populations were traditionally dependent on their local leaders, Headmen, Dewan and the Rajas for decisions on various
matters. They were unaware of the modern ways of expressing protests and lacked political platform against the Kaptai dam.

But the great exodus of 40,000 displaced people to India as stateless citizens and the rest 60,000 internal displaced people in the CHT eventually prompted their thinking later that they had suffered a serious injustice. A strong feeling of grievance and protests gradually took over the minds of particularly the more educated people and the affected local people. With the increasing political consciousness and the spread of education the feeling of homelessness crystallized in their mind as the dam as a death trap for them. Apart from the common population, the Chakma Raja’s family was also rendered homeless by the dam. So the discontent was not confined to the general people alone, the highest stratum of the society was also disgruntled.

The organized protest particularly started after the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971, when they were denied the status of ethnic minority in the constitution and it alarmed their cultural identity. An organization was formed called as Parbatya Chattagram Janasanghati Samity (PCJSS) under the leadership of Manabendra Larma launched a struggle to get their rights in a democratic and non violent ways. But later they changed their strategy of struggle from non violent to arm struggle when the Mujib Government proclaimed Martial Law in 1975. The democratic protests gradually evolved into rebellion. The detailed is explained in the next chapter (Chakma 1995: 86-96).

4.10 Kaptai Dam and Displacement

It was estimated that 225 square miles would be submerged by the construction of Kaptai Dam. It would eliminate the most important economic resource of the Chakmas, the wet rice land in the valleys of the middle Karnafully, the lower Chengi, the lower Kassalong and also cultivated land in many smaller areas. The most authoritative prediction of displacement was 80,000 people. Among them 45,500 were listed as “primary plough cultivators”. Of this number 90 percent were hill men and the rest Bengalis. Among the hill men 90 percent were Chakmas. There were discrepancies in the estimates of the submergence of cultivated flat land. A preliminary study estimated that 32,000 acres of
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cultivable flat land would be lost by 39,400 plough cultivators— that are 87 percent of the plough cultivating population. A Revenue Department Memorandum in February, 1959 estimated that 52,000 acres of plough land would be submerged, of which 5000 might be cultivated seasonally. A subsequent tabulation in February in 1960 estimated only 21,000 acres cultivated by 38,000 persons. But the estimation of 52,000 acres land for the submergence in 1959 is the most authoritative estimate.

Table 15:- Proposed Estimation during the Construction and the actual after the Construction of Kaptai Dam in 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed</th>
<th>Actual (1963)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Submergence of Total Land</td>
<td>225 sq. miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submergence of Cultivable Land</td>
<td>52,000 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Family Displaced</td>
<td>80,000 People</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The dam submerged in actual area of about 400 square miles including 54,000 acres of cultivable land. About 90 miles of government roads and 10 square miles of Reserve Forest also went beneath the water. The lake took away 18,000 families and displaced 100,000 tribal people, of which 70 percent were Chakmas. The inadequate compensation and rehabilitation forced 40,000 hill men to migrate across the border of India and remained as the stateless citizen in the state of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Tripura. Rest of the displaced remained as internal displaced people within Chittagong Hill Tracts and very few of them rehabilitated in Kassalong area (Sopher 1963: 347-348; Mohsin 1997: 102-103).

4.11 Compensations

The Government of Bangladesh set up Revenue Compensation office at Kaptai to pay compensation for the displaced people of Kaptai Dam. The government has made a set aside over US $51 million for both giving compensation and to rehabilitate them. But only US $2.6 million was actually disbursed. Even the monetary compensation was too less, for example, the displaced people received only Taka 500-700 per hectare as compensation whereas they had to pay Taka 5000 per hectare to buy similar arable plain land in other areas where some of them eventually settled. The hill people allege that
Consequences of Displacement

public official engaged in the compensation and rehabilitation work highly indulged in corruption and discrimination between the hill people and the Bengali resettler and the latter were the first to got compensation. It was primarily due to the staff in charge of giving compensations were the Bengali. After a short period of time the programme of compensation get stopped while the government declared all displaced tribal people are nomadic. Although many of them got compensation, they misused the compensation money and spent it on drinking and gambling. Therefore acute sense of depression and frustration gripped over the whole region (Ahmed 2002-2003: 21, Sopher 1963: 349-362).

4.12 Displacement and its Impact
4.12.1 Displacement of People and Livelihoods
The CHT economy is primarily dependent on land. The traditional agricultural economy represented a reasonably harmonious adjustment to environmental and social conditions. Land is the prime source of livelihood consists of five predominant subsistence activities. Such are rice cultivation, animal husbandry, fruit cultivation, horticulture, timber and bamboo extraction for household consumption. The economic activities of the CHT can be divided into three classes: (1) big land owners; (2) peasant (flatland) producers; and (3) landless cultivators who practice slash-burn or shifting cultivation locally known as jum cultivation. Many of the peasants and landless cultivators are engaged in small business except cultivation to add extra cash for their subsistence. Small businesses are predominantly prevalent among the Bengali people whereas the ethnic hill people are limited to agricultural practices. Ninety percent of the hill women primarily engage themselves in agriculture while the Bengali women engage in the household affairs. Agriculture is the prime source of livelihood of the hill people. But land suitable for rice cultivation is 100,000 acre which is only 3 percent of the total land of the CHT. Thus practicing Jum cultivation is inevitable for the hill people (Gain 2000: 13-15).

Shifting cultivation is predominantly carried out on the steep of the slopes of the high hills. Jum cultivation is a kind of community agriculture. The whole family/community might get engaged in the cultivation, which requires hard labor. It is usually men who cut
Consequences of Displacement

the *Jum* for the whole village and the women and children are responsible for weeding, tending and harvesting. A *Jum* can be cultivated only two/three years in a row and then the land take approximately 10 years or more to recover. *Jum* land is usually owned by the village rather than individual cultivators. The headmen are responsible for the distribution for the *Jum* land among the village community. The size of the plot depends on the size of the family or the community (Gain 2000: 22).

The Kaptai Dam submerged of 400 sq. miles of land including 54,000 acres of cultivable land. Submergence of extensive *Jum* land, population dislocation led to acute shortage of plough land in CHT. It transformed the hill’s people subsistence economy to market-oriented economy. The tribal people who once produced all their necessities in their homes and sold them in their local markets have now been replaced by industrial goods. Now the business is totally in the hands of the non-tribal people. Consequently the tribal people have to eke out their livelihood from new occupations. Such are fishing and horticulture in which they have little experience (Barua 2001: 80-82).

The hill people have been alienated from their land and forest resources through the state sponsored project of Bengali settlement into the hills, which is the basic source of their economy, culture and social lives. It is true that the migration of Bengali into the CHT have been continuing from the pre-colonial period and also after the independence of 1947. The hill people did not oppose the natural migration of Bengalis for they had not come as land grabbers or posed any threat to their survival. The pattern of migration changed from ‘natural’ to ‘political’ in the Bangladesh period. The first phase of Settlement Project started in 1979 through an amendment to Rule 34 of CHT Manual, did away with the restrictions against settlements of CHT lands by non-residents. It was decided to settle 30,000 landless Bengali families on government owned *Khas* land in the CHT. Each family had given five acres of land and Taka 3,600 in cash to support them for the first few months. Major settlements in the north were built in Kaptai and Rangamati and along the valley of Chengi, Myani and Feni Rivers, in lands traditionally farmed by the Chakma and Tripura people. In the south the Bengali were settled in Lama, Bandaban and Khagrachhari areas. By the end of 1980 about 25,000 families had been
settled. The second phase initiated in August 1980. Each family was to be given either 2.5 acres of plain land or four acres of plain and bumpy mixed land. Each family was to receive an initial grant of Taka 700 and thereafter Taka 200 a month for five months. Each family was also given twelve kg of wheat weekly per family for the first six months. In July 1982 a third phase of settlement was launched. By the end of the third phase another 250,000 Bengalis were settled. Estimation has been made that about 400,000 Bengali were settled in CHT by 1984.

The Settlement Project of Bengalis in the CHT by the government has the obvious reasons. In Bangladesh the per capita land today is 29 decimals. In such a land hungry situation the settlement were justified with the Bengalis. But a careful study shows that land is also scares in CHT. A research carried out by a group of soil scientists on CHT land in the 1960s that only 3.2 percent or 104,304.64 acres of CHT land was suitable for all purpose agriculture. The land can be divided into three categories. Such are (A category land) about 15 percent or 505,225.60 acres were suitable for fruit gardens and forestry. The (B category land) is about 77 percent and (C category land) about 2,509,803.40 acres of the land in the region was suitable solely for afforestation. It is argued that considering the life supporting system of CHT land in 1919 the British restricted the migration of Bengali people into the CHT to protect the economy of the region, when CHT population was about 200,000. Even before the construction of Kaptai Dam the available cultivated lands were insufficient for the CHT population. The situation was aggravated further by displacing 100,000 people and submerged 54,000 acres of land. In exchange the government could only compensate one third of the lost land due to its scarcity.

Bangladesh is a densely populated country. The national average population densities in the plains land of Bangladesh is 827 and where as it is 96 persons live per square kilometer in CHT. In this context the Government of Bangladesh justifies the Bengali settlement Project. Government claims that the Bengalis have been settled in the empty Khas land of CHT which is owned by the government, so there has been no encroachment of private property. But on the other hand the much publicized notion of
‘emptiness’ of land or the *Khas* land in the CHT is essentially the hill peoples traditional *Jum* land and forestland. For the hill peoples this is a common property, belonging to the community and kinship groups and even members of spiritual world. The above suggests that the settlement of Bengali in the CHT is ‘political’ rather than ‘natural’ reasons. Such changes in demography in CHT naturally alarmed the hill people in maintaining their livelihood (Mohsin 2000: 66-70).

The Government of Bangladesh declared in 1976 that the problems of CHT originated from underdevelopment. It founded the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board (CHTDB) by an ordinance to solve the problem of CHT. Its main functions were

- To rehabilitate the displaced families and provide them irrigation facilities in order to boost up the production
- To construct roads, bridges and culverts for the development of the communication system
- To provide funds for the income generating activities
- To provide assistance for revival of the small and cottage industries
- Afforestation programme for settling the displaced *jumma* families through afforestation of 9,000 acres of hill lands (Shelley 1992: 131-132).

Under this program, various commercial plantation and afforestation were undertaken in CHT in a large scale funded by the various international organizations. But it did not boost up their livelihood. Rather the monoculture plantations of teak, rubber and eucalyptus etc further alienated the hill people for their rich bio-diversified land and forests, which unable to maintain their livelihood. On the other hand the expansion of transport and communication system indirectly helped the Government of Bangladesh to deploy the military personnel in the CHT as counter strategy to check the insurgency.

Expansion of reserved forests in the CHT by the government has become another prime concerns for the hill people. In the reserved forest the hill people are denied of the traditional rights of collection of fuel wood, forests products. The Ministry of Environment and Forests has been notified 217,709.3 acres of land as reserved forests in
1998. Out of this 116,880 acres has already been notified which violates the CHT Regulation (Gain 2000:19-38).

The falling economic condition and the livelihood crisis of the displaced people have been intensifying due to the absence of their any significant presence at higher levels of decision making within government. Several national level programmes have been carried out on their lands, but the livelihood crisis remains as before. For example a development programme was undertaken known as ‘Social Forestry’ in order to alleviate poverty and increase the livelihood status of the displaced people. But in reality the social forestry became unsocial when monoculture and commercial plants were cultivated by the government. The social forestry did not provide any day to day necessities of the Jumma or the displaced people rather it became the resource export zone for the government. The participation of the Jumma people was massively absent in the decision making process of the Social Forestry programme (Roy & Halim 2001: 5-38).

The traditional means of livelihood of the Jumma people was completely altered by the varied economic activities introduced by the Bengali settlers as well as by the government departments, development agencies and private sector businesses of local, national and foreign origin. Bangladesh has been getting a considerable amount of development fund that flow to the CHT in the recent period primarily in the wake of globalization. The development activities included in the CHT are exploration of oil and gas. Bangladesh has been divided into in to 23 blocs for exploration of gas and oil. The CHT forms 22 and part of bloc of 15. Special agreement between the Government of Bangladesh and foreign contractors signed mainly for petroleum exploration and development in the country known as Production Sharing Contracts (PSC). The government owns all mineral resources including petroleum within the territory, continental shelf and economic zone of the country and has the exclusive right and authority to explore, develop, exploit, process, refine and market petroleum resources under the Bangladesh Petroleum Act 1974. In 1974, the Government of Bangladesh invited bids from international oil companies for exploration and development of petroleum in the territory of the country under established criteria and ground rules. Such
are increasing the misery index of CHT by encroaching the forest resources and Jum land. The development projects in CHT have been putting considerable impact to the self-sufficient features of their economy, traditional production methods, survival technique, culture and eventually the environment (Nayak 2005: 41-42).

4.12.2 Human Health

The conditions of livelihood and the status of health are closely interrelated. Since the displaced people are living below subsistence level and the degradation of their health is obvious. The forceful displacement and the lack of compensation and rehabilitation made them handicapped in every aspect of their life. Diseases have been rampant among the displaced due to their new resettlement by themselves mostly in the forest areas. The scarcity of lands to reside forced them into the forests areas and got victim of various diseases. Among those Malaria has been rampant among them. One of the most serious problems resettled people now face is transport difficulties. Boats are now the sole means of their transportation. Even it means just going from one village to another. It takes there two to four hours for them to reach Rangamati town by boat. As a result, doctor often refuse to visit the patients living in the hills even when there is an outbreak of major diseases. So someone goes to the doctor, describes the symptoms of the patient’s disease to him and on that basis receives medicines. In such cases the diagnosis of the doctors sometimes fail and the wrong prescription of medicines at last cause death of patients. Many people died of various diseases in the initial period of their resettlement due to the lack of treatment and medicines. Health problems often arise due to the remoteness of settlements and inadequate allocation of health staff and government health programmes. But the situation has comparatively changed in the present situation. Now people feel their health safety relatively better and secured due to the various NGOs intervention by organizing different medical camps. People have also now become more health conscious and the intensity of diseases has comparatively reduced as it was earlier (Chakma 1995: 71-74, Norwegian Refugee Council 2006: 59-62, Skinner 2008: 26).
4.12.3 Gender

The displacement made by Kaptai Dam impacted more on the women than the men of CHT. The women of the ethnic communities represent special skills and qualities. They are also fundamentally different from Bengali women. The hill women are always visible everywhere in the CHT- in agricultural fields, markets, jungles and weaving etc. They not only have significant contribution to economy but also work hard in building the societies. They also take decisions in household matters and other important social matters. According to a survey of Caritas Development Institute (CDI), 83% of the hill women work outside of their houses. On the other hand the Bengali women have their less mobility and just opposite from the hill women (Guhathakurta 2000: 94-95).

The dispossession and displacement resulted from Kaptai dam has impacted upon women most severely. In forest economies, women occupy a central position. They not only participate equally with men in agricultural activities but also collect key household resources such as fuel wood and food items etc from the forests. As a result of their displacement from inside the forests, they are compelled to walk longer distances and work harder to collect fuel wood and other vital resources. Garo women have been most badly affected, as they have lost their traditional status in their society, which is gradually tending towards more patriarchic structures. In many instances the women have had to migrate to the cities, to undertake new economic activities, for instance as domestic workers. This is quite strongly resented by many male members of the Garo community where women traditionally constituted the head of the household. The displacement made by Kaptai dam not only severely affected upon the women in maintaining their livelihood but also they lost their freedom and liberty.

Since Independence, successive Governments of Bangladesh have always legitimized the militarization of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, predominantly because it is a frontier state and more so because of the existence of a movement for autonomy and self-rule among the indigenous people, which, from the perspective of the State, came to be called an ‘insurgency’. During the period of ‘insurgency’, the CHT underwent total militarization. They divided the entire area of the Hill Tracts into three zones: white, green and red. The
white zones, considered 'neutral', covered an area two miles adjacent to the Army Head Quarters and were jointly populated by Bengali settlers and Hill people. The green zones were the Bengali settlement areas. The red zones were the areas in the interior of forests and those populated by Hill people alone and it was here that the military carried out the majority of its counter insurgency operations (Guhathakurta 2004: 5-6).

In the name of counter insurgency, massive violations of human rights were committed by the military. These included cases of extra-judicial killings, torture, abduction, forced religious conversion, religious persecution, forced eviction, destruction of homes and properties, and wide scale arrests and detention. Jumma women constituted the most vulnerable section of the population in the militarised situation. The hill women are being sexually harassed, raped and molested by the military personnel. In 1990 it is being reported that one in every ten of the total female population had been a victim of rape in the CHT. Over 94% of the alleged cases of rape of the Jumma women were by security forces. Of these rape allegations, over 40% of the victims were women under 18 years of age. Women were the most affected in a number of ways during military rule. They were being harnessed by the army even in their daily activities of their household while procuring food, looking after children and on the way to markets for shopping etc. The surrounding environment became hostile to their very existence due to the military presence. Although inquiry commissions and other investigative processes were initiated following public protest, in respect of some of these incidents, none of their findings ever saw the light of day. The military continued to enjoy impunity regarding all allegations of human rights violations (Guhathakurta 2000:79-93).

4.12.4 Displaced and Host Communities
The Kaptai Dam displaced about 100,000 persons and made them landless and homeless. The absence of any compensations and rehabilitation by the government forced the displaced communities to resettle in different places by their own suitability. But all the displaced people were not received by host communities. Among the 100,000 displaced people 40,000 people crossed the border of India and settled in the north-eastern states of India. The rest 60,000 people remained within the Bangladesh. They settled in other hills
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located besides the Kaptai reservoir and many of them entered into the forests area in order to maintain their livelihood. There are differences between the displaced people living within India and Bangladesh. People who crossed the border of India got the host communities while the people stayed in CHT were not received by any host community. That does not mean that problems did not occur there. Conflicts arose in both the places but the later will be discussed in the next chapter. In 1964 thousands of tribal people migrated into India and stayed as refugees in Tripura.

The displaced people locally known as Jumma people entered India with the intention of settling in Tripura where other people of Jumma origin have already been residing for a long time. In fact the Jumma people had been dispersed over large areas in their native CHT and the contiguous areas of Tripura and Mizoram. This was only due to the administrative decisions taken by the British authorities for their colonial convenience. Even there are large numbers of Jumma or Chakma people have been staying in Tripura the Government of Tripura did not encourage this displaced persons to settle in the state despite the request made by the local Chakma leaders. In this situation the Government of India made a scheme to relocate them in the North East Frontire Agency (NEFA), now Arunachal Pradesh. The history of settlement of Chakma refugees began in NEFA. Even those refugees who went to Bihar for settlement at Gaya district came back to join their brothers in NEFA in 1968. Thus the flow of refugee continued from 1965-66 to 1968 and they settled in the three districts of Tirap, Lohit and Changlang. The central government thought as the NEFA was sparsely populated tract, 4.1 persons per sq. km. against the national average of 434 persons and its climatic condition and mountainous terrain most suitable for economic survival of Chakmas. It was the ideal territory for the rehabilitation of the Buddhist refugees in the Indian soil. As NEFA was administered by the central government, the settlement of the Chakmas came directly under the Ministry of the Home Affairs until 1972 (Chaudhury 1997: 139-143).

For three decades after 1964 indigenous local youths in the NEFA did not raise any question about rehabilitation of the refugees by the centre despite beginning of electoral activities in full swing since the1980s. But surprisingly when Arunachal Pradesh was
raised to the status of full fledged province in February 1987, the student union of Arunachal Pradesh known as Arunachal Pradesh Student Union (AAPSU) raised a political issue in the line of Assam movement and drew the attention of the local political parties to fight out the interest of the indigenous people of Arunachal Pradesh. On the other hand the grant of statehood to Mizoram encouraged the AAPSU for the agitation demanding local Chakma Buddhists expulsion from the state. Initially about 2,748 families of Chakmas consisting of 14,888 persons were settled in the NEFA purely on the temporary and the humanitarian ground by the Central government. In 1979 these figures rose to 3,919 families consisting of 21,494 persons. By 1991 the number of jumma increased around 30,064 and at present it estimates 65,000 persons. At the same time the indigenous population is just over 8,00,000 is also very small and causing a great concern for the local population. In May 1994 AAPSU spearheaded the movement to project the Central government action of rehabilitation of the Chakmas during the 1960 as a serious bottleneck to the progress of the indigenous people. The body questioned the Central government propriety of such rehabilitation in NEFA and demanded their deportation from the state by 31st December 1995. Gradually the relation between the displaced Chakmas and the host communities began to deteriorate (De 2005: 156-158, Chaudhury 1997: 142-143 & Prasad 2007: 1375-1376).

Statelessness has been recognized as an important problem in international law and it has been more acute in South and South East-Asia. The issue of citizenship has received greater attention in response to the national legislation. About 35,000 of the displaced Chakmas were given valid migration certificates for their settlement in NEFA. These migration certificates indicated legal entry into India and willingness of the government to accept the Chakmas as future citizens. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1955 as amended in 1986 clearly states that persons of Indian origin who are ordinarily resident in India and have been resident for five years immediately before making an application for registration shall be eligible to be registered as citizens of India. Since the Chakmas are living in India for over three decades there is hardly any justified ground for not providing them with citizenship particularly in the light of their application for citizenship. Under the Indira-Mujib Agreement of 1972, it was determined that the
Chakmas refugees who came to India from the erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) before 25\textsuperscript{th} March 1971 will be considered for grant of Indian Citizenship. However when the Chakmas applied for their citizenship, they were refused by the state government officials (Limpert 1998: 41-43, Ahmed 2003-2003: 20-24). In response to the situation of the Chakmas the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court against the Government of Arunachal Pradesh. The state arose in response to allegations of human rights abuses suffered by Chakmas at the hands of the state governments of Arunachal Pradesh in collaboration with the AAPSU. Despite the Supreme Court’s verdict the Chakmas still could not apply for citizenship within Arunachal Pradesh due to intimidation by the AAPSU, which has the support of the government (Prasad 2007: 1377).

Under Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) all persons are equal before the law and entitled of equal protection of the law. In this respect the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. In March of 1996 the Arunachal Pradesh Government issued a White Paper on the Chakma and Hajong Migrants. Page four of the paper states: ‘The Chakmas worship evil spirits. They also believe in and perform witchcraft. In this circumstance the Chakmas can not expect equitable treatment under such a regime. In a circular dated September 1980, the government instructed its various organs that ‘no appointment will be given to Chakmas. Those who are already in Government services may continue but should not be in permanent. In October of 1991 the government issues a circular directing its officers to discontinue the issuance of ration card to all refugees. These cards were funded by the Central government for distribution to all persons legally resident in India whose income is lower than a specified amount. These led to the extreme poverty among the displaced Chakmas and caused significant hardships. The government has also stopped issuing trade and has taken steps to close down their business and confine them to settlement areas (Limpert 1998: 46-48).
The extent of discrimination and violence against the Chakmas in the Arunachal Pradesh only shows that the Central government is yet to find a way to change the course of things in the state. The Central government favors granting citizenship to the Chakmas, while the State government, including other local forces, finds anti-Chakma sentiments helpful in mustering support of the local population. None of the major political parties either at the national level or state levels are ready to take pro-Chakma stands for fear of jeopardizing their electoral prospects. In this game of power politics, the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh remain as stateless persons and suffering continuously from it (Ahmed 2002-2003: 24).

Further, the large-scale militarization and the religious persecution in the CHT by the Bangladesh government during the 1980s forced a large number of Chakmas from CHT to cross over to the Indian territories and sheltered there. Those who came to Tripura were given in six refugee camps of South Tripura sub-division. The government of India spent over eighty crores of rupees for the maintenance of Chakmas in Tripura. There was no agitation during the period of their eleven years (1986-1997) stay in refugee camps. It was primarily due to Tripura already having a local Chakma Buddhist population of 34,798 in its Southern districts (Belonia and Sabroom) where the refugees were settled. Thus, the Chakma refugees from CHT were getting sympathy from the local Chakmas of Tripura. No feeling of ethnic conflicts were generated among the tribals of the state as the refugees were not allowed to settle down in Tripura. Thus, the Chakmas of CHT emigrated to Tripura and did not get hostile opposition in Tripura. Hence, we need to skip over this part to Mizoram, where the picture was quite different (De 2005: 153-154 and also see George (Ed): 151-154).

A large number of Chakmas having failed to bear the expanses of journey to Tripura in the middle of 1980s and fled to the dense forest inside the CHT and at last they reached to Mizoram through the Jungle route on foot. Thus, the Chakmas became the suspected group of illegal migrants in the eyes of Mizos. Because, most of the Mizos are Christian and all the Chakmas are Buddhist. It is obvious of arising ethnic hatredness in the above context and it later questioned their right to reside in the state. The growing numbers of
Chakmas population in the western district of Mizoram alarmed basically after the birth of Bangladesh in 1971. Mizoram had a local Chakma Buddhist population of only ten in 1941. But it suddenly sprang up to 15,937 in 1951 soon after the partition of India. It further increased 22,393 by the year 1971. Within the two decades of emergence of Bangladesh it was found to be 39,905 in 1981 and 50,000 in 1991. Such increase of population were not normal and was not possible without the infiltration from Bangladesh, yet, there was no major agitation against the Chakmas in Mizoram, but excitement suddenly stirred the Mizo mind in the middle of the 1990s when Chakmas in Mizoram claimed to have population of 80,000 as recorded 50,000 in the census report of 1991 and demanded for them a union territory in the autonomous district, which led Mizos threat to their predominance in the state.

India wanted to sort out the matter in a broader national perspective considering the past historic injustice done to the Chakmas of the CHT during partition than on the exclusive interest of the Mizos. The government of India decided in January 1997 to depute a committee to access the public opinion in Mizoram about creating a Union Territory for the Chakmas in response to a petition submitted by the Chakmas demanding a centrally governed territory for them in the autonomous area in Mizoram. In March 1997 the committee submitted its recommendation and suggested (a) expansion of Chakmas Autonomous District Council (CADC) area, (b) direct administrative control of the expanded CADC area by the centre, and (c) grant of citizenship to all Chakmas who came to the state on or before 25 March, 1971. The recommendations indirectly hinted the enforcement of the IM (DT) Act of 1983 in the state for detection, identification and deportations of the illegal migrants. The Mizos and political parties get shocked to the decision made by the central government, which is favoring the refugees Chakmas in Mizoram. Thus, political havoc is obvious in Mizoram. In this context, on 24 March, 1997, the Chief Minister of Mizoram convened a meeting of all political parties to oppose the implementation of the recommendations by the centre. The young Mizo Associations along with all the political parties observed a 24 hour bandh in October, 1997 against the grant of citizenship to the refugees Chakmas in Mizoram. Therefore, the deplorable
situation in Mizoram witnessed that Mizos were clearly against granting any political concession to the Chakma inhabitants in Mizoram.

Although, Mizoram having a larger territory (21,081 sq. km) than Tripura (10,486 sq. km) and the Mizos could have accommodated the small number of Chakmas, but they were reluctant to do so, because of the identity crisis between Buddhist Chakmas and Christian Mizos. Along with, Mizos were apprehensive of their political consequences that Chakmas might raise a demand for an autonomous state within Mizoram like the Khasis, the Jayantias and Garos did in Assam. Further, the permanent stay of Chakmas in Mizoram obviously would lead to the resource constraint, employment scarcity, and all kinds of social and economic tribulations (De 2005: 154-156 and also see Sangima (Ed) 2004: 95-106).

4.13 Comparative Study
The most important factor in displacement of the people is the *Land Acquisition Act* (LAA). The undivided Indian *Land Acquisition Act* of 1894 (LAA) empower both the countries Bangladesh and India to enjoy unlimited power over land which was promulgated by the British government. It is primarily due to their same historical legacy. The *Land Acquisition Act of 1894* justifies the concept of 'public domain' and the British were able to legitimize controlling over land and this has been continuing in both the countries in different forms. Land acquisition was made for Hirkaud Dam under the prevailing *Land Acquisition Act* (LAA) of 1894 in India. On the other hand land acquisition was made for Kaptai Dam under the *Chittagong Hill Tracts (Land Acquisition) Regulation of 1958*, which violated the CHT Regulation of 1900. Under the CHT Regulation of 1900, land acquisition in CHT was strictly prohibited due to its special status given during the British period. Promulgation of such regulation forced the indigenous Chakma people to displace from their land in the name of national interest, even if they were enjoying the special autonomy in their region.

Land acquisition makes enormous impacts on the people especially in the agricultural country like India and Bangladesh. People primarily depend on agriculture for their
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towards the public protests in India are triggered by both the external and internal support to the movements, which was highly absent in both the cases of Hirakud Dams. But so far as the Kaptai Dam and the Government of Bangladesh is concerned, the protests of 1960s gradually turned into insurgency made by the displaced people. In spite of responding positively towards the displaced people the government suppressed the movements and did not fulfill their demands. Military forces had been deployed and severe human rights violation took place in the region. It is primarily due to the civil-military regimes in Bangladesh.

Both the Hirakud and Kaptai Dams displaced approximately similar numbers of people and faced same kind of situation so far as the proposed and actual submergence of lands and the displacement of people are concerned (See Table No 7 & 15). Both the dams have submerged more lands and displaced more people than what it was proposed in the feasibility studies. But the intensity of the problems occurred more in case of Kaptai Dam than the Hirakud Dam. There was a large gap between the proposed and actual estimation especially in terms of the submergence of total lands of Kaptai Dam is concerned. People in the early phase settled in places which were not supposed to be submerged according to the declaration made by the government, but later it submerged more than the estimation when the dam was completed. People were displaced for the second time after their first settlement. Such kind of situation caused frustration among the displaced people and it was so pitiable for them to resettle once again in other places, where there is acute scarcity of cultivable lands. But in case of Hirakud Dam displacement for the second time did not occur. People already settled in their first settlement in a safe place since there was availability of cultivable lands.

So far as the compensation is concerned, the affected people of the Hirakud Dam were relatively in better position than the displaced people of Kaptai Dam because no Social Impact Assessment study had been done by the Government of Bangladesh and therefore there was no proper estimation of compensations in terms of the expected loss of property. Each and every developmental project has Social Impact Assessment study and accordingly compensation of the probable loss of property gets estimated to compensate
religion as well as culture. But the livelihood crisis among the displaced people of Hirakud Dam was comparatively less than the displaced of Kaptai Dam because in case of former there were lots of barren lands as well as forests land available to cultivate and somehow the displaced people managed their livelihood after struggling few years.

As far as the impact of displacement on the health of the displaced people is concerned both the cases are similar. The displaced people of both the places have been the victim of several diseases and Malaria is very much rampant among them. It is largely due to the same geographical conditions covered with forests. Initiatives to facilitate health facility was highly absent by both the governments. But in the recent periods the conditions have been improved as compared to the earlier period in both the cases. The government interventions in case of Hirakud Dam and the NGOs intervention in case of Kaptai Dam comparatively made the health status of the displaced people comparatively better now.

The impacts of displacement on women among the displaced people have been more in case of Kaptai Dams as compared to Hirakud Dams. Displaced women of the Hirakud Dam faced less problems in managing their livelihood and household activities. But the displaced women of Kaptai Dam faced all types of problems including human rights violations. This is largely due to the deployment of military in the region. There were rampant human rights violations on the displaced women made by the military personnel. But such kind of situation was not seen in case of the displaced women of the Hirakud Dam. Here women were rather well protected by the host communities.

So far as the displaced people and the host communities is concerned the problems only lies with the displaced people of Kaptai Dam when some of them crossed the border of India and were resettled by the Government of India in NEFA and remained as refugees. Even after 30 years they have been staying as stateless persons in India. They have not got citizenship till now. It is largely due to the opposition of local population opposition to accept them as their guests. At first the rising population of the displaced communities is the major cause of opposition, which is causing resource constraints and decreasing the employment opportunities for the host communities in the region. Secondly, differences
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between the displaced and host communities is the another view of their opposition. But in case of the displaced people and the host communities of the Hirakud Dam, no such situation has occurred. The displaced people were welcomed by the host communities as their guests and there has been a harmonious relationship among them. It is primarily due to the homogeneous character of the displaced and host population which enabled them to stay together without any conflicts. Besides the ample amount of forests land lying vacant during that period easily accommodated the displaced people with the host communities.

The overall picture that emerges in this study is that the involuntary displacement caused by the Kaptai Dam is more repressive in comparison to the Hirakud Dam. The intense livelihood crisis caused by forceful acquisition of lands, and severe human rights violations made by the Government of Bangladesh by deploying huge military force along with religious persecution forced the displaced people to take armed rebellion against the government in order to get back their rights and demands. But the way the Government of Bangladesh responded to the displaced people clearly shows the domination of Bengali Muslim over the Buddhist Chakmas and this is largely due to the civil-military regimes of Bangladesh. On the other hand comparatively the democratic regime of India better addressed the problems of displaced people of Hirakud Dam without human rights violations and religious persecutions.
Conclusion

The past decision-making and planning of dams have often neither been adequately assessed nor accounted for the adverse social impacts of the large dams. As a result, the construction and operation of large dams has had serious and lasting effects on the lives, livelihoods and the health of affected communities and loss of their cultural resources. The true economic profitability of large dam projects remains elusive as the social costs of large dams were poorly accounted for in economic terms. Failures in addressing the affected communities giving rise to growing opposition by the affected communities and sometime leading to arms rebellion and insurgency. Therefore protective measures should be taken in order to avoid the problems in future. At first there should be proper Social Impact Assessment study of each and every dam before going to be constructed in order to minimize the number of displacement. Secondly there is need for proper surveys of the likely affected people before they are moved. Thirdly sufficient funding should be made for proper compensation to all the displaced people for their lost properties. Fourthly compensation package should be designed as multi-option packages to allow for different needs of the displaced. Fourthly effective mechanism should be made to guarantee the rights of the displaced to present their grievances. Sixthly governments should follow internationally accepted guidelines for compensation and rehabilitation. Seventhly social and economic security must be provided to all the displaced families. Not the least, the displacement people should have the greater share of the project benefits in order to maintain their livelihoods as before.