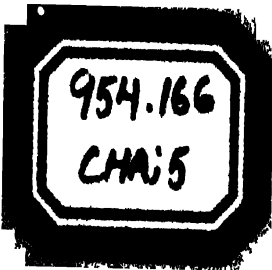


CHAKMA SETTLEMENT

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IN

MIZORAM



C. CHAWNGKUNGA,
DEPUTY SPEAKER
MIZORAM — 1983

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The government is keen to study the life and settlement of Chakmas in Mizoram. During my tenure as Deputy Speaker from 1979 to 1983. Mr. Hari Kristo Chakma, Mr. Sneha Kumar Chakma, the then MLAs, Mr. Tongchongya Chairman, Chakma Autonomous District Council and I were requested to have Comprehensive study about the Chakmas. Accordingly we had toured 56 villages and so, the first piece of this book was prepared in 1983.

I hope this book will be useful for those who are engaged in Research about the settlement of Chakmas in Mizoram.

I am grateful to the Director of Art and Culture for her endeavour in bringing out this book.

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C. CHAWNGKUNGA

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FOREWORD

This book 'Chakma Settlement in Mizoram' was written by Pu C. Chawngkunga the then Deputy Speaker of Mizoram Legislative Assembly in the year 1983. His personal interest and hard work to write this book is really commendable. The erstwhile Tribal Research Institute was not in a position to publish this book in a printed form. However, some 500 copies were brought out in a cyclosedstyle form which were exhausted in a short time.

I am glad that the author Pu C. Chawngkunga has become the Hon'ble Minister i'c of the Department of Art and Culture and with his support and the same zeal which is still in him we are able to publish the book.

I do hope that this book will serve as a useful source of information to all those who are interested.

Dated
the 1st September, 1995

Boichhingpuii,
Director of Art and Culture,
Mizoram, Aizawl.

P R E F A C E

I do believe that coming across the account of Chakma people will be very interesting and important even for the layman of Mizoram especially since the inauguration of Chakma Autonomous District Council in 1972. Being my personal interest and after the feeling of its importance I tried to write a short account of the people. In the meantime I got the appointment from the Government of Mizoram to visit Chakma belts to see their felt needs and problems. I then visited 56 villages in Chakma District in the months of December 1981 and January 1982 and had direct personal contacts with the villagers which encouraged me more to start writing about the people.

But against my desire this book covers only the Chakma settlements in different places including theirs in Mizoram. In this connection mention has been made relating to the permissions and restrictions of their entry into Lushai Hills (Mizoram) vide the Standing Orders issued by the Government. Besides, the Government's descriptive orders on some crucial boundaries are also inserted in the book.

In fine, I am much indebted to those who helped me in giving primary and secondary data on different issues verbally or in writings. I cannot but just show here my deep gratitude towards the staff of Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl, for their invaluable helps rendered for the publication of this booklet. I do hope and wish that this book "Chakma Settlement in Mizoram" be useful for the reader in particular and for the people as a whole, at least in a way.

C. Chawngkunga,
Deputy Speaker,
Mizoram.

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THE CHAKMAS

History of the people : The Chakma people are one of the Mongolian offshoots belonging to the TAI dynasty. The Tais came to the Upper Assam from the GUK-KWANG valley via Burma in around 1200 A.D. Sakkapha, Sunghmung, etc. were their well-known kings while they settled down in the Upper Assam (Sibsagar). They were known as Ahoms / Ashoms and after them the name of Assam had also been coined. At the same time, following Sankerdev they became Hindus and accepted Bengali for the royal and official language.

The Tais defeated the Kachari ruler of Dimapur as well as the ruler of Maibong. Extending their area of expedition they invaded the Akyab (Burma). After that they conquered Ava (Engwa). (Ava is the Tai word which means 'Dilluhna' in Mizo). Of the Tai tribes, Chakma, Tongchongya and Chak became the rulers of the area ranging from Rakhaing to the Ava. But after some time, the king of Arracanese vanquished the invading Tais and took them for his captive. Under such circumstances they were forced to accept Buddhism for their religion. Though they could not forget how much they used to enjoy their festive days like Bihu, etc. yet they were debarred from returning to their homeland, Upper Assam. They married to the Mogh (Murmur) girls and started a new settlement.

In 1418 A.D. Jalal-ud-din, Wazir (Nawab) of Bengal paid a visit to Mahekgiri, Chakma ruler of Rakhaing (Araccan). In 1666 A.D. Dhabana, Chakma ruler, surrendered to the Muslim General Shayestha Khan. Hence reaching the reconciliation the whole of Chittagong Hill Tract excepting the Chittagong town and the small patches of reserved land along Nizampur Road was given back to Dhabana by the Moghul ruler. This area had been claimed by Chakma, Tuikuk and Bengali people. In 1715 A.D. the Moghul Governor Mir Jumla empowered the Chakma ruler Fateh Khan to exact taxes on his subjects.

Again, Tuikuk, Murung and Mro came to Chittagong Hill Tract via Tripura in around 1500 A.D. to escape from the strong hands of Tais who successively launched attacks on Cacharis. On the other hand, Mogh, Khiang and Khumi reached Araccan and Chittagong Hill Tract from Burma in around 800 A.D. The enmity that arose between the Sailos on one side and Palian, Thangluah,

Rivung, Rokhum and Zadeng on the other side resulted the emigration of a number of Lusei people to the Chittagong Hill Tract from the Lushai Hills (now Mizoram) in around 1756 A.D. Again, in about 1480 A.D. Bawm, Tlanglau and Pangkhua immigrated to the area under the leadership of the grandfather of Vanhnuai-thirha.

Chakma in Mizoram with valid passes: So far as the authentic record is concerned the Chakma who first came into Mizoram were those who had been brought in by Lt. Col. Tom Lewin and his party. They were engaged for various works like carrying goods, clearing Jungle for footpath etc. Due to close and strict observance of the North Eastern Bengal Frontier Act no Chakma had entered Mizoram without having proper and valid pass for entry during the British rule. But mention may be made here that a few Chakma were living on the banks of Sazuk R, Khawthlangtuipui R, Thege R and Tuichawng R, under the direct control of the Chiefs of Pang, Bawm, Thangluah and Tlanglau. These people were allowed to settled in Mizoram and treated according to the standing order issued by the Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, Lungleh vide No. 173 D/C 111 19 of 22. 3. 44.

After India got her independence the Chakma who had permanently settled in Mizoram (Lushai Chakma) are given the right to vote in the election in consistent with the Representation of people Act. In the first District Council Election in Mizoram i.e. 1952 no Chakma was elected to represent the tribe in the Council. In the election Mr. Tuikhurliana was elected from the Chawngte—Tlabung constituency. Hence the Government of Assam favoured Mr. Medhi Chakma to sit in the Council as a Nominated member representing the Chakma people. In the election of 1957 Mr. Medhi Chakma was elected from the Tlabung constituency because Chakma had already been the majority in the area. In course of time Chakma became undispute majority in the Uiphum range which has been clearly learnt since the creation of Pawi-Lakher Regional Council. They were having regular Regional Council member from among themselves especially from this Uiphum range.

The elected Chakmas often hold important position and assignments in the Regional Council. Henceforth the Chakma were known even by the commoners living in the Pawi-Lakher Region.

With the implementation of the North-Eastern Reorganisation Act 1971 the Pawi Lakher Region was divided into Three districts namely:—

- 1) Pawi Autonomous District
- 2) Lakher Autonomous District
- 3) Chakma Autonomous District

As a result of this, the cases and affairs relating to the village Council (Administration), Local administration, forest, etc. of the District have been dealt with by the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

Tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tract: The Chittagong Hill Tract lying in between Bengal and Upper Burma is bounded on the north by Tripura state and Araccan on the south. The Imperial Gazetteer 1901 indicated that Chittagong Hill Tract is an area where high hills, deep valleys and ravines are found here and there but covered with wild and thick forest yielding habitat for people of different origins.

Resulting the agreement made between Mir Kashmir Ali, Nawab of Bengal and the British in 1760 A.D. the Chittagong Hill Tract became under the control and authoritative supervision of the latter. Unwilling to be under the British rule Sher Doulat Khan ruler of Chakma affected fights against the British on land and water in 1777 and in 1780. They again fought the battle in 1784. Finally in the year 1785 Jan Box Khan ruler of Chakma surrendered to the hands of the British.

The area of Chittagong Hill Tract is about 5138 sq. miles. During Pakistani rule Chittagong Hill Tract District was divided into six sub-Divisions. There were thirteen tribes of Mongoloid origin speaking Tibeto Burman. These thirteen tribes were broadly divided into four groups — (1) Chakma, Tongchongya and Chak (2) Mogh, Kiang and Khumi (3) Tuikuk (Tripuri). Murung, Mro (Bm) and (4) Lusei, Bawm, Bawmzo (Tlanglau) and Pang (Pangkha). The population of each tribe was rounded off as below:—

1) Chakma	4,00,000
2) Tongchongya	80,000
3) Chak	20,000

THE CHAKMAS

4) Mogh	1,00,000
5) Khiang	2,000
6) Khumi	2,000
7) Tuikuk (Tripuri)	15,000
8) Murung	20,000
9) Mro (Bru)	5,000
10) Lusei	2,000
11) Bawm	3,000
12) Bawmzo	2,000
13) Pang	2,000
	<u>6,53,000.</u>

Adopting the 'divide and rule' policy, the British divided Chittagong Hill Tract into three circles namely Chakma Circle, Bohmong Circle and Maung Circle. Each of the Circle was manned by their respective ruler. The Act XII of 1860 and Regulation of 1900 granted the Circles. Special status and allowed them to safeguard their identities, culture, rights, etc as well as to make appointments to any post excepting the acute and responsible post. As a consequence of this, the ruler of each Circle filled up all the vacant post in the administrative set up from among his own people. As such the system of administration applied in the Chittagong Hill Tract was different from the rest. Thus to govern the Tract a post of Superintendent was also created which was known as Deputy Commissioner in the later.

Amongst the tribes of the Tract like Mogh, Mawng, Bawm, Pang, Chakma, Tongchongya, Chak, Khiang, Khumi, Tripuri, Murung, Mro. Lusei, Tlanglau, etc. Chakma were the Highest in population. It was recorded that the Chakma population in 1901 was 3,50,000.

Generally Chakma, Tongchongya, Chak, Mogh, Khiang and Khumi accepted Buddhism for their religion whereas Tripura (Tuikuk), Murung, and Mro Proclaimed Hindi (Chodo Dua) for their religion. Lusei, Bawm, Tlanglau and Pangkhua accepted Christianity.

Again, the Chittagong Hill Tract was declared 'Backward Tract' in 1921. Since then none other than the Governor in Council can do anything in the administrative and judicial proceedings of the area. The area was again declared 'Totally Excluded Area' in 1935. As soon as Second world war broke out the three rulers of the Tract demanded confederation district with the annexation of Tripura, Cooch Behar and Khasi Hills under the conditions that

(1) the confederation district shall be directly controlled by the central government and (2) there shall be special safeguards for Tribal Rights. But the demand was end in failure.

Pakistani Rule : As soon as India and Pakistan became two independent states following Radcliff's recommendation Chittagong Hill Tract became a part of Pakistan. The British Officers were relieved with the Muslim Bengali Officers who alleged the tribes of the area to be pro-India. Pakistan governed the people according to the Regulation of 1900 and put the Tract under the Ministry of State and Frontier Region and classed the area 'Partially and Totally Excluded Area'.

The Government of Pakistan undid the special safeguard and introduced Rule of Regulation in 1955. The three rulers of Chittagong Hill Tract and the Deputy Commissioner could not act but in accordance with the direction of the (Karachi) central Government. Infiltration in the Hill Tract then started. The Chittagong Hill Tract Police Force was disbanded and the Officers belonging to the tribal section were transferred to different places in the plain areas whereas more Muslim Bengali Officers were sent to take their posts. Through their daily experience the tribes of Chittagong Hill Tract sensed the impending danger from the hands of Muslim Officers in Police force and other departments.

In 1959 Marshall Ayub Khan overthrew the democratic regime in Pakistan and he became the sole administrator of the state. A new constitution was adopted in 1962 with which the Muslim Bengali began the task of assimilation according to the well planned schemes against the tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tract. In 1963 the constitution was amended undoing the 'Special Status' conferred to the Tract vide Regulation of 1900. Since 1964 the Tract was placed under the direct administration of Central Pakistan. The Muslim Officers were fully and keenly engaged themselves to collecting taxes and maintaining law and order. Upliftment and development of the tribal section has no place in their minds. The next step taken by the Pakistani Government for the industrial and economic development of East Pakistan was construction of Kaptai Dam. U.S. Government met the expenditure on the construction of this dam.

As the construction of Kaptai Dam was completed it was learnt that 50,000 acres of land, 40% of wet rice cultivation and 1,00,000 of residential houses of the tribal people had already been submerged. With meagre rehabilitation grant the victims of the

dam wandered around seeking where to lay their heads. More than 40,000 souls entered India for refuge. Again contract for fishing in the Kaptai Dam and other Fish Industries were also given to Muslim Bengali only. Not only that, after receiving green signal from the government of East Pakistan the Muslim Bengalis started to interfere with domestic and local affairs of the tribals and also deprived of their wet rice cultivation. Once Tridip Roy, ruler of Chakma shown his discontentment against the activities of the Bengali. But he was sooner arrested by the police and made fun of him in the Public. The British Deputy Commissioner of the area tried to save him but he too got only the same treatment. For this and for knowing that he could no more safeguard the tribes of the area, the British Deputy Commissioner submitted his resignation from his post.

The banning of special Status in 1964 depressed the people of Chittagong Hill Tract very much which caused the formation of Chittagong Hill Tract welfare Association in 1966. Again, in 1964 the Government of Pakistan sent a team of experts consisting of 11 (eleven) members, Geologist, Soil scientists, Biologists, Economists, Agriculturists, Engineers, etc to examine how to best use of the Chittagong Hill Tract Welfare Association in 1966. Again, in 1964 were equipped with helicopter, electronic computers, etc. and their surprising final recommendation was that the whole of hilly region in the Chittagong Hill Tract, should be declared 'Reserved area'. The tribal population living in the hills had nothing to do but to leave their homes and Jhums for favour of the National interest and economy. Having nothing to do about 1,00,000 of them entered India for refuge while about 3,50,000 others were still in the East Pakistan under poverty line.

The Government of Pakistan started to implement forestal survey and Master Plan in the Chittagong Hill Tract but paid no heed towards the sufferings of the local people. At a glance the area might easily concluded that it had scanty population. Actually most of the hilly regions were not worth for inhabitation or for cultivation. Taking the ratio of cultivable land and the population numbering more than 8,78,000 the Tract could be regarded as one of the most densely populated area in Pakistan.

Bangla rule : At the instance of Bangladesh came into being the leaders of Bangla Government took keen interest as how to monopolise the economic resources of Chittagong Hill

Tract and to convert the local people into Muslim Bengali. They prepared secret plan carefully and skilfully for the said purpose. During parliamentary debate on 'Bangladesh Constitution' Mr. Monobendro Naryan Larma, M.P. from Chittagong Hill Tract spoke out the untold miseries faced by the tribal people and also demanded 'Autonomous Tribal Region' for which they might enjoy special rights. But this was treated as a move against the sovereignty of Bangladesh. Then Bangladesh Para Military organisation Rakhi Bahini were sent to Chittagong Hill Tract and they ransacked the area. Under this circumstances Raja Tridip Roy of Rangamati fled to Islamabad, capital of Pakistan. He was succeeded by his son, Chhota Raja. (At present Tridip Roy is Pakistan's Ambassador to Argentine)

Truely speaking, the forceful procurement of lands from tribal people of Chittagong Hill Tract by Muslim Bengali had already started during Pakistani rule. During Bangla Freedom Movement the freedom fighters disowned the tribal people of their lands in Ramgarh (Khagrachari Sub-Division) and Nakhuangchari (Bandarban Sub-Division) and sent in more than 50,000 Muslim Bengali to make settlement in the said land. These Muslim Bengali ransacked the houses and crops of the tribal, snatched away their valuable goods, raped girls and women alike and some grown up males were beaten to death whereas others fled into thick forest for a safety sake. The Buddhist temples were burnt into ashes and the Buddhists' Priests were also tortured. When such incidents were reported to the authority, the reporters were sent off with a promise that the government will look into the matter and the culprits will be severely punished. But no action had ever been taken so far.

The Bangladesh Forces plundered and ransacked Panchari area as soon as the Pakistani Army surrendered and left the Panchari area on the 5th Dec., 1971. They tortured 16 persons in the jungle. All but two were beaten to death. On the arrival of these Bangladesh Forces the local people came out and welcomed them. But the angry forces slashed to death with their big daos eighteen (18) of them before their eyes in the broad day light. They also burnt down 176 houses in and around Kukichera. The women could get no save place to escape the sexual urge of the forces. Again, a number of young males were shot dead on the ground of their allegation that they supported Pakistani soldiers and some were beaten to death.

From 1947 the Muslim Bengali reported the tribes of Chittagong Hill Tract to the Pakistani Government as working and behaving anti-government, etc. However, since 1971 they again reported to the Bangladesh Government that the tribes of Chittagong Hill Tract were the supporters of Pakistan.

The Bangladesh Rifles just killed five (5) Tuikuk at Bangalkothi on 16. 12. 1971 without even having any lame excuse. They again killed one couple and seven (7) more women and raped other women at Tarabarmia on 21. 12. 1971. On 22. 12. 1971 they extorted Rs. 10,000/- from the people of Panchari and also killed one little boy of 5 years. Between 24—29 Dec. 1971 Bangladesh Rifles extorted Rs. 2,000/- from Mogh of Ramgarh lying within the Sonai Police station.

Within the second half of December 1971 and January 1972 the Awami League Government arrested teachers and educated Chakmas of both sexes and many others on the ground of suspicion and false allegation. Many educated young ones then took shelter in the jungle. Mr Mawng Prue Sain, ruler of Mawng and Tribal Advisor to the Government of Bangladesh sent a message to the Central Government which read — “Express telegram—Bangabandhu Sheik Mujibur Rahman Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Dacca—Repeat to President of Bangladesh/Minister for Labour and Health/Secretary General of Bangladesh—Visited Rangamati on sixth instant stop Extremely aggrieved to find innocent Tribal people arrested indiscriminately as alleged collaborators stop Earnestly request instruct Civil Administration immediate release of all Tribals so far arrested without prejudice and further arrest be ceased stop—Mawng Raja and Tribal Advisor of Bangladesh.”

The atrocities of Muslim Bengali and the Bangladesh Armed Forces might be shadowed by the ill-treatment they gave to Mr. M. S. Prue, son of the ruler of Bohmony. They brought him out in the street of Bandarban and shaved his hair. They hang around his neck worn-out shoes as his neck-lace. The innocent spectators kept silent and each of them was thinking what treatment was in store for him if such was for their ruler.

On January 9, 1972 the ruler of Bohmong and the Mogh leader convened a public meeting at Bandarban town. Some Muslim students of Sathamis College came to the meeting and charged the conveners starting the movement against Bangladesh and threatened them all saying, “Unless you want to convert your-

selves into Muslim Bengali your lives will be in danger or be off and run for your lives to Burma". Declining such conversion 4,000 Mogh families consisting of about 30,000 members fled into Burma seeking their survival.

In February 1972 the Indian Security Forces left Chittagong Hill Tract and replaced them by the Bangladesh Rifles to maintain law and order in the locality. The Bangladesh Rifles began to mutilate the tribal residents. On 22 March, 1972 they robbed Dhalya village and extorted Rs. 2000/- from the poor victims. They raped five (5) women while they ill-treated the grown up males in front of the public. Their atrocities had been extended towards the residents of Bairagi Bazar. On April 20, 1972 a good number of tribal girls and women were raped and also arrested five (5) school teachers. On March 29, 1972 Muslim Bengali (Civilian) numbering about 2000 armed with modern weapons plundered Manikchhari, Sangupara, Pakkamura and Godatals of Ramgarh Police station. The incident was reported to the Government of Bangladesh. A team of Police personnel came to the spot for verification. But they arrested none. On the other hand the Police instigated the miscreants and the latter snatched away the goods and cattle from the tribal residents in second ransacking.

In order to escape the maltreatment and persecution of the Muslim Bengali the tribal people of Feni area who had no extensive plantation and rice cultivation fled for refuge. The vacated lands were divided by the Muslim Bengali among themselves. Under such circumstances the tribal people had no alternative but to enter India as refugees.

In the year 1972 a group of Members of Parliament headed by M.N. Larma interviewed Sheik Mujibur Rahman on the following demands —

- 1) Creation of separate Legislature for the people of Chittagong Hill Tract.
- 2) Insertion and validity of the Regulation of 1900 in the Bangladesh Constitution.
- 3) Restoration and recognition of the tribal rulers and
- 4) Constitutional amendment affecting safeguards to the tribal community from the assimilation of the plain people.

But Mujibur Rahman directed them to go home and cast off their culture and customary laws. He also sent the Army, Police and Air Force to teach some lessons to the people of Chittagong Hill Tract. Thousands of the localities were killed and houses and crops were also burnt down. In 1975 a team of 75 delegates from the Hill Tract approached the President of Bangladesh with the same demands. But the result was more or less the same, killing and burning houses and crops.

In 1976 the tribals of the Hill Tract formed an organisation called "Prabothya Chattagram Janasanghati Bahini." This organisation has today been commonly known as Shanti Bahini (Peace Forces). To crush this organisation the Bangladesh Army began to launch operations. The Shanti Bahini also started their guerrilla warfare on the army since 1979. On March 22, 1980 they killed 22 army personnel in the well planned ambush. To retaliate this, the Bangladesh Army killed 200 women and children. Within two years i.e. 1980 and 1981 the Bangladesh Army launched major operation for ten (10) times in Chittagong Hill Tract. As stated earlier the lands vacated by Chakma and other tribes for safety sake were given to the flowing in Muslim Bengali. Not less than 2000 Chakma had entered Tripura as refugees between the period from June 25, 1980 to July 1, 1981. Mention may be made here that due to the direct and indirect results of the construction of Kaptai dam about 1,00,000 Chakma entered India for refuge in between 1962—1964.

In 1975 the delegates of Chittagong Hill Tract approached again Sheik Mujibur Rahman to take remedial measures on the grievances of the tribal people. But unfortunately the concrete answer of their prayer was found in the 57,000 strength of Bangladesh Army sent to the Chittagong Hill Tract.

In 1976 the delegates of Chittagong Hill Tract approached President of Bangladesh Ziaur Rahman with their demands with which they approached the former President as well as Mujibur Rahman. The President promised them Autonomy and no Muslim Bengali would be given permanent settlement in the area. But to counter this the Bangladesh Government sought how to split up the leaders of the tribal people. Their Chowdhury, ruler of Mogh and Bohmong and Member of Parliament elected because he was a supporter of Regional autonomy. He became Deputy Minister in the Cabinet. In return he also became a strong supporter of the Government of Bangladesh.

On April 9, 1979 at 2 A.M. the Bangladesh Armed Forces entered Rangamati. They tortured 70 residents including Chandra Mohan Dewan, 91 years of age and retired Police Officer. Two weeks before this incident village where they raped girls and women. There they also burnt some live and hang some others to death.

The Chittagong Hill Tract which had been regarded as "Land of Promise" or 'Granary' of East Pakistan became famine are because of the calamities, etc. mentioned earlier. During the Bangladesh Movement a large number of tribal people took shelter in India. When they returned home they were shocked to learn that their houses and land properties were owned by the Muslim Bengali. Though these tribals were deprived of any privilege the Muslim Bengali were favoured with handsome amount of relief and rehabilitation grant by the Bangladesh Government. Though such discrimination of the ground of belief, etc. the newly born state was called 'Secular Government of Sheik Mujibur Rahman.'

Bangladesh Government sent in 55,000 government servants to the Chittagong Hill Tract. It also encouraged the Muslim Bengali in other districts to migrate into the Hill Tract. Each family of new migrants to the Hill Tract was favoured by the government with 5 acres of wet rice cultivation at the expense of the tribals, free ration for six (6) months, Rs. 3000/- in cash and a pair of bulls for ploughing. It was also learnt that free ration might be issued for another six months. The Government directed each of the Deputy Commissioner to collect the names of those who had no wet rice cultivation in the district. From these lists the government shifted them to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Dacca daily-paper 'Ganakantha' reported on 16. 10. 80 that more than 18,000 families had been shifted to the Hill Tract against the will of those families as well as the tribal people. All of the expenditure incurred in the process and operation were met by Saudi Arabia. However, Bangladesh government declared the villages in Chittagong Hill Tract out of bound for tourists and foreign journalists and correspondents.

The Amnesty International repeatedly reported how hard the Bangladesh government sought for the development of Chittagong Hill Tract and how it took necessary and timely measures to save the tribal people from the assimilation of Muslim Bengali.

But in actual practice the government intended to achieve Muslim majority in the Chittagong Hill Tract. In the locality where a good number of Muslim Bengali immigrants settled the government opened schools and bazaar and stationed Police and Bangladesh Rifles. The Muslim Bengali infiltration in the Hill Tract may be learnt from the following:—

Year	Tribal	Muslim Bengali
1951	2,87,274	26,150
1978	4,98,162	76,564
1980	6,53,000	2,25,000

In the year 1980 alone more than 1,00,000 Muslims migrated into the Hill Tract. Chittagong Hill Tract was divided into 11 (eleven) circles and the Bangladesh Armed Forces constructed roads in the area. Bandarban—Ruma road, Chiringa (Chittagong Cox Bazaar Road)—Ali Kadam road, Ramgarh—Dighirala via Khagrachari road and Chittagong—Khagrachari via Fatikchhari road became all weather roads.

Bangladesh Armed Forces : The 24 Infantry Division was stationed in Chittagong. In 1972 the Division of three Brigades was strengthened with the additional three more Brigades. Again the Bangladesh Rifles Head-quarter also was hastily shifted at Rangamati. One Bangladesh Rifles sector consists of three battalions. Besides, Ansar (Islamic Guards) were stationed at Khagrachari and Ghagra. The only Armed Police Battalion was enlarged and added with another four (4) more Armed Police Battalions. Guerrilla war-fare Training Centre was opened at Mahalchhari, Khagrachari Sub-Divisions. The strength of Bangladesh Armed Forces were—

1) Bangladesh Army 24 Infantry Division	80,000
2) Bangladesh Rifles 6 Battalions	5,000
3) Ansar 2 Battalions	18,000
4) Training Centre	800

Other than the above Armed Forces the Bangladesh Air Force and Navy at Chittagong were in readiness to attack if and when called for. In 1978 a Shanti Bahini reporter stated that Chittagong Hill Tract was fully netted with Bangladesh Armed personnel. Three Brigades of the Infantry Division were stationed at Rangamati, Kaptai and Bandarban as well as in the three contonments such as Dighinal, Ruma and Ali Kadam. There were three (3) Gun-Boats at the Naval Base Dhulyachari. They opened two Police posts at Barkal and Matachari, Bangladesh Rifles sector Headquarter at Rangamati and wing Headquarters at Kaptai and Ramgarh. Two Ansar Battalions were stationed at Khakrachari and Ghagra and Police were posted wherever there was a market. Amnesty International reported that there were 20,000—1,00,000 Bangladesh Armed Forces in the Chittagong Hill Track.

Riches of Chittagong Hill Tract : Besides the wet rice cultivation the Muslim Bengali were after the natural riches of Chittagong Hill Track. Its riches included the forest products as well as the mineral resources. The logs of wood from this Hill Tract were sold out even outside Bangladesh. Continuous trade on logs and bamboos causes deforestation. Directly the tribal people suffered from this for want of forest for Jhum cultivation.

Petroleum had been located at Rangamati and Jogigofa. Copper also had been discovered at Miani area. Expert teams of West Germany and Australia are conducting exploration on the mineral wealth of Chittagong Hill Tract and have had discovered Uranium. Fish of Kaptai dam have been exported to different parts of the world. It is also said that the fruits of Chittagong Hill Tract are exceptionally delicious.

Sufferings of the Tribal people : The developmental projects in the Chittagong Hill Tract did not touch the tribal section but paved the way for their assimilation by the Muslim Bengali. In other words, the developmental programmes were meant for the depression and assimilation of the tribal. The Pakistani Army gave Military training to the Rajakars and Mayahids which caused mass killing as soon as Bangladesh came into existence. For instance, when mukti Bahini entered Ramgarh they killed 400—500 Tuikuks and Marmas in the village. Awami Leage volunteers visited villages on the pretext of combing rebels but oppressed and tortured the innocent tribal residents. This resulted the formation of Hill student's Association.

The Chakma and Marma suffered most from the construction of Kaptai Dam. Insufficiency of cultivable land became more acute as more and more Muslim Bengali migrated to the Hill Tract. The homeless and landless Chakma, Marma and Tuikuk living under the poverty line numbering about 1,00,000 were wandering about with no future to rely on. Due to the submersion of wet rice cultivation and houses by the Kaptai Dam, Chittagong Hill Tract Welfare Association was founded in 1966. But due to clashes of views among the members, the Association was split up into two. One group was in favour of violence and the other was in favour of non-violence. Since the tribal delegates lost hope of their demands with which they approached Mujibur Rahman in 1972 violence was their only and last resort. Those who favoured non-violence could no longer form the association. Thus they founded Parbatlya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti (People Co-ordination Committee) under the leadership of Monobendro N. Larma and his brother Joytirindriya Narayan Larma, ex-teacher. They were later known as Shanti Bahini. Most of the members were Chakma, Tuikuk and Marma. Their exact strength can hardly be known. According to Shanti Bahini they are about 15,000 in number and have 50,000 Reserve Force. They took up arms against the Bangladesh Armed Forces since 1972 and put the tribal people under their control.

The Amnesty International reported that Shanti Bahini of 5,000 armed members is led by M.N. Larma, Ex-M.P. and received no foreign aids in cash or in kinds. They were divided into four wings namely Northern wing, Southern wing, Western wing and Eastern wing. Bangladesh Government instigated the Mizo National Front to make a move against Shanti Bahini. The MNF attacked Shanti Bahini at Ruma area and killed three of them. They also collected taxes from the pro-Shanti Bahini of the locality. In return, the MNF who returned from Chittagong with arms supplied by the Bangladesh Government were ambushed by Shanti Bahini in 1974. They killed one of the MNF leaders, ZARA, Deputy Secretary, Supply, and wounded some others.

Since the above incident the two parties rather live in good terms. Not only that, the MNF, Shanti Bahini Upajati Samiti (Tripura extremists), Burmese communist Party (White flag), Arakan Liberation Army and Chin Hills Democratic Party reached secret agreement and hence they could share their camps among themselves with close intimacy. In 1980 Bangladesh and Burma also signed an Agreement to check the smugglers crossing the international boundaries.

Shanti Bahini was against the marxist communist Sarbahara party led by Siraj Sikdar. The members of Sarbahara party were mainly from Murma and Tongchongya of Rakhaing area. They were divided into smaller groups and often launched attacks on the Bangladesh Forces. Siraj Sikdar was an U. S. Agent who used to distribute generously U. S. coins to the people of Murma and Tongchongya and his influence was deep among these people. He was captured and killed in 1974. The end of his life ended his group.

The Shanti Bahini personnel were mostly found in the Sub-Divisions of Rangamati, Ramgarh and Bandarban and their headquarters were located at the cover of thick forest. They were supported by Murung, Mro, Khiang, Khumi, Chak and Bawm people. Their main target was focussed on the new imigrants, Muslim Bengali. They used to served quit order and then pursued with force. All but the Bangladesh Army camps of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were under their control. They preserved the customary laws of the tribals and recognised the rulers of Chakma, Bohmong and Mawng. They safeguarded the Headman system including Dewans and Talukdar. Local politics had no place without their prior sanction. Most of the members were from the middle class people. The main function of Shanti Bahini were propaganda and publicity whereas P. C. J. S S's were judicial and administrative ones of the local Panchayat level. Thus the people of Chittagong Hill Tract were under the dual rulers. Shanti Bahini collected taxes from the Muslim Bengali traders and the contractors. The solitary and interior posts of Bangladesh Armed Forces also gave taxes to them. They collected taxes on logs of wood and bamboos. Muslim Bengali officers working in the Chittagong Hill Tract also gave taxes to them for their Personal safety sake. Production Brigade of P. C. J. S. S. was the in charge of Land Reform and usually had good harvests from their fields.

The Shanti Bahini did not has any concrete demand for a long time. In 1975 they demanded a separate state covering the Chittagong Hill Tract. Regarding the status of the state they demanded that it would be like those of the states in the Indian Union. But their last demand was a state with a provision that

- 1) There shall be a legislature in it.
- 2) All the wet rice cultivation disowned by the Muslim Bengali after 1970 shall be returned to the right owners, the tribal people.

- 3) Strict prohibition of entry into Chittagong Hill Tract for Muslim Bengali.
- 4) The identity and culture of the tribal people shall be constitutionally safeguarded.
- 5) There shall be security for the government employees from discriminate oppression.
- 6) Tribal people shall also be recruited in the Armed Forces.
- 7) There will be non-intervention of Government in commercial and business enterprises (laissez faire).

Cases of raping, ransacking, robbing, arsonry, divest, etc. had been reported to the Deputy Commissioner, Rangamati by the victim tribals from different corners in 1976. The cases were ended with the promise that severe action shall be taken on the culprits. In 1977 Muslim Bengali began to use force to oppress the tribals even in the broad day light. In the same year Bangladesh Army attacked Matiranga, Guimara, Manikchari and Lakshimchari and killed 1000 Marmas which cause 5000 people to enter Tripura for refuge. Their foresaken goods were divided by and among the Muslim Bengali (civilian). The Bangladesh Army launched 'Operation kite Flying' in the month of December attacking Kahichara, Panchari, Baibonchara and Pushgang village 70 miles from Rangamati. The forces were countered by the Shanti Bahini and killed 42 Bangladesh Army personnel. To retaliate this 1000 Bangladesh Army advanced from Panchari on 25th Dec., 1977 at 10 A.M. to Zoagang Pushgang. They burnt down Buddhist temples and sacred buildings, houses, etc. of the tribals. The tribal people run for their live in the jungle and their valuable goods were distributed to the Muslim Bengali. Thus all the valuable goods and properties of the tribals 80 bullock-carts, hundreds of cattle, goats, fowls, etc. were then transported to Chittagong town. On 26 Dec., 1977 the Bangladesh Army held public meeting gathering the tribals and the Muslim Bengali in which General Manzoor delivered speech. He requested the tribal residents to extend help towards the Muslim Bengali migrants because they were poor and wretched. But in the last part of his speech General Manzoor changed the theme of his approach but strongly demands, "We do not like you (tribal people) but only your land and so be off. Here Muslim Bengali shall settled and spread the Holy religion."

On December 30, 1978 Bangladesh Rifles of Ruma were patrolling Maldong Mauza area. They were watched by three patrolling duty of Shanti Bahini from the cover of bushes. The Rifles-men were beating both sides of their path with bamboos for

fear of traps made by Shanti Bahini or others. Shanti Bahini suddenly fired and killed ten (10) of them. They also snatched away some modern weapons from these rifle-men. Bangladesh Army Headquarter was also restless because Shanti Bahini often launched attacks on the patrolling army, posts, etc. In the months of May, October and December, 1978 there were exchange of fire between the Army and the Shanti Bahini at Eidgar, Malikchari and Fakirachara. Bangladesh Army Intelligent reported that the leaders of Shanti Bahini were in their hideout in the Rakling Forest Reserve. Thus Bangladesh Army started "Operation Annihilation Close-doors" on Dec 22, 1978. The area of their target covered 50 villages and 75,000 population. While the villagers were sleeping soundly at night the Army attacked them with bombs. 35 villages were burnt-down. Many people and cattle were killed. The Army destroyed crops and vegetation. On January 9, 1979 about 25,000 people were wandering in the forest with starvation. Many people entered Mizoram who were later pushed back. When they return to Bangladesh they were again under the cruel hands of Bangladesh Forces.

In response to the calling of Buddhist residents of Kalampati Union, many Buddhist tribals of different villages came to the Kalampati to repair Pao-Para Buddhist temple. On March 25, 1980 while they were worshipping together Bangladesh Army shot them causing the death of 300 persons. They forced 30 (thirty) women towards their camps where they might satisfy their fleshy desire. The incident was followed by the swarming in of Muslim Bengali who were after the valuable goods and properties of the tribals, Kaukhali, Mukhpara and Headmenpara were completely ransacked and divested for valuable goods. Tribal strangers who happened to enter the villages hardly got chance to escape death from the hands of Muslim Bengali and the Army. They pulled down Buddhist worship buildings and tortured 20 (twenty) Buddhist Priests and were beaten till their hands were broken.

Bangladesh Government did not allow to have discussion on the issue of Kalampati incident in Parliament. A team of Members of Parliament (Opposition) consisting of Shahjahan Siraj, Rashed Khan Menon and Upendra Lal Chakma conducted spot verification on the issue. According to their report they learnt that —

- 1) **The Bangladesh government is trying to threaten off the tribals and distribute their house and lands to the Muslim Bengali.**

- 2) The government is applying 'reign of terror' and
- 3) The government takes steps to do away the tribal religions, customary laws and languages.

-To give protection to the Muslim Bengali who disowned tribals' houses and lands Bangladesh Armed Forces were stationed in the locality. The Armed Forces justified themselves on the ground of restricting use of force on tribal people but only words. But contradicting this claim scores of events proved the atrocities of the Armed Forces on the tribals. For instance, 800 tribals of Chittagong Hill Tract were cruelly tortured by the Armed Forces on December 18—22, 1980. Again, on December 10, 1980 they burnt down seven (7) villages of Chakma tribes in HORINA and many women were raped. Thus in order to escape Army atrocities 15,000 Chakma took refuge in Mizoram. But they were again pushed back by the Government of Mizoram led by Brig. T. Sailo and the B.S.F. in joint-hands. The operations launched by the Army on 18th, 19th, 21st, and 22nd December, 1980 resulted the death of 500 tribals.

About 7,000 tribal grown up males were kept and detained in jails and Army Camps. Most of them did not know their ground of detention and still many of them were not identified by the authority who they were. The girls and women so far arrested were handed to the soldiers for their sexual entertainment. The male prisoners were roughly treated and caused them infirm persons for which they might not take up arms against the government. The Government of Bangladesh conducted grouping of villages. The grouping centres in the Ramgarh Sub-Division were Bilaichari Union, Moghban Union, Balukhali Union and Bandarban. Before the villages living between Chittagong and Rangamati were grouped many of the villagers ran away and took shelter in the forest. It was proclaimed that Bangladesh Government was going to instal Cooperative Farming for the development and upliftment of tribal people with the help of Asian Development Bank. On the pretext of this the Armed Forces combed the forest arresting the homeless tribals. To get information regarding the movements, hideout, etc. of Shanti Bahini and P.C.J.S.S. they roughly treated them using various methods like electric shocks, corporal punishment, non-supply of food and water for days, claspings of hot metal, standing under the scorching sun till exhausted and fell down, submersion of body in cold water, etc.

Bangladesh Armed Forces were on duty along the road and river-banks to stop the supply line of Shanti Bahini. The price of carrying salt, medicines, food and Kerosine oil beyond Rangamati was severe ill-treatment in the military camp. The tribals were not allowed to buy anything in large quantity because the Armed Forces suspected that they inturn might handed the purchase goods to Shanti Bahini.

Bangladesh Armed Forces killed many Buddhist Priests and many of them were imprisoned. On December 23, 1979 the Armed Forces and the Muslim Bengali (Civilian) attacked Bangahats, Thakuryamakalak, Gulsakuali and Nalus. All the villagers of Thakurya Makalak but Buddhist Priest Ven Bannitananda Bhikku ran away from their village. This priest aging 70 years old told his co-villagers, "I am free from these wordly things. Wealth and selfishness has no meaning to me. I am the Priest. The Muslim Bengali also have their own Maulari. What can they do to me?" He was praying in the Buddhist Temple sitting beside the sacred Buddhist Lion Figure. The Armed Forces blankly fired their rifles to threaten the villagers. The Muslim Bengali were busy enough robbing and burning the house of Chakma residents. When they entered the Temple they exclaimed, "Here is a priest praying." Some of them directed, "cut him into pieces." Some demanded, "Save him, he is like our Maulari." After a few moment some of them urged, "The priests prevented the tribals from their conversion into Muslim Bengali and they must be firstly killed." They then cut off his head in one slash. After this they cut his hands and legs. They left his head, hands and legs by the pond and his body was thrown into the pond.

At the initial stage of movements under the banner of Shanti Bahini and P.C.J.S.S. the Government of Bangladesh declined to have talk with the underground. But in course of time Bangladesh Armed Forces suffered heavy casualties which caused exchange of views through letters from May, 1979 between the two parties. Bangladesh Government and the underground. Writing communications had been exchanged through Upendra Lal Chakma M. P., Jatiya Samaktantric Dal Party. In due course, Bangladesh Government and P.C.J.S.S. leaders had talks for three times. In February 1980 two Shanti Bahini leaders Jyotindra Naryan Larma and Mawng Sabai were released from their imprisonment. Bangladesh Home Minister also promised them to release 100 more prisoners in March/April, 1980. But only a few of them were released.

In connection with the tribals' problem Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman came to Rangamati. He discussed the matter with Rani Binita Roy, Adviser to the President. Here he learnt that if the tribals were granted sel.-determination in their area they will become loyal supporter of Bangladesh Government. After he reached back Dacca he spread his findings before the Home Minister and other Members of Parliament. He formed a committee consisting of the Home Minister and five members of Parliament to examine the problems faced by the tribals in Chittagong Hill Track. But there was no any member representing the opposition and the tribal people. Again this Committee did not submit their finding and recommendation to the Government. It was learnt from rumour that instead of looking for agreement this Committee was rather the fatal foe to the President's steps. However, President again sent Major General Manzoor, Commander of the 24 Infantry Division to have a dialogue with Shanti Bahini in Chittagong Hill Track. Upendra Lal Chakma was also given a green signal on 27.3.1980. But Shanti Bahini declined to have such dialogue due to the mass killing at Kalampati on 25.3.1980.

Bangladesh Political leaders and the top-brass of Bangladesh Army suggested annihilation of the tribals by means of force. In pursuance of this suggestion a new bill "The Disturbed Area Act 1980" was introduced in the Bangladesh Parliament in December 1980. This Bill contains provisions:—

- 1) for the arrest of any person by the order of Local Administrative Offices or any Army personnel in uniform on the ground of suspicion or so
- 2) for shoot at sight of those who indulged in unlawful activities or acted against (a) the will of the people (b) the integrity of Bangladesh (c) the security of Bangladesh and also the uncontrollable
- 3) that the Police can enter any house and search its and its compound even without having search warrant. The Police can pull down any house if they have suspicion as to illegal arms or bombs, etc are hidden in it. And
- 4) This Act can not be brought before any court of law.

The Government of Bangladesh did not deny that the Bill, if enacted, shall be enforced in the Chittagong Hill Tract. The underlying force in the Bill is clearly the total annihilation of the tribals.

Mass killing of innocent people was again experienced at Matiranga on 26.6.1981. Bangladesh Armed Forces and Civilian numbering 10,000 entered Matiranga, Belchari, Ayodhya Bazar and Banraibari and killed 500 tribals there. Their houses were burnt into ashes and their valuable goods and properties as well as their cattle were disowned and taken away. For fear of further depression about 5000 tribal people fled into Subroom (Tripura) but they were pushed back by the Tripura government and the B.S.F. Two Members of Parliament Mr Upendra Lal Chakma and Shahjahan Siraj shouted in the Bangladesh Parliament expressing that 500 innocent tribals were killed on no ground at Mitiranga on 26.6.1981 by the Bangladesh Armed Forces and Muslim Civilian in joint hands. On 23.9.1981 the Armed Forces and Muslim Civilian again attacked villages on the valley of Mauza Feni of Khakrachari Sub-Division and 10,000 tribals were brutally killed and many of them fled into Tripura for refuge and many Buddhist Temples were burnt down.

As already stated the circumstances and discrimination on the grounds of religion and race compelled Chakma people to enter India (Mizoram) for refuge. They entered Mizoram singly or family by family and sometimes in a large group. Such illegal migration can easily be done for the Bangladesh Chakma because the Chakma Autonomous District is accessible from Bangladesh just by crossing a small river. Today it seems that each of the Chakma villages in Mizoram often gives shelter to the Chakma who unlawfully immigrated from Bangladesh. In addition to this mention may be made that since Chakma have on Autonomous District in their name they regarded themselves as First class Citizen. The Chakma District Council does not give any form of grants, in cash or in kind, to the schools where Mizo is used for the medium of instruction. Accepting themselves being First class citizen the people of Pang, Bawm and Tuikuk who have been permanent settlers in Mizoram since 400 years ago are Second class citizens before their eyes. Chakma District Council declines to issue pass for school site if the school uses Mizo for medium of instruction. Some schools which had been established before the creation of Chakma District are also still facing such problems. The more surprising case is that the leaders of Chakma are pressing the Central leaders of Indian Union to extend their District with the annexation of Tui-puibari, Marpara and Sazai Kawn at the expense of Aizawl District.

Regarding the infiltration of foreign nationals and its results, direct and indirect, I opine that P.C. Party has to take necessary action and I recommended that:—

- 1) Sub-Committee for Chakma Infiltration Problems be form in the party (P. C.) level.
- 2) A.O., V/C and Security Force shall have separate Nominal Roll and Village population Record Book for their jurisdiction.
- 3) A.O., B.D.O and S.D.O. to be posted in chakma area shall have had good records and shall have been interest in doing away infiltration.
- 4) Central Government may be requested and pressed to take steps to stop infiltration.

ANNEXURE—I

CHAKMA SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH LUSHAI HILLS

The following principles will be observed in dealing with Chakma (and Tripura) settlement and bastis in the South Lushai Hills:—

- (i) Owing to the large number of Chakma now settled in the South Lushai Hills, most of whom have considerable families, no further applications for settlement will be considered but for the most exceptional reasons.
- (ii) No passes for new separate houses will be considered except where the applicant is
 - (a) the grown-up married son of a Chakma who has been settled for at least ten years in the Lushai Hills.
 - (b) the grown-up married grandson of such a settler. In both these cases the applicant himself must also be a permanent resident of the Lushai Hills. Passes for daughters will not be considered. If those marry outside Chakmas, they must go to their husbands village. If they marry Lushai Chakmas the husband will be covered by the rules above.
- (iii) The site of each Chakma basti will be decided by the chief in consultation with the Karbari and will be reported to the Circle Interpreter. This site will not be changed without permission from the Sub-Divisional Officer, or Superintendent. The basti will be reported for record in this office.
- (iv) The bastees shall consist of not less than 15 houses which are to be concentrated in a village site, or along a lane which shall not be more than half a mile long. No dwelling houses shall be built outside this site other than jhum houses, granaries etc.
- (v) The Chakma will make and maintain throughout the year a footpath from their bastee to the Chief's village.
- (vi) The rules about cutting jhums on the river banks will be strictly observed and orders from this office will be obtained before any departure is made from these rules.

(vii) Chiefs will be responsible for the general control of Chakmas in their ram. They will normally work through the Karbari, who will be removable on the recommendation of the Chief, if he found to be either in effective or of bad character.

(viii) Mass movement of a whole or the large part of a basti from one chief's ram to another will require the sanction of the Sub-Divisional Officer or Superintendent. Individual permitting of houses and families will be allowed as in Lushai villages.

Dated Lungleh
The 21st March, 1944

Sd/- E. S. Hyde,
Superintendent,
South Lushai Hills, Lungleh.

Copy to Supdt. L. Hills vide No. 173 D/C/III 19 of 22.3.44.

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ANNEXURE II

SECTION E

CONTROL OF FOREIGNERS

(a) Policy

Author & Standing Orders Since the inauguration of the District, Government's policy has been to prohibit the residence of persons who are not natives of the Lushai Hills within the District, except in very special circumstances. The largest communities to whom it has not been possible for refuse completely permission to resident include Nepalis and traders from Bengal or Assam. The majority of Nepalis are descendants of discharged military policemen of long service with good conduct in the Battalion, discharged men originally recruited in Lushai Hills, and milk sellers. Traders from Bengal and Assam include those who were originally permitted to open shops within the Hills for meeting the requirements of petty trading demand or those who have succeeded them, including the salaries employees necessary to the owners for ordinary trade purposes.

The majority of such foreigners reside at Aijal, Sairang, Vanlaiphai, Lungleh, Demagiri, or around mile 45 Dwarband Road.

There are also a very few who have married Lushai women and who have been permitted to settle in Chief's villages on their agreeing to abide by Lushai custom and the chief's control.

Various measures to control residence have been introduced and these include an enhanced house tax, the Inner Line regulation, and the Personal Residence Surcharge System which includes a system of passes on varying conditions to those non-Lushais permitted to reside permanently or temporarily. Where permission to reside cannot but be allowed to non natives who have not married Lushais settlement is confined to certain areas only as named above.

The various measures to deal with control of foreigners settlement may now be given.

(b) STRICT REGULATION OF ENTRY INTO LUSHAI HILLS CONTROLLED BY INNER LINE REGULATION.

(1) See Notification No. 2107 A.P. dated March 9th 1933.

(2) For description of said Inner Line see Notification No. 2106 A.P. dated March 9th 1933.

(3) (a) Responsibility for control of entry rests chiefly with officer in charge Thanas at Kolasib, Sairang and Demagiri but chiefs are all responsible for control within their own areas, vide page 23. Inhabitants of the above, jurisdictions who do not report immediately any parties not in possession of a pass to the officer Incharge Thana will have to answer for harbouring a person without a pass contrary to Government rules vide page 60.

(b) No Lushais, except those covered by rule page 180 who are found at the above Thana jurisdictions without a pass will be held on P.R. by Officer Incharge Thanas, not exceeding Rs. 50/- to report daily to the Thana to the satisfaction of the Officer Incharge Thana, who will immediately report in writing to Headquarters full particulars asking for orders.

If the party pays the cost of a telegram the report may be sent by Officer in charge by wire.

(c) In the case of Lungleh where Sub-Divisional Officer is often on long tours the Senior Ministerial Officer may allow party to report at Lungleh Thana. This Officer at once reporting the full circumstances to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills and Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh.

(d) While it is the desire of Government to control entry and settlement of Non-Lushais within the Hills every possible care must be taken by Officer in charge Thanas to ensure that no possible needless obstruction or inconvenience is placed in the way of travellers.

(e) In the case of Circle Interpreters circles 8 and 5 they are ~~authorized~~ to order any non Hill men without a Pass or credentials to return to Burma or in default to ~~arrest him~~ with the help of

Lushais, when costs of feeding will be paid till produced as early as possible at Aijal.

(4) Owing to the necessary of the Commandant recruiting personal for the Battalion the Superintendent has, while retaining personal responsibility for the results delegated to the Commandant the control of all persons actually connected directly with the Battalion by the orders which are set out below :—

The powers conferred on Superintendent, Lushai Hills, under Assam Government Notification No. 2017 A.P. of 9.3.1933 will be in the interests of smooth working and speedy disposal of routing matters, exercised by the Commandant, 1st Battalion Assam Rifles, on the Superintendent's behalf in the cases of those employees of the Battalion covered by the following classes of individuals.

A— All public followers employed in the Battalion.

B— All private followers employed by the Battalion.

C— All private servants of British Officers serving in the Battalion.

D— All private servants of India Officers and ministerial Officers serving with the Battalion.

FURTHERMORE.

1. The Commandant will also issued passes to Bonafide relatives who wish to visit relatives serving with the Battalion, such passes are limited to three months residence in the Lushai Hills.

2. The name of all members granted will be published in Battalion orders at the time of their appointment and all passes issued will be registered in an Establishment Book to be divided into sections according to their employments.

3. Immediately on discharge of a Pass Holder the fact of discharge will be published in Battalion Orders. The pass will be withdraw and leave struck off the Establishment Book.

At the same time a copy of the discharge order will be sent to the Superintendent to ensure that the man does not remain in the District.

4. All provisions of this order (except para 2) apply equally to Lushais employed and for the purpose of checking residential surcharge the Establishment Book may be examined by the Superintendent, or an Officer deputed by him at the time of Annual Assessment to personal Residence Surcharge on occasion when the case of any individual is doubtful.

5. All previous orders on the subject of passes or Battalion personal are cancelled.

6. Individuals enjoying the privileges conferred by the Commandant under section I will not be permitted to take up employment except as a Combatant member of the Battalion or under the heads A.B.C.D.

Individuals employed under section A,B,C,D, will not, save in exceptional circumstances, be permitted to leave the Battalion on discharge to take up civil employment in the Hills.

(c) Orders to govern the practical application of control of entry of non-Lushais, who are additionally liable to enhanced House Taxes and personal Residence Surcharge in certain areas.

(1) No non-Lushai may remain in the District without a pass signed by the Superintendent or the Sub-Divisional Officers, Lungleh. Such passes will only be given when it is not possible to refuse, and even then they should generally only be given when another pass has been cancelled. Before shopkeepers are allowed to bring in fresh servants steps should be taken to ensure that the old servant leaves the District. Only in this way it is possible to control settlement. Likewise, when an Officer entitled to a servant or servants dispenses with his or their services a report should be submitted to the Superintendent forthwith, when the Superintendent will inform the Officer in-charge Thana who will then become responsible that the servant leaves the District.

(2) Temporary passes for a period not to exceed two weeks will be given to anyone giving bonafide reasons for visiting the District unless for special reasons the applicant is an undesirable person. Such passes may be issued by the Officer-in-charge of control of non-Lushais and a note should ordinarily be made that employment for settlement is not permissible in the District except with special permission of the Superintendent.

(3) A pass issued for a servant on application by an Officer entitled to employ him will be endorsed "Valid for so long only as the pass holder is in service of" This is necessary to stop a pernicious practise whereby a non-Lushai may purchase settlement by rendering free or nearly free service to his employer, only to break with him in due course to seek a change of service, a practise that results in indiscipline and vagabondage among Officers' servants as well as an uncontrollable increase in settlement.

Relaxation of the rule re-entry to Lushai Hills without a pass has been made in certain circumstances vide Forest Rule C (3).

(4) The Officer-in-charge Thana at Aijal and Lungleh are personally responsible for supervising control over parties for whom passes have been issued, temporarily or permanently and to this and will follow the procedure below:—

- (a) Bring to the notice of authority cases of any non Lushai residing in the District without a pass.
- (b) In cases where a temporary Pass only is issued Officer-in-charge Thana will check up the departure on expiration of the pass.
- (c) In cases where permanent passes are issued, pass Holders will be checked up once a quarter submitting a report that Passes are in order or bringing to notice of authority any case where any conditions of a Pass are being abused or where a Pass Holder has left the District.
- (d) Officer-in-charge Thana is responsible for obtaining acquittance of Officer-in-charge Demagiri, Sairang or Kolasib as the case may be that the party has left the District, when he will at once inform the Foreigners' Clerk that the pass Holder has left the District.
- (e) In case of non-Lushai, who are not Nepali actually from Nepal, enquiry slips must be issued and submitted to authority for endorsement and acceptance.
- (f) Officer-in-charge of Kolasib, Sairang, and Demagiri are responsible for reporting all arrivals at once and will submit a monthly return of all Foreigners entering the District to Officer-in-charge, Thana at Aijal and Lungleh and a duplicate copy to the Superintendent, Lushai Hills, and Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh for check by the Foreigners' Clerk.

Before such arrivals are permitted to enter the interior Officer-in-charge of Thanas are responsible that they are first medically examined by the Doctors in charge of Dispensaries to ensure only that they are not afflicted by any infections or contagious diseases.

The settlement of Chakmas, Tripuras or Nepalis is prohibited except with the permission of Superintendent Lushai Hills which, if given at all, should normally be confined to authorising settlement at main existing Lushai Village site. Permission for such settlement in Lungleh given by the Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh should in all cases be submitted for approval by Superintendent Lushai Hills.

In the case of settlement within surcharge areas the rule for those areas must be followed in detail.

Chakma and Tripuras have not proved useful settlers. Their presence is inclined to produce litigation for which the Police Force and Magisterial Staff is inadequate.

Occasions, however, might conceivably arise when on a temporary 3 years basis on forest village or similar settlement basis temporary settlement might be permitted in the low riverine areas near main large rivers in return for forest road making or inter-village path construction. There are large areas in which Lushais will never wish to settle and which remain therefore as extensive blocks of unpenonatable jungle specially in the areas adjoining the TUT, TEIREI AND LONGAI rivers.

(5) NOTE

Author's personal views on the question of non-Lushai settlement bearing in mind that the above constitutes present custom and procedure.

It is difficult to foresee in any near future an universal change throughout Lushai. Even with advent of a motor road along one main line into the interior it would not be advisable to allow free access into all Lushai territory by non-Lushais. There seem to the author to be two factors here-One the consideration of the people themselves and the other the right of the general tax payer, if any, because he is assisting the people by subvention.

It need hardly be argued that it will be many years before the hill man of the interior will be equipped to match himself against the non-Lushai inhabitants of the plains of India with their count-

less years of free self expression and along tried culture, influenced as it has been from time to time with the ever persistent march of time. If this is not contested we have it that to open up the interior to non-Lushai would result in wholesale exploitation and probable extinction of the indigenous people of Lushai.

If the Hills require a general tax payer's subvention is this ground for claiming absolute ownership to the extent of a right to penetrate the interior at will. The only reason that there may be such subvention is that the general tax payer had at the first to make such provision to be saved from the incursions of these hill men into their preserves. If free entry into Lushai preserves were permitted, against the wishes of the Lushai people, might not general discontent prevail, in their turn.

There is one very great hitch is any idea of a forward movement towards the Legislatures and that is the people of Lushai have absolutely nothing culturally in common with that large majority which will always form the bulk of Assam's Legislatures. In truth to make such a union possible Lushais should now be subsidised heavily to take education among the plains people on a very wide front so as to commence to foster friendship and understanding without which affiliation would be a travesty. Union with the Legislatures of Burma on the other hand might in many years become a practicable proposition. But it is that same distance from cultural India which actuated the people of Burma to disassociate themselves from India that will the author's opinion persist among these people when the question is pressed of their surrender from the charge of the British Parliament in favour of affiliation with the local Legislatures with the members of whom they have absolutely nothing in common. As the author sees it therefore, it is difficult to admit, the general tax payer's right to exploit Lushai even in the face of subvention necessitated by the need for keeping these people at bay, and we have already found that unrestricted competition in the face of uncontrolled access to the hills by non-Lushai would probably result in their extinction. There does not seem any case for relaxing control of foreigners especially any willing affiliation with the Legislatures must it seems, first be preceded by and association with the plains which would in itself be nothing more than an artificial super imposition of the Lushai.

The fairest way to deal with these people in the author's view in the long years ahead is to create for them some form of semi independent local administration, generally bound by the wider

control of the government of Assam but left to work out their own genius in their own way. This would preserve the people and enable them to develop consistently with their own resources. If the general taxpayer dislikes the subvention he will equally dislike the Lushai getting any special share of revenue beyond their own resources.

The result of these musings leads the author to feel that we should recognise that Lushai could not stand up to the free access of non-Lushai to the hills till the Lushai had had much longer at game and that if ever such question become in any way, for some be made on conditions capable of reversal operative in the first instance within a limited areas only. The result of any such experiment might give the answer to any controversy arising out of the subject Lushai for the Lushais?

It is by no means impossible that moves may be made at any time by individuals attracted by the glamour that attaches all the world over, to the position of a representative of the people. But it would not possible in fairness to the Lushais to sustain such a move unless the motive was to achieve for the Lushais something which they were being denied. Would the need necessarily be satisfied by affiliation with the Legislatures of Assam?. Could not the need be satisfied more appropriately within a machinery more applicable to Lushai?. His excellency the Governor of Assam takes the place of the Maharajah in a native state and if assisted by a recognised Durban of representatives chiefs no other could not Lushai the better work out its own salvation.

We should beware we do not super impose an unnatural affiliation where a more rebellions or stronger race might be able to demand partition.

At the present state of affairs I feel we should be taking advantage of the Lushai if at any rate we relaxed in favour of the non-Lushai at least for 25 years when the position might be renewed again...

The sole question is also intimately bound up with finance. The expenditure through the years on the Government's part has been that minimum expenditure necessary for Government's own major purposes of stragic control rather than on equipping the Lushai to stand on his own against the march of events. To some extent this is culpable though understandable but nevertheless it will be long before the Lushais take to excepting the non-Lushai as

one of themselves. But considerable money has been poured into the country by the Mission which had been used in altering the Lushai and his social system and incidentally stimulating a rate of development which, in a strong sense, is local in incidence and in advance of the country's own resources. Such a move by financiers other than Government may result in threatening the whole social fabric of being autocracy at the hands of hereditary ruling chiefs and then many ships but no captains.

The author is still of firm opinion this is creating a problem which might easily embarrass Government. The only safe method in the author's opinion is to decide the average expenditure charge this to Assam and place the duty of Administrative Durbar responsible through a Political Officer to his Excellency the Governor of Assam it being recognised that when real necessity arises development requirements be met by the Government of India on a contribution basis from Lushai resources in labour or produce. The Lushai would then have nothing to quarrel with on an account whatsoever and the field would be set for him to develop as best he could within the resources which were his and he himself by his industry might create.

The alternative seems to the author to be inclusion in the Legislatures which if so fact would at once recognise the right of practically unrestricted access for all within the Lushai Hills indeed a heavy price to pay.

ANNEXURE III

INHABITANTS OF CHAKMA DISTRICT

Sl. No. Tribe	Sub-tribes
1. Chakma (Anokia Chakma)	(1) Baboragoja. (2) Tumogoja (3) Molima (4) Barawagoja (5) Khambeigoja (6) Damegoja (7) Barphachegoja (8) Phongrakgoja (9) Molimasega (10) Bongjagoja (11) Rangegoja (12) Kengragatyagoja (13) Phangragoja (14) Bungzagoja.
2. Tongchungya	(1) Doniagoja (2) Moagoja (3) Langgoja (4) Kharbuagoja (5) Melanggoja (6) Moklagoja (7) Ongiaugoja (8) Laboseagoja.
3. Tuikuk	(1) Meska (2) Apeto (Khaukhuap) (3) Chorkhi (Herawt) (4) Ongsa (Sakei) (5) Yestam (Zungbun) (6) Nohkham (In kang) (7) Mousui (Sakhi) (8) Tuimui (Sumsi) (9) Chapreng (Tingtang) (10) Taumanvakchau (Ar kebul) (11) Chakpia (12) Kaihsuah (Paikawng) (13) Khondawl (14) Usui (Vathu) (15) Wuarem (16) Zolai (17) Wak- chuh (Phivawk) etc.
4. Pang	(1) Chawngnam (2) Laitluang (3) Seizang (4) Khualring (5) Palang (6) Bawngkhuai (7) Leihang (8) Shingla (9) Sama (10) Dawn (11) Milai (12) Riakpacheih (13) Pipilang (14) Laibur (15) Sakan (16) Serai (17) Lainguk (18) Rualleng (19) Vanzang (20) Palo (21) Reisa (22) Luangngo (23) Tera (24) Pualnam (25) Leisate (26) Sekhang etc.
5. Bawm	(1) Leihang (2) Lawnshing (3) Seizawl (4) Khenglawt (5) Shingla (6) Palang (7) Thangtu (8) Sakhawn (9) Titilang (10) Khualring (11) Leitak (12) Aineh etc.

6. Tlanglau (1) Vandir (2) Vandeo etc.

NOTE : The Anokia Chakma are generally found at Tlabung-Borapansury area whereas the Tongchungya settled mainly at the southern corner of Chakma District.

Tuikuk are found at Vaseitlang. Pharva, Chhotaguisury, Dinthar as well as some villages lying under the jurisdiction of Pawi District Council.

The Pang people are found at Damdep and Charluitlang. Some of them are living in the Pawi District and many of them are now in the Bangladesh.

The Bawm people settled at Chawilung, Bungkawn and Saizawh. Some of them are also found in Lunglei District and Pawi District. The majority of the Bawm tribes are still living in Bangladesh.

The Tlanglau consists of a few population in comparison with the other tribes. They are found at Ngharum and Saizawh.

ANNEXURE IV

DATA OF SOME VILLAGE IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

Sl. No.	Name of village	Esst. date of the vill.	Population	Houses	Community	Informants	Date of interview
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Nakdarasora	1975	Not known	Not known	Chakma	Natunchandro V.C.P.	18.11.82 at Nakdarasora (10 A.M.)
2.	Garagulksora	1955	110	22	Chakma	Kitosondro, V.C.P.	18.11.81 at Garagulksora (12 Noon)
3.	Devasora (N) (Tuidam lui)	1931	370	75	Chakma	Rangachand Chakma V.C.P.	21.11.81 Devosora 'N' (1 P.M.)
4.	Borsogojasora	—	450	56	Chakma	1) Lare Chandro and 2) Kantosh Singh	15.11.81 at Borsogojasora (7.30 A.M.)
5.	Pharva III	1969	336	66	Chakma	Doleikhupa, V.C.P.	24.11.81 at Pharva III (6 P.M.)
6.	Sakeilui	1966	413	70	Chakma	Susanlal, Sakeilui	28.11.81 at Sakeilui (7:30 A.M.P)

ANNEXURE IV
DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7.	Serhuan	1976	404	56	Chakma	Lamba Kharbari, Serhuan	3.12.81 at Serhuan (9 A.M.)
8.	Dinthar	1971	430	75	Tuikuk	Domarai Kharbari, Dinthar	13.11.81 at Dirthar (10 A.M.)
9.	Saizawh	1947	370	42	Pang, Bawm, Tlanglau	Zalsiala, Saizawh	28.11.81 at Chawngte (3:30 P.M.)
10.	Borapansuri I	—	779	270	Chakma	1) K.P. Tongchungya, E.M. (CDC) 2) Sudan Kumar, V.C.P. Borapansuri-I	16.11.81 at Borapansuri (11:30 A.M.)
11.	Rajmandal	1981	424	77	Chakma	D. Damolan, V.C.P., Rajmandal	29.11.81 at Chawngte (3 P.M.)
12.	Sumsilui	1935	545	82	Chakma	Mohindra Chakma, Sumsilui village	29.11.81 at Chawngte (2 P.M.)

ANNEXURE IV

DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13.	Vaseitlang	1969	507	103	Tongchungya & Chakma	Chhitong Tongchung-ya V.C.P.: Vaseitlang	22.11.81 at Vaseitlang (5 P.M.)
14.	Jognasuri	1955	460	53	Chakma	Agania, V.C.P., Jognasuri vill.	27.11.81 at Jognasuri (8 P.M.)
15.	Balisora	1975	340	60	Chakma	Binoada Kumar, V.C.P., Balisora vill.	26.11.81 at Balisora (11:45 A.M.)
16.	Bungkawn	1975	137	26	Bawm	Zosanga. Bungkawn	18.11.81 at Jarulsuri (1:30 P.M.)
17.	Lokhisuri	1971	319	68	Chakma	Laisuaka C.A. Lokhisuri	22.11.81 at Vaseitlang (4 P.M.)
18.	Vaseitlang II	1969	300	40	Riang & Mizo	Donojoy, V, C Member, Vaseitlang-II	22.11.81 at Vaseitlang (5 P.M.)
19.	Chhotaguisuri	1978	320	64	Chakma	Paisahawngvatur Chhotaguisuri	23.11.81 at Chhotaguisuri (8 P.M.)

ANNEXURE IV
DATA OF SOME VILLAGE IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
20.	Boraguisuri	1974	400	65	Tongchung- ya	Anando- Boraguisuri	23.11.81 at Boragui- suri (2:24 P.M.)
21.	Pharva-II	1964	580	63	Ricag (Turkuk)	1) Muukhama Ex-E.M. (CDC) 2) Kristaha V.C.P. Pharva-II	24.11.81 at Pharva II (5 P.M.)
22.	Pharva -I	1970	964	172	Chakma	1) Rato Ram, VCP 2) Sukdro Moni, Secy. V.C. Pharva-I	25.11.81 at Pharva II (6:30 A.M.)
23.	Kolasuri	1970	307	72	Chakma	Nilachand Kharbari, Thanzamasora	30.11.81 at Thanzamasora (3P.M.)
24.	Kolasuri	1970	507	72	Chakma	Lusai Mohan, Kolasuri	22.11.81 at Kolasuri (4 P.M.)
25.	Moniabagsora	1931	199	38	Chakma	Pulesor, V.C Member, Monialaproa	20.11.81 at Monia- bagsora (8:45 AM)

ANNEXURE IV
DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	88
26.	Nunsuri	1930	720	120	Chakma	Kalchand Kharbari Nunsuri	2.12.81 at Nunsuri (3 P.M.)
27.	Mundirasora	1976	381	56	Chakma	Norokanta, Munsirasora	27.11.81 at Nunsira- sora (8 : 30 A.M.)
28.	Devasora 'N'	1931	350	75	Chakma	Rangashan, Devasora 'N'	26.11.81 at Devasora 'N' (8:30 A.M.)
29.	Vaseikai	1967	260	33	Tongchung- ya	1) Bano Moni V.C member 2) Kandrajoy, Vaseikai	27.11.81 at Vaseikai (10A.M.)
30.	Diblibag	1930	—	—	Chakma	Jisu Kumar, Secy., V/C Diblibag	12.12.81 at Dibli- bag (9 A.M.)
31.	Chawngte 'P'	1940	700	120	Lakher, Pang,Bawm, Lau, Chak- ma & Pawi	F. Lallmangaiha VCP Chavngte 'P'	30.11.81 at Chawngte 'P' (7:30 A.M.)

ANNEXURE IV
DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
32.	Kamalanagar	1968	1077	187	Chakma	Binondo, V.C.P. Kamalanagar	30.11.81 at Kamalanagar (7 A.M.)
33.	Baseisora	1967	550	100	Chakma	Rotan Mohan, Basusora	30.11.81 at Chawngte (8 A.M.)
34.	Chawngte 'L'	1931	735	116	Mizo & Chakma	Biakchungnunga Secy, V/C, Chawngte	30.11.81 at Chawngte 'L'
35.	Kugdasuri	1921-	595	91	Chakma	Kamodep, V.C.P. Kugdasuri	18.11.81 at Kugdasuri (11A.M.)
36.	Chhotapansuri	—	306	50	Chakma	Riputi Mohan, Chhotapansuri	17.11.81 at Chhotapansuri (4:45 P.M.)
37.	Borapansuri	—	750	250	Chakma	Kania Chandro VCP Borapansuri-II	16.11.81 at Borapansuri-II (10 A.M.)
38.	Lawngpuighat	1968	245	30	Chakma	Serbuadon Lawngpuighat	27.11.81 at Lawngpuighat (6:30 A.M.)

ANNEXURE IV

DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
39.	Ugdasuri	1973	56	15	Chakma	Pondoni Ugdasuri	1.12.81 at Ugdasuri (7:30 A.M.)
40.	Chhippui	1957	274	40	Pang & Tongchungya	Sangliana, member of V C Chhippui	23.11.81 at Damdep-I (3 P.M.)
41.	Charluitfang	1959	131	29	Pang	Zawhluna V/C member. Charluitlang	23.11.81 at Charluitlang
42.	Khojoisuri	—	294	60	Chakma	Holodor: Chakma VCP, Khojoisuri	15.11.81 at Khojoisuri (9 A.M.)
43.	Damdep-II (New Jognasuri)	1969	—	—	Fongchungya	Surojsuga V.C.P. Damdep-II	23.11.81 at Damdep-II (2 P.M.)
44.	Devasora 'S'	1973	380	64	Chakma	1) Juvanath Soko 2) Adichandro, V.C.P. Devasora 'S'	26.11.81 at Devasora 'S'
45.	Tuichawng	1942	1150	230	Chakma	P.K.Chakma V.C.P. Tuichawng	2.12.81 at Tuichawng (7:45 A.M.)

ANNEXURE IV
DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
46.	Silsuri	1951	230	45	Chakma	Rinuta Mohan V.C.M Silsuri	17.11.81 at Silsuri (8 A.M.)
47.	Tablabagh	1946	—	—	Chakma	Dimesh Chandra (Teacher) Tablabagh	3.12.81 at Tabla- bagh (7 A.M.)
48.	Belkhai	1969	300	40	Chakma	1) Arun Kumar Chakma 2) Boghul Chandro 3) Toab	27.1.82 at Tuiptuibari-I (6 P.M.)
49.	Tuiptuibari-I	1941	2164	188	Riang	1) Japoo 2) Faktorapa 3) Barhiaman	27.1.82 at Tuiptuibari-I (7 A.M.)
50.	Balungsuri	1941	590	100	Chakma	Banandari V.C.P. Balungsuri	27.11.81 at Balungsuri (1 P.M.)
51.	Gulsing-bagsora	—	252	48	Chakma	1) Natun Chandro V.C.P. 2) Susen, V.C.M Gulsing-bagsora	18.11.81 at Gul- sing-bagsora (9 A.M.)

ANNEXURE IV
DATA OF SOME VILLAGES IN CHAKMA DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
52.	Damdep-I	—	164	27	Pang	1) Makawma 2) Chawikyala Damdep-I	23.11.81 at Damdep-I (1 P.M.)
53.	Udaisuri	1921	595	71	Chakma	1) Moasbad, MDCC(CDC) 2) Sigonia, V.C.M., Udaisuri	19.11.81 at Udaisuri (9 A.M.)
54.	Moniabagsora	1931	290	44	Tongchungya	1) J.Kumar, Dy. Chairman (CDC) 2) Balaandro, V.C.M. Moniabagsora	20.11.81 at Moniabagsora (5 P.M.)
55.	Chawilung	1929	286	41	Bawm	1) Chaliangkupa 2) Biakmawia Chawilung	15.11.81 at Khojoisuri (10 A.M.)

**BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BOUNDARY
NORTH LUSHAI HILLS PLACED UNDER THE
ADMINISTRATION
CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF ASSAM**

Whereas the territories known as the North Lushai Hills are part of the dominions of Her Majesty the Queen,

Government of India, Foreign Department, Proclamation No. 1698E; dated the 6th September, 1895.

Empress of India and whereas the said territories, although hitherto administered as appertaining to the province of Assam have not been formally placed under any defined administration, and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be formally placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam:

Know all men, and it is hereby proclaimed that the Governor General in Council, in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Status 17 and 18 Vic., Cap. 77 section 3, and with the sanction and approbation of the Secretary of State for India in Council has been pleased to take the said territories under his immediate authority and management, and to place them under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and further to direct that henceforth they shall be included within the Province of Assam.

(See Assam Gazette of 12th October, 1895,
Part III, Page 108)

**SOUTH LUSHAI HILLS AND RUTTON PUIYA'S VILLAGES⁴
PLACED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHIEF
COMMISSIONER OF ASSAM**

Whereas the territories known as the South Lushai Hills were by a Proclamation No. 1697 E, dated the 6th September, 1895, issued under the Government of India Act, 1865 (28 and 29 Vic Cap. 17), Section 4 included within the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and whereas the tract known as Rutton Puiya's villages, including Demagiri in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, is also included within the said Lower Provinces and whereas it is expedient

that the said territories and tract should now be placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Know all men, and it is hereby proclaimed that the Governor General in Council has been pleased, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 3 of the Government of India Act, 1854 (17 and 18 Vic., Cap 77) and with the sanction and approbation of the Secretary of State for India, to take the said territories and tract under his immediate authority and management, and to place them under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and further to direct that henceforth they shall be included within the province of Assam.

(See Assam Gazette of 2nd April, 1898,
Part I, Page 378)

REFORMATION OF THE CHIEF COMMISSIONERSHIP OF ASSAM

Government of India In exercise of the power conferred by section
Home Department, 3 of the Government of India Act, 1854
Notification No. 291, (17 and 18 Vict. C. 77), and with the sanc-
dated the 22nd March, tion and approbation of the Secretary of
1912. State for India, the Governor General in
Council, is pleased to issue the following
Proclamation.—

PROCLAMATION

The following territories, which are now included within the
Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, namely—

The Assam Valley Districts Division, comprising the dis-
tricts of Darrang, Garo Hills, Goalpara, Kamrup, Lakhim-
pur, Nowgong and Sibsagar,

and

the Surma Valley and Hill Districts Division, comprising the
districts of Darrang, Khasi Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills, Naga
Hills and Sylhet,

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BOUNDARY

shall, on and from the first day of April, 1912, be taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor General of India in Council and formed into a Chief Commissionership, to be called the Chief Commissionership of Assam.

(Republished in the Assam Gazette of 3rd April, 1912, Part I pages 1—2 with Notification No. 1 dated the 1st April, 1912)

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1915

INCLUSION OF THE AREA KNOWN AS ZONGLING AREA IN THE PROVINCE OF ASSAM

Government of India, In exercise of the powers conferred by section 60 of the Government of India Act, the
Notification No. 475 Governor General in Council is pleased to
X dt. 3rd July, 1931 declare that the area known as the Zongling
area bounded as below shall be included in
the province of Assam—

North — The Lushai Hills District.

West — The Lushai Hills District.

South — From the junction of the Sulla (sull khiar river with the Kaikheu of Khinkon stream (where a boundary stone has been placed) the boundary runs up the midstream of the Kaiheu or Khingkon stream to its source on the Pathian or Pahtay Klang; thence north-wards along the Pathian or Pahtay Klang to the source of the Para stream; thence down the midstream of the Para stream to the Mi (Thshi, Tuisi Wabling) river; thence up the midstream of this river to its junction with the Kheim stream; thence up the mid-stream of the Kheim stream to its source on the Kahria or Kwabria (Khashia) Klang; thence south along the crest of the Kahria or Kwahria (Khashia) Klang to the source of the Raphu Var; thence down the midstream of the Raphu Var to its junction with the Boinu Kaladan river.

East — From the above junction down the midstream of the Boinu (Kaladan) river to its junction with the Loupi river.

Republished with Assam Government Notification No. 5232 A. P. dated the 26th August, 1931. See Assam Gazette of 2nd September, 1931, Part II, page 1207.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1870 (33 VIC., CAP. 3)
EXTENSIONS OF THE STATUTE

ASSAM VALLEY, HILL DISTRICT AND CACHAR

NORTH LUSHAI HILLS

Government of India The following Resolution of Her Majesty's
Foreign Department Secretary of State for India in Council is pub-
No. 14E., dated the lished for general information, :—
22nd November, 1895

RESOLUTION OF COUNCIL

At a meeting of the Council of India held on the 25th Sep-
tember, 1895, it was resolved—

That the provisions of Section I of the Statute 33 Victoria, Chapter 3, being "an Act to make better provision for making laws and regulation for certain parts of India and for certain other purposes relating thereto" be and the same are hereby made applicable to the territories known as the North Lushai Hills, under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, from the 6th September, 1895.

(See Assam Gazette of 30th November, 1895, Part III, page 1213)

CACHAR

In modification of the Chief Commissioner's Notification dated the 24th June, 1875, defining the boundaries of the Cachar Notification District the following amended definition of No. 4092P, the southern and eastern boundaries of the dated the 16th District are published for general informa- March, 1904. tion:—

The Eastern boundary : Stating from the junction of the Ruangding stream and the Barak river the boundary shall run down the Barak River to its junction with the Jiri river, thence up the Jiri

river to its source on the crest of the Barail range thence West-ward along the crest of the Barail range to the source of the Langting river near Semkhor; down the Langting to its confluence with the Langren river; thence up the latter river to the point on the firge whence the Lumding takes its rise.

The Southern boundary : From the junction of the Ruangding stream with the Barak river the boundary shall run up the former to where it receives the Langkhul, thence up that stream to its source and crossing the range in a Westerly direction down a small feeder flowing into the Teirangnek stream, thence along the latter to its junction with the Sonai river. From this point the boundary shall run Southwards up the sonai river as far as its junction with the Suanglawn Lui; thence up this stream to its junction with the Ragh Khal, then up the Bagh Khal or Tuisen Lui to its junction with a large feeder that takes its rise near the deserted village of Saipum, up this feeder to the summit of Bongkong range, and crossing that range down the Teidu Lui to its junction with the Rukni river, then a straight line running in a north westerly direction from this junction to the Dholai bridge on the Aijal Dwarband road, then up the Dholai stream to its source where crossing the Watershed it strikes the headwaters of the Chhimluang stream and down this stream to its junction with a small tributary named the Hmarluang Lui (To which rises in the Bhairabi range; thence up this small tributary to its source, then crossing the Bhairabi range to the source of Bhairabi stream; thence down the Bhairabi stream to its junction with the Dhaleswari river, thence up the Dhaleswari river to its junction with the Pakwa river, thence up the Pakwa river to the second large tributary met with on its left bank, thence up this tributary to its source, and thence in a straight line to the Chatarchura Peak.

*This southern boundary was substituted by notification No. 419R., dated 23rd February, 1912.

No. 1093P., Dated Under the instructions of the Government
the 16th March, of India in the Foreign Department, the
1904 two following Notifications are published
for general information:--

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section I of the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation, 1880, the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct that the Regulation shall extend to the tract in the Lushai Hills district comprised within the boundaries herein after set forth, which has been transferred from the

Cachar district to the Lushai Hills District by the Chief Commissioner's Notification No. 1092P, dated the 16th March, 1904, and shall come into force in that tract with effect from the date of this notification:—

North and West—Starting from the junction of the Ruangding stream and the Barak river, the boundary shall run due west to the Sonai river. From the sonai river the boundary shall run westwards up the course of a small stream south of the Bongkong Hills to its source; thence to the top of the Bongkong range, and crossing that range down a small the Noburcherra; thence down the Noburcherra to its junction with the Rukni river; from the junction of the Noburcherra and the Rukni river the boundary shall run north-westward to the point on the road from Aijal to Duarband, where in the 102nd mile from Aijal, the road crosses a large stream by a timber bridge thence up the course of this stream to its source; thence crossing the range in which the stream rises to the source of a tributary of the Burancherra stream; thence along this tributary to its junction with the Burancherra stream; thence following the Burancherra to its junction with another small tributary which rises in the Bhairabi range, thence up this small tributary till it crosses the present southern boundary of the Cachar District, defined in the Chief Commissioner notification, dated the 24th June, 1875.

South From the point where the small tributary of the Burancherra rising in the Bhairabi range crosses the present Southern boundary of the Cachar District, as defined in the Chief Commissioner's Notification, dated the 2nd June, 1875 along that boundary of the Cachar District to Tipaimukh. at the junction of the Barak river with the Ripai.

East— The portion of the Barak river between the Tipai and the Ruangding.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 46 of the Police Act, 1861 (V of 1861), the Governor General in Council is pleased to extend the whole of the said Act to the tract in the Lushai Hills District defined in the last foregoing notification.

(See Assam Gazette of 19th March, 1904
Part II, page 175—176)

EXTRACTS TAKEN FROM THE ASSAM GAZETTE—
PART II

Dated 15th March, 1933.

Oreds by the Governor in Council
The 9th March, 1933.

No. 2106 A.P. -In supersession of Government Notification No 9102A.P., dated the 28th August, 1930, and in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 (V of 1873), as extended to the Lushai Hills Districts the Governor in Council with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council is pleased to prescribe the line described below as the 'Inner Line' of the Lushai Hills district.

From the junction of the Ruangding with the Barak river the Inner Line shall run up the midstream of the former to where it receives the Lungkulh Lui; thence up the midstream of that stream to its source, and crossing the range in a westerly direction down the right bank of small feeder flowing into

the Teirangnek stream; thence down the North midstream of the latter to its junction with the Sonai river. From this point the Inner Line shall run south-westwards up the midstream of the Sonai river as far as its junction with the Suanglawn Lui; thence up the midstream of this Lui to its junction with the Bagh Khal; thence up the midstream of the Bagh Khal or Tuishen Lui to its junction with a large feeder that takes its rise near the deserted village of Saipum; thence up the midstream of this feeder to the summit of Bongkong range, and crossing that range down the midstream of the Teidu Lui to its junction with the Rukni river. Then a straight line running in a North-Westerly direction from this junction to the Dhalai bridge one furlong north of the 80th miles stone on the Aijal—Dwarband road, this point is also the trijunction of the Hailakandi/Silchar sub-division (district Cachar) with the Lushai Hills District; thence up the midstream of the Dhalai river to its source, where, crossing the watershed it strikes the headwaters of the Chhimluang Lui and down the midstream of this Lui to its junction with the Barun Chara* to its junction with the Hmarluang Lui (te); thence up the midstream of this Lui to its source in the Bhairabi range; hence crossing the Bhairabi range Westwards to the source of the Bhairabi stream;

*thence down the midstream of the Barun Chara thence down the midstream of the Bhairabi stream to its junction with the Dhalaswarl or Tlawng river; thence up the midstream of the Dha-

leswari river to its junction with the Pakwa river; thence up the midstream of the Pakwa river to the Second large tributary met with on its left bank; thence up the midstream of this tributary to its source; thence in a Northerly direction along a range to Chatar-cura Peak (2071); thence due West in a straight line to the tri-junction point of district Sylhet Lushai (Assam) and Tripura State (Bengal) situated on the Langai river about $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a mile South-West of the confluence of the Medli Cherra with that river (vide Notification No. 3313R. Dated the 4th October 1928);

West - thence in a Southerly direction up midstream of Lyngai river to its confluence with a small nameless tributary going west about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles North-East of Betting Sib Peak height 3,083; thence in the South-Westerly direction to Betting Sib Peak; thence in a Southerly direction to Betting Peak height 2,234 which is the trijunction of district Lushai Hills (Assam), Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts district (Bengal); thence in a South-Easterly direction for about a mile to a tributary of Tuilianpui river; thence down the midstream of this tributary to confluence with the Tuilianpui river; thence down the midstream confluence with the Mar river; which is the junction of the Aijal Lunglei sub-division boundary; thence Westwards in a straight line to the source of Harina river; thence down the midstream of the Harina river; to its confluence with the Karnaphuli river; thence the mid-stream of the Karnaphuli river to its confluence with the Thega Khal; thence up the midstream of the Thega Khal to its junction with two other tributaries about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles South-East of height 2,096 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles North-West (of Waibung Tanng) of Waibu Tanng, height 3,083; thence in a South-Easterly direction up the slope for about 2 miles to the Waibung Tanng range; thence in a Westerly South-erly and Easterly direction respectively along the range to Waibung Tanng Peak height 3,083, then in a Southerly direction to Keokra-dong, which is the trijunction of Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal) Lushai Hills (Assam) and Northern Arakan District (Burma), thence Eastwards to Mophrutong or Rengtlang; thence to the source of a small stream

South — called the Varanglui. Varanglui or Mraik-chung whose source lies due East of Peak, down the midstream of the Varanglui or Mraikchung to its junction with the Sekul (Kola) or Kalet stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Sekul (Kola) or Kalet stream to the mouth of the Khawtlang or Kyucha stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the

Khawtlang Kyucha to its source on the Samang or Kwiman range; thence Southwards along the Samang or Kwiman range to the source of the Samak or Kwiman steam (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence down the midstream of the Samak or Kwiman steam to its junction with the Koladyne (Kaladan) river; thence straight across the Koladyne (Kaladan) river to the mouth of the Khangza or Kwiman stream (where a boundary stone has been placed) (the mouths of these two steams are opposite one another), thence up the midstream of the Khangza or Kwiman stream to its source in the Kaisi Tlang (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence down Southwards to the source of the Rale or Shwelaik stream; thence down the midstream thence up the midstream to its junction with the Sulla river to its junction with the Kaikheu or Khinkon stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Khaikheu or Khinkon stream to its source on the Pathian or Pahtay Tlang; thence Northwards along the Pathian or Pahtay Kalang to the source of the Para stream; thence down the midstream of the Para stream to its junction with the Mi (Tishi, Tuisi or Wabling) river; thence up the midstream of this river to its junction with Kheimu stream; thence up the midstream of the Kheimu stream to its source on the Kahria or Kwahria (Kahsia) Tlang; thence South, along the Grest of the Kahria or Kwahria Tlang to the source of the Rapha Var; thence down the midstream of the Raphu Var to its junction with the Boinu (Kaladan) river;

East — thence down the midstream of the Hoinu (Kaladan) river to its junction with the Tyao; thence up the midstream of the Tyao to its source on the Viko Tlang; thence Eastwards to the source of the tributary of the Taimung river; thence down the midstream of the Tuimang to its junction with the Tuivai river; thence down the midstream of the Tuivai river to its junction with the Vangvum lui; thence up the midstream of the Vangvum lui to its source at a saddle known as Bangkok where a boundary pillar marked ML (I) has been erected; thence crossing to the West side of this saddle to the source of the Tuitoi--stream, thence down the midstream of the Tuitoi stream its junction with the Tuivai river; thence down to the midstream of the Barak river; thence down the midstream of the Barak river to its junction with the Ruanding which is the trijunction of the Lushai Hills and Cachar districts and Manipur State.

Note.— (1) The Inner Line falls in the following survey of India 1"=4 miles and 1"—1 mile publications:—

North—83H, 83D, 83D/15, D/14, D/11, D/7.

West—83-D/7, 83-D, 84-A, 84-B and 84-C.

South

& —84-B, 84-O, 84-E, 84-F, 84-D & 83-H

East. „

- (2) the northern western, southern and eastern boundaries of the Lushai Hills district coincident with the Inner Line of the Hills District”.

W.A. COSGRAVE,
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (EXCLUDED AND PARTIALLY EXCLUDED AREAS) ORDER, 1936

AT THE COURT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
The 3rd day of March, 1936.

Present.

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

WHEREAS by sub-section (1) of section ninety one of the Government of India Act, 1935 (hereafter in this Order referred to as, "the Act"), His Majesty in Council is empowered to declare what areas are to be excluded areas and partially excluded areas within the meaning of the Act;

AND WHEREAS a draft of this Order has been laid before Parliament in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of section three hundred and nine of the Act and an Address has been present to His Majesty by both Houses of Parliament praying that an Order may be made in the terms of this Order :

Now, **THEREFORE**, His Majesty, in the exercise of the powers conferred on him as aforesaid and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, is pleased by and with the advice of his Privy Council to Order, and it is hereby ordered as follows: —

1. The Order may be cited as “The Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936”
2. The areas specified in Part I of the Schedule to this Order shall be excluded areas, and the areas specified in Part II of that Schedule the partially excluded areas, within the meaning of the Act.
3. Any reference in the said Schedule to any District Administrative area or estate shall be construed as a reference to that District, area or estate as existing on the first day of January, nineteen hundred and thirty-six.

Sd/-M.P.A HANKEY.

**SCHEDULE
PART—I EXCLUDED AREAS.**

ASSAM

The North-East Frontier (Sadiya, Balipara and Lakhimpur)

Tracts

The Naga Hills District,
The Lushai Hills District.

The North Cachar Hills Sub-Division of the Cachar District.

PART II—PARTIALLY EXCLUDED AREAS

ASSAM

The Garo Hills District.
The Mikir Hills (In the Nowgong and Sibsagar District).

The British portion of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District, other than the Shillong Municipality and Cantonment.

(Vide Assam Gazette of 19th March 1904, Part II. Page 176)

Printed in Volume III of this Manual, under the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation, II of 1880.

Enactment since repealed have been omitted

CHIN HILLS REGULATION V OF 1896 EXTENDED

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 and 5A of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 (XIV of 1874) and with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam is pleased to extend Sections 22, 23, 38 (2) and 40 of the Chin Hills Regulation, 1896 (Regulation V of 1896), the areas specified in the schedule hereto annexed, in the stricted and modified form set out below, namely:—

- (1) Where the Superintendent or the Deputy Commissioner any area specified in the schedule is satisfied that the presence of any person not being a native of such area is injurious to the peace or good administration of the area, he may, for reasons to be recorded in Writing, order such person to leave the area within a given time.
- (2) Whoever, not being a native of any such area, disobey an order under clause 1, may, on conviction by a Magistrate, be punished with imprisonment for a time which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000 or with both.
- (3) The Local Government may revise any order passed under clause (1).
- (4) No order made under clause (1) shall be called in question in any civil or criminal court.

SCHEDULE

The North Cachar sub-division of the Cachar District, the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the Dibrugarh Frontier Tract in the Lakhimpur District the Naga Hills, the Mikir Hills Tract in the Nowgong and Sibsagar District and the Lushai Hills District.

(See Eastern Bengal and Assam Gazette of 11th October, 1911, Pt. II, page 1882).

(D) LUSHAI HILLS INNER LINE FOREST RESERVE
BORDERING CACHAR.

- (1) Description of Reserve
- (2) Main villages within the Inner Line Reserve.
Saihum
Mauchar
Tingmun
Sakordai

There are many villages wither just outside or within the reserve.

Within Reserve :

Bilkhawthlir Any house in excess of 30 to cultivate
by leilet only.

60 houses in all are allowed and
30 may Jhum.

Vairengte Maximum 16 houses.

Outside Reserve :

Palsang May not cultivate within Reserve
except with previous sanction.

Khawdungsei and Zohmun Not to Jhum within Reserve.

Khawruhlian Boundary paper covers part of Reserve
but Jhuming not allowed within Reserve.

Vaitin and Khawpuar Some conditions as for Palsang.

Dairep and Bairabi Builum No Jhuming within the reserve.

Eight Dak men and one Phaltu for replacing casual replacing
difficult have been permitted to Jhum at Bilkhawthlir, Punana
Bangla, Kanglai on Dwarban Road.

Suangpuilawn is a land included in no one's boundary paper and may not be Jhumed.

Fuller details and references can be seen in the note recorded in September, 1933 mentioned at page 127.

3. The boundary of the Inner Line Reserve is out annually under arrangement made by the Superintendent. This incidentally provides a means of assisting needy villages accure as competition is usually lively.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- 1) M.N.F. returnees.
- 2) Chakma people I interviewed during my tour in December, 1981 and January, 1982.
- 3) Different newspapers and periodicals in India.
- 4) Letters and documents of Shanti Bahini.
- 5) The book written by Ven Aggavansa Mahathara.
- 6) Issues of Illustrated Weekly of India.
- 7) Reports of Amncsty Iternational.
- 8) Write-ups of Caroline Moorehead.