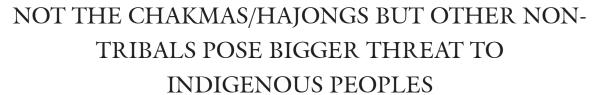


ASIAN CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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ARUNACHAL PRADESH



1. Introduction: Why Chakmas and Hajongs do not pose a threat to indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh

The Supreme Court of India in its judgment dated 17.09.2015 in Writ Petition (C) No.510/2007 directed the Government of India and the State of Arunachal Pradesh to implement its earlier judgment dated 09.01.1996 in the Writ Petition (C) No.720/1995¹ and process the citizenship applications of the Chakmas and Hajongs who had migrated from erstwhile East Pakistan during 1964-1968 within three months. This once again brought to focus the allegations of a few student and civil society leaders of Arunachal Pradesh that the significant growth of the Chakma/Hajong migrants poses a threat to the indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh. The State of Arunachal Pradesh filed a Review Petition (No. 3432 of 2015) challenging the judgment dated 17.09.2015.

That the Chakmas/ Hajongs of Arunachal Pradesh pose any threat to the indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh who are notified as Scheduled Tribes is not true as per the statistics of census of India as shown in this brief report.

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i. Chakmas/Hajongs increased by 218% in 47 years while Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc increased by 955% in 50 years!

In absolute term, a total of 14,888 Chakmas/ Hajongs were settled in Arunachal Pradesh by the Government of India during 1964-69.² Their population increased to 47,471³ persons as per 2011 census. This means in 47 years, the Chakma and Hajong population increased by 218%. The growth rate of the Chakmas/Hajongs is almost the same as that of indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh (Scheduled Tribes) whose population increased from 2,99,944 persons in 1961 to 9,51,821 persons in 2011 i.e. by about 218%.⁴

In comparison to the Chakmas/Hajongs and indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh whose population grew over 200% in 50 years, the population of other non-tribals such as Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc increased by 955% during the same period. The population of other non-tribals such as Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc was 36,614 persons in 1961 and increased to 3,84,435 persons in 2011⁵ i.e. 955% increase!⁶ The decadal growth rate of these non-Scheduled Tribes was 125.40% during 1961-1971, 100.12% during 1971-1981, 70.74% during 1981-1991 and 24.08% during 1991-2001.⁷

ii. Chakmas/Hajongs are minorities in all the three districts and four assembly constituencies they are settled

As per the 2011 Census, the total population of Arunachal Pradesh was 13,83,7278 persons while the total population of the Chakmas/Hajongs was 47,471.9 Therefore, 47,471 Chakmas/Hajongs can never pose a threat to about 14 lakhs population of the State.

The Chakmas are currently settled in three districts i.e. Namsai, Papumpare and Changlang while Hajongs are settled only in Changlang district. As per 2011 census, Namsai district, which was created from Lohit district in 2014, had population of

95,950 persons¹⁰ out of which the total population of the Chakmas in the district was 4,523 persons¹¹. In Papum Pare district, as per the 2011 census, the total population was 1,76,573 persons¹² out of which the total population of Chakmas was 2,065 persons.¹³ In fact, the populations of the Muslims in Papum Pare district were 6,148 persons i.e. 300% more than the population of the Chakmas in the district.¹⁴ In Changlang district, the total population was 1,48,226 persons as per 2011 census¹⁵ out of which the total population of the Chakmas/Hajongs was 40,883 persons¹⁶ and other non-indigenous population i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc was 53,465 persons.¹⁷

The Chakmas/Hajongs are settled in four out of 60 Assembly constituencies of Arunachal Pradesh i.e. 49 Bordumsa-Diyun and 50 Miao (ST) in Changlang district; 46 Chowkham (ST) in Namsai district; and 14 Doimukh (ST) in Papumpare district. As Chakmas/Hajongs are not listed as Scheduled Tribes, they cannot contest the reserved seats for STs i.e. Doimukh (ST), Chowkham (ST) and Miao (ST) Assembly Constituencies. In any case, the Chakmas/Hajongs are minorities in all these constituencies with 2,065 Chakmas out of 60,021 total population in Doimukh (ST) Assembly Constituency; 4,523 Chakmas out of 21,995 population in Chowkham (ST) Assembly Constituency; 10,383 Chakmas/Hajongs out of 44,875 population in Miao (ST) Assembly Constituency. In Bordumsa-Diyun (General) Assembly Constituency, the Chakmas/Hajongs population is 30,619 out of total 61,051 population in the said Assembly Constituency.

iii. Other general populations pose bigger threat than Chakmas/Hajongs

The official census statistics show that other non Chakma/Hajong general population of Arunachal Pradesh i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc are majorities in three districts and four Assembly constituencies.



Chakma women in Arunachal Pradesh celebrating Buddha Purnima. Many indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh wrongly believe that Chakmas are like the Bengali muslims because they came from East Pakistan. The Chakmas are actually of the Tibeto Mongoloid origin.

As per 2011 census (1) in Papumpare district, non Chakma/Hajong general population i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Muslims, Biharis etc was 57,292¹⁸ against Chakma/Hajong population of 2,065 persons¹⁹; (2) in Namsai district, other non-Chakma general population was 59,937²⁰ against Chakma/Hajong population of 4,523²¹ while (3) in Changlang district, other non-Chakma Hajong general population was 53,465²² against Chakma/Hajong population of 40,883 persons.²³

As per 2011 census, constituency wise, (1) in Doimukh constituency, out of total 60,021 population, non-Chakma/Hajong general population was 15,583 against 2,065 Chakmas/Hajongs;²⁴ (2) in Chowkham, out of total 21,995 persons, non-Chakma/Hajong general population was 11,681²⁵ against 4,523 Chakmas/Hajongs;²⁶ (3) in Miao constituency, non-Chakma/Hajong general population was 15,955²⁷ against 10,383 Chakmas/Hajongs²⁸; and (4) in Bordumsa-Diyun constituency, out of total 61,052 persons, non-

Chakma/Hajong general population was 21,468²⁹ against 30,619 Chakmas/Hajongs.³⁰ It is pertinent to mention that only 1500 Chakmas/Hajongs have been included in the electoral roll so far in Bordumsa-Diyun constituency so far.

If the population growth were to pose a threat to indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh, Chakmas/Hajongs surely do not pose a threat to the local indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh. It is the non-Chakma/Hajong general population i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc whose populations have been increasing rapidly.

Further, unlike other general population of the State, the Chakmas/Hajongs are Tibeto-Mongoloid like the indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh and practice Buddhism like the indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh such as Singphos, Khamtis, Monpas, etc. The Chakmas and Hajongs have fully integrated with local indigenous population including through inter-marriages.



Chakma women in Arunachal Pradesh getting ready to welcome Buddhist monks during Buddha Purnima

It is also pertinent to mention that there is no likelihood of any Chakma migrating to Arunachal Pradesh. The total population of Chakmas in India as per 2011 census was 2,26,860 persons with 96,972 persons (19,554 families)³¹ in Mizoram; 79,813 persons (18,014 families)³² in Tripura; 2,032 persons (430 families)³³ in Assam; 466 persons (211 families)34 in West Bengal; 106 persons (44 families)³⁵ in Meghalaya (as per Census 2011) and 47,471³⁶ persons in Arunachal Pradesh. The Chakmas are recognized as Scheduled Tribe in Assam, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram and there is no reason for the Chakmas from these States to migrate to Arunachal Pradesh where the Chakmas do not enjoy Scheduled Tribe status.

Further, the potential for increase of other non-Chakma/Hajong general population of Arunachal Pradesh i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc is more because of the absence of labour force from indigenous peoples

in the State in ever increasing tea industry and infrastructural projects. There were 42 registered Tea Estates, eight Tea Factories and seven Bought Leave Tea Factories in the State as on July 2013³⁷ while hundreds of small unregistered tea gardens are around. There are no tribal labourers in these tea gardens and Adivasis and others are being brought to Arunachal Pradesh to work as tea garden labourers. Further, in January 2008, then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had announced a mega road infrastructure development programme for Arunachal Pradesh which was further enhanced by Union Minister Nitin Gadkari on 30 April 2015.38 Arunachal Pradesh is often termed as the "power house" of the country with 60,000 MW hydropower potential and at least 44 dams are planned across the Siang River alone.39 All these will require labourers from outside of Arunachal Pradesh. On the other hand, almost all the businesses are controlled by non-tribals from mainland India including Marwaris, Biharis, etc. In many towns, non-tribals constitute the majority

of voters. For example, in Bordumsa Town polling area in Changlang district, out of total 857 voters, 646 are non non-tribals as per 2015 Electoral Rolls.⁴⁰

If the Supreme Court judgment dated 17.09.2015 is fully implemented, it shall mean processing the citizenship applications of about 7,000 surviving Chakmas/ Hajongs who migrated during 1964-69 as the rest are citizens by birth as per Section 3 of the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955.⁴¹ The minimum age of majority of these 7,000 Chakmas/Hajongs is at least 51 years considering the migration took place in 1964. Majority of them are old and fragile, too poor to pay the fees of Rs 5,000 to process the citizenship applications and majority will die soon. Citizenship has almost become meaningless in the twilight of life.

Obviously, processing citizenship applications of about 7,000 Chakmas/Hajongs cannot be a threat to indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh considering the migration of more than 7,000 non-Chakma/Hajong general population in the State every year in search of jobs, business and work in various infrastructure projects. Further, all non-Chakma/Hajong general populations such as Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc are already registered as voters in Arunachal Pradesh while the Chakmas/Hajongs have been consistently denied the right to enroll as voters even if they are citizens by birth.

The Chakmas/Hajongs have been seen as a threat simply because they migrated in a group even if other general populations already constitute far more serious threat, if any, to indigenous population of the State. The Chakmas/Hajongs shared excellent relations with the neighbors but since the anti-foreigner agitation in Assam in late 1970s, many politicians of Arunachal Pradesh had made the Chakma Hajong issue a ladder. At the same time, there is no doubt that since the Supreme Court judgment in 1996, successive governments of Arunachal Pradesh, a number of leaders of All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union (AAPSU) and

local civil society leaders have gradually shown the willingness to understand and appreciate the plight of the Chakmas/Hajongs.

Even if processing of citizenship has become almost infractutous for majority of the Chakmas/ Hajongs who migrated during 1964-1968, it is still required. Deprived of citizenship or any other identification, many are being denied the freedom of movement – buying a flight ticket or train ticket or checking into a hotel requires identification issued by the government. Nothing could be more humiliating than not having any documentation to prove who you are!

On 19 November 2019, the Supreme Court dismissed the review petitions filed the State of Arunachal Pradesh (No. 3432 of 2015) challenging the judgment of 17.09.2015. The Supreme Court judgment dated 17.05.2015 is not a new one but only sets a deadline for implementation of its judgment dated 09.01.1996 in Writ Petition (C) No.720/1995. The Review Petition (I.A. No.2 in W.P.(C) No. 720/95) seeking modification of the judgment dated 09.01.1996 was dismissed by the Supreme Court on 05.08.1996. Another petition W.P. (C) No.13 of 1998 challenging correctness of the judgment dated 09.01.1996 of the Supreme Court was also dismissed on dated 09.12.2002. The Supreme Court cannot review the same judgment twice.

This indeed is the right opportunity for the Union of India and the State of Arunachal Pradesh to resolve the issue once and for all. The Chakmas/ Hajongs in no way pose a threat to indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh. With their Mongoloid features and Buddhism, the Chakmas who are the majority have fully integrated into the Arunachalese society.

Suhas Chakma Director

2. Total population of the Chakmas/Hajongs in Arunachal Pradesh and their lower decadal growth rate than the State population

About 3,000 Chakma and Hajong families comprising 14,888 persons were taken to Arunachal Pradesh by the Government of India under a 'Definite plan of Rehabilitation' in 1964-69⁴² and in the wake of Indo-China war of 1962. According to the 2011 Census, the population of Chakma and Hajong in the State was 47,471 persons⁴³. Therefore, the increase of population from 14,888 to 47,741

in the last 47 years in no way can be regarded as abnormal. Further, as per the 2011 Census, the total population of Arunachal Pradesh was 13,83,727 persons and about 47,741 Chakmas/Hajongs can never pose a threat to about 14 lakhs population of the State.

In fact, census reports of Arunachal Pradesh the decadal growth rate of the Chakmas/Hajongs in Arunachal Pradesh has been less than the decadal growth rate of the State as given below:

Table 1: Decadal growth rate of the Chakmas vis-à-vis Population of the State

Year	Chakmas/Hajongs Population	Decadal Growth of Chakmas/Hajongs	Entire Arunachal ⁴⁴	Decadal growth of State
1971-1981	25,516 ⁴⁵	N/A	6,31,839	35.15
1981-1991	32,21646	26.26%47	8,64,558	36.83%
1991-2001	39,92048	23.91%	10,97,968	27%
2001-2011	47,47149	18.92%	13,83,727	26.03%
2015	As per AP DGP as of 9th Oct 2015 ⁵⁰	51,507 persons		

3. Chakmas/Hajongs are minorities in all the three districts they are settled

The Chakmas are settled in three districts of Namsai, Papumpare and Changlang district and Hajongs are settled only in Changlang district. In all these districts, they are minorities as given below:

i. Namsai district

As per 2011 census, Namsai district had population of 95,950 persons in the three administrative divisions. The indigenous peoples/Scheduled Tribes constituted only 32.81 percent (31,490 persons), while the non-tribals including Chakmas/Hajongs constituted 67.19 percent (64,460 persons) in Namsai district.⁵¹ As per 2011 census, the total population of the Chakmas in the district was 4,523 persons.⁵² In other words, the Chakmas constituted only 4.71 percent of total population of 95,950 persons in Namsai district and indeed, 93% of the non-tribals in Namsai district or 59,937 non-tribals are non-Chakmas.

ii. Papumpare district

In Papum Pare district, as per the 2011 census, the total population was **1,76,573** persons. Out of the total population, the indigenous peoples/STs constituted **66.4** percent (1,17,216 persons) while the remaining **33.6** percent (59,357) nontribals comprised of Chakmas, Muslims, Biharis, Assamese etc.⁵³ The total population of Chakmas in the Papumpare district was **2,065** persons as per 2011 census or only **1.17** percent of the total population in the district.⁵⁴ The Chakmas therefore constituted only **3.48** percent out of the total nontribal population of 59,357 persons. If there is any threat to indigenous peoples, surely it cannot be the Chakmas.

The Papum Pare district registered a decadal growth of 44.73 percent. It is not the population of the Chakmas/Hajongs which have been increasing. As per the Census 2011 data on Population by Religious Communities, the population of the Muslims was

6,148 persons in Papumpare district i.e. more than the population of the Chakmas of Papum Pare district i.e. 2,065 persons. Of them, 2,887 Muslims are in Itanagar and 2,296 are in Naharlagun.⁵⁵

iii. Changlang district

In Changlang district, the total population was 1,48,226 persons as per 2011 census. The STs/indigenous populations constituted **36.3 percent** (53,878) of the total population of the district while non-tribals comprising Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Chakmas, Hajongs, Biharis, Marwaris etc constituted **63.7** percent (94,348 persons). ⁵⁶ The population of Chakmas/Hajongs in

the district was 40,883 persons while the population of other non-indigenous populations comprising of Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Biharis, Marwaris etc was 53,465 as per 2011 census.⁵⁷ Clearly, the population of other non-tribals is more than the Chakmas.

It is pertinent to mention that population of the



Chakma women waiting to caste their votes at Diyun, Arunachal Pradesh

Chakmas/Hajongs living in Changlang district has been decreasing. As per 2001 census, the total population of Chakmas/Hajongs was 39,920 in Changlang district. This means the decadal growth rate of the Chakmas had decreased to 23.91 percent as compared to 26.26 per cent during the 1991 census. On the other hand, the population of the other non-tribals has been increasing.

Table 2: District wise comparative population of the indigenous peoples, Chakmas/Hajongs and other non STs like Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Chakmas, Hajongs, Biharis, Marwaris etc

District	Total Population	Total STs/ indigenous peoples	Chakmas/Hajongs	Other Non-STs
Changlang	1,48,22658	53,878	40,883	53,465
Papumpare	1,76,573 ⁵⁹	1,17,216	2,065	57,292
Namsai	95,95060	31,490	4,523	59,937

4. Chakmas/Hajongs are minorities in three out of four Assembly constituencies where they are settled

The Arunachal Pradesh State Assembly has 60 constituencies. The Chakmas/Hajongs are settled in four Assembly constituencies i.e. 49 Bordumsa-Diyun and 50 Miao (ST) in Changlang district; 46 Chowkham (ST) in Namsai district; and 14 Doimukh

(ST) in Papumpare district. While Chakmas in 14 Doimukh (ST), 46 Chowkham (ST) and 50 Miao (ST) constituencies are minorities, the Chakmas/ Hajongs are majority only in 49-Bordumsa-Diyun constituency as given in table 3.

Further, Miao (ST) constituency in Changlang district, Chowkham (ST) constituency in Namsai

district and Doimukh (ST) constituency in Papumpare district are reserved seats meant only for the Scheduled Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. In these three Assembly Constituencies the Chakma population is neither large nor could they stand for electoral contest as they are not recognized as Scheduled Tribes.

Table 3: Constituency-wise population of the indigenous peoples, Chakmas/Hajongs and other non STs like Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Chakmas, Hajongs, Biharis, Marwaris etc

Constituency	Total	Total STs	Chakma/	Other Non-
	Population		Hajong	STs
49 Bordumsa-Diyun, Changlang District	61,052	8,965	30,500	21587
50 Miao (ST), Changlang District	44,875	18,537	10,383	15,955
46 Chowkham (ST), Namsai district	21,995	5,791	4,523	11,681
14 Doimukh (ST), Papumpare district	60,021	42,373	2,065	15583

5. Other non-Chakma/Hajong general population pose bigger threat to indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh

i. Exponential increase of other non-Chakma/Hajong general population

The census of Arunachal Pradesh shows that the population of other non-tribals i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis increased from 36,614 persons in 1961 to 3,84,435 persons in 2011 i.e. an increase by 955%.⁶¹ The growth rate of non-Chakma/Hajong non-tribals although come down to 9.87% in 2011, it was over 125.40% in during 1961-1971, 100.12% during 1971-1981 and 70.74% during 1981-1991, 24.08% in 1991-2001 as given below.

Table 4: Decadal growth rate of STs/indigenous peoples, Chakmas/Hajongs General Populations and other non-tribals i.e. i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis⁶²

Year	State's Total Population	STs/ Indigenous	Decadal growth	Total General population (Non- Chakma/Hajong)	Decadal growth
1961	3,36,558	2,99,944		36,614	N/A
1971	4,67,511	3,69,408	23.16%	82,529 ⁶³	125.40%
1981	6,31,839	4,41,167	19.43%	1,65,15664	100.12%
1991	8,64,558	5,50,351	24.75%	2,81,99165	70.74%
2001	10,94,968	7,05,158	28.13%	3,49,89066	24.08%
2011	13,83,727	9,51,821	34.98%	3,84,43567	9.87%

i. Potential for more increase of non Chakma/Hajong general population in Arunachal Pradesh

The potential for increase of other non-Chakma/ Hajong general population of Arunachal Pradesh i.e. Adivasis, Assamese, Nepalese, Muslims, Marwaris, Biharis etc is more than the Chakmas/ Hajongs of Arunachal Pradesh given the requirement of labourers in ever increasing tea industry and rapid growth of infrastructure and development projects in the State while all businesses are controlled by non-tribals.



Chakma girls at a Buddhist temple in Arunachal Pradesh

a. Increasing number of tea tribes in Arunachal Pradesh

Many indigenous peoples of the State have been engaged in tea industry. However, the labourers of these tea gardens are Adivasis and their population is increasing over the years. For example, the Adivasis in 49-Diyun-Bordumsa Assembly Constituency constitute the majority voters and play a decisive role during election.⁶⁸ The situation is similar in Lohit and Namsai districts where tea industry is booming. This is reflected from the large number of Adivasi voters and representation in the Panchayati Raj Institutions in Namsai district.

There were 42 registered Tea Estates and many numbers of unregistered Small Tea gardens, eight Tea Factories and seven Bought Leave Tea Factories in the State as on July 2013.⁶⁹ Some of the Tea Estates registered with Tea Board of India as on June 2010 are Bisa Tea Estate, Bordumsa Tea Estate, Kengkhu Tea Estate, Lalung Tea Estate and

Rangkatu Tea Estate in Changlang district; Dibang Tea Estate, Iduli Tea Estate, Longran Tea Estate and Roing Tea Estate in Dibang Valley district; Deki Tea Estate, Donyi Polo Tea Estate, Leysing Tea Estate and Olingtong Tea Estate in East Singh district; Borduria Tea Estate, Malishi Tea Estate and Mopa Tea Estate in Khonsa district; Fai Yai Tea Estate, Manyu Tea Estate, Nban Tea Estate, Sree Nanda Tea Estate, Teyang Tea Estate and Arunachal Tea Estate in Lohit district.⁷⁰

There are dozens of unregistered Tea Estates. The number of tea gardens will only increase which will require larger labour force. The experiences of the tribals in upper Assam may be a lesson for the indigenous peoples of Arunachal Pradesh.

b. Businesses controlled by non-tribals

In Arunachal Pradesh, almost all the businesses are controlled by non-tribals from Assam and mainland India. Bordumsa town is a perfect example. As per



Chakma girls of Arunachal Pradesh and the Chakmas and Hajongs share are of the same Tibeto Mongoloid origin as indigenous peoples in the State

2015 Electoral Rolls, the non-tribals constitute the majority of voters with g 646 out of 857 electors in Bordumsa town.⁷¹

c. Increase of development and infrastructure projects

Arunachal Pradesh has been witnessing huge development projects such as roads, dams, industries etc. However, the labour force in the State is absent among the local tribal people. As a result, there is in-migration of workers, both skilled and unskilled, from different parts of the country. This migration, which was only a trickle in the beginning, but substantially increased as the development process intensified.

i. Roads

In January 2008, then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had announced a mega road infrastructure development programme for Arunachal Pradesh. This programme envisaged the construction/double laning of Trans-Arunachal Highway from Tawang to Kanubari covering 1,412 km, interlinking 11(eleven) district headquarters. This comprises of

5 National Highways namely NH- 229 from Tawang to Pasighat, NH 52 from Pasighat to Mahadevpur, NH -52B from Mahadevpur to Kanubari,NH-153 from Jairampur to Pansau-Pass and 4-Laning from Holongi to Itanagar. All these road projects are at various stage of implementation.⁷²

On 30 April 2015, Union Minister Nitin Gadkari announced various road projects for Arunachal Pradesh and laid the foundation stone of five roads with total length of 542.27 km involving an estimated cost of Rs 3,286.28 crore to boost up accelerated development in the state. These five road projects included two laning of Potin to Panging section of NH 229, two laning of Pasighat to Panging section of NH 229, two laning of Changlang/Tirap district boundary to Changlang section of NH 52 B, two laning of Mahadevpur to Buri Dihing section of NH 52 B and two laning of Longding to Kanubari section of NH 52 B.⁷³

ii. Dams

Arunachal Pradesh is termed as the "power house" of the country with 60,000 MW hydropower potential. The State Government has signed at least 160

Memorandum of Understanding and Memorandum of Agreements for developing hydropower.74 At least 44 dams are planned across the Siang River alone.⁷⁵ All these will require labourers from outside of Arunachal Pradesh.

Endnotes:

- 1. WP(C) No. 720 of 1995, National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh & Ann
- Counter affidavit of the Union of India in WP(C) No. 720 of 1995, National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh & Anr
- 3. See Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang in C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data of Arunachal Pradesh, 2011 Decadal Census, GOI at: http:// censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/cd_block.html
- 4. See Arunachal Pradesh Human Development Report 2005 available at: http:// planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_ap05.pdf and 2011 Census http://censusindia.gov.in/
- 5. See Arunachal Pradesh Human Development Report 2005 available at: http:// planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_ap05.pdf and 2011 Census http://censusindia.gov.in/
- 6. The figure of 3,84,435 persons is arrived at after deducting the Chakma/ Hajong population of 47,471 from the total general population of 4,31,906
- 7. See Arunachal Pradesh Human Development Report 2005 available at: http:// planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_ap05.pdf and 2011 Census http://censusindia.gov.in/
- 8. 2011 Decadal Census, GOI http://www.censusindia.gov.in/
- 9. See Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang in C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data of Arunachal Pradesh, 2011 Decadal Census, GOI at: http:// censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/cd_block.html
- 10. The population of the present administrative units namely Namsai, Chongkham, Lekang (Mahadevpur) and Namsai (NT) in Namsai district as recorded in the 2011 Census for Lohit district are taken as the total population of Namsai district http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/ population enumeration.html
- 11. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Lohit) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselisting-housing-Aurnachal Pradesh.html
- 12. District Census Handbook, Papumpare, Census of India 2011 http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1204_PART_B_DCHB_PAPUM%20PARE. pdf
- 13. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Papumpare) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselistinghousing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 14. See Population by Religious Community-2011, available at: http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/c-01.html
- 15. District Census Handbook Changlang, Census of India 2011 http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1209_PART_B_DCHB_CHANGLANG.pdf
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- 20. District Census Handbook, Lohit, Census of India 2011 http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1215_PART_B_DCHB_LOHIT.pdf
- 21. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Lohit) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselisting-housing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html

- 22. District Census Handbook Changlang, Census of India 2011 http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1209_PART_B_DCHB_CHANGLANG.pdf
- 23. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Changlang) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselistinghousing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 24. As per 2011 Decadal Census, the total population under 14 Doimukh (ST) constituency in Papumpare district is 60,021 persons, of which 42,373 are STs. The rest are non-STs including Chakmas/Hajongs.
- 25. As per 2011 Decadal Census, the total population under 46 Chowkham (ST) A/C presently in Namsai district is 21,995 persons, of which 5,791 are STs. The rest are non-STs including Adivasis, Assamese, Deoris, Muslims, Chakmas etc. $http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/population_enumeration.\\$
- 26. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Lohit) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselisting-housing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 27. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Changlang) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselistinghousing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 28. As per 2011 Decadal Census, the total population under 50 Miao (ST) Constituency is 44,875 persons, of which 18,537 persons were STs. The rest are non-STs including Chakmas/Hajongs. See District Census Handbook Changlang Census of India 2011 at http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/ dchb/1209_PART_B_DCHB_CHANGLANG.pdf
- 29. District Census Handbook Changlang, Census of India 2011 http://www. $census india.gov. in/2011 census/dchb/1209_PART_B_DCHB_CHANGLANG.pdf$
- 30. See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Changlang) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselistinghousing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 31. 2011 Decadal Census as referred in 'Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013', Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, http://tribal.nic.in/ WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/StatisticalProfileofSTs2013.pdf
- 32. 2011 Decadal Census as referred in 'Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013', Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, http://tribal.nic.in/ WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/StatisticalProfileofSTs2013.pdf
- 33. 2011 Decadal Census as referred in 'Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013', Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, http://tribal.nic.in/ WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/StatisticalProfileofSTs2013.pdf
- 34. 2011 Decadal Census as referred in 'Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013', Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, http://tribal.nic.in/ WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/StatisticalProfileofSTs2013.pdf
- 35. 2011 Decadal Census as referred in 'Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013', Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, http://tribal.nic.in/ WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/StatisticalProfileofSTs2013.pdf
- 36. See Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang in C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data of Arunachal Pradesh, 2011 Decadal Census, GOI at: http:// censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/cd_block.html
- 37. See Guidelines and modalities for implementation of schemes on Tea Cultivation in the state, 17 July 2013, http://www.arunachalpradeshcm.in/ investarticle.php?displayid=VM-100005
- See Nitin Gadkari lays foundation stone of road projects in Arunachal Pradesh, The Economic Times, 30 April 2015, http://articles.economictimes. indiatimes.com/2015-04-30/news/61689274_1_union-minister-nitin-gadkarifoundation-stone-road-section
- 39. See Scrap 15 of 44 dams planned across Siang in Arunachal: CWC report, The Hindu, 17 February 2014, http://www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/energy-andenvironment/scrap-15-of-44-dams-planned-across-siang-in-arunachal-cwcreport/article5696890.ece
- 40. See Final PDF of Final Publication of Electoral Rolls 2015, Bordumsa-Diyum, available at: http://ceoarunachal.nic.in/electoralrollacwise.html
- Section 3 of the Citizenship Act provides "(1) Except as provided in sub-section (2), every person born in India,—a) on or after the 26th day of January, 1950. but before the 1st day of July, 1987; (b) on or after the 1st day of July, 1987, but before the commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003 and either of whose parents is a citizen of India at the time of his birth; (c) on or after the commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003, where-(i) both of his parents are citizens of India; or (ii) one of whose parents is a citizen of India and the other is not an illegal migrant at the time of his birth, shall be a citizen of India by birth.
- Counter affidavit of the Union of India in WP(C) No. 720 of 1995, National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh & Anr

- 43. See Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang in C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data of Arunachal Pradesh, 2011 Decadal Census, GOI at: http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/cd_block.html
- See Arunachal Pradesh Human Development Report 2005 available at: http:// planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_ap05.pdf and 2011 Census http://censusindia.gov.in/
- 45. Counter affidavit of the Union of India in WP(C) No. 720 of 1995, National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh & Anr
- Counter affidavit of the Union of India in WP(C) No. 720 of 1995, National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh & Anr
- 47. Counter affidavit of the Union of India in WP(C) No. 720 of 1995, National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh & Anr
- RTI Reply from Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Arunachal Pradesh dated 27th August 2009
- See Papumpare, Lohit and Changlang in C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data of Arunachal Pradesh, 2011 Decadal Census, GOI at: http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/cd_block.html
- See Arunachal police doing commendable job: State home minister,
 The Statesman, 9 October 2015, http://www.thestatesman.com/mobi/news/95740-story.html
- District Census Handbook Lohit, Census of India 2011 http://www.censusindia. gov.in/2011census/dchb/1215_PART_B_DCHB_LOHIT.pdf
- See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Lohit) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselisting-housing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- District Census Handbook, Papumpare, Census of India 2011 http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1204_PART_B_DCHB_PAPUM%20PARE. pdf
- See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Papumpare) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselisting-housing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 55. See Population by Religious Community-2011, available at: http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/c-01.html
- District Census Handbook Changlang, Census of India 2011 http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1209_PART_B_DCHB_CHANGLANG.pdf
- See C.D. Block Wise Primary Census Abstract Data (PCA) Arunachal Pradesh (Changlang) http://censusindia.gov.in/pca/cdb_pca_census/Houselisting-housing-Aurnachal_Pradesh.html
- 58. District Census Handbook Changlang, Census of India 2011 http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1209_PART_B_DCHB_CHANGLANG.pdf
- District Census Handbook, Papumpare, Census of India 2011 http://www. censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1204_PART_B_DCHB_PAPUM%20PARE. pdf
- 60. District Census Handbook, Lohit, Census of India 2011 http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1215_PART_B_DCHB_LOHIT.pdf

- See Arunachal Pradesh Human Development Report 2005 available at: http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_ap05.pdf and 2011 Census http://censusindia.gov.in/
- See Arunachal Pradesh Human Development Report 2005 available at: http:// planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_ap05.pdf and 2011 Census http://censusindia.gov.in/
- 63. Explanation: During 1964-69, a total of 14,888 Chakmas/Hajongs were migrated to Arunachal Pradesh. The average decadal growth rate of Chakmas/Hajongs is 23.03% from 1981 to 2001. If the average growth rate is taken into consideration, the estimated population of the Chakmas/Hajongs was around 15,574 persons (approx) in 1971 Census
- 64. Total population of Chakmas/Hajongs was 25,516 persons as per 1981 Census, Govt. of India. Therefore, 25,516 persons were subtracted from total non-tribal population of 1,90,672 persons
- 65. Total population of Chakmas/Hajongs was 32,216 persons as per 1991 Census, Govt. of India. Therefore, 32,216 persons were subtracted from total non-tribal population of 3,14,207 persons
- Total population of Chakmas/Hajongs was 39,920 persons as per 2001 Census, Govt. of India. Therefore, 39,920 persons were subtracted from total nontribal population of 3,89,810 persons
- 67. Total population of the Chakmas/Hajongs was 47,471 persons as per 2011 Census, Govt. of India. Therefore, 47,471 persons were subtracted from total non-tribal population of 4,31,906 persons
- See Final PDF of Final Publication of Electoral Rolls 2015, Bordumsa-Diyum, available at: http://ceoarunachal.nic.in/electoralrollacwise.html
- See Guidelines and modalities for implementation of schemes on Tea Cultivation in the state, 17 July 2013, http://www.arunachalpradeshcm.in/ investarticle.php?displayid=VM-100005
- 70. List of New Registration of Tea Estate during :from 01/01/1900 To 30/06/2010 by Tea Board of India, http://www.teaboard.gov.in/pdf/directory/Registered_Tea_Estate.pdf
- 71. See Final PDF of Final Publication of Electoral Rolls 2015, Bordumsa-Diyum, available at: http://ceoarunachal.nic.in/electoralrollacwise.html
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- See Nitin Gadkari lays foundation stone of road projects in Arunachal Pradesh, The Economic Times, 30 April 2015, http://articles.economictimes. indiatimes.com/2015-04-30/news/61689274_1_union-minister-nitin-gadkari-foundation-stone-road-section
- 74. See Arunachal Pradesh will earn Rs 445 crore annually from free power: Nabam Tuki, The Economic Times, 10 March 2015, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-03-10/news/59970421_1_power-developers-hydropower-east-electrical-power-corporation
- See Scrap 15 of 44 dams planned across Siang in Arunachal: CWC report, The Hindu, 17 February 2014, http://www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/energy-andenvironment/scrap-15-of-44-dams-planned-across-siang-in-arunachal-cwcreport/article5696890.ece