Dam and Development: A Case Study of Socio Economic and Political Dynamics in Mapithel, Manipur

Thesis submitted to
Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

HUIDROM RENUKA

Special Centre for the Study of North East India
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi – 110067, India

2019

उत्तर पूर्व भारत अध्ययन विशेष केंद्र
Special Centre for the Study of North East India
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली -110067 भारत New Delhi -110067 India
Phone: 091-11-26744786, Email: neispjnu@gmail.com

31.12.2019

DECLARATION

I, Huidrom Renuka hereby declare the thesis entitled **"Dam and Development: A Case Study of Socio Economic and Political Dynamics in Mapithel, Manipur"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or other university.

Huidrom Renuka

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.

31/12/19

Prof. Bhagat Oinam
(Chairperson, SCSNEI)

अध्यक्ष / Chairperson
उत्तर-पूर्व भा.त अध्ययन विशेष केंद्र
Special Centre for the Study of North East India
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली / New Delhi - 110067

Dr. Kh. Bijoykumar Singh
(Supervisor, SCSNEI)

सहायक प्राध्यापक / Assistant Professor
उत्तर-पूर्व भारत अध्ययन विशेष केंद्र
Special Centre for the Study of North East India
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली / New Delhi - 110067

. 

Dedicated to the affected villagers of Mapithel, Manipur

Acknowledgment

First and foremost, I would like to show my deep gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Khuraijam Bijoy kumar for his guidance and giving me freedom to explore myself in my Ph.D. research. His guidance helped me in writing this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor for my Ph.D. study.

Besides my advisor I would also like to show my gratitude to Dr. Amarjeet Sharma who is also a part of my Research Advisory Committee, who always encourage me to explore and interrogate the areas which has been explored yet. I am also thankful to our Chairperson, Prof. Bhagat Oinam, Rakee Ma'am for your motherly gesture.

Thank you Dr. Manjeet Baruah and Dr. Sir Lipok for your encouragement and suggestions. In the future if I get opportunity I will try to work with you.

I am also grateful to Asha Joshi for her help in all the official works and moral support and Mahinder.

My special gratitude to brother Jiten Yumnam of Centre for Research and Advocacy, Manipur for letting me assist in their field visits and consultation programmes organised at various places. Besides I would also thank CCDD, CORE Manipur and brother Manoj of Human Rights Initiative, brother Joy Aribam, Hanjabam Sukhadeva. A big thanks to Miss Leishichon Mungva for being my guide and translator during my field work and also to Ningshim Nakhedei for translating my questionnaires. Kaka I am showing my warm gratitude for helping me in refining the maps.

My sincere thanks to the family Mungva family, Sir Dominic and his wife, the headman of the Chadong village, the Jajo family of Riha village, Themson Jajo of Ramrei village, Kashung family of Thawai village, Mapithel valley who has provided me a warm accommodation each time I have visited in different village. I would also like to mention Pabung Thoiba of Tumukhong, women Meira Paibis of Tumukhong, the villager of Moirangpurel, Itham, Leirongthel.

I am also grateful to my Mother, my two younger brothers and my dog Dinging for having patience and taking all my frustration and continuously supporting me. Big thank you to Biku my little brother for the valuables images.

I am extremely thankful to Garima Baruah, Manjula, Oyendrila, Bhumika, Saurav without you all I would not have completed this thesis, thanks for your unfailing support and awake till late at night, which I cherished the most. Thanks to Anamika for your unfailing support for taking care of Bubu and Pratiba. A big gratitude to you my dear little roommate Leisuni for bearing my mood swing and bringing sunshine when I was going through rough phases.

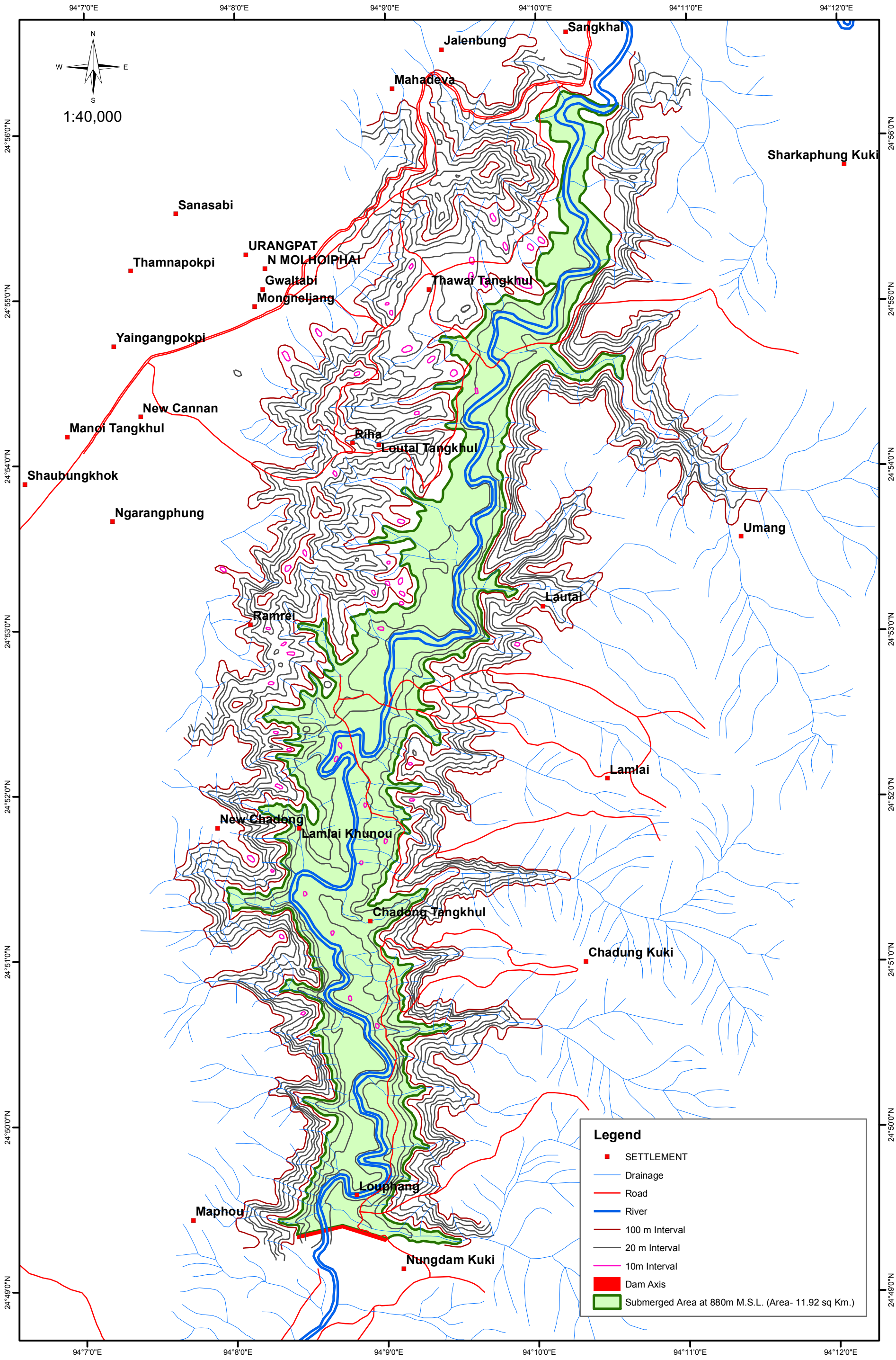
And to you all who have been supporting me for the past three, four weeks in taking care of my beloved dogs. In time of needs you all take turn to help me out, for your generosity and time I am always grateful.

Contents

Abbreviation list

1.	**AMUCO**	**All Manipur Union Club Organisation**
2.	**CCA**	**Cultural-able Command Area**
3.	**CCDD**	**Citizens Concerned for Dams and Development**
4.	**CCF**	**Chief Conservator of Forest**
5.	**CDSU**	**Churachandpur District Student's Union**
6.	**CORE**	**Centre of Organisation research and Organisation**
7.	**CPNRM**	**Committee on the Protection of Natural Resource in Manipur**
8.	**CPRs**	**Common Property Resources**
9.	**CRAM**	**Centre for Research Advocacy Manipur**
10.	**CSOs**	**Civil Society organizations**
11.	**DG**	**Director General (Forest)**
12.	**DPs/PAPs**	**Displaced People/Project Affected peoples**
13.	**EC**	**Environmental Clearance**
14.	**EIA**	**Environmental Impact Association**
15.	**ENVIS**	**Environment Information System**
16.	**FPIC**	**Free Provision and information Concerned**
17.	**FRA**	**Forest right Act**
18.	**IFCD**	**Irrigation Flood Control**
19.	**IFIs**	**International Financing Institutions**
20.	**MDACTO**	**Mapithal Dam Affected Ching-Tam (hill-valley) Organisation**
21.	**MDAVO**	**Mapithal Dam Affected Villages Organisation**
22.	**MDTRVMPAVC Affected**	**Mapithal Dam Thoubal River Valley Multipurpose Project**
23.	**MOA**	**Memorandum of Agreement**
24.	**MOATC**	**Memorandum of Agreed Terms and Condition**
25.	**MoEF**	**Ministry of Environment and Forest**
26.	**MoTA**	**Ministry of tribal Affairs**
27.	**MoU**	**Memorandum of Understanding**
28.	**NGOs**	**Non-Governmental Organisations**
29.	**NGT**	**National Green Tribunal**
30.	**NHPC**	**National Hydro Power Company**
31.	**NHRC**	**National Human Rights Commission**
32.	**PAP**	**People Affected by Projects**
33.	**R&R**	**Rehabilitation and Resettlement**
34.	**SoS**	**Suspensions of Orders**
35.	**THEP**	**Tipaimukh Hydroelectric Multipurpose Project**
36.	**TADA**	**Terrorist Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act**
37.	**UNRIP**	**United Nation's Declaration on the Rights Of Indigenous Peoples**

MAP OF THOUBAL MULTIPURPOSE PROJECT SHOWING SUBMERGED AREA AT 880M (MSL)



MAP OF THOUBAL RIVER CATCHMENT AREA (WATERSHED CODE:- 3D2A6b)

1:200,000

94°0'0"E 94°5'0"E 94°10'0"E 94°15'0"E 94°20'0"E 94°25'0"E

25°15'0"N 25°10'0"N 25°5'0"N 25°0'0"N 24°55'0"N 24°50'0"N 24°45'0"N 24°40'0"N 24°35'0"N

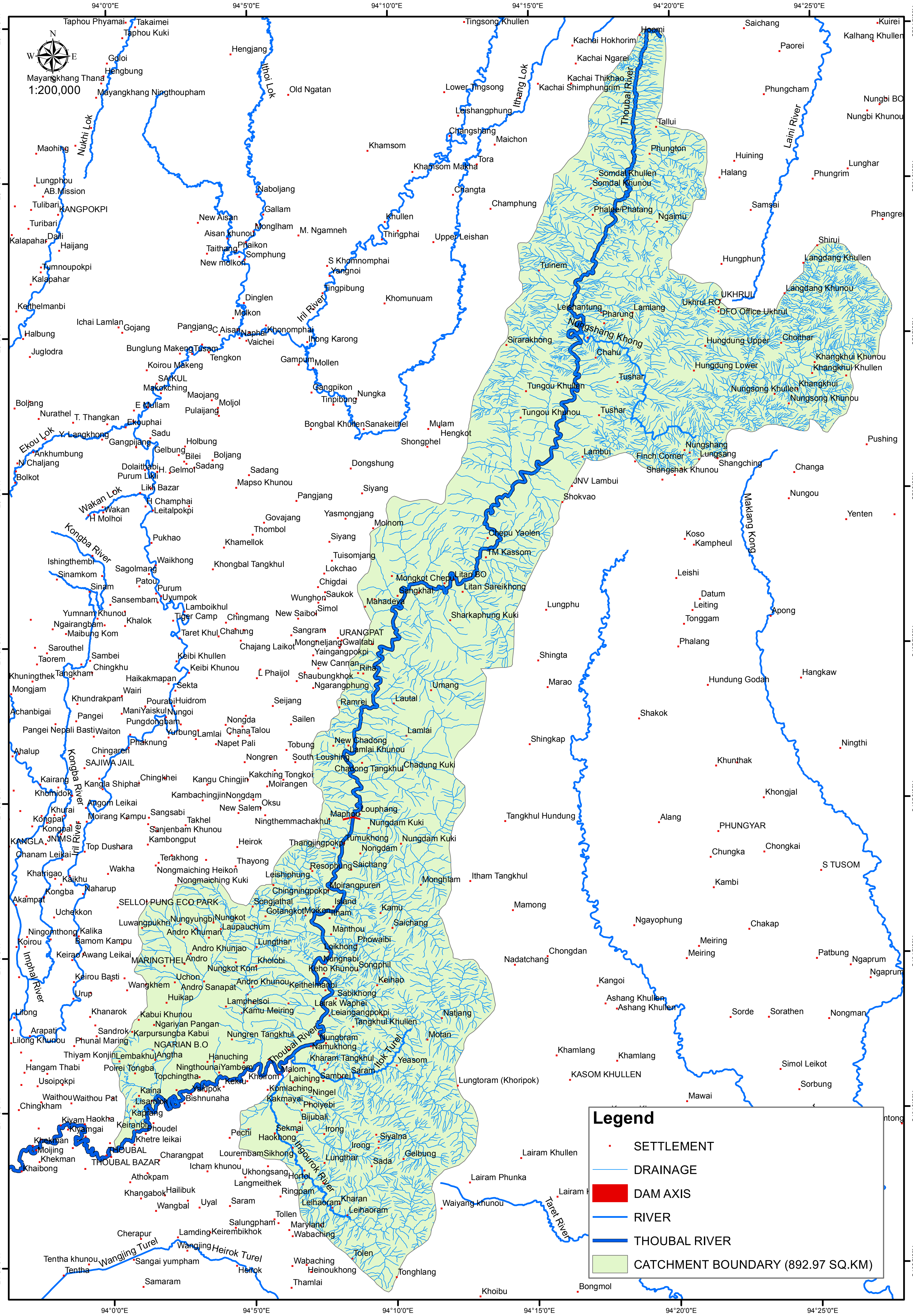
Nukhi Lok
Ithoi Lok
Ithang Lok
Iril River
Ekou Lok
Wakan Lok
Kongba River
Thoubal River
Laini River
Maklang Kong
Imphal River
Inggourok River
Taret River
Wangjing Turel
Heirok Turel

Hoomi
Kachai Hokhorim
Kachai Ngarei
Kachai Thikhao
Saichang
Paorei
Phungcham
Tallui
Phungton
Huining
Halang
Somdak Khunou
Phalee/Phatang
Ngaimu
Tuinem
Lamlang
Pharung
Lamlang Gate
Sirarakhong
Chahu
Tushar
Tungou Khullen
Tungou Khunou
Tushar
Lambui
JNV Lambui
Shokvao
Chepu Yaolen
TM Kassom
Litan BO
Litan Sareikhong
Mongkot Chepu
Sangkhai
Mahadeva
Sharkaphung Kuki
Sanasabi
URANGPAT
Mongneljang
Gwaltabi
New Cannan
Riha
Shaubungkhok
Ngarangphung
Umang
Ramrei
Lautal
Sailen
Lamlai
Tobung
New Chadong
Chingnungkok
Lamlai Khunou
Happy Land
South Loushing
Chadung Kuki
Moirangen
Tongkoi
Oksu
Maphou
Ningthemmachakhut
Nungdam Kuki
Tumukhong
Thangjingpokpi
Nongdam
Resophung
Saichang
Chingningpokpi
Leishiphung
Moirangpuren
Songjathal
Island
Kamu
Teraphai
Moikon Itham
Gotangkot
Manthou
Phowaibi
Lungthar
Loikhong
Nungkot Kom
Kholobi
Nungnabi
Songphil
Keho Khunou
Andro Khunou
Keithelmanbi
Sabikhong
Lamphelsoi
Kamu Meiring
Leirak Waphei
Leiangangpokpi
Nungbram
Nungren Tangkhul
Namukhong
NGARIAN B.O
Lembakhul
Angtha
Hanuching
Nungaipokpi
Poirei Tongba
Ningthounai
Yambem
Malom
Chandrakhong
Sambrei
Laiching
Kekru
Yairipok
Phungdong Thangkhul
Kaina
Bishnunaha
Waithou
Chingkham
Waithou Pat
Lisamlok
Kaprang
Kiyam
Haokha
Phoudel
Khekman
Khetre leikai
Moijing
THOUBAL
Khekman
THOUBAL BAZAR
Khaibong
Thoubal Ningombam

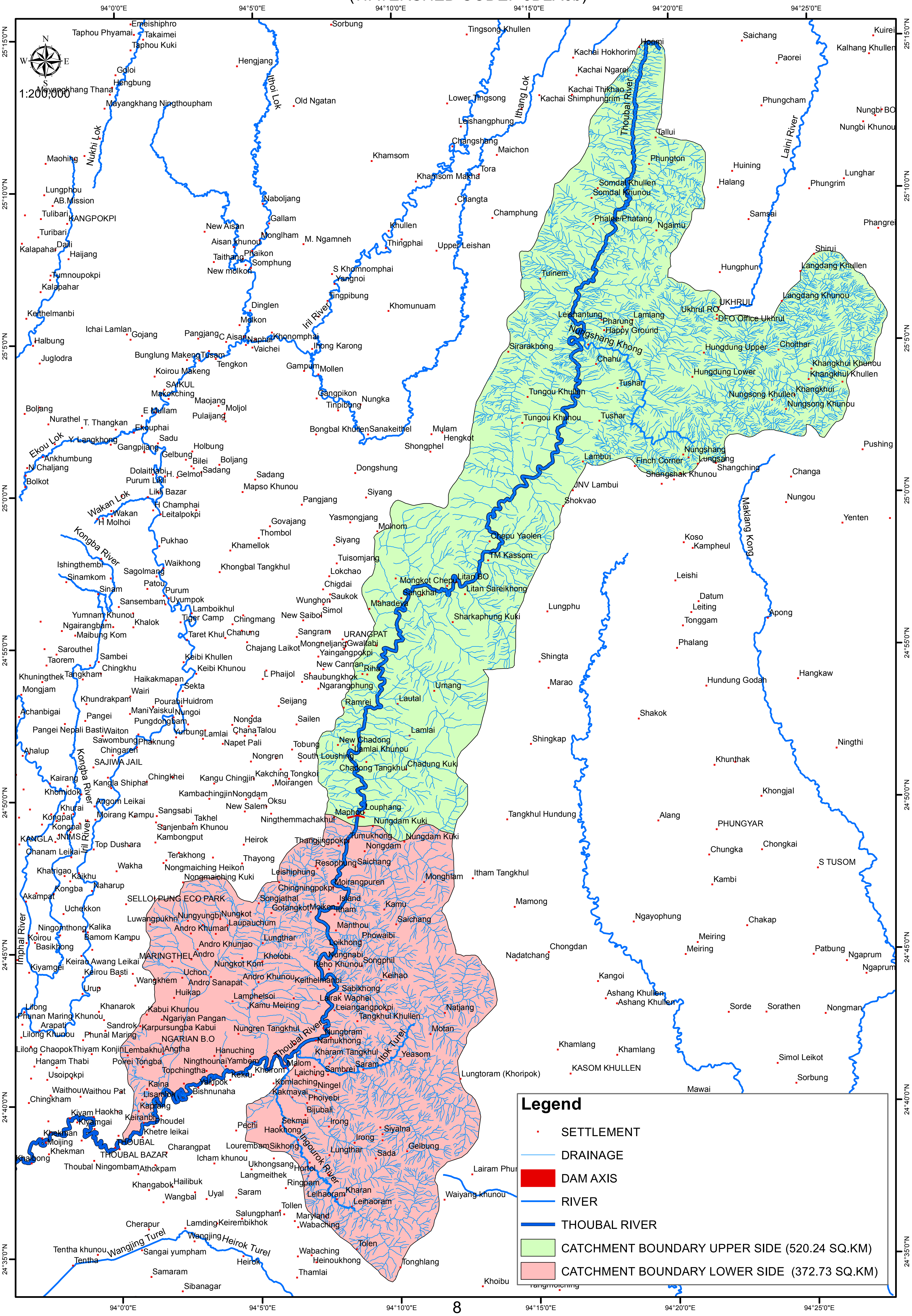
Legend

- SETTLEMENT
- DRAINAGE
- DAM AXIS
- RIVER
- THOUBAL RIVER
- CATCHMENT BOUNDARY (892.97 SQ.KM)

MAP OF THOUBAL RIVER CATCHMENT AREA (WATERSHED CODE:- 3D2A6b)


94°0'0"E
94°5'0"E
94°10'0"E
94°15'0"E
94°20'0"E
94°25'0"E
25°15'0"N
25°10'0"N
25°5'0"N
25°0'0"N
24°55'0"N
24°50'0"N
24°45'0"N
24°40'0"N
24°35'0"N
N
E
W
1:200,000
Legend
SETTLEMENT
DRAINAGE
DAM AXIS
RIVER
THOUBAL RIVER
CATCHMENT BOUNDARY (892.97 SQ.KM)
Thoubal River
Nungshang Khong
Laini River
Ithang Lok
Ithoi Lok
Nukhi Lok
Iril River
Ekou Lok
Wakan Lok
Kongba River
Maklang Kong
Imphal River
Itok Turel
Ingourok River
Taret River
Wangjing Turel
Heirok Turel
Taphou Phyamai
Takaimei
Taphou Kuki
Goloi
Hengbung
Mayangkhang Thana
Mayangkhang Ningthoupham
Hengjang
Old Ngatan
Tingsong Khullen
Lower Tingsong
Leishangphung
Changshang
Maichon
Tora
Khamsom
Khamsom Makha
Changta
Champhung
Upper Leishan
Kachai Hokhorim
Kachai Ngarei
Kachai Thikhao
Kachai Shimphungrim
Hoomi
Tallui
Phungton
Somdal Khullen
Somdal Khunou
Phalee/Phatang
Ngaimu
Tuinem
Leishantung
Pharung
Lamlang
Sirarakhong
Chahu
Tushar
Tungou Khullen
Tungou Khunou
Lambui
Finch Corner
Nungshang
Lungsang
Shangching
Shangshak Khunou
JNV Lambui
Shokvao
Saichang
Paorei
Kuirei
Kalhang Khullen
Phungcham
Nungbi BO
Nungbi Khunou
Huining
Halang
Lunghar
Phungrim
Samsai
Phangrei
Shirui
Langdang Khullen
Hungphun
Langdang Khunou
UKHRUL
Ukhrul RO
DFO Office Ukhrul
Hungdung Upper
Choithar
Hungdung Lower
Khangkhui Khunou
Khangkhul Khullen
Khangkhui
Nungsong Khullen
Nungsong Khunou
Pushing
Changa
Nungou
Yenten
Koso
Kampheul
Leishi
Datum
Leiting
Tonggam
Apong
Phalang
Hangkaw
Hundung Godah
Shakok
Ningthi
Khunthak
Khongjal
Alang
PHUNGYAR
Chungka
Chongkai
S TUSOM
Kambi
Ngayophung
Chakap
Meiring
Meiring
Patbung
Ngaprum
Ngaprum
Kangoi
Ashang Khullen
Ashang Khullen
Sorde
Sorathen
Nongman
Khamlang
Khamlang
Simol Leikot
KASOM KHULLEN
Sorbung
Mawai
Lungtoram (Khoripok)
Lairam Khullen
Lairam Phunka
Waiyang khunou
Khoibu
Bongmol
Chepu Yaolen
TM Kassom
Mongkot Chepu
Litan BO
Litan Sareikhong
Sangkhai
Mahadeva
Sharkaphung Kuki
Lungphu
Shingta
Marao
Shingkap
Tangkhul Hundung
Itham Tangkhul
Mamong
Nadatchang
Chongdan
Natjang
Motan
Yeasom
Umang
Lautal
Lamlai
Chadung Kuki
Nungdam Kuki
Monghlam
Maohing
Lungphou
AB.Mission
Tulibari
KANGPOKPI
Turibari
Kalapahar
Daili
Haijang
Tumnoupokpi
Kalapahar
Keithelmanbi
Halbung
Juglodra
Ichai Lamlan
Gojang
Pangjang
C Aisan
Naphai
Khonomphai
Vaichei
Ihong Karong
Bunglung Makeng
Tusam
Tengkon
Gampum
Mollen
Koirou Makeng
SAIKUL
Makokching
Maojang
Moljol
Pulaijang
E Mullam
Gangpikon
Tinpibung
Nungka
Bongbal Khullen
Sanakeithel
Mulam
Hengkot
Shongphel
Naboljang
Gallam
New Aisan
Monglham
Aisan khunou
M. Ngamneh
Phaikon
Taithang
Somphung
New molkon
S Khomnomphai
Yangnoi
Tingpibung
Khullen
Thingphai
Khomunuam
Dinglen
Molkon
Boljang
Nurathel
T. Thangkan
Ekouphai
Y. Langkhong
Sadu
Gangpijang
Holbung
Gelbung
Bilei
Boljang
Ankhumbung
N Chaljang
Bolkot
Dolaithabi
H. Gelmol
Sadang
Purum Likli
Sadang
Mapso Khunou
Dongshung
Likli Bazar
H Champhai
Leitalpokpi
Wakan
H Molhoi
Pangjang
Siyang
Govajang
Yasmongjang
Thombol
Molnom
Pukhao
Khamellok
Siyang
Ishingthembi
Waikhong
Khongbal Tangkhul
Tuisomjang
Sinamkom
Sagolmang
Lokchao
Patou
Sinam
Purum
Chigdai
Sansembam
Uyumpok
Wunghon
Saukok
Lamboikhul
Yumnam Khunou
Tiger Camp
Chingmang
New Saibol
Simol
Ngairangbam
Khalok
Maibung Kom
Taret Khul
Chahung
Sangram
URANGPAT
Mongneljang
Gwaltabi
Chajang Laikot
Sarouthel
Yaingangpokpi
Sambei
Keibi Khullen
Taorem
New Cannan
Chingkhu
Keibi Khunou
Riha
Khuningthek
Tangkham
L Phaijol
Shaubungkhok
Haikakmapan
Sekta
Ngarangphung
Mongjam
Wairi
Khundrakpam
Pourabi
Huidrom
Seijang
Ramrei
Achanbigai
ManiYaiskul
Nungoi
Pangei
Pungdongbam
Nongda
Sailen
Pangei Nepali Basti
Waiton
Yurbung
Lamlai
Chana
Talou
Phaknung
Napet Pali
Tobung
New Chadong
Ahalup
Chingaren
Lamlai Khunou
SAJIWA JAIL
Nongren
South Loushing
Chadong Tangkhul
Kairang
Kangla Shiphai
Chingkhei
Kangu Chingjin
Kakching Tongkoi
Moirangen
Khomidok
KambachingjinNongdam
Angom Leikai
Oksu
New Salem
Khurai
Sangsabi
Kongpal
Moirang Kampu
Takhel
Ningthemmachakhul
Maphou
Louphang
Kongpal
Sanjenbam Khunou
KANGLA
JNIMS
Kambongput
Top Dushara
Heirok
Thangjingpokpi
Tumukhong
Nongdam
Chanam Leikai
Terakhong
Thayong
Resophung
Saichang
Khatrigao
Wakha
Nongmaiching Heikon
Leishiphung
Kaikhu
Nongmaiching Kuki
Kongba
Naharup
Moirangpuren
Chingningpokpi
Akampat
SELLOI PUNG ECO PARK
Songjathal
Island
Kamu
Uchekkon
Gotangkot
Moikon
Itham
Nungyungbi
Nungkot
Luwangpukhri
Laupauchum
Saichang
Manthou
Andro Khuman
Ningomthong
Kalika
Phowaibi
Koirou
Bamom Kampu
Lungthar
Loikhong
Andro Khunjao
Keirao Awang Leikai
MARINGTHEL
Andro
Kholobi
Nungnabi
Nungkot Kom
Songphil
Keho Khunou
Keirou Basti
Uchon
Keihao
Wangkhem
Andro Khunou
Keithelmanbi
Andro Sanapat
Urup
Sabikhong
Huikap
Lamphelsoi
Lairak Waphei
Kamu Meiring
Lilong
Khanarok
Leiangangpokpi
Kabui Khunou
Tangkhul Khullen
Ngariyan Pangan
Arapati
Sandrok
Karpursungba Kabui
Nungren Tangkhul
Nungbram
Lilong Khunou
Phunal Maring
NGARIAN B.O
Namukhong
Thiyam Konjin
Lembakhul
Angtha
Hanuching
Kharam Tangkhul
Hangam Thabi
Poirei Tongba
Ningthounai
Yambem
Malom
Saram
Topchingtha
Khoirom
Laiching
Sambrei
Usoipokpi
Kekru
Komlaching
Ningel
Kaina
Vairipok
Waithou
Waithou Pat
Lisamlok
Bishnunaha
Kakmayai
Phoiyebi
Chingkham
Kaprang
Bijubali
Kiyam
Haokha
Keiranbi
Phoudel
Sekmai
Irong
Kiyamgai
Pechi
Haokhong
Siyalna
Khekman
Khetre leikai
Irong
Moijing
THOUBAL
Lourembam
Sikhong
Lungthar
Gelbung
Khekman
Charangpat
Sada
Khaibong
THOUBAL BAZAR
Icham khunou
Ukhongsang
Athokpam
Hortol
Langmeithek
Khangabok
Hailibuk
Ringpam
Uyal
Saram
Leihaoram
Kharan
Wangbal
Leihaoram
Tollen
Salungpham
Maryland
Cherapur
Lamding
Keirembikhok
Wabaching
Wangjing
Tolen
Tentha khunou
Sangai yumpham
Wabaching
Tentha
Heirok
Heinoukhong
Tonghlang
Samaram
Thamlai

MAP OF THOUBAL RIVER SHOWING UPPER AND LOWER CATCHMENT AREA
(WATERSHED CODE:- 3D2A6b)



Introduction

Large dams are the epitome of modernisation. It has been used as part of nation's development strategy and significant percentage of public investment are undertaken in many countries. Dam construction has many benefits ranging from flood control, food production, irrigation, energy production, economic development, etc. Even though dams have enormous benefits, its significance varies from region to region. The discourse about dams is overwhelmingly complex. It is complex because the issues are not about confined to the design, construction and operation of dams themselves, but embrace the range of social, environmental and political choices on which the human aspiration to development and improved wellbeing depends.

Dams are fundamentally altering rivers and the use of natural resources, frequently entailing a reallocation of benefits from local riparian users to new groups of beneficiaries at a regional or national level. At the heart of the Dams debate are issues of equity, governance, justice, livelihood, sustainability, environment and power issues that undertake the many intractable problems faced by humanity.

There is no undoubtedly, benefited from the services dams has provided so far, their construction and operation have led to many significant, negative social and human impacts. The adversely affected populations include directly displaced families, host communities where families are settled and riverine communities, especially those downstream as well as upper streams of dams, whose livelihood

and access to resources are affected in varying degrees by altered river flows and eco-system fragmentation.

Within India itself, the growing, population of the development induced displacement population and the environmental refugees are created by the so called 'Temple of Modern India'. Despite the tall name attached to it, the official literatures on dams and other water development projects, that is to say the literature put out by the dam building projects.

So many works have been done so far on the Dam and its related issues like displacement and degradation of eco system. However, most of such works are predominantly report of the NGOs in nature. Therefore, actual research works are lacking in the Dam and its issues related to both development as well as other negative impacts on the people. Therefore, the present work is an attempt to look at the policy and programme for development of Dam as a component for development as well other interrelated issues of displacement of people and environmental issues. Thus looking at the political economy of dam and development in North-East India is also one of the main objectives of this research work. As North East states have lost of high flow of rivers, most of the Dams in North East were planned not only for flood control and irrigation but to tape the water potential for hydel power. Sometimes more than one or more Dams are planned to be constructed one after another in one river. Therefore, government is also not hesitated to invest for the dam as they expect long term in return from hydel power. At the same time can use for irrigation as well as flood control. Thus one single dam can benefit the agricultural purpose for the local

people at the same time produced power can be used in other parts for different purposes. Thus the argument and rationality put for the purpose of Dam is always legitimized from Government side.

On the other hand, construction of large dam surely affect the surrounding environment thus affect the eco-system of the region in large. As a result, there is the displacement of people either directly in the case of affected area or indirectly due to changing eco-system and habitat. This further affects the socio-economic life of the displaced people on one way and the host community on the other way.[1] Thus dam not only give the irrigation and other agricultural facilities but it is also a process of nationalizing land and local water resources which is at the cost of affected people's socio-economic life and environment. This is what we are looking through the concept of political economy of dam.

Thus the present research work not only looking at the issue of displacement in large but it also will access at the kind of development that a dam provided. Of course it has both positive and negative impacts. Thus, the intension of this research work is to study the very policy and process of constructing dam in North East India by taking the case of a particular dam – Mapithel or The Thoubal Multipurpose Project. For that it also need to focus on the micro study of (a) displacement and process of rehabilitation of the affected people (b) changing

[1] Manipur is inhabited by numerous ethnic communities who inhabit in their respective ethnic territory. Thus displacement of the people either directly affected or as ecological refuge has certainly a great negative impact further. First, there has been a long historical ethnic conflict and tension already thus one's encroachment to another territory is the source of ethnic tension surely. As long as the displaced people become the subordinate of the host community, there is no or less tension. Thus, development of the displaced people is not easy way as they have to be dependents always if they want to live harmoniously with the host community. Thus dam while producing power supply to be used in other parts of the country, it makes displace persons refuges and dependents of other always.

pattern of livelihood, occupation and social institution of the Mapithel area (c) inter and intra community relationship in the Mapithel areas (d) the role of state, civil society and village authorities in the politics of Dam.

Issues and Problems of Dams in North East:

In the context of modernization, construction of big dams and highways are considered as part of development. India is one of the leading countries which never got exhausted in building mega dams and projects and opening the door steps for multinational companies and other private agencies. Such huge constructions often come at the cost of various tribes and indigenous communities and therefore lead to destruction of mankind.

Dams (in general) in India and elsewhere in the world are projected in the public interests with their objectives of providing water and power generation, road development, employment plans etc. however, seldom they are transformed into reality (eg. Mapithel, Sardar Sarovar Dam, etc.). Instead how such developmental projects which include large scale land acquisition and forest diversions, without even consulting or taking consent of the forest communities put their livelihood at stake (For Example, displacement with no effective Resettlement and Rehabilitation). And perhaps it is the reason why these communities are pressing the government for recognition of their rights or at least provide proper compensation that can secure them an alternative source of livelihood. While we all agree both material and social cost of such development project the latter is always ignored at it is not possible to fully compensate the social cost of Dam.

Here my argument is to why development projects are anti-people or why people fighting for their rights are tagged anti-development? In the larger context, such

kind of large scale developments have immense impact on the very essence of our socio-cultural and climatic changes. And such major impact has further consequence on the socio-economic and political dynamic in the context of North Eastern India where there is strong sense of ethnic identity and its contestation for land, resources and separate homeland for any minority. Therefore, while there are the issues of Dam and Displacement in general it has other specific issues related to ethnicity and enter-group relationship in the context of North East India. Therefore, primary objective of the study is to explore the specific issues and problem related to Dam and Development in North East India. The study of Dam, development and socio-economic and political dynamic in North East India will be an additional literature of this research work. Thus the present proposed synopsis intends to critically examine various specific issues of Dam and Development in North East India in addition to the common issues of Dam and displacement.

Statement of the problem:

Construction of dams is often debated as a complex as well as a simple matter. It is complex because dams are not just about design, construction or its operation, but also its impacts to the social, environment and political surroundings. Stories of dams are multifaceted, few known and many hidden. In the name of development, its construction are often welcomed and openly initiated by various government and non-government agencies while the negative impacts on the local inhabitants are largely ignored.

However, mega structures such as big dams cannot be built without first researching on their effects to local culture and livelihood and in nature. Because in the name of development many indigenous people have been displaced from their original land and such displacements have deprived them from resources, economy, health, and also led to loss of their own identity and culture as well. In the name of development many people have been forced to migrate from one place to another.

Most of the indigenous people of Northeast India depend on agricultural activities and farming is one of the most important activities where they generate their income and their livelihood, fishing, collecting woods etc. So when they leave their land they also have to leave behind their land resources from where they earn their livelihoods. Forest land is also part of their culture, tradition and religion for some of the tribal communities as they are animist. Destroying them or leaving them is the last they could think of.

In the larger context, such kind of large scale developments have immense impact on the very essence of our socio-climatic changes. Environmental change will be there by default but in addition to that it will further create various other impacts, such as health related problems to the surrounding areas, large scale bio diversity loss, conflicts between ethnic groups over displacement issues, etc[2].

The developmental work or projects taking place in the North-East India have to be analysed within the ethnic context as well. We all know that the North-east

[2] Wangkheirakpam, Ramananda, "Dams and Discontents: The case study of the floating population of loktak lake" M.Phil. dissertation.

region of India itself has been constituted by the various ethnic and sub-ethnic groups. Ethnicity is often identified with the ideas of primordialism based on descent, race, kinship, territory, language, history, etc. It is also related to the memory of a golden age which is closely linked to a sense of collective destiny. Ethnicity is defines as "The sense of collective belonging to a named community of common myths or origin and shared memories, associated with a historical homeland"[3]. Ethnicity also refers to some form of group identity related to a group of persons who accept and define themselves by a consciousness of common descent or origin, shared historical memories and connections[4]. Ethnicity can be classified into two groups instrumental ethnicity which emanates from material deprivation and symbolic ethnicity based on one's anxiety to preserve one's cultural identity[5].

Ethnicity entails a subjective belief in common ancestry. Ethnic membership is based on group identity and often identities would be invented or constructed. Ethnicity is often considered as the outward expression of discrimination – discrimination in access to resources and opportunities[6].

The North-East India is also often described as the cultural mosaic of India consisting of diverse tribal communities, linguistic, and ethnic identities. Often these identities transcend the territorial and social boundaries drawn by the Indian

[3] Smith, Anthony D, Smith, Anthony D, Myths and Memories of the Nation, Oxford University Press, Oxford. 1999.
[4] Scudder, Thayer, The Future of Large Dams: Dealing with social, environmental, institutional and political cost, Routledge , U.S.A, 2006.
[5] Noyoo, Wdanga (2000), "Ethnicity and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa", Journal of Social Development in Africa, Vol. 15, No.2, July.2000
[6] Bijukumar,V , "Social Exclusion and Ethnicity of North East India" : The NEHU Journal, Vol XI, No. 2, July 2013, pp. 19-35

state and the larger community respectively. The region is also very rich in bio-diversity and natural resources. In the recent years, there have been various discoveries of new species in this region. This also includes large mammals such as primates, which is rare in today's age and is an indication of potential for future discoveries. Regarding the flora, high levels of endemic species have been discovered. And also the people leaving or surrounding such exceptionally rich biodiversity areas are very much close to nature. Most of the ethnic groups who are now following Christianity or Hindu or any other religions were once animist or commonly known as nature worshipers and have their own space. But when change takes place in the name of development they started losing their ethnic identity. Such as in the case of dam constructions, when they have to be displaced from their ancestral land to some other unknown place they leave behind their identity, memories, cultural attachments, etc. Above these, such displaced communities or ethnic groups are forced to settle together with other groups with whom they have no attachments or belongingness. This results in ethnic clashes between such ethnic groups as they have different believes and different rule of law. Communities cannot be brought in together forcefully. They can only be naturally assimilated or integrated. There are also fights between different ethnic communities regarding the funds and facilities provided at the times of displacements, and as always, here also the poor would be deprived of their benefits.

Displacement causes psychological trauma due to the serving of cultural and religious links with ancestral surrounds. The forced abandonment of one's ancestral home is always traumatic and cannot be fully compensated for by a new

house or a new environment as it will take many years to adapt. The forced change of occupation resulting from displacement can be a source of significant trauma as people are forced to adopt a profession that they are not trained or suited for. The change in climate, water, food and sanitary conditions etc. rehabilitation sites come up near existing settlements, causing tensions and conflicts between the host community and the displaced person.

Any infrastructural development carried out in this region such as road, highways and communication between centre and periphery on one hand and village to village on the other hand is nothing but a camouflage of development used by the governing body of the state to keep an account on security and avail free arm movement without any disturbances. It can be questioned why only from the 1970s by constituting a separate Ministry of North East India and North East Council but not earlier that such developments are framed? One reason can be India Government's strategy to build diplomatic relationship towards the East Asian side but not particularly to the North-East India. Therefore, such developments are meant for maintaining a better relation with other South East neighbouring countries or to compete with the rising China. Such development policies with hidden motives often led to encroachment of the resources of indigenous people living in the margin or border areas. Above that, the consent of those people living in that particular region were not even asked.

Thus the developmental policies initiated in the North-eastern region of India are particularly framed for the purpose of national security in the long run instead of looking at the benefits of the people of that region.

Despite of people's agitation against projects such as Khuga Dam and Loktak Hydro Electric project, the state government went ahead with the concern project. The voices of the people remain unheard and their movement were often suppressed with different tactics, One such tactics was heavy militarization deployment of the particular area. In an area which is infamously known for mushrooming of insurgent groups, having many militarised areas are in a way of helping the government while in monitoring the insurgency.

The Mapithel/Maphou/Thoubal River Multipurpose Dam in Ukhrul district, Manipur has causes adverse consequences to the local population as well as the environment. With the onset of monsoon, large tracts of paddy fields have been inundated and villages have begun to submerge on account of Mapithel Dam on Thoubal River. Chadong village is one among the 16 villages that will soon be totally submerged or affected.[7] Chadong village has been cut off as the only road (bridge) connection is submerged under water. The only means of conveyance are boats. Chadong village, known for its soil fertility and its bountiful granaries is considered the "rice bowl"of Ukhrul district.

On 10 January 2015, the Mapithel Dam water-gates were shut down and incessant rains recently (since the month of June 2015) drastically increased the water level of the dam thereby posing threat to the surrounding villages. The rising water level of Mapithel Dam has increased and has gradually submerged both cultivable land as well as human habitats.

> *The protestors resorted to sloganeering and demanded, 'Don't evict us by force,' 'review Mapithel Dam first, constructs later' The*

[7] Yumnam, Jiten, CRAM Report, 2014

protestor said that they will fight to ensure their rights and safeguard their ancestral land. Chadong village chief lamented, 'In the name of development, the government has cut off the livelihood of the villagers and we are dependent on the seasonal products of the forest and the river resources—we are losing all our traditional ownership rights over our resources'. The Naga and Kuki tribals have inhabited the Mapithel Dam site for the past generations. They are agricultural communities practicing jhum cultivation and wet rice cultivation near the river bed. Besides they also depend on forest and fishing for their livelihood. The river and surrounding forest land has been an intrinsic part of their socio-economic and cultural life.[8]

Once commissioned, the project will displace over 12,000 people (16 villages) while an estimated 777.34 hectares of paddy fields, 110.75 hectares of homestead, 293.53 hectares of jhum land and 595.1 hectares of forest land are expected to be submerged by the dam. The construction will also have multiple impacts on the villages in the downstream areas of the dam site along the Thoubal river. Most of the village communities in the downstream have been living by fishing, collecting sand and stone from the Thoubal River. The construction will lead to water shortage, affecting agriculture and allied activities both in the upstream and the

[8] Kipgen, Ngamjahao, "Dissenting Voices from the Margins", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 50, Issue No.39, 26 Sept, 2015

downstream areas, threatening the food sovereignty of the communities depend on the land, forest and river[9].

Yet another controversial construction is of famous Tipaimukh Dam. Its construction has been protested by the indigenous Hmar and Zeliangrong communities, as it would lead to mass displacement and destructions. The construction of this dam will also submerge various historical and legendary sites with vital spiritual and cultural significance to the indigenous Hmar people and lead to destruction of rich biodiversity which is threatening the peoples' right to life and livelihood (Ranjan 2003, Arora and Kipgen 2012)[10]. The proposed 1500 MW Tipaimukh Dam will involve felling down of 27,000 hectares of forest and cutting of 7.8 million trees. The GOM, however, has decided to go ahead with the project at any cost without consultation of the general public.

Large dams continue to have deep impact on indigenous people and ethnic minorities of Northeast India. Their experience with dam projects is rife with alienation, dispossession both from their land and other resources, lack of compensation or inadequate compensation, and human rights abuse. Laws which are meant to protect their rights are weak or not adequately implemented. Procedural and conceptual failures in project planning and resettlement and rehabilitation have had serious impact on the lives of the indigenous people. They have full rights not to be forcibly removed from their lands or territories and no relocation should take place without their free, prior and informed consent[11].

[9] "Maphithel Dam Construction Infringes Human Rights Of Affected", Kangla Online, accessed on Feb 4, 2015

[10]. Tipaimukh Dam Plan And Uncertainties In Manipur , October 2014, Centre for Research and Advocacy , Manipur.

[11] CRAM, Report (Yumnam, Jiten)2014.

However, the present synopsis tends to look at various issues of development, dams and its impacts. Even though things are almost similar in many cases of big dam, when it comes to implementation of such huge projects in North Eastern region of India deeper understanding is required. The government has failed to recognise the already existing conflicts between different ethnic groups before relocating them, therefore this process of development further aggravate tensions between different ethnic groups. With this research an attempt will be made to study the ethnic conflict in the region and check the re-dressal mechanisms of the displaced group. Further the policies followed by the state government during the whole process need also be checked and verified.

Review of literatures:

Much has been debated on the issues of dams and its related development issues on and off. One of the highly controversial Sardar Sarovar Dam and people's movements against its construction has gained much attention from around the globe and the debate is still going one this issue. Most of the scholars have been looking through the perspectives of development but there is a conflict due to the scarcity of the resources in the context of North East which needs to be highlight in the purpose research. Therefore, I have categorised three components that can be interlinked in the purpose study.

The foundation of this study is based on an extensive survey on existing literatures on the subject matter of this study. This survey is an attempt to draw the theoretical linkages between the trends of large dam (hydro power project operation) and its issues within the parameter of developmental perspectives and

complexities. There are already numerous literatures on the concept of development and its dimensions. Many theories have been put up and debated with much attention from different disciplinary circle of intellectuals. Still the fruits are not being yielded enough with satisfaction against the interests invested on it. Due to vastness of complexity and difficulties to define the term itself, the meaning and strategy of development have been still a centre of attraction to have an investigation. Besides, there is a huge debate on development induced displacement which is not a new to us. Each year numerous uncountable population are being displaced in the name of development and most of them are poor indigenous people around the world.

1.Dams and Developments:

In general, we are quite aware of the issues of displacement caused by the new big dam project. These issues have been highlighted again and again for instance the famous Narmada issued which has been meticulously dissected in the book of Amita Vabiskar's *In the Belly of The River*, the paper written by *Neeraj Vagholikar & Partha J. Das* entitled *The large dams*, argues that juggernaut promises to be the biggest 'development' intervention in this ecologically and geologically fragile, seismically active and culturally sensitive region in the coming days. With the growing demands for irrigation, and urban-industrial requirements for power generation and water supply, the large-scale dam construction has failed to sufficiently take into account the social and environmental costs incurred in its wake. They have also point out that one of the most critical and contentious issues associated with large dam projects have been

the impact on livelihoods and culture of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities. McCully[12] argues that all over the world, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities constitute the largest proportion of people who have lost their livelihoods to large dams. At the same time the ideas of E.F.Schumacher in his book *Small is Beautiful* (1973) helps in promoting smaller, locally controlled production schemes as working more effectively can be effectively utilizing.

In Hanna Werner's book The Politics of Dams*: Developmental Perspectives and Social Critique in Modern India* have discussed elaborately about the anti-Tehri dam movement and the people's protests that it surrounded in the Garhwal hills, set within the framework of the development debates in colonial and independent India. Except for a period immediately after the Uttarakhand floods of June 2013, the country has stopped taking cognisance of dam-related conflicts. Even the proposed Polavaram dam in Andhra Pradesh, which would result in the inundation of 276 villages and affect more than 100,000 people, has not found much media and public attention. In this juncture, Werner's well-researched has shed light on the debates that dam projects continue to generate in Uttarakhand. There are similar conflicts in many parts across the world.

In Jacques Leslie's book entitled *Deep Water: The Epic Struggles over Dams, Displaced People, and the Environment*, argues that the struggle for control over water is 'one of the great looming subjects of the twenty-first century.' He has focus on three individuals who are connected in one way or the other in the dam building process. One is an Indian activist who has long been battling the Indian

[12] Scudder, Thayer, The Future of Large Dams: Dealing with social, environmental, institutional and political cost, Routledge , U.S.A, 2006.

government's program to build a huge dam, one of the world's largest, on the Narmada River; the dam, Sardar Sarovar, is 'a block so massive that its construction would be noteworthy even if it weren't bisecting a riverbed, holding back a seasonally torrential river,' and though China's Three Gorges Dam has earned much more publicity, Sardar Sarovar is likely to be as life-altering for those who will be displaced by it. The second of Leslie's subjects is a developmental anthropologist who has been tracking just those dislocating effects on the peoples of southern Africa, while the third is an Australian water-project manager whose vexing task has been to balance conflicting demands to convert the Murray River into an engine of economic growth and to keep the river healthy. Each subject, and each river, has much to say, but the more compelling parts of Leslie's story are broader-reaching observations offered without much elaboration: for instance, that 70 percent of the dams built in recent years should not have gone up, and that once a dam has gone up it's difficult to get it down, particularly if 'its sediment is laced with pesticides, fertilizer, or tailings; release that stuff, and watch the river wither.'

In *Dams and Development: Transnational Struggles for Water and Power* by Sanjeev Khagram, he thoroughly investigates the growing struggle of people locally and transnational resistance and also how their involvement in (anti)dam development has transformed the dynamics, processes, and language of the political economy of development. He focuses on India's Narmada Projects, because they are commonly thought of as the ultimate symbols of development: leviathan structures, visions of economic progress, modernization embodied. Khagram constructs an intense historical analysis that marks the trajectory of big

dam development and illustrates how its proponents and opponents have both shaped and been shaped by it. While his analysis focuses broadly on social actors—local and transnationally—that rally against the destruction of dams, Khagram is essentially interested in the larger structural machinations that contribute to the successes and downfalls of these so-called development projects.

The book *Big Dams, Displaced People: Rivers of Sorrow Rivers of Change by Enakshi Ganguli Thukral* focuses mainly on the people affected and displaced by the dams and other development projects. It has a rich compilation of various dam constructions across the country and how building numbers of dam can bring the weightage of human displacement than the benefit given by these dams.

In the *Belly of the River* by Amita *Bhaviskar*, she gives an account of the lives of Bhilala adivasis particularly in the Narmada valley who were fighting against displacement by the Sardar Sarovar project in Western part of India. It highlights important issues in regard to understanding and analysing struggles for natural resources and environmental movements and also the discourses on development and environment issues. The ten chapters in the book distinctively take us to different perspectives in understanding river dam constructions. The first chapter address the issue of inter-subjectivity making explicit connection between the ideology and research methods. In the second chapter, titled National Development, Poverty and Environment the author makes rapid forays into global environmental problems, poverty in India. The Gandhi-Nehru debate was on different including the trajectory of development, the political economy of large

irrigation projects, the class character of the Indian state, ecological Marxism, new social movements and other such issues.

So, *Monirul Hussain* in his *Interrogating Development* emphasizes that development is fundamentally about reorganizing space. All development has the potential of causing displacement. It has been estimated that infrastructural development programmes displaced around 10 million people every year in developing countries, for instance, Narmada Dams in India. Population density keep on increasing and every new major infrastructural programme requires space inhabited or otherwise used. According to him displacement is not just an economic transition, substituting property with monetary compensation; it also involves 'resettlement' and requires true 'rehabilitation'.

The author beautifully highlights the on-going development encounter between the development giver and a large section of development taker in a situation of dialogic vacuum. He also highlights how the people of the region expected development in bringing about significant improvement in their living condition. They expect their well-being to be the essence of development during the post-colonial period.

India has fundamentally adopted the capitalist path of development. India's quest for modernization remained within the broad framework of capitalist development. But significant numbers of people have gradually refused to become silent sufferers of the ill effects of development and most of them are raising their voices collectively to counter development plan which go against their interest and existence.

2.Displacement:

The available literatures on displacement mostly talk about internal displacement caused by the conflicts due to the ethnic, ideological, cultural and religious differences among the people of North-East India. Fernandes, Barbora, Ranjan, Bharali, Riba, Gailangam , Sethajit, Hussain and Das provides contrasting perspectives on what is often considered a simple answer to displacement, and views the phenomenon as a logical culmination of a package of policies initiated and undertaken in the region, particularly in the age of globalization development induced displacement. Displacement from home or places of habitual residence is often the culmination of a long process of depletion and erosion of critical life bearing resources, displacement from work place, loss of livelihood and slow submergence of cultivable as a riverbank erosion.

The comprehensive studies made by Fernandes and Barbora treats the problem of the region in a larger comparative perspective; it establishes a direct correlation between gradual loss of livelihood and consequent population displacement which need further study thoroughly. The case studies display rare insight, human rights sensitivity and commitment which require further more studies to understand thoroughly.

3.Ethnicity:

Bhaumik Subir, *Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's North-East",* highlights how the evolution of the North-East and the perpetual crisis in the region since independence. As per the author, the reason behind most of these conflicts

occurred mainly due to the ethnic, ideological, cultural and religious differences among the people of North-East India".

Beyond Counter Insurgency: Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India, edited by Sanjib Baruah This work consists of articles by prominent scholars from North-East India on issues concerning the North-East India. This volume discusses on the wide ranging issues such as insurgency, India's policy, democracy, ethnic conflict, migrations, gender, environment, etc. Altogether these compiled essays present a new way of looking at the issues and rethinking on the existing solutions.

Thongkholal Houkip in his book, *India's Look East Policy and the Northeast*, tries to showcase how the Look East Policy or in the present context Act East Policy has emerged as a major thrust of India's foreign policy in this globalized era. Since the very launched of this policy in 1991 to renew the political contacts, increase its economic integration and strengthen political understandings among the Southeast Asian countries.

India's Look East policy, which identifies North-East India as the gateway to the East, is one such major initiative undertaken by the Government of India. One direction that holds out much promise as a new way of development is political integration with the rest of India and economic integration with the rest of Asia, particularly with East and Southeast Asia.

Taking into account its geographical proximity, its historical and cultural linkage with Southeast Asia and China, the primary objective of the Look East Policy was

laid out. It is being widely stated that the Look East policy would result in the rapid development of the region with increased trade relations and may have potentials for solving the problems of various difficulties going on at present. On the other hand, there is a pessimism that the policy of integrating North-East India with its Eastern counterparts would lead to dumping of cheap foreign goods and the region's own industries being affected by it.

Tiplut Nongbri has also addressed some of the issues that are of enduring interest in the social sciences. There are three major themes; development, ethnicity and gender around which the essays revolve. Here the author focuses on some of the subjects that are peripheral to the mainstream research. The key issues are the protracted debated on indigenous peoples, the effect of development and environmental degradation on tribes on the linkages between them, state intervention on natural resource management and the link between ethnicity, matrilineal and the area that has remained unexplored so far.

In most of the literature on the underdevelopment of the region concerns with either economic and political factors but an in-depth of ground reality of the issues of underdevelopment are often ignored. The present work is an attempt to understand the intricacy of the problem of underdevelopment from a sociological view point and as maintained initially, the work aims to look at the problem in the line of centre-periphery model or dependency theory. In this context the major area of concern is of the indigenous peoples and ethnic minority's loss or gains from dam projects. The social, economic and political status of such minorities restricts their capacity to assert their interest and rights in land and natural

resources, restricts their role in decision making that affects them, and prevents or excludes them from being represented[13].

Operational Definitions

Dams: Dam is used of high technology and material to control the flood or to provide irrigation at the same time it is used as a high technology to produce energy for industrial development and modernization.

Development: Development is a dominant discourse of western modernity. From sociological perspective development comes through modernization process in the society. However, in my thesis the term will be used as both positive and negative for socio economic development of the communities in North East.

Displacement: In this context people who have had to leave their community, villages, land or homes as result of a natural, technological or deliberate event like construction of dams and expansion of roads or drilling of oil and mines lead numbers of people migrate from one place to another.

Rehabilitation: In this context, to reinstate the affected people of the state or centre led development project forced to leave numbers of people to provide an accommodation or facilitate their necessary arrangement during the time of hardship.

Shifting of Occupation: It means change in occupation of the displaced people due to dam construction or any other projects in their natural habitat area. With

[13] Wangkheirakpam, Ramananda , Lessons from loktak , The Ecologist Asia, Vol. 11No. 1 January-March 2003, p.23

the change in location or place of stay, these displaced people are forced to settle in a completely different place and pick up any available job for their survival. Thus shifting of occupation here refers to forceful or compulsory change in one's occupation due to developmental policies carried out by state or central government.

Customary Rights: Customary rights are the rights which are based on the tribal customs from the generation passing over. The customary rights are different from the rights which are amended by the constitution of India government. That is the reason why there is always contradiction among the legal rights amends by the state or union government with any particular tribal customary rights. For instance, there is always a conflict between the Land Rights Act and the tribal people and also those people who are forest dwellers as their system is very different from the modern society. When it comes to the indigenous tribal people of Northeast each tribal have their own unique culture and customary rights.

Objective of the study:

1. To study the political economy of dam and development in North-East India.

2. To study dam, displacement and process of rehabilitation of the affected people.

3. To study the changing pattern of livelihood, occupation and social institution of the Mapithel people.

4. To study the inter and intra community relationship in the Mapithel area.

5. To study the impacts of dams in gender relationship.

6. To study the role of state and civil society in the politics of Dam.

Research Question:

1. What is the political economy of dam and development and how does it affect the existing socio economic and political life of North-East India?

2. How does the given rehabilitation process negotiate the social cost of dam and displacement?

3. How does the dam and development affect the livelihood of the community of Mapithel?

4. How does the new development project like dam affect the existing inter and intra-community and gender relationships in Mapithel?

5. What are the responses of the state and civil society in the politics of dam?

Research Methodology:

In this research the researcher has used descriptive as well as exploratory design. Exploration of the mentioned objectives requires both quantitative and qualitative data. Therefore both the primary and secondary data are employed. The study is designed for the qualitative research paradigm. For the secondary data, the existing literature related to given research areas, government policies, newspaper reports, and other available reports from civil society groups were used. Other

than these various published and unpublished government and non-government documents have also been used.

For the primary data collection an exclusive filed work was conducted. The study tried to capture the information regarding people's perception about dam and development on one hand and their struggle for survival in the new environment and habitat. Primary data has been collected with semi-structured interviews with stake holders most from the selected villages both from the upstream and downstream areas, civil society actors, and government officials. Field investigation has been conducted through unstructured questionnaire and informal interviews. For that five sites of upstream affected villages have been selected. And four sites of downstream villages have been selected. The reasons for the selection of the Mapithel Dam in Manipur are;

(a) it is one of the big projects formulated in Manipur which is on-going

(b) the construction of the dam is almost completed but yet to be commissioned, and

(c) the affected area is inhabited by various ethnic communities like Naga, Kuki and Meitei's.

The data for analysis were conducted through both structured and unstructured questionnaire and interview methods with participant observation made by the research to verify the truth. Both the upstream and the downstream people are affected in different ways which needs to be address differently as it cannot be compared in a same manner. For the upstream villagers the researchers have chosen those villages which has been partially of fully submerged by the dam reserviour and they have been completely displaced from their own land on the

other hand the villages which are chosen from the downstream affected areas are those mainly focus on the people relying completely on the riverbed of the Thoubal river. So within the selected four downstream villages the researcher has conducted close interviews as well as the focus group interview were also conducted. For instance, Thumukhong is an immediate village of the downstream of the project where the entire population is depending their livelihood on the river bed of the Thoubal river. People of this village are not just economically affected by the halt of river, their socio-political life are also destroyed.

As for the other remaining villages of the downstream interview has been conducted with those who are mainly confined to the sand mining and how it is affecting their women and children.

Chapterisation Scheme

Chapter: Political Economy of Dam and Development

This chapter will focus on the general theory of Dam and Development and its associated political economy. Thus, it will mainly deal with the general argument for both development and against development as it is at the socio-economic and environment and ecological cost people. Thus here it will not debate only the negative impacts of the Dam as it is also an attempt for urbanization and modernization. As we also have seen that government also made several rural schemes for distribution of power supply to each house and school in remote areas. Then question which can really ask here is who are really benefited from Dam?

Chapter: Development of Dam in North East India: Tribal laws and its policies

In this chapter attempt is being made critically analyse the policy and programme for construction of Dam since 1980s till date, their agenda like irrigation and power supply, assessment of impact, funding, power sharing, policy for resettlement and other compensation. The main question which is trying to answer is why most of the construction of dam is brought in the 80s but not before. Nut this chapter will focus only in the case of Manipur as example for development of North East.

Chapter: A case study of Mapithel Dam: Socio-political, economy and culture of the Mapithel Valley

This chapter will specially look at the various impacts of high dam in Manipur taking example from two dams by using primary data collected from the field. For that purpose comparison between the pre-dam and post dam situation will surely help to find out the real consequences. It also will focus on the issue of migration of large numbers of construction labours and its impact on local population as construction of any big dam takes 15 to 25 or even more years. Most importantly it will look at the issue of displacement, from a very relatively settle and sustainable occupation to various unsettle and unorganized sectors making them always dependent and ecological and environment refuge.

Chapter: Resistance and People's Movements

This chapter will dealt with the people's movement, form of mobilization, forms of protest, their demands and challenges.

Chapter Five: Government response and various forms of negotiations

This chapter will deal with different forms of government politics in the course of the policies, planning and implementation of Dam. It also will deal with various forms of responses to the people's movement. More importantly it also will look at the various forms of politics at the ground level, village level, ethnic level, role of Chiefs and village authorities and forms of their negotiations at various periods in the process of construction.

Chapter One

Political Economy of Dam and Its Discourse

This chapter will focus on the general theory of Dam and Development and it's associated with political economy. Thus, it will mainly deal with the general argument for both development and against development as it is at the socio-economic and environment and ecological cost of people. Here, it will not only debate the negative impacts of the Dam as it is also an attempt for urbanization and modernization. As we have seen how the government have made various schemes for distribution of water and power supply to each house and school in remote areas. Then question which can really ask here are how and who are really benefitting from large project like dams?

Worldwide, more than 45,000 major hydroelectric dams are projected to be more than 15 meters high with their reservoirs as large as a country's population. In the recent World Commission of Dam report, it is proposed that a total number of man-mad reservoirs, whether used for power harnessing, irrigation, water supply or other purposes, occupy large spaces. We collectively hold an estimated 5,000 cubic kilometers of water needed to increase sea levels by 13 millimetres[1] worldwide. China's huge Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River has created the third largest river in the world. In the initial years of the construction of dams many environmentalists as well as Dam engineers hailed them as a new clean form of renewable electricity generation. Other dams have also improved river navigation to control from the floods crisis and to supply water in many cities or

new irrigation projects to boost in the agricultural activities and food production. Nevertheless, as the negative sides were more apparent, the excitement of building large dam begins to decline slowly. Not just making more negative economically, socially and biologically than adding good to society. There's a long list of allegations against the big dam. The massive dams force people into unsatisfactory relocation systems, mostly the tribal groups that are already oppressed in highland areas. The large also interferes with the natural downstream water and slit flows that support fishing, fertilize soils, and irrigate crops. It also produces significant amounts of greenhouse gases; often hydroelectric plants can produce more gases than a fossil-fuel power plant with similar capacity that can pose a health hazard. And as they grow older and their reservoirs fill with silt, they do less and less good and face ever greater contract risks, and the coercive size of dam building has made them a favourite of dictatorial and corrupt regimes, as well as giving large multinational companies considerable power over national affairs. And they have caused significant ecological damage to wetlands, rivers and estuaries. Dams are a major cause of many of the world's wetlands being degraded. A recent study by the WWF of 91 dams in 30 counties identified 250 species, ranging from sturgeons and dolphins to birds like Siberian cranes that were directly affected by dam construction, a figure likely to be the tip of the iceberg[2]. .

One of the most contentious of all forms of development projects are massive hydroelectric dams. We were the subject of much criticism from the World Bank and other organizations for foreign funding. The discussion about the large dam is

[2] World Commission on Dams, 2000

often highly polarized. Supporters of massive hydroelectric projects point to a wide range of negative environmental and social effects, ranging from the loss of rare habitats to the displacement of vulnerable people. While those who support large dams note that their economically cheapest source of electricity is accessible, especially to large urban centres, they are a source of electricity generation, and most other power generation technologies also have significant adverse environmental effects impacts[3].

Most countries around the world rely on hydropower for a significant portion of their electricity. Rapid urbanization and continued population growth in developing countries such as India are boosting demand for power consumption. Hydro power remains a key ingredient in improving the lives of millions of poor people worldwide. Power planners are seeking to build more hydroelectric dams in many countries as they see promising, renewable electricity sources. For hydropower and irrigation, most large dams are installed. Dams produce nearly one-fifth of the world's electricity. Dams also provide flood control, supply cities with water, and can help navigate the river. In general, the critics of large dams believe that dams should be built only after all relevant project information has been made available to the public, the claims of project promoters are verified by experts in the field on the economic, environmental and social benefits and costs of projects, and when affected individuals agree that the project should be built only then they should continue with it. Dam's mainly large dam also becomes a symbol of pride in India and is even called the temple of the modern world. So

[3] ibid

who decides to make such a huge dam in the country and why build big dams and who profits from the major dam projects?

In this chapter we will try to find out the answers of the above questions as India is also running forefront in the building of large dam. Despites getting criticism from the various section yet the government is not content.

The trend of building large dams has continued to this day since the Nehruvian era as far as water resource development decisions are concerned. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi once said famously in 1986 when he spoke to a ministerial conference on irrigation, "*The situation today is that since 1951, 246 big surface irrigation projects have been initiated. Only 66 out of these have been complete; 181 are still under construction. Perhaps, we can safely say that almost no benefit has come to the people from these projects. For 16 years, we have poured out money. The people have got nothing back, no irrigation, no water, no increase in production, no help in their daily life*." Rajiv Gandhi was right said unfortunately, these brave words did not get translated into any effective action to counter the situation[4].

Mitigation strategies are often not fully implemented and are often necessarily insufficient. For a new hydroelectric project, the single most important environmental reduction measure is good site selection and guaranteeing that the proposed dam is largely advantageous in the first place.

In the following overview of typical adverse environmental impacts and associated mitigation options, it is important to bear in mind that all these forms

[4] Thakkar, Himanshu, Agenda on the politics of water, oct, 2005 issue.

of impacts can be either prevented or reduced by good selection of project sites. Some reservoirs permanently flood extensive natural habitats, extinguishing animal and plant species locally and even globally. Very large hydroelectric projects in the tropics are especially likely to cause extinction of species (although these losses are only widely recorded due to lack of scientific data). Riverine forests and other riparian habitats, which occur naturally only along rivers and streams, are particularly hard-hit. The terrestrial natural habitats lost to floods are typically much more important from a conservation point of view of biodiversity than the aquatic habitats created by the reservoir. The rare exception to this rule is that in dry areas, shallow reservoirs can provide a permanent oasis, often important to migratory waterfowl and other terrestrial and aquatic fauna. Throughout reservoir filling, the loss of terrestrial wildlife to drowning is an inevitable consequence of flooding of terrestrial natural habitats, although often viewed as a separate event. In order to compensate for the loss of natural habitats due to flooding of reservoirs or other project components (such as borrowing pits), one or more protected areas can be created and maintained under the project. If an existing area is only "on paper" protected, a useful project option is to reinforce the protection and management on the ground. Ideally, the protected area under the project should be of comparable or greater size and ecological quality to the project's lost natural area. Under the Natural Ecosystems Policy of the World Bank, hydroelectric and other projects should not be built where they would cause the significant destruction or deterioration of essential natural habitats that do not occur elsewhere (and therefore can not be adequately compensated).Although they may be useful for public relations purposes, wildlife

rescue efforts rarely succeed in restoring wild populations. Instead of drowning, the captured and relocated animals typically starve, are killed by competitors or predators, or fail to reproduce successfully, due to the limited carrying capacity of their new habitats. Wildlife rescue is most likely to be justified on conservation grounds if (a) the species rescued are globally threatened with extinction and (b) the relocation habitat is ecologically suitable and effectively protected. However, the money spent on rescue would usually do much more for wildlife conservation if it were invested in compensatory protected areas. The most effective way to minimize wildlife mortality in hydroelectric projects is to choose dam sites which minimize the wildlife habitat flooded.

Dams for Development:

Development schemes are developed and funded to promote local, national and regional development. Mega or large-scale hydropower dam projects are typically presented in the sense of generating more opportunities in the form of employment, narrowing the gap in energy equity and increasing water storage for irrigation, on paper attempting to promote a three-pillar approach to sustainable development. In fact, this decision-making process is largely dominated by economic rationals, often overshadowing and outweighing equally important negative factors critical to sustainable development for the environment, society and culture. This Policy Research Brief explores the intersection of green economic policy, access to water, energy and cultural rights, and challenges the prevailing concept that these objectives are innately complementary[5]. They may

[5] World Commission on Dam, 2000

be, but they can also be contradictory. With significant effort, planning, strategy and careful design, they can produce results which are successful and enduring.

The delicate balance between natural capital gains and social capital losses is at the core of the controversy over the building of dams for growth. At the heart of the discussion is that one good can be traded for another and that it is possible to achieve a reasonable balance between the two. This creates layers of acutely contested political issues as well as policy failures. In some cases, policies intended to help those affected by development schemes "can at best keep the victims poor and at worst push them below the poverty line"[6]

In the so-called developed world, which included countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada, Western Europe, the former Soviet Union and Japan, the building of large dams during the pre-1960 period was very important. Institutions such as the U.S. Reclamation Bureau and the U.S. Corps of Engineers are internationally known for their experience in planning and design. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in the United States was regarded with awe by the rest of the world for a considerable period. Also, during this period, the TVA was generally viewed through rose-coloured glasses and its weaknesses were not seriously considered, within either the United States or the rest of the world. Only its strengths were the subjects of adulation. A few countries such as India tried to duplicate the TVA experiences with its Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC). Not surprisingly, the DVC model did not work out as well for India, because of problems of technology transfer between the two countries which had different physical, technical, social, cultural, economic and institutional conditions, and

[6] Fernandes 2004

also because times and perceptions had changed during the intervening period between the construction of the TVA and DVC[7].

Many countries in Asia and Africa started to shed their colonial past during the post-1950 period. With their newly gained independence, their national development systems, which their colonial masters did not adequately take care of during centuries of European rule, were urgently accelerated. Progress and Large Dams intensified all of these countries ' social and economic progress became an immediate necessity to raise their people's living standards. Water was seen as an essential means of promoting these processes of growth. Because of the major contributions dams could make to national development processes, construction of large dams often became a symbol of nation-building national pride, and often contributed to national unity[8]. Thus, the most respected 1st Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, said that dams were the new temples of modern India. Not surprisingly, the Bhakra and Hirakud Dams in India, Volta Dam in Ghana, Kariba Dam in Zambia, and the Aswan Dam in Egypt were all considered to be the symbols of development and progress in the newly independent countries.

It is equally clear that through a myriad of paths, many of which are not yet fully known or understood, these dams have helped their national economies. Eminent leaders of that time including Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Ghana's Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah saw these large structures as symbols of post-colonial growth and colonial past shedding. By 1975, the United States, Canada and the Western European countries had essentially completed their programme

7

8

of construction of large dams. In addition, the best and most economic sites were already developed in these countries. The situation of course remained very different in the developing world, where many of the large water infrastructures could not be built for a variety of reasons. Thus, during the post-1975 period, the construction of large dams rarely occurred in the above-mentioned developed countries, the focus shifted completely to developing countries such as Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Turkey, etc., where progress was insufficient earlier[9]. Japan is one of the very few developed countries where large dams continued to be built during the post-1975 period.

Experiences: Once dams are built, the actual number of displaced persons often surpasses official estimates, making it more difficult to effectively implement proper resettlement schemes. This flawed policy analysis shifts the cost-benefit balance in terms of both the allocation of compensation to displaced persons and the distribution of any benefits that are provided to them as a result of the project. The 2000 World Commission on Dams report estimates that under-enumeration for these projects typically ranges between 2000 and 40,000 displaced persons. When it began, the Sardar Sarovar dam project in India had initial estimates of 39,700 displaced people[10], while the actual number when the dam is completed is expected to reach upwards of 320,000 (Lupine, 2007). Forced displacement for megaprojects serving the macro objective of providing potential services to millions of people has led to unrest in the form of protests by civil society and resulted in various forms of legal action. Stemming from this unrest, international development institutions, namely the World Bank and the International Union for

[9]

[10] World Commission on Dam, 2000

Conservation of Nature (IUCN), created the WCD in 1998. The Commission was mandated to "review the development effectiveness of large dams and assess alternatives for water resources and energy development" (WCD, 2000). It also sought to "develop internationally acceptable criteria including guidelines and standards for planning, design, appraisal, construction, operation, monitoring, and the decommissioning of dams" (WCD, 2000). Its recommendations highlight a greater need for both environmental and social justice in the building of dams as well as greater consideration and inclusion for those persons displaced by their construction. International practices on issues of hydropower still often focus on macro elements, separating economics from deeper social impacts. They additionally separate the social from the environmental and treat the social dimensions largely as reparative strategies rather than exercising anticipatory conflict- sensitive approaches to reduce, mitigate or eliminate risks. The inclusion of 'to-be' displaced persons in the earliest stages of dam project development and continuous consultations throughout the building of a dam project should be de rigueur. Such consultations may include, or be guided by, concerns relating to potential relocation sites, economic rehabilitation and timing of resettlement, to avoid the potential tendency whereby "representation by outside agencies, whether governmental or nongovernmental, can sometimes be based on mistaken assumptions and can feed on stereotypical notions of what [displaced persons] should feel or want, ignoring their actual preferences" (World Bank, 2004). Specifically, the World Bank policy on involuntary resettlement for displaced persons affected by dam construction requires that displaced persons somehow benefit from the project, and suggest that this might include:

● percentage shares of revenues generated by the project;

● provisions of irrigated land;

● electricity supply;

● preference in obtaining contracts to manage recreation or transportation facilities; and

● construction employment opportunities.

Each of these categories of benefits could be used persuasively to suggest that such projects are largely beneficial and promote local development directly targeted at displaced populations. Two important counter-arguments to this exist, however: first, the mandate of doing no further harm in implementing projects for development and, second, the social sustainability of these large-scale projects as a whole. Seven recommendations from the WCD suggest some of the ways in which issues of governance, the economy, society and natural resources need to be considered to serve the needs of target communities. In a post Rio +20 world, what is this epoch / period? renewed focus on cultural diversity and sustainability act as an impetus to getting these intersections and values right. As shown from development failures of the 1970s onward development is not congruent with economic development alone but rather acts as a means “to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence” (UNESCO, 2012). This is especially relevant for indigenous people whose culture is at the heart of their daily lives and activities. UNESCO further states that “through their spiritual relationship to the land and their holistic worldviews, indigenous peoples

offer a valuable pathway in the search for global visions of sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2012).

The Consequence:

Involuntary Displacement: Involuntary displacement of people is often the main adverse social impact of hydroelectric projects. It can also have important environmental implications, such as with the conversion of natural habitats to accommodate resettled rural populations.

The key mitigating mechanism for physical displacement is the resettlement of displaced people, including new housing, land for construction and other material assistance, as necessary. Success usually requires consultation and participatory decision-making by both resettled and host populations (resettlement-supported resettlement mandatory for ethnic World Bank). It is particularly challenging to resettle disadvantaged communities successfully because some of these people are highly vulnerable to adverse social changes. Accordingly, the Involuntary Resettlement and Indigenous Peoples Strategy of the World Bank gives these communities special consideration, stating that all viable alternative project designs should be explored before. For people who are not physically displaced but suffer an economic loss of livelihoods (based on fisheries, agricultural or grazing lands, river-edge clay for brick and tile production, or other resources), mitigation measures should involve the provision of replacement resources, new job training, or other income restoration assistance, as needed.

Deterioration of Water Quality:

The damming of rivers can cause serious water quality deterioration, due to the reduced oxygenation and dilution of pollutants by relatively stagnant reservoirs (compared to fast-flowing rivers), flooding of biomass (especially forests) and resulting underwater decay, and/or reservoir stratification (where deeper lake waters lack oxygen). Measures to reduce water pollution (such as sewage treatment plants or industrial enforcement) may be needed to improve the quality of water in the reservoir. Where the loss of flooded vegetation will result in poor water quality, selective forest clearance within the impoundment area should be undertaken prior to filling the reservoir.

Down River Hydrological Changes:

Large downriver hydrological changes can damage riparian habitats based on intermittent natural flooding, intensify low-flow water pollution, and increase intrusion of saltwater near river mouths. Reduced sediment and nutrient loads downriver from dams will increase river and coastal erosion and harm the rivers and estuaries ' biological and economic productivity. Induced desiccation of rivers below dams (when the water is diverted to another portion of the river or to a different river) kills fish and other fauna and flora dependent on the river; it can also damage agriculture and human water supplies. These adverse impacts can be minimized through careful management of water releases. The goals of maximizing water releases from reservoirs and spillways include sufficient downstream water supply for riparian habitats, reservoir and downstream fish conservation, reservoir and downstream water quality, vector control of aquatic

weeds and diseases, irrigation and other human water uses, downstream flood protection, recreation (such as white water boating) and, of course, power generation. From an ecological standpoint, the ideal water release pattern would usually closely mimic the natural flooding regime (although this may not be feasible for densely settled floodplains where flood protection is a high priority). Generally, dams generating base load electricity are more capable of replicating near-natural downriver flows than those producing peak power (where daily water releases can fluctuate dramatically, often to the detriment of aquatic organisms adapted to less frequent flow changes). Environmental management plans for hydroelectric projects should specify environmental water releases, including for dams owned or operated by the private sector.

Water-Related Diseases:

Some infectious diseases can spread around hydroelectric reservoirs, particularly in warm climates and densely populated areas. Some diseases (such as malaria and schistosomiasis) are borne by water-dependent disease vectors (mosquitoes and aquatic snails); others (such as dysentery, cholera, and hepatitis A) are spread by contaminated water, which frequently becomes worse in stagnant reservoirs than it was in fast-flowing rivers. Corresponding initiatives for public health will include prevention measures (such as education campaigns and window screens), surveillance of vectors and outbreaks of disease, vector control and, where necessary, clinical management of disease cases. Floating aquatic weed control near populated areas will reduce the risk of mosquito-borne disease.

Fish and Other Aquatic Life:

Hydroelectric projects often have major effects on fish and other aquatic life. Reservoirs positively affect certain fish species (and fisheries) by increasing the area of available aquatic habitat. However, the net impacts are often negative because (a) the dam blocks upriver fish migrations, while downriver passage through turbines or over spillways is often unsuccessful; (b) many rivers adapted fish and other aquatic species cannot survive in artificial lakes; (c) changes in downriver flow patterns adversely affect many species, and (d) water quality deterioration in or below reservoirs (usually low oxygen levels; sometimes gas super-saturation) kills fish and damages aquatic habitats. Freshwater molluscs, crustaceans, and other benthic organisms are even more sensitive to these changes than most fish species, due to their limited mobility. Management of water releases may be needed for the survival of certain fish species, in and below the reservoir. Fish passage facilities (fish ladders, elevators, or trap-and-truck operations) are intended to help migratory fish move upriver past a dam; they are usually of limited effectiveness for various reasons (including the difficulty of ensuring safe downriver passage for many adults and fry). Fish hatcheries can be useful in sustaining native species populations that can survive but not replicate successfully within the reservoir. They are also often used to store the reservoir with economically desired species, although it is often devastating to native species to introduce non-native fish and not ecologically desirable. Fishing regulation is often essential to maintain viable populations of commercially valuable species, especially in the waters immediately below a dam where

migratory fish species concentrate in high numbers and are unnaturally easy to catch.

Floating Aquatic Vegetation:

Floating aquatic vegetation can rapidly proliferate in eutrophic reservoirs, causing problems such as (a) degraded habitat for most species of fish and other aquatic life, (b) improved breeding grounds for mosquitoes and other nuisance species and disease vectors, (c) impeded navigation and swimming, (d) clogging of electro-mechanical equipment at dams, and (e) increased water loss from some reservoirs. Pollution control and pre-impoundment selective forest clearing will make reservoirs less conducive to aquatic weed growth. Physical removal or containment of floating aquatic weeds is effective but imposes a high and recurrent expense for large reservoirs. Where compatible with other objectives (power generation, fish survival, etc.), occasional drawdown of reservoir water levels may be used to kill aquatic weeds. Chemical poisoning of weeds or related insect pests requires much environmental caution and is usually best avoided[11].

Loss of Cultural Property:

Cultural property, including archeological, historical, paleontological, and religious sites and artifacts, may be flooded or destroyed by associated quarries, borrow pits, roads, or other works. Cultural interest structures and artifacts should be saved wherever possible by research collection, diligent physical relocation, and museum documentation and storage. Sometimes, however, it is not possible to replace the loss or damage to special or sacred sites that may be of great

[11]Argument for the vegetation is a must to mentioned here as part of overall process in the ecosystem.

religious or ritual significance to indigenous or other local people.Reservoir Sedimentation: Over time, river sedimentation decreases live storage and power generation, so much of the hydroelectric resources of some projects may not be sustainable in the long run. Watershed management can reduce sedimentation if successfully applied, and prolong the useful physical life of a reservoir by managing road construction, mining, agriculture, and other land use in the upper catchment area. Protected areas are sometimes established in upper catchments to reduce sediment flows into reservoirs, as with the Fortuna Dam in Panama and the proposed Rio Amoya (Colombia) and Nam Theun II (Laos) projects. Aside from watershed management, other sediment management techniques for hydroelectric reservoirs may at times be physically and economically feasible; they include, among others, upstream check structures, protecting dam outlets, reservoir flushing, mechanical removal, and increasing the dam's height.

Greenhouse Gases:

Greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide and methane) are released into the atmosphere from reservoirs that flood forests and other biomass, either slowly (as flooded organic matter decomposes) or rapidly (if the forest is cut and burned before reservoir filling). Greenhouse gasses are widely regarded as the main cause of global climate change induced by humans. Many reservoirs of hydroelectricity flood relatively small forests or other biomass. However, most hydro projects generate enough electricity to more than offset the greenhouse gases otherwise produced by burning fossil fuels (natural gas, fuel oil or coal) in power plants. However, some projects which flood extensive forest areas, such as the Balbina Dam in Amazonian Brazil, appear to emit greenhouse gases in greater amounts

than would be produced by burning natural gas for many years of comparable electricity generation. Greenhouse gas releases from reservoirs can be reduced by a thorough salvage of commercial timber and fuel wood, although frequently this does not happen because of (a) high extraction and transportation costs, (b) marketing constraints, or (c) political and economic pressures not to delay reservoir filling. The surest way to minimize greenhouse gas releases from reservoirs is to choose dam sites that minimize the flooding of land in general and forests in particular.

Access Roads:

New access roads to hydroelectric dams can induce major land use changes—particularly deforestation—with resulting loss of biodiversity, accelerated erosion, and other environmental problems. In some projects (such as Arun II in Nepal), the environmental impacts of access roads can greatly exceed those of the reservoir. The sitting of any new access roads should be in the least damaging areas, both physically and socially. Legal and on - the-ground protection should be provided to forests and other environmentally sensitive areas along the chosen road corridor. Road engineering should ensure proper drainage, to protect waterways and minimize erosion. Environmental rules for contractors (including penalties for noncompliance) should cover construction camp siting, gravel extraction, waste disposal, avoiding water pollution, worker behaviour (such as no hunting), and other construction practices.

Power Transmission Lines:

The right-of-way power transmission line also reduces and destroys forests; indirectly, by increasing physical access, they also promote more deforestation. In collisions with power lines, or by electrocution, large birds are sometimes killed. Power lines can also be unacceptable aesthetically. Power lines should be sited to minimize these concerns and built using good environmental practices (as with roads). In areas with concentrations of vulnerable bird species, the top (grounding) wire should be made more visible with plastic devices. Electrocution (mainly of large birds of prey) should be avoided through bird-friendly tower design and proper spacing of conducting wires.

Dams in North East India

India's North East region (NE) is located in the transition zone between the Indian, Indo- Malayan and Indo-Chinese bio-geographic regions and a meeting place of the Himalayan Mountain and Peninsular India. Each of the eight States of the region, namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura has rich presence of several endemics in flora as well as fauna. This region represents an important part of the Indo-Myanmar biodiversity hotspot, one of the 25 global biodiversity hotspots recognized currently. However, the NE region of India has been identified by the Central Government as the country's 'future powerhouse' and the Central Electricity Authority has identified potential for 168 large dams in the Northeast with an installed capacity of 63,328 MW.

The issue of cumulative impacts of dams has become a crucial issue with several dams in each river basin. For example, the late Nari Rustomji who served as Assam's chief secretary and Sikkim's Dewan had cautioned through his writings that Sikkim's development inputs needed to be within the region's absorptive ability. In 1998 the Expert Appraisal Committee (EAC) on River Valley and Hydroelectric projects appointed by the MoEF noted Rustomji's observations while examining a proposal for environmental clearance for the 510 MW Teesta V hydroelectric projects in Sikkim. Since this was one of the multiple large hydroelectric works in the ecologically and culturally sensitive Teesta river basin, the committee recommended a detailed study on the 'carrying capacity of the river basin before taking a decision. But the MoEF granted clearance to the project without such a study being completed in advance. However, none of the conditions for clearance to the project was that no other project in Sikkim will be considered for environmental clearance till the carrying capacity study is completed.

In spite of this self-imposed condition the MoEF subsequently granted environmental clearance to at least seven new hydroelectric projects before the carrying capacity study was finally completed in early 2008. The ministry has thus violated its own mandatory condition. Sikkimese civil society groups such as the Affected Citizens of Teesta (ACT) are disappointed that a golden opportunity has been lost. There was hope that the carrying capacity study process would enable a comprehensive assessment of cumulative impacts of the many proposed hydroelectric projects and a serious options assessment for ecologically and culturally sensitive development in the Teesta river basin. But the MoEF has

continued granting clearance to one project after another without seriously examining the issue in a holistic manner as per its own mandated condition. After completion of the study in 2008, however, the MoEF had declared certain areas in North Sikkim in the Teesta river basin as 'no-go' areas for dams. But this condition too has been recommended for dilution by the EAC in early 2010, threatening to open up the last free-flowing stretches of the Teesta in Sikkim for more dams. In fact, the National Environmental Appellate Authority (NEAA) 12, a special environmental court, in an April 2007 order has also observed that it feels the need for "advance cumulative study of series of different dams coming on any river so as to assess the optimum capacity of the water resource giving due consideration to the requirement of the Human beings, Cattle, Ecology/ Environment etc." However, this order has been repeatedly violated by the MoEF. Even though river basin level studies have been prescribed for some river basins such as the Bichom and Lohit in Arunachal Pradesh, these have been de-linked from clearances to be granted to individual projects. Therefore, project clearance can continue business as usual, without completion of cumulative studies, making it a cosmetic exercise. In December 2008, the Standing Committee of the National Board for Wildlife (NBWL) has relaxed a condition restricting the construction of dams in the upstream areas of the Subansiri river, imposed earlier while granting clearance in May 2003 to the 2,000 MW Lower Subansiri hydroelectric project coming up on the Arunachal Pradesh-Assam border. This relaxation has happened without consultations in Assam, located downstream, and ignoring a demand by some members of the committee to first get an understanding of the cumulative impacts of 22 large hydel projects which can potentially come up in the Subansiri

river basin, once the restriction has been lifted. The Inter- Ministerial Group set-up to give recommendations for accelerating hydropower development in the Northeast has, in its 2010 report, specifically recommended that MoEF not hold up environmental clearances pending completion of cumulative impact assessment studies, thus rendering the entire exercise futile While the EAC in its September 2010 meeting has finally expressed an opinion that a cumulative downstream impact assessment does indeed require to be carried out in Assam to study the impacts of multiple projects in the Brahmaputra river basin, it is silent on the need to halt environmental clearances of individual projects until such a study is completed.

In Manipur the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) had called a Global Invitation for Identification of Prospective Consultant / Firms for Securing and Sale of VER for Renovation and Modernization (R&M) of Loktak Power Station on 3 September 2010. The invitation is for identification of a foreign and Indian consultation firm and consultants primarily with firms administered by private sector, bilateral or Multilateral Firms/ Independent Organizations & Consultants dealing with CDM activities and with the broad scope of work to Secure & Sale of VER for Renovation and Modernization (R&M) of Loktak Power Station. The Terms & Conditions of the services to be provided by the bidders includes for

i) PDD Development, ii) Validation services, iii) Monitoring Support, iv) Verification services and v) VER Selling Support. The NHPC has maintained that as of August 30, 2011, no consultant has so far been identified to prepare PDD for renovation and modernization of Loktak Power Station and since consultancy

contract has not been awarded, no validation process has taken place. The construction of Loktak Multipurpose Hydro Electric Project was taken up by the Ministry of Irrigation and Power in 1971 and was commissioned by the Government of India in 1983 with the National Hydro Electric Power Corporation (NHPC) executing the project. The Ithai Dam or barrage was constructed in the downstream of Manipur River (Imphal River) as a part of the Loktak Multipurpose Hydro Electric Project, to maintain sufficient water volume in the Loktak Lake by converting it into a reservoir for maintenance of the project, which was installed to generate 105 MW of power by 3 units (each producing 35 MW) and to provide Lift irrigation facilities for 24,000 hectares of land. In fact, the Imphal River is the only outlet of draining water from the central valley of Manipur, regulating the fragile ecosystem of this valley, which is part of the Chindwin-Irrawaddy basin of Burma.

It will be double injustice and disregard of the indigenous peoples of Manipur if the NHPC proceeds with its preparation to seek carbon credits from CDM of UNFCCC in the name of renovation of Loktak Power Project. The company has been refusing to adhere to the repeated calls and demands of the community affected by its 105 MW Loktak HEP project in Manipur, concerning rehabilitation and resettlement, decommissioning of Ithai Barrage and restoration of Loktak Wetlands Ecosystem etc. NHPC has remained unaccountable to the devastations and violation of human rights in Manipur.

Chapter Two

Development of Dam in North East: Tribal land laws and its policies

Introduction

The chapter attempts to critically analyse the government policies on various rights which are related with dam project and the people of Northeast India especially on dams in Manipur. The land rights act, the forest right acts and the role of gram sabha, the tribal customary laws and tribal body which contradicts from the government laws and how the indigenous people of Northeast has to let go their traditional lands in the name of Development. With the economic liberalization, globalization is gradually taking over the standard unit of development wild wide. Many International Institutions and market forces are also overtaking the role of the state due to free trade agreements, the conventional agents of development. The chapter largely deals in the case of Manipur as example for development of North East.

India is among one of the leading countries who have maximum building of Dams projects. Each time there is a dam building there is always displacement occurring in the project areas. And the people who are mostly affected by the dams projects are those who are forest dwellers, tribal and the indigenous communities. In India alone displaced around 21 million to 40 million people during 1950-2000[1]. According to an estimate made by Indian Social Institute (ISI) out of 21.3 million persons displaced by different development projects in India as much as 76.99 per

[1] Taneja and Thakkar, 2000

cent belonged to dam projects[2]. So far most of the human displacements were caused by the development projects. Among all these development projects, the main human displacement was caused by the large dam projects therefore, which leads into displacement and more human rights violation in compare with other development projects in India. This is the reason why construction of large dam projects is strongly opposed by people. For, instance, the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam project was stopped by grass root movement in India[3]. However, displaced people are neither against anti-Dam project nor anti-development initiatives taken by the government. All they want is the projects must go ahead without ignoring their consent and violating their dependency rights to use the river, forest and the hills. But here only lies, the selected construction site that is causing severe environment degradation. However, Land Acquisition Act (LA), 1894 empowers the government to acquire land in the lieu of public purpose or in sake of national urgency without taking into account the approval of the locals.

According to government definition, the Land Acquisition act is a procedure by which the central government or a state government of India can obtain private land for development projects, industrialization, infrastructural facilities factories or urbanisation of private lands while generally providing compensation to the affected land owners.

However, the Planning Commission Report states, 'the amendment of LA Act, 1894 in 1984 also could not resolve these nagging problems. In case of LA Act, 1894, only government could acquire land but following its amendment in 1984,

[2] Robinson, 2003
[3] Ramanathan, 2008, Sangvi, 2002, Morse and Berger, 1992.

both public and private sector agencies can also acquire lands. It has clearly shows that except some visible compensation mechanism, the provision of resettlement and rehabilitation for displaced people were neither seriously implemented nor taken into consideration in India. There has been national policy over the decades in the country but the national level initiatives like National Rehabilitation & Resettlement Policy 2007 could not go beyond its top down authoritarian approach of central government. In this context, the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2 013 passed by the Parliament though seems to be resolving many problems of land acquisition with rehabilitation and resettlement mechanism but was severely criticised by the political parties and media all over India"[4].

In India, water resource development works before 1947 generally dealt with creating 'diversion to small earth dams not exceeding 15 to 20 metres in height, mainly in the form of small tanks and bunds with localised networks of canals. In fact, before Independence, in India there were only 30 dams within the height of 30 metres or more'[5]. But most of it required extensive and sophisticated modes of water harvesting, at times huge number of canal systems while using 'creative application of indigenous technologies'[6].

After the independence, tapping of rivers and harnessing water resources for irrigation and power became the priority for the policymakers in their zest for development of the country. As a result, in favour of large dams the old methods

[4] Government of India, Report 2013.
[5] Central Board of Irrigation and Power 1979
[6] Planning Commission Report

of harvesting waters start abandoning. In a post-colonial nation like India, mega dams became the symbol of the reviving the already tattered economy[7]. The Bhakra, the Hirakud, the Tungabhadra and the Damodar Valley Dams known as the largest storage dams were the initial projects undertaken following India's Independence. For hydropower generation, projects involving the construction of high dams such as the 'Machkund, Pykara and the Kundah hydro-electric projects'[8]. In the urge to build large dam after another, the protection of the affected people were ignored. Moreover, the Land acquisition act enabled the government to take over the land so easily by compensating in the form of rehabilitation and resettlement of the affected people without enquiring much about how it has been affecting to the people both physically and mentally.

Since its initiation, it was clearly visible that mega projects especially the hydraulic projects (that requires large-scale submergence for reservoirs) will generate major displacement or forced uprooting of communities. However, in view of national interests, policymakers and political leaders considered these creations of dams as legitimate and inevitable costs of development. This sentiment was echoed by India's first Prime Minister who while laying the foundation-stone for India's first major river valley project, the Hirakud Dam in Orissa in 1948 said to the about to be displaced populace, ''If you have to suffer, you should do so in the interest of the country''[9]. Later again after 36 years then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in a letter to one of India's most respected social workers, Baba Amte echoed the similar sentiments. "She wrote: I am most

[7] ibid
[8] World Commission on Dam, 2000
[9] Roy, Arundhati, 1999

unhappy that development projects displace tribal people from their habitat, especially as project authorities do not always take care to properly rehabilitate the affected population. But sometimes there is no alternative and we have to go ahead in the larger interest"[10]. Ironically, since Independence, there is not a single trustworthy official statistics available of the numbers of people displaced by large projects. 'Many researchers place their estimates between 10 and 25 million. In an influential 1989 study, Fernandes, Das and Rao provide an estimate of some 21 million displaced persons'[11].

The Northeast India is known not just only for its conflicts but also diverse culture and home of multiple ethnic and sub ethnic communities. Since Independence, Northeast populace have constantly perceived identity based conflicts while simultaneously dealing with the 'economic and cultural crisis'. People are caught in the interface between modernisation and their traditions which is quite intake among the people of Northeast which has impacted on the tribe's. In the Northeast region, tribes run their civil affairs in accordance with their community based customary law. However, according to the tribal people, the individual based land law of India has been 'superimposed' on them. And due to this unlikely imposition, tribes have been demanding recognition of their customary law. Though it has been recognised through constitutional amendments in Nagaland and Mizoram but Manipur is still devoid of this recognition.

[10] Kothari, Ashis 1996:1476
[11] See, Fernandes, 1991.

The community ownership tradition has not remained unchanged but has been modified over time. Even when their customary law is recognised, the elite among them tend to interpret it in their own favour.

Land Laws and Tribal Communities

In Northeast of India, land and customary laws are interlinked to tribal identity. As for the tribal communities of Northeast, land is something which is worshipped. But with the changing time land relations also start evolving in a different manner through immigration, land encroachment etc. The introduction of legal system in land among the tribal is another important factor which contradicts with their tribal tradition. In other words, commercialisation of tribal resources is only one of the causes of the conflict against "outsiders". Central to it is the homogenising tendency of the Indian State. In attempting to turn itself into a nation, the Indian State rarely respects the cultural and ethnic.

In Manipur alone there are about 37 indigenous /tribal communities, out of which 33 had been specified as Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution of India[12]. According to Prof. Gangumei Kamei, '*the tribal constitute 32 percent of population of Manipur. At the time of granting statehood to Manipur in 1972, the Indian Parliament provided the Hill Area Committee of the Manipur Legislative Assembly to provide legislative protection to the interest of the hill areas. The indigenous Tribal communities occupy the hill region of the State and the region is divided into five revenue districts and the plain region has 4 (four) districts before it was revise and added new more districts recently. The tribal representation to the State population, according to 2001 census is 38.43%. The*

[12] Indian Constitution, Schedule tribe of Manipur

State Legislative Assembly has a strength of 60 M.L.A.s. 40 M.L.A.s represent 4 (four) valley districts of Imphal West, Imphal East, Thoubal and Bishnupur, whereas 5 (five) hill districts of Churachandpur, Chandel, Ukhrul, Senapati and Tamenglong districts are represented by 20 M.L.A.s of which one is deserved seat'[13].

Land Holding Patterns in Tribal Areas in Manipur:

The indigenous people of Manipur and the tribal people have their own land holding system based on traditional practices and customary rights. The tribal communities in the Northeast states have their own specific customary laws. For them the law which has been amended by the constitution of India cannot be ruled out as they follow customary laws. The customary law has been practising by the tribal people of the Northeast since the time immemorial. Over the time period people start exposing with the new world and accepting the new religion yet the traditional system is very much intake with them. They are still practicing the customary law and which is very much strong among their communities.

The tendency to view the nation from the point of view of the Centre rather than the periphery also has implications for the land laws and land relations in the region[14]. Most tribes are community based but the formal land laws are individual based, and are founded on the principle of the State's eminent domain[15]. In this view land is only a commodity for cultivation and construction while to the tribals it is an ecosystem with the local community at its centre. For centuries their

[13] Kamei, Gangumei. Hill Area Committee (HAC) of Manipur Legislative Assembly: An assessment part I
[14] Fernandes, Walter. Tribal customary and Formal law Interface in Northeastern India: Implications for land Relations
[15] ibid

communities have treated the resources as renewable and have built a culture and economy of their sustainable use[16].

Tribals society have claimed absolute ownership over their land. The one who established the village is the first owner among the Naga society. There was two to three tier system of ownership among some Naga tribes. The first owner i.e. the founder of the village had to dole out some portion of land to any of his villagers in exchange of animals like dog, pig, mithun, rice-beer, for use in his ritual performance. The one who could offer his domesticated animals, food and other goods against a piece of land etc. become the owner of that portion of land. That person becomes the second owner.

There were some chiefs who liberally shared the land on clan basis. The third owner was the one who claimed the cultivating plots within the portion of land given to the second owner by the chief or founder. He may get it by paying a price or by barter. In this way the existence of the third owner came into Naga society. There may be some minor variations in the system even among the Naga tribals. Those villages whose cultivation is of jhuming or shifting practice do have second and third ownership system. Even in the village where settled or terrace cultivation is practiced, the same system exist. So Naga society has at least two tier system of land ownership, the first being the founder of chief and the second owner is that of cultivating plot.

[16] Iyer 1996: 375-377 (Iyer, K. Gopal. 1996."Land Alienation, Deforestation and predicament of Tribals: A Comparative Study of Bihar and Tripura," in K. Gopal Iyer (ed). Sustainable Development: Ecological and Socio-Cultural Dimensions. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, pp. 393-403.)

As for the Kuki, the land ownership system is different from the Naga's. The entire land within the jurisdiction solely owned by the chief and he is the sole owner and he decides land for cultivation and he distributes the plots to construct houses. The village chief is the supreme authority in every village affair so the individual as no power of the land.

The tribal as a whole have their own time tested land holding system based on traditional practices by which they are governed. They consider that the lands they possess are acquired from the nature. As such the tribal do not have any land laws except that of traditional and customary base practices.

The hill areas were separately administered as per a set of rules known as Hill Peoples' Regulation Act. The hill areas were at no point of time under the administration of the Raja of Manipur. The administration was carried on to the tune of the Hill Peoples' aspirations and their age old traditional practices. While such was the considered administration for hill/tribal people, a land act was enacted in 1960, which had rather frightened the tribals with the land being alienated from them.

The Manipur Land Revenue & Land Reform Act, 1960

The Manipur Land Revenue & Land Reform Act, 1960 (MLR & LR Act, 1960) was enacted by the Parliament to consolidate and amend the law relating to land revenue in the State of Manipur and to provide certain measures of land reform. The MLR & LR Act, 1960 intends to bring about uniformity in distribution of land throughout the State. However, Section 2 of the Act says, "It extends to the whole of the State of Manipur except the hill areas thereof". That is the reason

why the act does not apply in the hilly areas. However, the hill districts do not mean hill areas if they come under this act. According to Section 2(1) of the Act, hill area means such areas in the hill tracts of the State of Manipur as the State Government by notification in the official Gazette declared to be hill areas. The State Government under different notifications Nos. had notified 1161 villages as hill areas in the 5 (five) Hill Districts for the purpose of this Act. Though Section 2, of the Act says that if does not apply to the hill areas of the State, it again says, "Provided that the State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, extend the whole or part or any section of this Act to any hill areas of Manipur also as may be specified in such notification". The provisions for protection of the tribal had been curtailed off. The State Government under different notification Nos. had extended the provision of the Act to tribal areas. To the tribal, the extension of the Act to their areas is encroachment into their territory. The tussle between the State Government and the tribal chiefs, civil organizations etc. possess a grave situation. So far 89 villages of Churachandpur district and 14 villages each of Tamenglong and Senapati districts had also been covered by the Act[17].

There is a special protective provision of the Act on the transfer of land belonging to a tribal to non-tribal. Section 158 says, "No transfer of land by a person who is a member of Scheduled tribes shall be valid unless. The transfer is to another member of Schedule tribes where the transfer is to another person who is not a member of any such tribes, it is made with the previous permission in writing of Deputy Commissioner provided that the Deputy Commissioner shall not give such

[17] Bindodine devi. P, Tribal Land System of Manipur

permission unless he has secured the consent thereto of the District Council within whose jurisdiction the land lies; or the transfer is by way of mortgage to a co-operative society. The State Government had made an exceptional provision of the Act to the restriction of land transfer. This is the fear of the tribal population i.e. if the transfer is made by way of mortgage to a co-operative society, the consent of the District Council and written permission of the Deputy Commissioner is not required. This provision is a grave threat to the innocent tribals[18].However, there are certain villages does not have community land so the rule cannot be apply in every villages.

State Governments attempt to abolished the transfer of Land:

The State Government wanted to implement this act across the state both valley and the hills. But the traditional customary laws among the hill people cannot be abolished so easily. The Manipur State Legislative Assembly had attempted to amend Section 2 of the Principal Act of 1960 so as to implement the entire provision of the Act to the whole State of Manipur including hill areas. Yet, the Hill Area Committee which is a Constitutional body under Article 371C along with other civil societies had strongly resisted against the implementation of the very act at the hilly areas.

The was another to restrict new settlement in tribal areas even by the tribals themselves under Section 158C of the Act. The amendment proposal sought that there shall be no new settlement of formation of hamlet (machete) in the hill areas without the permission of the State Government and no such permission for new

[18]http://epao.net/epPageExtractor.asp?src=features.Land_Rights_of_Tribal_State_Land_Laws_1.html..

settlement of formation of any machete is allowed unless the proposed formation has 75-50 families. The said proposal also attempted to amend Section 158B that no land shall be transferred in favour of any person unless he has been ordinarily resident in the State[19].

The Deputy Commissioner has the power to give permission in transferring the land but it does have certain provision like the person must not be less than the 30 years of resident in the state. The attempts to remove restriction on transfer of land to another member of non-tribal or the indigenous came in the disguise of bringing development for tribals or indigenous people in the form of bank land facilities and others. The tribal or indigenous being underprivileged section of the society are easily tempted to mortgage their land[20].

To get the required amount, they have to mortgage their land which is the only available resource at their disposal. During the mortgaged period, the mortgagee has the right to cultivate the land. Naturally, the income of the mortgager declines if he does not have any other compensatory resources. As his income goes on declining year after year, he would not be able to recover his mortgaged land and at last he has to part with his land. This is the fate of the poor tribals in the wake of the extension hill tribals have become marginalised with the implementation of MLR & LR Act, 1960.

A development project had been taken up in Khuga Dam (multi-purpose project). In the construction of the Dam, many villages and households had been affected and displaced. The people, who had been allotted land under the provision of the

[19] Panmei, DP, Land rights of tribal and state land laws: Manipur part 2
[20] ibid

MLR & LR Act 1960, are made genuine land owners. Such people only got land compensation. The tribal or indigenous people who had been living their way before the framing such law and owned the land on the basis of their customary laws are made encroachers within their own lands. The extension of the Act had deprived the people of ownership of land based on traditional and customary practices.

No *Khas* Land in Hill Areas

The landmark ruling of the Hon'ble Guwahati High Court in Imphal permanent Bench under Civil Rule No. 132/90/91, between the North-East Council, Shillong, the State of Manipur and the Deputy Commissioner, Ukhrul versus the Hundung Victims of Development Project, the judgment was in favor of the petitioners whose land had been acquisitioned by the North-East Council through the Government of Manipur. The acquisition of land was meant for

(i) Construction of Mini Cement Factory with an approach road,

(ii) Construction of Imphal-Ukhrul road and

(iii) Construction of Nungshangkhong Mini-Hydro Electricity Power Project. In the judgment order as noted at Sl. No. 25 says

"*We are here concerned with Hill areas of Ukhrul that there is no Government Khas Land in the hill areas of Ukhrul. The ownership of land situated in the hill villages of Manipur vests in the villagers. They do not hold the land under the pleasure of the Government.*"

There is no *khas* land not only in Ukhrul district but in all the hill areas of Manipur. Without realizing the ground reality and proper acquisition of land, the State Government occasionally had instructed the district administration in the hill districts to allot land to any Government Department or individual in accordance with the provision of the Act, whereas the Act has not yet been extended to hill areas except to some plain pockets. This had also caused the issue more complicated.

Observation of the Law Research Institute of Guwahati High Court

The Law Research Institute of Guwahati High Court observed that the extension of the Act to the selected hill villages had created many problems[21].

The State Government does not attempt to bring about amicable solution to the land issues of tribal population. Instead they attempt to extend the provisions of the Act slowly in planned manner. The tribals have their own system of regulating the land holding based on tradition and customs. This conventional system is still effectively found in tribal societies. Extension of the Act to the tribal areas without rectification of the existing traditional and customary practices will certainly bring misunderstanding between tribal and non-tribal communities.

Fear of Tribals for Land Alienation

The crux of the whole problem is the question, whether the extension of MLR & LR Act, 1960 to the hill areas and the land situated therein automatically becomes Government land. According to the Kuki customs, the chiefs are the owners of the entire land within their jurisdiction. As stated above, under Naga system of land

[21] Das, J.N, 1989

ownership, the chief of the founder of the village is the first owner and there is second and third owners. There is no khas land in the hill areas of the State of Manipur. While such is the situation in hill areas, extension of the Act will certainly dislocate the whole system.

The one who had owned and cultivated the land for years together under their customs and tradition would be made encroachers on their land. The peculiar situation in the Saikot village was the result of the extension of the MLR & LR Act, 1960 to the hill district villages. Similar situation would be created as it goes on extending to hill villages.

Many lands would be alienated from their original owners as the State Government had a policy of extension of the Act slowly in planned manner. The growing consciousness among the different tribals of Manipur is that the members of their communities have been dispossessed off from their land by non-tribals as in the case of Tripura. This may lead to an ugly situation of clashes between tribal and non-tribal communities.

The State Government should not encroach upon the lands lying within the hill districts except on exceptional cases of acquisition as the land holding system and customary practices of different tribal communities are very different from the laws enacted by the constitution. For the the state government must constitute and expert committee to understand the nature of their ways of land holding and bridge the gap to prevent the conflict on the development projects led by the government.

The customary rights of ownership over the land should be recognized. The customary and traditional practices are required to review to suit the changing social environment in which they are living in. Land holding under the traditional laws should be properly recorded and the laws/practices itself need to be modified for codification[22].

Forest Right Act or FRA

The tribal people claim absolute authority over the land they occupy. They considered that the lands which include forest land are inhibited from their forefathers. So it is their inhabited property. Tribal people have their own system of land holding based on customary and traditional practices. Interference to their land is therefore, opposed with tooth and nail. Every tribal village was independent republic without outside interference.

In the light of the above stated position, the scope of implementation of the Schedule Tribes & Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 in the tribal areas of Manipur is rather limited. The term Forest Dwellers cannot appropriately be applied to the tribal people of Manipur for their settlement had already been recognised as settled villages.

Implementation of the Act in Manipur

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 was enacted by the Parliament with the sole objectives to recognise and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land by forest dwelling scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who had been

[22]http://epao.net/epPageExtractor.asp?src=features.Land_Rights_of_Tribal_State_Land_Laws_2.html.. (by DP Panmei)

residing in such forest for generations but whose rights could not be recorded. The implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 in Manipur is a non - starter and an uphill task for the Forest Department of the State to initiate[23].

The Forest Rights of the Scheduled Tribes enshrined in Section 3 (1) (a) to (m) and 4 (2) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) are yet to be implemented in letter and spirit particularly in areas where the scheduled tribe forest dwellers have settled in Reserved Forests more than fifty to hundred years, particularly in the Reserved Forests under the jurisdiction of MLR & LR Act of 1960, very old scheduled tribe settlements within the Reserved Forests have not been recognized and revenue pattas have not been issued in spite of the protection given under Section 3(1) of the Act.

Though the much awaited Act has been enacted, the Forest Department has not been able to act as most of the Forest in the hill areas whether Reserved Forest of unclassified forests are virtually under the ownership of the tribal Chief or tribal community.

Settlement of scheduled tribe communities in the national parks, wildlife sanctuaries and Reserved Forest both in the valley where there is land law and in the hill areas where there is no land law are of two types, (i) original and (ii) encroaches. Forest Department which is the implementing agency has not taken any step to regularize the two types of settlements as per provision of the

[23]http://epao.net/epPageExtractor.asp?src=features.Tribal_forest_and_its_implementation_in_Manipur.html..

Scheduled Tribe and Other Forest Dwellers (Forest Rights Recognition) Act, 2006.

The North East Region of India has been declared as one of the Mega Bio-diversity Hotspot of the planet earth. The vegetations found in this region are fragile and most of them are endemic to the region. The region is inhabited by more than 200 ethnic groups with varied culture and tradition. The constitution has provide protection to these myriad tribal groups by granting Federal States and autonomy to many regional tribal groups for protection of their lands, culture, customs, tradition and their identities under 6th Schedule of the constitution.

The survival and development of these scheduled tribe groups depends on effective management of such natural heritage which they inherited from their forefathers and whose ownership is vested in them. Our earth today is facing the biggest threat to its survival due to global warming and climate change. To check global warming the world is actively framing policies and strategies to protect and conserve the environment particularly the forests by bringing more areas under the Protected Area Network. However, in order to make the campaign a success, the involvement and active participation of all the ethnic groups is imperative. For this purpose the following suggestion may be suggested.

(1) Consent and approval of the concern village council/authority should be obtained before any proposal is made for any development project in tribal areas. Because in the name of development projects, original settlers had been displaced and made encroachers on their own lands.

(2) Settlement of rights of the scheduled tribe in the Protected Area Network,

Reserved Forest and Protected forest as enshrined in the Act 2006 should be initiated and completed within fixed time frame.

(3) Government of India should seriously explore methods as to how more ecologically important areas can be brought under the Protection Area Network without affecting the ownership rights of the scheduled tribes over their land and its resources.

(4) Reserved and Protected Forest declared without the knowledge and consent of the scheduled tribe land owners may be returned to the rightful owners.

(5) Acquisition of land for setting up national parks and sanctuaries in tribal owned areas or unclassified forest is very complicated. Acquisition is also seen as land alienation from the tribal and it creates land encroachment problems. Therefore, land acquisitions for protection and conservation have been found counter productive.

(6) Scheduled tribe communities who have set up villages in Reserved Forest areas on or before 31st Dec. 2005, or who had been staying in the said Reserved Forest for more than 50 years but pending regularization and where land distribution and allotment at the rate of 4 ha is not applicable, respective plots or homestead lands of each family should be converted into Revenue pattas.

(7) Ministry of Tribal Affairs must step up consultation meetings with the concerned state Forest Department to understand the inherent problems of each state.

(8) Allotment of land to the Scheduled tribe families as per the Forest Rights Act, 2006 should not be initiated in the hill areas whether it is Revenue or unclassified

forest as enforcement would go against the customary land holding system of the tribe.

(9) Forest Department must train its officers to have broad understanding of the customary practices of various tribal groups.

Some of the Rongmei sell their land in order to earn money to bribe officials and get a job in the administration or for their children's education. They have lost hope in land as sustenance and are ready to part with it for an alternative but are not to abandon their cultural attachment to it as an essential ingredient of their identity. This effort to keep control over it while moving beyond it is another cause of conflicts.

Role of Gram Sabha: Gram Sabha is the foundation to the decentralized democratic system and play a crucial role in ensuring a transparent and accountable administration by Gram Panchayat. It can be said that the Gram Sabha acts as a watch dog in the interest of village communities by monitoring the functions of Gram Panchayat. The registered voters in the village take part in decision related to the development of the village in the Gram Sabha with the help of Gram Panchayat and concerned officials. According to article 243 (A) under 73rd constitutional Amendment Act, 1992, Gram Sabha is a recognized constitutional Institute of Panchayati Raj system. Gram Sabha is a basic and important institute of decentralised governance at local level. Gram Sabha members play an effective role in rural Governance.

As per the Forest Rights Act, 2006 (FRA), the Gram Sabha has been assigned substantial role for implementation of the provisions of the Act. Under the Forest

Rights Act, 2006, the Gram Sabha has been assigned the following roles for implementing the provisions of the Act: To initiate the process for determining the nature and extent of individual or community forest rights or both that may be given to the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers within the local limits of its jurisdiction under the Act by receiving claims, consolidating and verifying them and preparing a map delineating the area of each recommended claim in such manner as may be prescribed for exercise of such rights and then pass a resolution to that effect and thereafter forward a copy of the same to the Sub-Divisional Level Committee.

To recommend developmental projects managed by the Government which involve felling of trees not exceeding seventy-five trees per hectare, and which require diversion of forest land, under Section 3 (2) of the Forest Rights Act, 2006.

To consider the resettlement or alternative packages prepared by the State Governments for providing a secure livelihood to the affected individual forest rights holders and communities whose forest rights recognized under the Act in the critical wildlife habitats of National Parks and Sanctuaries are subsequently modified or resettled for the purposes of creating inviolate areas for wildlife conservation for providing free informed consent to the proposed resettlement and to the alternative package

To protect the wild life, forest , biodiversity, adjoining catchments areas, water sources, other ecological sensitive areas, preserve the habitat of forest dwelling

Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers from any form of destructive practices affecting their cultural and natural heritage etc. [Section 5]

To pass a resolution against any higher authority by giving a notice of not less than sixty days to the State Level Monitoring Committee and the State Level Monitoring Committee does not proceed against such authority for enabling the Court to take cognizance of any offence under Section 7 of the Act (section 8)[24]

Displacement and Land Laws

One can thus see that a crucial factor in the transition to an individual *patta* that is alien to the tribal CPR culture is encouragement that the individual-oriented administration gives to processes leading to it. Besides, the State alienates land for development projects and while so doing, it recognises only individual ownership. It has become a crucial issue in the Northeast in the context of the thinking that the region should be turned into the powerhouse of India. 48 possible major dams are being planned in the region and a list of more than 100 others is being (Menon et al. 2003). The former Prime Minister Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee gave recognition to this process by launching on 24th May 2003, the 50,000 MW hydro-electrical initiative for the Northeast[25].

These initiatives have to be studied in the context of past experience because most dams being planned are in the tribal areas where the CPRs are the norm. Many of them are in Arunachal Pradesh where the tribes live according to their community ownership ethos but the individual based law does not recognise their land as their livelihood (Menon 2003). Many other dams too are in the tribal areas. For

[24] https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=77574
[25] The Telegraph, 25th May 2003.

example, according to official sources, the proposed Pagladia dam in the Nalbari district of Assam will displace 18,347 persons while field data show that it will affect 105,000 persons, 80% of them Bodo and other tribals who live on their CPRs that the law does not recognise as their livelihood[26].

That has been the case also in the past. We have stated above that the Rongmei in Manipur lost their land to the Loktak project without even being included among the displaced and being compensated. Impoverishment has been its consequence. By the late 1960s the indigenous tribes of Tripura had lost more than 60% of their land to Bengali Hindu immigrants from the erstwhile East Pakistan. It resulted in conflicts between them and the settlers. That is when the Gumti or Dumbur dam was announced in the 1970s. They protested against it but were forced out of their land. It submerged 46.34 sq. km, most of it level land that is only 28% of the State's total. By official count it displaced 2,558 families that had *pattas.* Another 5,500 to 6,500 CPR dependent families were not even counted. Their only alternative is *jhum* cultivation in its catchment area or on other common lands. It causes environmental degradation and they come to be considered enemies of nature[27]. In other words, where the Schedule is not recognised, people can be displaced without being counted among the displaced. We have noticed it in the ongoing study on development-induced displacement in Assam 1947-2000 (Fernandes and Bharali forthcoming). All the projects together have used around 15 lakh acres of land, two thirds of it CPRs. Around 20 lakh persons have been deprived of their livelihood. However, the official records account for a little over 400,000 acres of land and 300,000 persons displaced or deprived by it. The rest of the land is not accounted for and the people whose

[26] Bharali, 2004
[27] Bhaumik, 2003

livelihood it is have not been counted because the law does not recognise their community ownership. So in the eyes of the State the communities that have inhabited it for centuries before the colonial law was enacted, are encroachers on it.

We have seen in this paper that conflicts are intrinsic to the contradiction between the tribal customary laws and the formal law because of their contradictory value systems. Another crucial issue in the process their livelihood alienation is the transition of many communities of the region to a commercial economy. Commercialisation of land and forests is thus closely linked to the transition of land from livelihood to commodity. One cannot begin by stating that a commercial approach is bad in itself. One only states that such a transition without any preparation or imposition of another system on them for the benefit of another class does them harm. The shortages it causes result in ethnic conflicts.

A brief introduction of Major and Medium Irrigation Projects of Manipur:

The state did not have any major and medium irrigation project up to the year 1972-73. Agriculture and farming was solely dependent on capricious rainfall. Hence, assured water supply for irrigation is of utmost importance. In fact, major, medium and multipurpose irrigation projects have been introduced very late in the state. Major and medium irrigation was started only from the 4th plan period onwards[28]. The state has so far taken up 8 projects as per the government record, which are medium and multipurpose irrigation projects. Of these 8 projects, 3 projects namely Thoubal Project, Singda dam Project and Khuga dam Project are multipurpose projects. Loktak Lift Irrigation (LLI) is the major project and remaining four are medium projects namely, Imphal Barage, Khoupum Dam,

[28] CAG Report Government of Manipur, Report No.2 of 2017

Sekmai Barrage and Dolaithabi projects. The Loktak Lift Irrigation Project is one of the biggest lift irrigation project in the North Eastern Region of India. Among these eight projects, three of them are on-going which are (i) Khuga Multipurpose Project, (ii) Thoubal Multipurpose Project & (iii) Dolaithabi Barrage Project.

These 8 projects on completion will give an ultimate annual irrigation potential of 1,09,785 ha. with water supply and power components of 19 MGD and 10 MW respectively. Khoupum Dam Project, LLI Project, Imphal Barrage and Sekmai Barrage Projects have already been completed and given irrigation benefits. The Singda Multipurpose Project was approved by the Planning Commission in the year 1974 and its construction was started from 1975. The irrigation and water supply components of the project were completed in 1995-96. Since then, irrigation potential of 4000 ha. Has been created and 4 MGD of raw water is supplied to state PHE Deptt. Out of this 8 Major and Medium Irrigation and Multipurpose Projects Khoupum Dam, Imphal Barrage, Sekmai Barrage, Loktak Lift irrigation, Singda Multipurpose Project and the Barrage component at Keithelmanbi and a part of left Canal of Thoubal Multipurpose Project have been completed. The ongoing projects are (i) Khuga Multipurpose Project (ii) Head Work and remaining Part of Canal System of Thoubal Multipurpose Project and (iii) Dolaithabi Barrage project.

From the completed and partially completed projects Irrigation potential of 36,847 ha has been created up to 2008-09 with utilization of 27,000 ha. In addition, 1,200 ha and 900 ha of low lying areas of Loushipat and Poiroupat respectively have been reclaimed by Thoubal Multipurpose Project. Appreciable Progress of the on-going Major and Medium irrigation and multipurpose projects could not be

achieved onwards 2003-2004 up till date owing to financial constraint coupled with the prevailing law and order in the state. The Khuga multipurpose project was sanctioned for Rs. 15.00 crores in 1980 by the Planning Commission[29]. The Project will create 1500 ha of annual irrigation Supply of 5 MGD of raw water for water supply and generate 1.50 Mw of power. The Project works were taken up in 1982-83. Owing to rescission of the 1st contract and fixation of 2nd contract in 1986, law & order situations, financial constraints, ethnic clashes etc., completion of the Project has been delayed and rescheduled in 2010-11. The progressive expenditure upto March, 2010 is Rs. 357.76 crores. The budget provision for 2010-11 is Rs. 33.15 crores. The dam has been completed to the extent of 77%, spillway to the extent of 80%, main and branch canal to the extent of 84%, distributaries to the extent of 68%, hydro power to the extent of 60% and water supply[30].

The Thoubal Multipurpose Project was approved by the Planning Commission in 1980 for Rs.47.25 crores. The project when completed will create irrigation potential of 33,400 ha., 10 MGD of drinking water and generate 7.50 MW of hydro-power. The barrage component has been completed in 1991. The dam has been completed to the extent of 16%, Spillway to the extent of 29%, main and branch canal to the extent of 80%, distributaries to the extent of 50%, rehabilitation and resettlement to the extent of 30% and hydro power component is in initial stage. The completion of the project has been delayed and targeted in

[29] Singh, Kshetri Rajiv. Large Dams and the political dynamics in Northeast India: an exploration through the case of Manipur, Thesis 2007
[30] Ibid

2011-12. The progressive expenditure upto March, 2010 is Rs. 723.74 crore and a provision for the year 2010-11 was Rs. 167.59 crores.

Khuga Dam

The Khuga dam is a multipurpose project located at Churachandpur. The dam project started in 1983. The Khuga dam is located near Mata village which is 10 km from the district headquarter of Lamka. The locals refer to it as Mata dam. The height of the dam is 38 metres. The width is 230 metres. The Khuga dam project has started a new economic process in Manipur. The Khuga dam has created an artificial lake at the southern tip of Lamka town.

The project potential estimate was to irrigate 15,000 hectares, provide 10 million gallons of drinking water and generate 7.50 MW. Comparatively smaller than other proposed mega structures in Manipur and elsewhere, Khuga Dam was visualized as an alternative solution to the problems faced by the people of Churachandpur in particular and Manipur in general. With agriculture being the mainstay of the region, the priority on irrigation, drinking water and electricity was justified. With more than Rs 300 crores invested, the proposed "output" of Khuga Dam is unlikely to be experienced by the people of Churachandpur. It may also be mentioned that the audit report of March 1999, on the performance review of the dam, says, "Since 1984, the IFCD, Manipur, carried out construction work on 25.37 km of canal over an area of 40.27 hectares of forest land in Dampi reserve forest without obtaining the required clearance for diversion of forest land. Barring the unaccounted environmental destruction (that still continues) the overall concept of the multipurpose Khuga Dam project in itself was unpractical and paradoxical.

As far as irrigation is concerned, Churachandpur is a hill district where jhum cultivation is practiced. Few of the plains areas in the adjoining districts have permanent cultivation that requires improved irrigation. While the idea of irrigation for jhum cultivation in the hilly region is yet to be conceptualized and is, thus, unrealistic to many, people felt, and not without resentment, that the actual benefit would go elsewhere and not to the hill people of this district. As feared, people are faced with a drinking water scarcity and yet are doubtful whether the water reserved in Khuga Dam would qualify as "clean" for drinking. Several villagers living in the vicinity of the dam, as also visitors, have reported that the "stagnant water" actually "smells". Power supply was always a luxury for the people of Churachandpur, and of late the situation is at its worst. Though the locals were either ignorant or unaware during the implementation of the project, it became the talking point in the later stages. People waited, hoped and imagined. Now, with the much-hyped project standing tall and ready to function, villagers and supposed beneficiaries feel otherwise. Those in Churachandpur and, specifically, Lamka live in fear of the dam, for they believe Khuga Dam will fall one day and Lamka will be doomed.

Ithai Barrage

Loktak Lake, the largest freshwater lake in northeast India, also called the only Floating lake in the world due to the floating on it, is located near Moirang in Manipur state, India. The Keibul Lamjao National Park the home for the endangered sangai or Manipur brow-antlered deer (Cervus eldi eldi) stays in the shores of the Loktak lake. This ancient lake plays an important role in the economy of Manipur. The Loktak lake serves as a source of water for hydropower

generation, irrigation and drinking water supply. The lake is also a source of livelihood for the rural fisherman who lives in the surrounding. As per the Ramanada Wangkheirakpam 55 rural and urban hamlets around the lake have a population of about 100,000 people. Considering the ecological status and its biodiversity values, the lake was initially designated as a wetland of international importance under the Ramsar Convention on March 23, 1990. The Ithai Barrage is situated in the Bishnupur district, it was constructed in 1979 at the downstream of the Manipur River as a part of the Loktak Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project. The purpose of the barrage is to maintain sufficient water volume in an artificial reservoir. The river Ithai is connected to Loktak through Khodrak river. The water stored is transferred through a mountain range, west of Manipur valley to the narrow Leimatak River, which is at an elevation of 312 meters lower than Loktak (NHPC, 1994). "The main aim of the project was to regulate the water of Loktak where the rocky hump rises in the river bed near Ithai village"[31].

The Ithai dam has 'permanently' raised the water level of this wetland to 769.12 meters (measured at park area), and has blocked the natural flow of water to and/or from the wetland, and has altered the hydrologic cycle of this delicately balanced system. Before the construction of the Ithai barrage various streams and rivers flows down from the valley and the hills.

During monsoon water level rises and with this the vegetation rises up bringing up the silt with them. According to the Loktak Lift Irrigation Project (Revised) Vol.1,

[31] Ramananda. Wangkheirakpam, . Ecological and social impacts of the Ithai barrage pat 2, 2018 http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=education.Scientific_Papers.Ecological_social_impacts_of_Ithai_Barrage_Part_2_By_Ramananda_WangkheirakpamS

May 1980, it will take about 160 years to reach the dead storage level. With the siltation high rate, there is a high chances to have a short life expectancy[32].

'This finding indicates major health implications for the people who directly depend on the water for their daily need of water. On the degree of inundation, it is reported that some 20,000 to 83,000 hectares of cultivable lands got submerged after the construction of Ithai Barrage. The Government's estimate of 20,000 hectares is considered an understatement; on the other hand the estimate done by S. Ibomcha of an area of 83,000 hectares seems to be slightly exaggerated. However proper survey and estimation has not been conducted on the total inundated area, either by the Government or by others. One reason for the discrepancy in figures could be because the Loktak does not have a definite shoreline and its extent is primarily determined by rainfall pattern. Nevertheless, it will be possible to come to a reliable estimate through an understanding of the dynamics, land use system and the cropping pattern of the population that surrounds the wetland. De Roy (1992) estimates that 30 % of them along the wetland got submerged and some 12,000 local people are now no longer able to use shallow fishing technique'[33]

Conclusion

Manipur has experience various dams since it has become part of India but the benefits of dams are yet to receive by the people of the state. The promise of the dam abruptly ended once the construction is completed and it start the woes of the people. In Manipur, broadly, we have experience three different stages of

[32]ibid
[33] ibid

development of dams such as Ithai Barriage which is completed and commissioned in 1983 but yet to receive the compensation, then we have Singda, Loktak Hydro, Khuga, Dolaithabi barrage and now the ongoing Thoubal Multipurpose Project also known as Mapithel Dam which is almost completed and ready to function. Once the government give green signal the project will be commissioned anytime. But this multipurpose project building process not only disturbs the environment but created conflict among the villagers of the area in the name of development. Amon the affected villagers the distribution of compensation is creating difference among the villagers as half of them have taken the compensation and scattered and the remaining villagers where on the negotiation table as the government plays divide and rule policy whereas, the government have totally cut off the life line for those who depends their livelihood entirely on the riparian of the Thoubal river through collecting fish, sand and stones. In the next chapter the researcher will explore the dynamics of the Mapithel valley by taking as a case study.

Chapter Three

A case study of Mapithel Dam: Socio-political, economy and culture of the Mapithel Valley

"Once the dam is being built, the entire village will be rich and there will be feast of fish caught from the river everyday" is a common phrase used by many elders of the concerned villages affected by Thoubal Multipurpose Project. The quote is however used as a sarcastic remark referring to the late Chief Minister Rishang Keishing who made the above statement with regard to the people inhabiting the Mapithel Valley.

This chapter makes an attempt to focus specifically on the Mapithel valley and Dam project. The geographical and ecological properties of the area are studied at length in relation to its social, economic, political and cultural framework. The present chapter also looks into the nuances and dynamics of different ethnic communities residing in the Mapithel valley and their dependency or interdependency on the Mapithel valley. The impact and changes brought by the construction of the Thoubal Multipurpose dam is also inquired into. In addition the impacts of other dams in Manipur are also exemplified by using primary data collected from the field. To help this purpose, a comparison between the pre-dam and post-dam situation is made and the findings are examined. Further this chapter will look into the changing scenario of the villagers and the issues of displacement, livelihood, and settlement etc. The conflicts in development processes are also further complicated by the gender dynamics at play in that women and children are usually the ones who are at the centre of any change.

Background of the Mapithel Valley, 2014, pic credits- Huidrom Renuka

The Mapithel valley is situated in the range of Mapithel Hill in Ukhrul District. It consists of different indigenous communities but mainly the Tangkhul Naga tribals. Some of the Kuki villages are also found in the range of the Mapithel hill. Maphou village is one of the Kuki village surrounded by the Tangkhul Naga villages. The Naga-Kuki ethnic clash in 1990s had great impact on the Kuki population and forced them to relocate to a safer area significantly lessening their population in the Mapithel valley[1]. There are also Meitei villages found in the Thoubal river bank as it passes through all the three communities residing in these areas. All these villages are primarily dependent on the Thoubal river and the fertile valley which is the main source of their livelihood as all these villages are engaged in farming, cultivation, animal rearing, fishing and collecting sand and stones from the river. The villages in the Mapithel valley had an interdependent relationship between communities in which the landless are employed to work on

[1] Haokip, 2000

the agricultural fields of the Tangkhul. This understanding of interdependency was interrupted with the construction of the Thoubal Multipurpose project. Further, the traditional pattern of resource usage among different sections has also contributed to an uneven economic growth thereby enlarging the vulnerability. The land was made fertile by the streams and rivers running down from the surrounding forested hills and this had played a key role in the economic life of the people in both the hills and plains. Produces were exchanged between villages and communities and the sharing of produces and other amenities between the people of hills and plains resulted in an interaction that has been acknowledged in most of the narratives and historical literature (of Manipur). The large forest area of the hilly region provided the household commodities of the entire state while the fertile valley has been responsible for high levels of crops and food production in the state. Traditionally, there has been co-existence between the peoples of the hills and the valley in sharing resources such as working together during the time of harvesting rice and rice production, forest products, water, fishing etc.

Photo taken 2014, Pic by Huidrom Renuka, Mapithel Valley, now inundated

The area's population have been divided into different tribes and communities. A brief account of the population make-up in context and their relation to the ecology is necessary to understand the social and cultural dynamics of the area that gives this development project a unique perspective and an understanding of the people's resistance to the dam development project.

The Tangkhul Community

Tangkhuls are one of the Naga tribes who are mostly located in the Ukhrul district of Manipur. Majority of the Tangkhuls depend on their land for survival. Their main occupation is agriculture, farming, rearing cattle, and poultry and pig farms. As such common grazing grounds for animals are an important part of their lives and culture. Agriculture constitutes their main source of economic activity supplemented by collection of forest products both for their sustenance and to sell in the market. Wet paddy farming and *Jhum* (swidden) cultivation are the two main types of agricultural practices among the Tangkhuls besides collecting roots,

leaves and riverine products from the nearby jungle and the river. These practices are the same in the Mapithel valley as well although wet paddy farming is more prominent. The Meitei people from the neighbouring villages used to plough in the paddy field owned by the Tangkhuls on the basis of their long mutual understanding and friendship called 'Mangai-sanaba or Matao Mangai[2]'

Two broad types of land ownership are found with the Tangkhuls i.e. individual and community ownership. Although, community ownership of land is being increasingly challenged by the onslaught of commercialization; natural resources of the community owned land can be utilized among the community albeit access is generally controlled by the village council.

The Kuki Tribe of Manipur

The term Kuki refers to a conglomeration of different clans. Kuki tribes are listed as one of the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution of India and can be found in the Indian states of Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Assam and Tripura. They are also found in Burma (Myanmar). Like many other tribal groups in the region, the Kukis also speak a variety of dialects which falls under the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family. Kukis generally practice Jhum (swidden) cultivation although those staying in the foothills also practice wet paddy farming. Unlike the Nagas the ownership of land among the Kukis belong to the chief of the village who also

[2]A bonding or friendship bonding between the Meitei community and Tribal community, in exchange of keeping alive their friendship they work together during the seed sowing time and harvesting their paddy fields. Sometime this bonding can stretch into the level of friendship into relatives between the Meitei and Tribal community. One can trace from the Meitei festival called 'Lai Harouba' or the 'Merry-Making of the Gods' how other tribal community plays an important role to fulfil the entire episode of this particular festival and without their participation the festival is incomplete. By the time of marriage ceremony among the Meitei Community there is one particular hand woven shawl of Thangkhul tribal called 'Luira/Luikham..' the shawl has to be given by the parents of the bride to start her new family with blessing.

holds the right to allocate homesteads as well as agricultural areas[3]. Agricultural activities constitute the main economic activity of the Kukis as well. According to P. S. Haokip[4], 'Kuki polity, based on chieftainship, functioned with a full complement of governing bodies. In the national level their governance is known as the Kuki Inpi. The pattern is replicated at the Lhang (district) and Gamkai (state) level. Integral to Kuki polity is the Inpi, the apex body, in which each Kuki Chief is a member'.

The Meitei Community

Meitei community is one of the largest indigenous communities in Manipur. The Meitei inhabitants of the Mapithel Valley have come from various parts of Manipur in search livelihood and ultimately settled nearby the Mapithel Valley in villages like Tumukhong, Nungbram, Itham, Moirangpurel, Nongdam, Leirongthel etc. Majority of the Meitei people resides in the Tumukhong village which is situated immediately downstream to the Thoubal Multipurpose project and is less than a kilometre away from the Project. Their main occupation consists of collecting sand and stones from the river, fishing and farming in the bank of the Thoubal river. During the off season they go to their tribal neighbouring villages for paddy cultivation or to harvest during the harvesting season and earn their livelihood. The Thoubal River passes through the village Tumukhong which has about 1000 people according to the 2011 census report. Majority of the village members are engaged including men, women, youth and children engages with collecting sand and stone quarrying from the Thoubal River. They also own

[3] Hoeinethem Sithlou

[4] P.S.Haokip is the president of the Kuki National Organization

loading trucks to load the collected sands and stones which is then transported by those engaged as drivers to the market.

4 Yaingangpokpi

Yainganpokpi is a village 24 km away from Imphal and comes under the Imphal East district of Manipur. Meitei, Tangkhul and Kuki's are the major ethnic communities who reside in this small village. Visibilities of Nepali communities are also increasing and people keep migrating in this village because of its socio-economic prospects. Although it is just few kilometre away from Imphal yet the price of the products differ from the main market of Imphal as they include the charges of transportation.

The Yaingangpokpi market plays an important role in shaping the socio-economic condition of the villages in the Mapithel Valley. This market functions as the hub and closest intersection where people from different communities come together to sell their agricultural products. In a way Yaingangpokpi Market is a centre point for the people coming from Imphal, Ukhrul and the villagers residing in the Mapithel Valley. The produces and goods i.e. vegetables, poultry and animals among other necessities etc. are brought early in the morning and also collected by other traders who send and transfer it to the Imphal main market, Khurai lamlong market or at the Ukhrul Main market, Moirang purel etc. A number of villages residing in the Mapithel valley are highly depended upon the Yaingangpokpi market as in addition to selling, buying and transferring produces the market is an intersectional parking for transportation services. This market works as a transportation stand, in absence of direct travel services, where services are provided to and from Imphal and nearby villages as well.

Yaingangpokpi village has both private boarding schools and government schools. However, most of the villagers prefer the private schools compared to the government ones although the fee is high. A significant reason for the distrust for government schools is the shortage of teachers and shabby infrastructure. Another reason is the medium of language implemented. Government schools implement Manipuri as the medium of language as opposed to English in the private schools. The students i.e. the native speakers consist of different tribes and communities speaking different dialects. As such it is much more convenient to communicate in English which is the reason for which the residents prefer the private schools.

5 Background of Thoubal Multipurpose Project

The Mapithel dam, built on the Thoubal river, is state owned and funded by the central government. The construction of the Mapithel dam was approved in 1980 by the Planning Commission of India and the project began construction in 1990. This project aims to produce 7.5 megawatt of electricity while providing 10 million gallons of drinking water to Imphal on a daily basis and provide water to

irrigate 21,000 hectares of cultivable land and reduce flood damages in the downstream area. This dam is one of the biggest dams in the North-East India with a height of 66-meter and length of 1034-meter.Most of the rivers in Manipur are rain fed rivers. The origin of the Thoubal river, a tributary of the Imphal river, is the western hill slopes of Shiroi Hills and Hoomi in the Ukhrul District. The Thoubal river joins at Lamlang village, flowing through the Thoubal District before joining the Imphal River at Irong Ichil. The upper reaches of the river receive an average annual rainfall of 1,700 mm and drain an area of about 527 sq km up to the dam site.

According to a 2006 Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) conducted by Hydro Bio Tech design engineers, and sponsored by the Irrigation and Flood Control Department, Government of Manipur (hereinafter mentioned as IFCD) 'the Upper Catchment of the river, which is hilly, is located roughly between 24° 50' and 25° 30' latitudes and between 94° 30' and 94° 50' longitudes'. The catchment area of the river Thoubal down to its confluence with river Imphal in Manipur valley is about 860 sq km. Except for two villages in Senapati district, almost the entire catchment of river Thoubal lie in Ukhrul district. The Mapithel Dam was sanctioned by the Planning Commission of the Government of India in May 1980 with a completion target date of 1987. At the time of sanctioning the project, the budget was set at Rs. 47.25 crores (472.5 million). This amount has steadily escalated over the years. It was revised twice in 1997, at Rs. 254 crores (at 1994 price level, 2.54 billion) and again to Rs. 390 crores (at 1997 price level, 3.90 billion). In 2004, it was revised to Rs. 446 crores (4.46 billion); the following year, in 2005, the project estimate reached Rs. 535.55 crores (5.36 billion).

According to the latest announced estimate it has climbed to 982 crores (9.82 billion). (citation needed) The project sought to provide irrigation facilities, power generation, and augmentation of water supply to Imphal town and to reduce flood damages in the downstream area. The Central Water Commission and the Manipur State Planning Department are the monitoring authorities.

The main components of the project include:

(i) It is an earthen dam of 66 meters high and 1,074 meters long at Phayang/Maphou to impound a gross storage of 176.38 Mega-cumecs (Mcum) with a live storage of 124.58 Mcum with a gated chute spillway to discharge a maximum design discharge of 2,240 cumecs.

(ii) A barrage at Keithelmanbi which is also known as Keithelmanbi barrage, 17 km downstream of the dam site having 9 bays of 9.00 m x 6.78 m with vertical gates to discharge a maximum/design discharge of 2,250 cumecs.

(iii) Left and Right canal system comprising 57 km of main canal off-taking from the barrage and distribution system to provide assured irrigation water to a Culturable Command Area (CCA) of 21,860 ha.

(iv) A power house near the dam for generation of ancillary hydro power of 7.50 MW (installed capacity) having three units each of 2.50 MW. (case study on mapithel dam project northeast India)

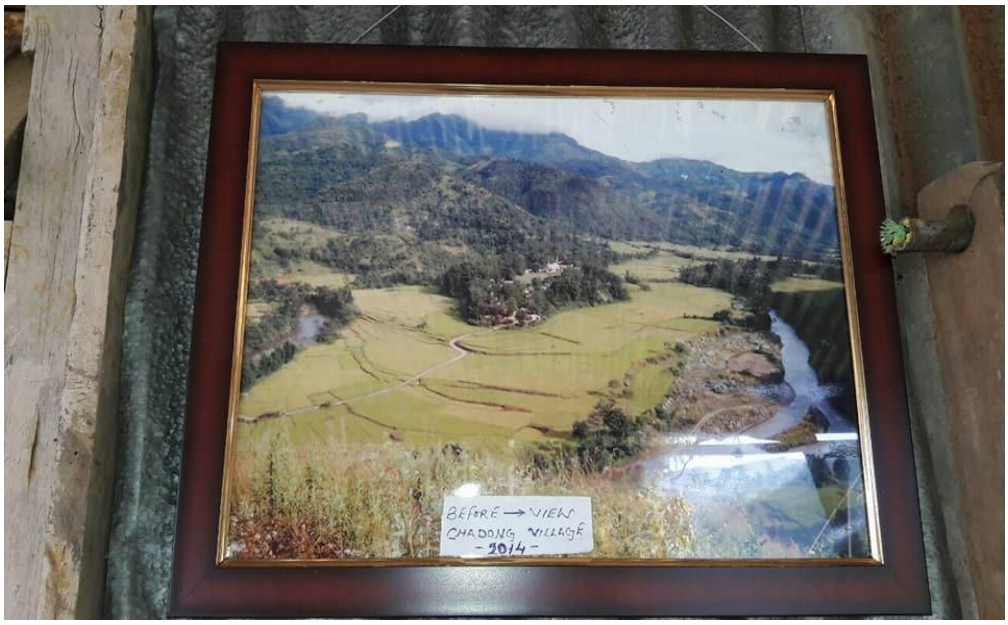
According to information distributed by the Irrigation and Flood Control Department, Manipur, the reservoir area alone covers 11.75 sq. km while the catchment area extends up to 527 sq. km.13 however in another report, the submergence area is stated to be 12.15 sq. km.14. However according to affected

villagers, this stated submergence area is erroneous and in fact it is much larger, covering about 35.68 sq km.

5 Communities affected by the Thoubal Multipurpose Project

Source: E-pao, Yumnam Ibomcha

A region's indigenous people and ethnic communities always consider themselves as distinct cultural groups with their own territories, cultures and histories. Their grievances towards the dam development project stems from their deep rooted cultural belief system and traditions which are inseparable from their ideas of land as territories and their ancestral beliefs. This connection with a traditional and ancestral belief system is similar to indigenous people around the world where any element or entity alien to their environment is seen as a threat. The idea of land rights here is more in the context of emotional and cultural attachment than land in the context of property and ownership in capitalist terms.



The old picture of the beautiful Chadong Village before its submergence due the Dam water

A similar observation is made in the case of the communities affected by the Mapithel dam. The Tangkhul Nagas, the Kukis and Meiteis are the main communities affected. The concerns raised by them are however unique and differentiate from the common idea of ancestral and traditional rights. The case of

the people's movement against the Mapithel dam is based more on the idea of land rights, public consent and proper transparent negotiation between the concerned parties than on tradition and cultural values. The primary complaint of the inhabitants of the Mapithel valley is that the state government have constructed the dam without obtaining prior informed consent from the villages. The significance of environmental concerns as flood disasters and social repercussions as obstruction in communication and travel processes has also been highlighted. Further the issues of compensation, rehabilitation and resettlement promised by the government for the affected people is unresolved till date and no proper channelling of policies to this end have taken place. The U.N Special Rapporteur James Anaya in his report, stated that 80 percent of the affected communities directly depended on the paddy fields and surrounding forests for their subsistence, and that those who were moved to alternate farming sites have seen their crop yield go down by 90 percent as compared to their original farm sites. Among the seventeen tribal villages six villages namely Phayang, Louphong, Chadong, Lamlai Khullen, Lamlai Khunou, and Mongbung are completely submerged and the other eleven tribal villages have their homesteads and agricultural land partially submerged. The population of these villages together is approximately 8,000-10,000. The man-made flood is enabled by the blocking of the free flowing river all of sudden in the early year of 2015. The official policies do not mention anything with regard to the villages in the downstream areas of the project. However, at least nine downstream villages are directly affected by the construction of the Mapithel Dam.

The view from the immediate downstream village Tumukhong

Tumukhong is a small village, an immediate downstream village within a kilometre of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project

Temporary make shift of a family at Chadong village

The people came to know of the plans for the construction of the dam for the first time in the early to mid-1970s when the officers surveyed the area. According to official documents, the survey for the construction of the dam started in 1976. However, another older document states 'The feasibility report of the project, after detailed investigations…was submitted to the Central Water Commission in September 1976' implying that survey had been conducted by 1976. According to the Village Authority members of Riha village, the villagers had already encountered surveyors in the early 1970s. The villagers were however informed of the plan to construct a dam at a later period of time when they were asked to be guides and porters for the survey officials. The villagers were however not informed and made aware of the technicalities of building a dam, its effects,

benefits, downsides and consequences. In lieu of any substantive information on the dam, villagers were told that once the dam was built, they will be able to get "fishes as big as thighs".

The construction of the dam was also fraught with contradictions and corrupt practices on the government and corporate level which slowed the construction process in addition to the people's retaliation. The contract for constructing the dam was granted to M/S Ansal Properties & Industries Ltd and M/S Progressive Construction Ltd[5]. However, the M/S Progressive Construction Limited Workers' Union, Thoubal Multipurpose Project has alleged malpractices and labour laws violations against the company. Hydropower Development and Right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) of Indigenous Peoples in a letter to the Regional Provident Fund Commissioner, North East Region, India, and the Deputy Labour Commissioner Imphal (dated 19 June 2009), alleged that the company is responsible for various labour law violations including the non-payment of Provident Funds to workers, termination of the services of workers arbitrarily etc. Affected villagers have also accused these companies of instigating security forces to threaten and intimidate the villagers[6].

In December, 2006, the Chief Conservator of Forests (CCF), Ministry of Environment and Forest, North Eastern Regional Office, wrote to the Government of Manipur that the construction of Mapithel Dam attracts Case Study on Mapithel Dam Project, Northeast India the provisions of the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980, which requires forest clearance to be obtained before the

[5] Ansal Properties & Industries Ltd, is a public limited company
[6] Naga Human Rights Report

implementation of such kinds of project. Since clearance has not been acquired, the letter directed that further violation of the Act be immediately stopped. The Chief Engineer of IFCD was also directed 'to stop any further construction of Thoubal Multipurpose Project'. As early as 1996, a Senior Assistant Inspector General of Forests of the Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India, wrote to the Secretary, Forest Department, Government of Manipur requiring the submission of 'environmental aspects and environmental action plan' to consider the proposal made by the state Forest Department to divert 5.95 sq. km of forest land for the project.

In the early part of 2007, a Status Report and Catchment Area Plan for the project were submitted to the MOEF to obtain forest clearance for the project. A Rehabilitation Plan for the Oustees/displacement was proposed by the IFCD, Government of Manipur in 1990. This document includes aspects the of resettlement, relief and rehabilitation package, the financial outlay for these activities etc. Another Rehabilitation Plan for the Oustees/displacement was again proposed by the Government of Manipur in 1997 and approved by the Director, Ministry of Welfare (Tribal Development Division), Government of India in 1998. For all intents and purpose, the two Rehabilitation Plans are similar in all respects except for a slight increase in the amounts payable to affected villagers. These two documents suffer from the failure to include any aspects of the social and cultural costs of the project for those who will be affected. Despite the consistent demands of affected villagers to factor in the social and cultural cost of the project, the Government of Manipur has failed to take any positive steps. These Rehabilitation Plans also have no substantial practical long-term livelihood

alternatives. As observed by Dr. S. B. Singh, a Senior Scientist with the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Imphal, who was part of the Expert Review Committee (for the Mapithel Dam Project), "more emphasis should be given on [the] development of sustainable livelihood alternatives of the affected villagers as the project pulled away their livelihood". In 1993, after widespread protests from the villagers, a Memorandum of Agreed Terms and Conditions (MOATC) were signed between the Government of Manipur and some of the affected villagers. Significantly, Hydropower Development and Right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) of Indigenous Peoples under the MOATC, the compensation for lands acquired for the project would be paid within two years of the signing of the MOATC (that is by 1995), and that interest will be paid on those amounts not paid within the specified period. However, payments proceeded only in 1996 and were given in a piecemeal manner; it is still to be completed.

The Government of Manipur has rejected outright to pay interest as agreed. The livelihood of the farmers and others dependent on the area has been disrupted. The compensation from the government for displacing the people has not been paid off completely. There have been innumerable lapses in the compensation process and the process of compensating in instalments affects the daily lives of the villagers. They are unable to acquire alternate sites for resettlement and farming. Displacement also renders these people homeless and jobless as there have no proper implementation of rehabilitation and resettlement processes. The construction process is not yet complete and there have been multiple revisions of the cost and revenue of the dam. However the government has refused to revise the compensation amount that was based and calculated on the revenue index and

parameters of 1993. According to the 2004 report on the dam 16 per cent of the dam component, 29 per cent of the spillway, 100 per cent of the barrage, 80 per cent of the main and branch canals, and 60 per cent of the distribution systems have been completed[7].

6. International Community Observation or Intervention

In a letter dated 6 April 2009, the Special Rapporteur on the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, James Anaya, called the attention of the Government of India to information received in relation to the construction of the Mapithel dam (Thoubal Multi-Purpose Project) in the state of Manipur, India and its effects on peoples indigenous to the area. The Government of India responded in a communication dated 24 June 2009. In light of the information received and the response of the Government, the Special Rapporteur developed observations about the situation, including a series of recommendations, which he conveyed to the Government in a communication dated 12 April 2010. The Government of India responded to these observations in a letter dated 4 June 2010. Both these observations and the Government's response are included below.

7. **Economic activities**

The main occupation of the villages which have settled in the Mapithel valley is cultivation. Majority of the households of these villages are primarily engaged with agricultural activities. Most of these villages are situated in and around the vicinity of the foothills of the Mapithel range which pass by the Thoubal river making the land very fertile. Most of these tribal villages have their own

[7] IFCD REPORT

agricultural land to cultivate paddies in which during the off season they cultivate seasonal vegetables. Wood gathering from the nearby jungle, collecting wild roots, mushrooms, fruits, and fishing, collecting snails, oysters and shrimp are other means of generating income.

Sl.no	Categories of Land	Unit	Rate
1	Agriculture wet land (paddy field)	Acre	Rs, I,00,000
2	Homestead land	Acre	Rs, 50, 000
3	Forest/Jhum	Acre	Rs, 25, 000

Source: Government/ AMDAVO

The Mapithel development process had failed to take into account a number of vital intangible and unquantifiable social, political and cultural aspects which in turn also affects the economy. The negative impacts of an improperly planned development project is visible by the continuing displacement process, loss of livelihood, land, property etc. these factors in culminate into a socio-cultural dynamics in the form of loss of identity or identity crisis among the affected people. The impact especially on women and children among these people bring in the gender dynamics in displacement and development into foreplay.

9. Cultural crisis among the tribal and indigenous people

Culture refers to the ways of life of the members of society, or of groups within a society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs, language and family life, their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits (Giddens,

2005)[8]. The loss of culture ultimately leads to loss of identity. The concept of identity in sociology is a multifaceted one, and can be approached in various ways. Broadly speaking, identity relates to the understandings that people hold about 'who they are' and what is meaningful to them. Various nuances of gender, status, economy and culture etc. among many are attached to the idea of identity. The idea of identity as found to be growing rapidly among the tribal or indigenous people in North East India is a reaction to nationalist, sub-nationalist and regional sentiments. Infiltration, migration, and displacement etc. are some of the major reasons for the growth of these sentiments. The Mapithel dam development project has forced people out of their original habitats in search of shelter and alternate livelihood means. In the process of searching and settling in new and alien lands any individual or group simultaneously faces an identity crisis. These displaced people are subjected to varied perceptions. An adjustment with a new surrounding is always challenging and more so in cases where the locals view the displaced people with mistrust and suspicion. They are viewed as threats in a stable environment where the locus of danger and competition is land, resources, livelihood, language and traditions etc.

[8] Giddens, A. (2005): Sociology,(4th edition), Cambridge: Polity Press

Chadong village is the most affected among all the villages by the Mapithel dam Project. In a interview with the present researcher, Honerikhui Kashung[9] had described about how the rising water of the dam reservoirs had traumatised the whole village who had to leave behind all of their possessions when fleeing from the floods. The burial grounds had been submerged by the water reservoir. The burial ground holds a special place in many cultures and hence the villagers lament at its submergence is justified on cultural grounds. The villagers believed that they have failed in respecting their ancestors which for them automatically leads to loss of self-respect as well. They also expressed their fear of losing their unique identity as the villagers scattered to various places disrupting their way of life. These fears are based on losing linguistic identity and culture[10].

The Tangkhul people and their villages were independently self-administered villages governed by a hereditary or elected chief aided by a council, often heads or elders of clans. The Tangkhuls also have a rich cultural tradition of

9

[10] An interview taken with Mr. Honerikhui Kashung, social worker from Chadong Village who used to run a private school

festivals and rituals, which are associated with their agricultural cycles. Similar to other indigenous communities inhabiting Manipur, folk-songs are a medium for recording historical facts and events. When the researcher attended one of the main festivals among the Tangkhuls i.e. seed sowing festival known as Luira Phanit[11], the elderly women sang two to three songs dedicated to the submerged beautiful village called Chadong. The songs represented their lament that the project snatched away their livelihood instead of bringing prosperity. There was no desire to celebrate any traditional festivals as it brought back memories of their ancestral roots; the bond to which has been broken. As the Churches had also submerged in the flood Christmas becomes a sad affair that comes along with tears. The people have however made a temporary Church in the higher part of the hill where the villagers are located temporarily.

10. Militarization and Development:

Deployment of armed forces in contentious areas is not unusual. Their presence in the area is supposed to work at many levels- safeguarding the smooth functioning of the construction process, maintaining law and order and suppressing resistances and instilling fear. Many central or state led development project is always accompanied with militarization. The same is in the case of Mapithel Dam where the people's resistance have also been active. Since the late 1980s onwards, different paramilitary forces from Border Security Force to Indian Reserve Battalion have been stationed in the area to guard the project construction site. Within the small area of the dam site and its vicinity, at least a thousand to fifteen thousand security forces were stationed. Besides the three permanent checkpoints;

[11] It is a seed sowing festival of the Tangkhul Naga tribal of Manipur.

there are other temporary ones around the dam site. Security frisking and other measures taken by the armed forces render the villagers vulnerable especially the women and children who are left exposed to gender biases and various other kinds of dangers and traumas.

In the year 2008, there was a cabinet decision taken up to bring in more security forces. In a conflict between the villagers and government some unidentified miscreants damaged government properties and killed some construction workers of the Thoubal Multipurpose project[12]. In one of the earliest incidents of mass military repression in relation to the dam construction, 20 villagers were arrested and more than 200 were tortured in September 1990[13]. An arson at construction site damaging a number of expensive construction machines led to detention of individuals and arrests by the paramilitary forces. All individuals arrested were detained at the dam site for a few days, before being transferred to jails, where they were subjected to torture and other inhumane treatments. In a clear violation of due process, the arrested individuals were not produced before the courts within the requisite 24 hours[14]. Despite the lack of any evidences, all of them were charged with several severe penal provisions, including penalty for waging war against the state, under the provisions of TADA. Some of the arrested individuals suffered deep psychological trauma from the incidents. They were hesitant and scared to talk of their experiences when interviewed by the researcher.

The increased security and militarization of the area, however, did not stop acts of violence against the dam construction or its workers. In several reports of

[12] See Annexure 37: Cabinet Memo of Manipur dated 24 April 2008
[13] Information collected through the president and general secretary of AMDAVO
[14]The Indian Constitution mandates the production of arrested persons before courts within 24 hours of their arrest.

incidents, dam workers and officers have been killed by armed individuals. These killings were most likely executed by cadres of underground militant groups that function in the area. In November 2008, five workers who were drivers and mechanics working in the construction site were shot dead by unidentified gunmen. These incidents are always followed by combing operations in the villages, and threats and intimidations of security forces. Security forces have also resorted to arbitrarily summoning villagers to their campsites to 'educate' them. One letter from the Assam Rifles, a state paramilitary force extensively deployed in the area, addressed to the village headmen of the area reads, 'In view of the recent methodic killing of poor and harmless labours (sic) in the area adjacent to Nongdam Tangkhul on 6 Nov 2008, there arises a need to educate and sanitize (sic) the environment about the futility of this merciless and cold blooded killing[15].'

The high presence of military forces in the area has also affected the mobility of villagers. The security forces at times impose curfew and restrictions on villagers leaving their homes after 5 pm curtailing their freedom. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the psychological impact and fear of extensive military presence in the area is especially challenging for the women. Women who live close to the dam site are hesitant to use their usual route of travel so as to avoid security checkpoints or places where security forces are likely to be present. Instead they choose to take longer routes making them vulnerable to assault, violence and other dangers. Women have also been the direct targets of military force. On 3rd November 2008, forty five women were injured, some critically, when security

[15] See Annexure 38: Letter No. 13014/Civil-01/D/2008 of D Coy, 23 Assam Rifles dated 3rd Nov. 2008.

forces assaulted and illegally used force against them as they approached the dam site to submit a memorandum setting out their grievances against the construction of the dam. A woman is now permanently handicapped due to brain damage as she had been hit on her head by a tear-gas canister.95 In the process of displacement and resettlement as well women and children have more problems adjusting to newer environments. Safety and stability are rendered arbitrary in such processes. Economic stability, social balance and cultural values are all reshaped. Women and children need special attention from different sections of health, education, sanitation, protection measures and other assistances. Both the individual and the family go through changes and re-define the societal norms. The construction of Mapithel Dam has already resulted in the relocation of two villages, namely Louphong and Phayang. Louphong villagers whose predominantly occupation was wet paddy farming are already facing difficulties in their new Jhum cultivation or swidden farming areas as the output is lesser than that of wet paddy fields. Other villages such as Lamlai Khunou and Lamlai Khullen are already in the process of being relocated. These relocations and resettlement processes are taking place despite the lack of a proper Rehabilitation and Resettlement programme. This programme is under review by an Expert Review Committee and the final report is yet to be presented. This committee has already developed fissures and some of the officers have already quit their position in the committee. The lack of concern and inefficiency of the government and bureaucrats in maintaining a cordial and transparent process of compensation, rehabilitation and resettlement is visible from their failures. Further, the villagers who had taken either partial or full compensation are also suffering economic

hardships as it had already exhausted with no viable means of survival, land or livelihood.

Affected villagers have demanded that the land and territory used for the dam be resituated to them once the dam is decommissioned. However, the Government of Manipur is non-committal in this regard stating that it shall be done only as per existing laws and rules. The affected villagers depend on the land as the primary source of production and livelihood. Many depended on a subsistence based economy as well. Taking away their control over their land is as such not only a matter of economic deprivation or hardship but a question their entire livelihood situation which will result in a larger social and political deprivation because of their inability to fulfil many of the social functions expected of them.

10.1 Struggle in Shifting of Occupation, social conflict and tensions

Before the submergence of dam reservoirs both the affected Upstream and Downstream villagers were primarily engaged in agricultural activities. Jhum cultivation, fishing, collecting plants from the surrounding foothill are also part of the ocuupations among the villagers. Sand and stone quarries of the Thoubal river is the main source of income for the immediate downstream village Tumukhong. These areas including Itham, Moirangpurel, Leirongthel, Nongdam are some of the affected downstream villages. The government has not given any provision for the downstream affected villages which is a serious issue as a population of several thousands are depending on the Thoubal river. Some of these villages are also the worst hit by the blocking of the free flowing waters of the river as it creates man-made floods and drought. The downstream villagers fear that the dam

might break down under pressure when it rains continuously for two-three days and the fear is amplified during the rainy seasons. This fear had emerged more powerfully due the dam leakage in 2015, which had compelled all the villagers to evacuate to a safer side. Mamta Lukram has rightly stated that the current situation and continuing exhibition of multiple seepage and leakages have stamped a lasting trauma of fear psychosis. The researcher during a field observed that the water discharge from Mapithel dam is spilled directly over the immediate Tumukhong village leading to erosion of land and soil of the village. With recurrent floods and water release from the dam reservoir, the accumulation of earth from the broken spillway will lead to diversion of water thus flowing and flooding the downstream villagers. The substandard quality maintenance during the reservoir construction was witnessed by the villagers as well. At least 7-8 portions of leakages were detected at the immediate back wall of the dam.

There are other villages as well whose source of income is directly and indirectly generated from the sand and stone collection from the river. The blocking of the Thoubal river has dried up the river bed, making it bare and barren, not only affecting people but also animals depended on this river water. The villagers are losing their means of livelihood as the the free flowing water used to bring down sands and stones and this was not possible after the river has been blocked. The once fertile productive village has now turned into an unproductive barren land with food scarcity. At present most of these villages sustain on the food items supplied from Imphal at high prices. As there is no fertile land left production of vegetables in the areas are decreasing and insufficient for the needs of the people.

The dependency of the villagers of Tumukhong surviving on piped water has increased. The piped water is connected and transferred from springs in villages like Phayang and Maphou on annual tax payment basis to the village authority. During the lean seasons of the river the villagers hire excavators to bore hole at the river bed for collecting ground water for various purposes in their daily lives. Tumukhong villagers, collectively with other downstream affected communities like Itham, Moirangpurel, Laikhong, Nongpok Keithelmanbi, Nungbrang, Lairongthel etc. have been relentlessly seeking state's timely intervention in the hardships people have been facing. While the state had promised assistance packages at the earliest to the strugglers it was never materialised.

Frustration generated a sense of antagonism that spontaneously aggravated social conflicts and tensions in the society. The absence of the R&R provision, the insensitive Impact Assessment with adhocism in settling the social disputes has engineered the widening contestation of interest amongst the villagers. The Government of Manipur has failed to conduct a downstream impact assessment, on the livelihood of people depending on the river and also on the ecology and environment of the River etc. and in doing so overlooked how downstream villagers of this project will be affected. Education suffered a setback as well. Due to livelihood difficulties and impoverishment, many families are finding it difficult to support their children's education. Number of children school drop-outs has increased. Villagers who once were able to support their children's education from multiple and diversified economic activities through farming, collecting vegetables and herbs from the nearby hills, fishing; and sand and rock mining are unable to provide for education as a result of loss their livelihood.

The UN Special Rapporteur on indigenous people, Mr. James Anaya had clearly expressed and showed major concerns and submitted a report to the Government of India on impacts of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project in 2009. The Government of India has failed to implement the recommendations forwarded by the UN SR on the Thoubal Multipurpose Project. The report primarily focused on respecting indigenous peoples' rights and to consider their demands for rights and justice.

10.2 Development projects Induced Displacement:

The affected villagers, mostly youths are migrating to different places look for better places as they see no hope in their own villages which have been submerged with the dam water. They see no scope of progress in their villages which has forced them to look for better opportunity in other places like Imphal, Ukhrul, Jiribam, Moreh and even in the neighbouring states like Silchar of Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram and metropolitan cities like Delhi, Bangalore, Kolkata Hyderabad and Mumbai. A survey has been conducted among the youth migrants working in Delhi specially focussing on Tangkhul Nagas and Kuki. Most of migrants stated the availability of work in retail, hospitality and call centres as the primary reason for their migration. Displacement and marginalization of indigenous people is not a new phenomenon. Even in Manipur, the Loktak Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project and the Khuga dam have caused displacement of indigenous communities from their land and dispossessed them of their source of livelihood. The recent development projects as Trans-Asian Highway construction and the controversial Mapithel dam project is also inducing and enabling displacement and migration. These mega-projects have been introduced

for promoting development and to alleviate poverty in Manipur. However, development as a concept is over-simplified and the nuances and conflicting factors that it encompasses in reality and its practicability is usually not taken into account. For example, dams, hydel power projects etc. pride themselves on being termed as sustainable development. But the essence of sustainability is missing from the ethos of their visions. Sustainable development requires an unfailing balance between the development and the ecosystem and biosphere. During an interview with M. Thangkhal, aged 27, who just completed his post-graduation from one of the reputed university in Delhi, mentioned that he does not want to go back as his family land has been submerged by the Khuga dam. Most of the families have been displaced due to the construction of dam. Most of his family members have migrated to the city including his parents and opened a grocery store in Munirka for sustenance since they have lost their paddy fields which used to be their source of livelihoods.

In the period after globalization and economic liberalization, many development projects have been implemented in the region with a mission of connecting India with other Asian countries while opening the 'east gate' as corridor through Look East/Act policy of India in the Northeast region of India. There is an increasing trend of financing development projects by the foreign multinational companies and banks like Asian Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, JICA, International Development Bank etc. With a mission to bring provisions for better lifestyles, connectivity and for general well-being of the society development projects as road expansions, transnational highway developments, mega dam construction, oil and other natural resources exploration

are the new emerging important issues and areas in the Northeast region. The central government in its effort to concentrate and focus on the North-east have introduced several projects in the region. However the centre has failed to acknowledge the cultural ethnic diversity and the reasons for economic disparity in the region. It has also failed to register and acquire an in-depth knowledge of the region, its resources and its connection with the inhabitants. The regional characteristics, effects and the affected are factors that are missing from the idea of development in such contexts. This reason primarily has been a major cause of displacement of many tribal and indigenous people from their original habitats. It also aggravates people to indulge in various unwanted activities and migrate in search of shelter, food, livelihood and better living facilities. In culmination the effect is observed in cultural shifts and loss of older and re-shaping of new identities.

The researcher had conducted a series of interviews which were cross examined as well. However the main difficulty in conducting these interviews was that the displaced people had scattered to different places. It was impossible to get a response collectively or arrange for a survey specifically village wise. As the researcher is stationed at Delhi, interviews and conversations were held with groups of females who ages ranged from eighteen to thirty. They narrated their stories of migration to Delhi after the submergence of their villages and paddy fields because of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project. All these females belonged to the Tangkhul Naga community although from different villages under the sub-division of Ukhrul district. These women were left with no other choice but to look for alternative source for the survival of themselves and their families. Aphi

(name changed) age 28, female, is from Riha village of Ukhrul district, and is currently working in one of the BPOs and taking care of her younger sibling's education in the city. Earlier their parents used to send enough money for their education but after the submergence of the paddy fields in Manipur after the construction of the Mapithel dam, their source of livelihood has been cut-off completely. Another female, in a similar case as the earlier, Chon Horam, is working at one of the Korean restaurant as a waitress. She is aged twenty-five coming from Chadong village which had been completely submerged by the newly constructed dam. When she was in the village her family used to depend on agricultural activities, collecting herbs and mushrooms from the jungle and sell it away at the Yaingangpokpi Market. They earned 3000- 5000 rupees per day easily before the submergence of their village as the land was fertile and it was easy to collect vegetables from the nearby hills. But the entire village had to leave and move up to a higher area when the village flooded and completely submerged. They had built up a house temporarily in the higher area. Such cases forced these young women to leave their villages in search of shelter and livelihood. A few interviewers mentioned about the discrimination they faced in the city. However, they do not want to leave the city as there is no other option left in their respective villages. The women of the affected villages are economically marginalized by such displacement and disadvantaged by migration of their key family members are compelled to take up available jobs, detrimental to their health, rights, and security and thus exposed to a range of abuse and exploitation. "These projects submerged agriculture and forest areas which indigenous communities depend for

their livelihood and survival while also affecting the habitation of endemic flora and fauna of Manipur," he observed.

Kh Bimola Devi, president of MDDAVLC, alleged that the construction of Mapithel Dam destroyed the fragile ecology of Thoubal River and impoverished the affected communities in downstream villages as villagers could no longer collect sand and stone due to impoundment in the dam reservoir. She highlighted the hardships faced by the villagers after the blocking of river water in 2015, whose main livelihood was sand quarrying from the Thoubal River.

Alleging that the dam has no any significance to the locals, she demanded restoration of the flow of the river in its original state. (Mapithel Dam Downstream Affected Village Level Committee)

Conclusion

The global debate on the benefits and disadvantages of dams have been widely discussed and often found to be controversial. As the World Commission on Dams notes[16]

> *The global debate about large dams is at once overwhelmingly complex and fundamentally simple. It is so complicated because the issues are not only confined to the construction and operation of dams but it has included the wide range of socio-economic and cultural, ecological and political choices on which the human aspiration to development and improved well-being are dependent.*

[16]World Commission on Dams, 2000. Dams and Development: A New Framework, the Report of the World Commission on Dams for Decision-Making (London: Earthscan Publications Limited) pp. xxvii-xxviii.

> *Big development projects especially Dams fundamentally alter rivers and its courses and the use of a natural resources, frequently entailing a reallocation of benefits from local riparian users to new groups of beneficiaries at a regional or national level. At the heart of the dam's debate are issues of equity, governance, justice and power – issues that underlie the many intractable problems faced by humanity.' It has further been noted that "Large or small dams, if built without adequate preparatory work, can fail to deliver expected results*.

The process in which the Thoubal Multipurpose Dam was formulated, proposed and sanctioned has failed in all these respects. Issues of equity, governance, justice and power, which the WCD points out as being at the core of the dam debate, have not been adequately addressed because of the lack of adequate preparatory work. This is amply illustrated by the fact that the cost of Mapithel dam escalated from its initial estimates of Rs. 472.5 million to Rs. 9.82 billion, and 30 years have passed without its completion. The lack of involvement the affected villagers in the process is the main reason behind the various problems associated with the dam. As one affected villager puts it[17]:

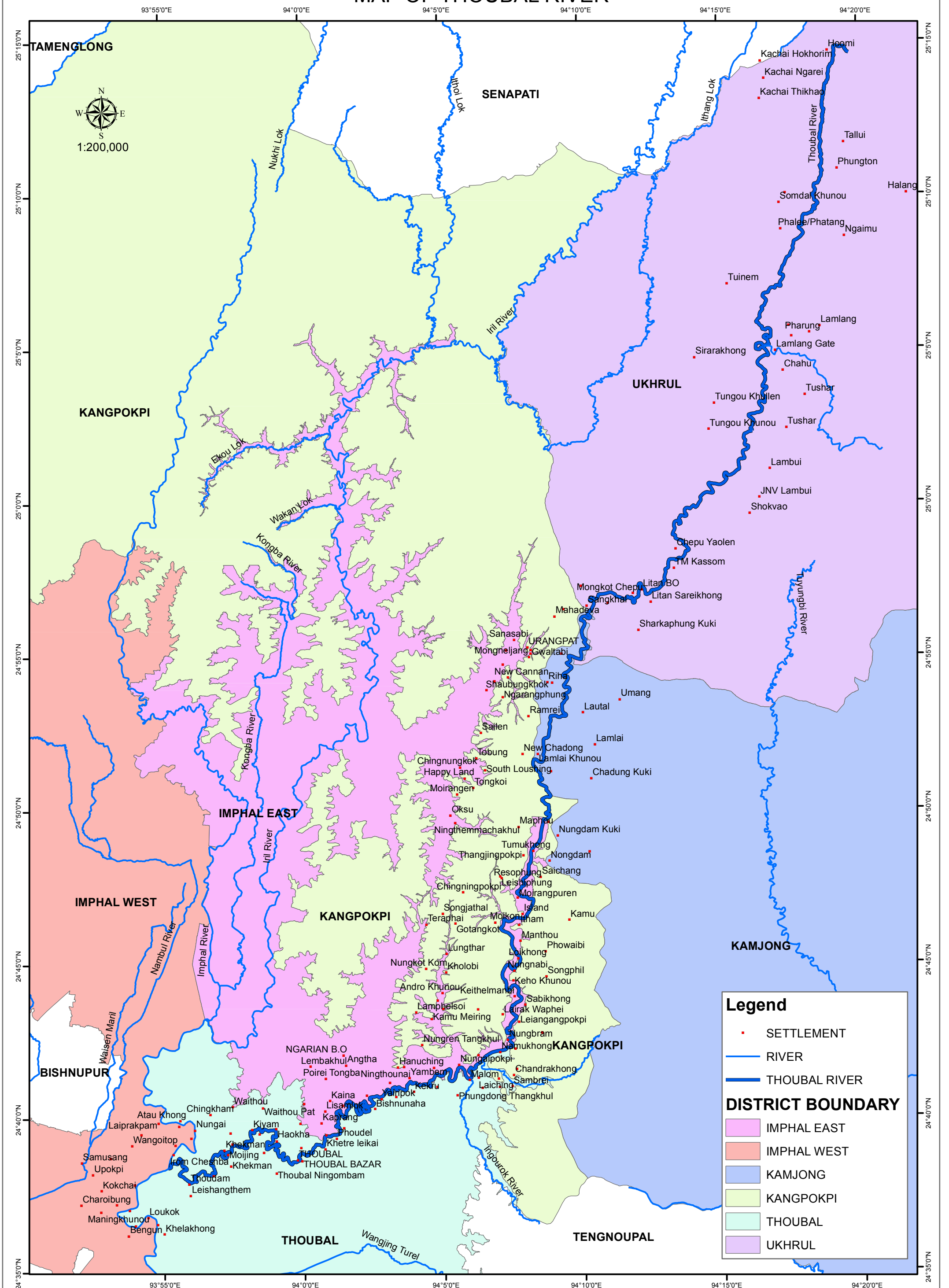
> *We are neither against the dam being building or anti-dam. We are not even saying that the government should abide by our opinions and decisions. We are just saying that the government should be more sensitive to our needs and rights. After all, this is a question of our livelihood and survival for us, this is a question of giving up our land*

[17] Interview with Ramthar Shaiza, Chairman, MDACTO

and forests which had sustained us for many generations. We are just saying that the government should try to be more equitable in its approach. When we were told about the construction of the dam, we were not told anything about how it will impact on our live negatively. They should have at least given us the prior information and allowed us to decide how we want to address for our survival. Even the Rehabilitation and Resettlement programmes were framed without consultation with the affected villagers. There were no proper negotiations among the government and the affected villages. If the government had consulted us in the first place, we will not be facing so much problems now we are facing with so much of difficulties. If you look at the Rehabilitation and Resettlement programmes, you will find nothing mentioned about us who are living in the downstream area. Then how can the government say they have done all the necessary surveys and studies? They do not even want to acknowledge that we are going to face a lot of livelihood issues in the future. This river nourishes our fields by bringing natural fertilizers but not dam is already being built and once the dam start commissioning, nothing good will bring to as we have already facing so much of challenges in our day to day survival. We had been living from the harvest we get from our paddy fields but after the submergence of the water there is no means left for us to earn our livelihood, for how long are we going to survive like this as we know only farming, as our entire life has been engaging with farming and cultivation? The government is

playing with our lives and they expect us to embrace their temporary programmes and policies which does not bring any good to us yet government think that as if they are doing something good for us. How can we remain stand silent when they have snatched away our roof which we have been living for many generation, the land which is so dear to us more than our lives, and our only means of livelihood? It took away the only bridge which was our soul means of communication with the entire world. It also took away the school where numbers of children were studying. It also took away our occupation. Since we do not know other occupation it is very difficult for us to adapt a new work environment, it will take time and money and we do not have any money to establish or venture out for a new avenue. Shifting occupation is not an easy task and it made us more vulnerable and lead into quarrel in the family.

MAP OF THOUBAL RIVER



Chapter Four

Resistance and People's Movements

Why do we sacrifice our land, paddy fields, hills and river at the cost of our children's future when it is the rich and powerful will be getting the benefit?

This chapterdeals with the idea of resistance, forms of resistance, mobilization, protests; andpeople movements. Manipur as a state is entangled in socio-economic and political unrest and is entrenched in backwardness, high intensity ethnic conflicts, insurgencies and conflicting claims over the question of territoriality and state boundaries. The government with an aim of improving and developing the current status of the state is actively participating in developmental planning and bringing in new development projects. Dams occupya major space in these projects. As such, dams and the issue of development represented by it generate many conflicts and have much impact on all major issues in the body politic scenario of Manipur.Manipur has a long experience of changesinduced by the impact of dams. The adverse impacts caused by various state owned and central government financed projects describe a history of oppression and resistance and the changes caused in a societal structure.

Background of Resistance and People's movement:

India has a long history of resistance against development projects including dams. This history also includes the resistance put up by local people to such projects. This chapter will look into the role of resistance in the development scenario of Manipur in particular and northeast in general.

The idea of development and dams insert itself within a complicated nexus of colonialism, independence, nationalism, regionalism, environmental concerns, politics, economy and standard of living among other many social and cultural structures. Resistance as a concept has not crystallized into a definite phenomenon nor does it have any specific definition. In sociological terms too, resistance cannot be looked at as a separate phenomenon but rather a cross-disciplinary one. An attempt to define resistance by analysing contrasting typologies will only limit the phenomenon as a superfluous concept. The greater need here is to understand the underlying factors that culminate or form dissent into a more organizational form of resistance. Resistance hence should be inquired as an issue of recognition and intent that goes beyond a basic, nonetheless important, understandingof it as only oppositional or critical in nature. This inquiry also takes into account the sociological factors that enable resistance. In the context of this paper specifically resistance is significant in analysing the areas of inequality, power, oppression, politics, economy, gender and social change from a sociological perspective. Resistance can both be political and based on identity. In its simplest understanding resistance is a type or form of action which implies positioning oneself with or against, implicitly or explicitly, on opposing sides.This chapter looks at resistance in its most common form; of that of social movements and protests that maybe individual, collective or institutional and organizational.

The evolution of resistance is another significant sociological trend as well. Earlier resistance and protests were scattered, disorganised, and limited to the affected. It was a spontaneous act emerging from dissatisfaction and anger. In the case of the localised protests against dam constructions in Manipur it was the affected villagers

who will be dispossessed and displaced from their lands who protested.However in the recent days, resistance has increasingly become more organised, sustained and has succeeded in building powerful networks through media and lobbying. In cumulative terms these struggles have had profound influence on the entire discourse of dams, displacement and development.

There are instances of anti-dam struggles before the independence of India as well. The movement led by Senapati Bapat in opposition to the Mulshi hydroelectric project in the Western Ghats is an apt example here[1]. The Hirakud dam project, the first river valley project,is an example of early widespread protests beginning in 1946. The struggle against the Rihand project in 1963-64, led by socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia, plays a significant role in the history of resistance against development projects and dams specifically due to its active political engagement.However these movements had failed because of the overarching nationalist issue of time. Nationalist ideologies dominated all available spaces at the time and the idea of resistance to development projects, importance of such struggles lost its sway in the narrative of nationalism and nation-building process. The aim of the time was to develop newly independent India economically resulting in rapid industrialisation and development projects. The rush to acquire economic stability posed a set of varied challenges to the diverse population of India. The nation building process veiled these challenges and the makers of an economically stable India, in many cases, failed to take into account the people and other factors that contribute to the same.India immediately after Independence focused on accelerated economic growth that favoured a capitalist and free enterprise through proper planned

[1]http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/articles/ncsxna/art_dam.pdf

agencies. The Planning Commission established in 1950 in its early stages precisely advocated this view of economic growth and stability among other significant issues. However, development and economic growth were grossly miscalculated in linking economic growth of the nation to improving standard of living conditions.Equity concerns of poverty,education, healthcare, unemployment, hunger and inequality were pushed to the backseat and wrongly interpreted that economic growth of a nation would automatically resolve and bridge the gaps and lead to eradication of these problems.Economic growth became a symbol of development and development projects as that of big dams, steel and power plants, mines, ports, roads, railways and other transportation extensions etc.began to be symbolised withbreaking the shackles of colonialism and creation of a sovereign independent nation. Science and technology took over and development projects and exploitation of natural resources symbolised humanity's conquer over Nature. When India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described big dams as the temples of modern India, while inaugurating the Nagarjunasagar Dam in Andhra Pradesh, his optimism and reverence resonated in vocal sections of the population.

However, this model of development did not remain unchallenged for long. This model started receiving questions and began to be criticized byideological sceptics including the followers of Gandhi. While the nationalist ideology occupied the forefront in all major spaces of the time, the focus on development as enabled only by the parameters of products, goods services started garnering criticism. Criticizers demanded careful assessment of the human, social, equity and environmental impacts of such 'development' interventions and the focus slowly shifted to the impact on social and cultural parameters. The attention shifted from quantitative output to

qualitative impact. Questions of how much and whatbegan to be followed by how, why and for whom. Sociological and humane questions of repercussions moved from the margins to the centre. The idea of development now is inseparable from an understanding of the deeper intricacies of the surrounding environment be it biological, social, political or cultural.For instance the construction of dams,especially bigones,implicates many adverse social consequences. Displacement, loss of livelihood and consequently fissures and changes in societal and familial structures are a few of the adverse effects caused by mindless technological advancement. Smitu Kothari rightly points out that 'the dominant patterns of economic development continue to depend quite heavily on the intensive and extensive utilisation of natural resources'. (Kothari, pp.1479)She further states that those depending on their surroundings and natural resources as the primary source of their livelihood are forced into displacement as the exploitation process of these resources take a negative toll. Despite such increasing evidences from all over the country the importance of acknowledging and analysing environmental and other social and cultural concerns is absent from the spaces of dominant and technological development discourses. [2]

The turning point in the history of resistance to big dams in India started from the success of the mobilisation against the Silent Valley project which resulted in the decision to shelve the project in 1983.The main focus of this project wasenvironmental concerns and consequences. This was followed by successful withdrawing of Bhopalpatnam, Inchampalli and Bodhghat projects proposed over the Godavari and Indrawati rivers. Alliances between environmentalists, scientists and tribal rights activists succeeded in creating awareness among people and also mobilise

[2]Kothari, Smitu. 'Whose nation? The Displaced as Victims of Development', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24 (Jun. 15, 1996), *JSTOR,* pp. 1476-1485.

resistance in the process gaining attention from organisations, political parties and the government. Other notable early struggles against big dams were local movements opposed to the Suvarnarekha and Koel Karo dam projects in Jharkhand, West Bengal.Theprotest against the Sardar Sarovar Project on the river Narmada has managed to gain worldwide attention. Designed to irrigate 2 million hectares of agricultural land, this project at the time of its introductionwas expected toaffect or displace around 100,000 (Joseph 1995: 1) to 200,000 (Morse and Berger 1992: 43) people with a majority of tribal Adivasiand around twenty percent Dalit population.Located at Navagam, about 95 Km upstream from the gulf of Cambay, this dam will submerge 34,867 ha from 237 villages, a majority of them in Madhya Pradesh (Joseph 1995: 1). It aimed to serve a command area of 1.792 m ha of cultivable land in Gujarat, produce hydel power, and provide for industrial and municipal water requirements in the rich central districts, encompassing 43,038.6 Km of canals, branches and distributaries. (Paranjpye 1989:B-28)[3]. Gujarat Government has claimed that this project boasted of an excellent rehabilitation and settlement programme. However till date only around seventy five hundred Adivasi people have been rehabilitated.

A number of protest groups and local organizations gathered under the leadership of activist Medha Patkar in 1988 formed a common platform known as the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada Movement).The resistance strategies were generally borrowed from Gandhian satyagraha which included'non-cooperation and civil disobedience, refusal to cooperate with project authorities, blocking of all

[3] Bharali, Gita. Development Induced Displacement: The struggles behind it, 2004

project-related work, and refusal to leave their villages' (Nayak, pp.) which were made stronger by gaining knowledge and information from extensive studies and researches onthe social and environmental impacts of dams.[4] Baba Amte had also joined the struggle for Narmada in 1989 leaving his work of 40 years among leprosy patients at Anandvan. The funding agency for this dam, set up an independent review of the project in 1991 led by Bradford Morse, which confirmed the fears of the affected people by concluding that proper resettlement and rehabilitation programmes for all those displaced by this project was not possible under the then prevailing circumstances. Later in 1993, the World Bank withdrew from the project which forced the Union Government to negotiate with those leading the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA)[5]. This negotiation is significant in that for the first time there was a scope for proper dialogue and transparency symbolising the impact and power of people's movements.This negotiation wwith the government and the constant protests resulted in the stay order of the dam issued by the Supreme Court in 1995. Following a series of changes in the height of the Dam; the Court in an interim order permitted construction of the dam to resume in 1999. However, court proceedings again in 2000 and 2003 stalled the construction of the dam and finally in June 2014 the Narmada Control Authority gave a final clearance to raise the height from its original 80metre (260 ft) to 138.68 metres (455.0 ft) which was later increased to a final 163 metre (535 ft) in June 2017.Changes were also proposed and made for the policies associated with the issue of displacement caused by the increased reservoir including environmental concerns. However a final report is yet to be presented. The Second Interim report of the committee set by the Ministry of Environment, Forests and

[4] Nayak, Arun Kumar. 'Big dams and Protests in India: A Study of Hirakud Dam', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (January 9-15, 2010), *JSTOR*, pp. 69-73.
[5] Roy, Arundhati

Climate Change (MoEFCC) regarding planning and safeguards only focuses on the status of flora and fauna, compensatory afforestation, command area development and the human health status of the affected areas.

In the Northeast India region also there has been an active participation in protest movements; some of these movements leading to success as well. The withdrawal of the Rathong Chu project in Sikkim in 1997 and the Bedthi project in 1998are apt examples whichcan be cited here. The construction of Tehri project, Koel Karo; and the Tipaimukhi dam projects have been successfully stalled.The rehabilitation and resettlement packages forthe affected and the displaced are being reviewed and the constant protests have also compelled the government, both at the state and central level, and funding organisations and agencies like the World Bankto re-think the policies for development projects induced displacement. A significant development has also been observed in the recent revival of struggles by people displaced by dams that had been completed years ago, such as on the Bargi (completed 1990), Koyna (1964), Tawa (1975) and MahiKadana (1978) (CSE 1999).

The struggles have been successful in Bargi and Tawa where the displaced people have formed cooperative societies and have secured fishing rights in the dam reservoirs. The importance of resistance and its success is important at various levels. It has given voice to the groups excluded from mainstream public and political participation. Increasing political contacts have brought to the forefront the segregation between groups and communities and the powerlessness and oppression of the disadvantaged by those in power. The complex relationship between development and displacement as both social and political processes has become more visible. This relationship is inter-related and reflectiveof the power play among

the opposing groups or parties involved.What is significant to understand of the resistances put up by people against such development projects are the underpinnings in the conceptualisation of development and to look at it from the view point of the displaced.

Resistance and causes

Resistance can be caused by any kind or form of conflict and power tussle. The construction of dams is at the centre of environmental movements and other social and cultural protests in North East[6]. There are many commonalities observed in such development projects and its aftermath. A clear observation is the social, economic, cultural and environmental impact of these dams on the affected people living in both upstream and downstream areas. A negative impact on the environment or habitat of the people and the forests will also have impact on the residents of the area. A sustained and balanced ecosystem will become instable and consequently affect the social and societal structures further spilling its effect on from one parameter to the other. Along with the government and the planning committee it is also the environment and forest departments that lose their credibility and trust of the people. Activists in Manipur have time and againalleged that the clearance for the project in the stages of site selection, making Preliminary Feasibility Report (PFR), Detailed Project Report (DPR), Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA); and counselling and public hearings have been ignored and manipulated to agree with the project. The lower Subansiri Dam project under consideration, which is 116 metres in height, would submerge 3,436 ha of forest land. The total requirement of forest land for the project is in Arunachal Pradesh measuring 856.3 ha. In Assam survey and

[6] Bhatacharjee, Jhimli, Dams and Environmental Movements: The Cases from India's North East, International Journal of Scientific and Research Publication, Vol 3, Issue 11, Nov 2013

investigation works have been completed and the Detailed Project Report (DPR) had undergone the techno-economic clearance required from the MoEFCC (Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change).The construction work of the Dam has been resumed from October 2019 after its clearance from NGT (National Green Tribunal) in July 2019.

In the case of Mapithel Dam, indigenous communities affected by the project in the downstream areas have also been taking serious note of the adverse effects of theproject. A series of consultation and awareness programme are organized to mobilize all the affected villages and people who are scattered over various places due to displacement. These affected people along with thevarious organisations had submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister stating that the blocking of the waters of the Thoubal river by Mapithel dam or the Thoubal Multipurpose Project from January 2015, had various negative impacts. Many villages in the downstream areas including Tumukhong, Moirangpurel, Itham, Leirongthel Bitra, Nongpok Keithelmanbi, Laikhong, Kumuching, Nungaipokpi, Changamdabi, Irong, Top Lamlai, Nungbrung, Yambem, Tulihal, Yairjpok Top; and Thoubal area etc. in Imphal East and Thoubal districts are experiencing severe challenges of livelihood.The increasing difficulties to support the education of children have turnedout to be one of the most grave impacts in the villages in downstream areas and many villagers who once were able to support their children's education by sand and stone collection and quarrying; by fishing in the Thoubal river, and by the production of vegetables from the fertile river of the Thoubal river, can no longer support their children andtheir education. They cannot afford the schoolfees; uniforms etc. leading to school drop-outs. Moreover, loss of livelihood in the case of families dependent on

one person for their daily needs have also led to increase in dropout rate of schools as the loss forced the whole familyto be engaged in some kind of labour or work for their survival.

The downstream affected organisations have demanded the Government to conduct a detailed impact assessment of the communities affected by Mapithel dam in downstream areas in consultation with them. The demand also states for a preparation of a detailed rehabilitation and resettlement programme; and alternative livelihood means for the villagers affected. It also statesthat the construction of project or dam be withdrawntill the demand for proper rehabilitation and resettlement programmes for downstream affected communities and other demands are met. The affected downstream have also urged in the memorandum to the Chief Minister to ensure the right to education of all the children affected by the dam and establish adequate educational infrastructure and adequate number of teachers. It is also extremely important for the government, funding agencies, planning committee and the project developers to heed the ecosystem and the availability of natural resources. Exploitation and capitalisation of the natural resources in the name of sustainable development depletes the resources at a greater rate of speed than needed. Sustainable development bases its aim for development while sustaining the earth's natural resources. It specifically aims to maintain a balance between the environment or biosphere and ecosystem with development by using the earth's natural resources in a limited way and not in excess. There has been a continuous search for alternate resources as well. The idea of sustainable development however seems void when it is non-renewable resources that are exploited. However, even with renewable resources the uses, its maximum capability and time gap for usage etc. need to be focussed on.

Further owing to the population boom and high densityof population on increasingly fragile ecosystems and dependent on the surrounding as means of livingmost often lead to further unsustainability of resources. This consequently leads to other social problems of economic marginalisation, migration; displacement and cultural insecurity etc. compelling the affected to seek various desperate means of survival.

Development projects and people:

The present Prime Minister of India launched projects worth fifteen billion in January 2019 for the development of Manipur as a step towards the growthof 'New India'. Five helipads are to be constructed and the Imphal International airport expanded under the UDAN scheme. The Government also announced plans of setting up mini sports complex and infectious disease centre in Imphal other and road expansions including the National Highway of which 300 km is in Manipur under the present government policy of Transformation by Transportation. Building three more women markets, there is a project or scheme coming up to link all the state capitals of the Northeast India with railways.'Go to hills' and 'Go to villages' initiative of the state government is also in line with the centre's vision of 'Sabka Sath, Sabka Vikas'. In the Prime Minister's short visit early in 2019, he inaugurated Dolaithabi Barrage Project, Buffer water reservoir in Ukhrul etc.[7]

Reason for Resistance: Fr**ee prior consent, Public Hearing, Rehabilitation and Resettlement.**

[7]https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/imphal/pm-launches-development-projects-worth-rs-1500-crore-in-manipur/articleshow/67392600.cms

Several protest have been carried out and demanding review of the plant, students, local bodies and civil society came together to protest the dam but it all went in vain.However, the officials have a different opinion about the protest of the villagers. This is because there are differences and varied nuances among the protester's reasons for their anger and disappointment against this project. While the compensation for thedamis claimed to have been settled during the time of Rishang Keishing; there are trust issues cropping up. The Dam project has submerged the cultivable land. While terms were made and agreed between the government and the head of the villager and completed during the time of Rishang Keishing, the commitment to these terms is lacking lacking on the government's side. The delay of the project, increased funds but refusal to review compensation and rehabilitation terms, loss of livelihood etc. are few but important reasons for the resistance from the villagers. Consequently, the Memorandum of Understanding or MOU was signed on June 1993. So far 22 villagers have been affected both in upstream and downstream by the project.

Ramifications on social, cultural and economic:

Though Sardar Sarovar is the best known project, protests are not limited to it. There have been protests around dams in other places too in response to their adverse impacts on thousands of people whom they displace physically, socially and culturally. These people are deprived of their livelihood, social and cultural systems and pushed into abject economic and cultural poverty. The problems of relocation, livelihood, sufficient compensation etc. create conflicts around benefits and access to and ownership of resources. Hence, development projects, in many cases dams, come off as a negative step and a threat to those who will be directly or indirectly

affected.Building large dams have become a worldwide phenomenon as a part of economic development in the countries. India is also in the forefront in constructing large dams. Right after India gets her independence the first prime minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's dream to rescue the nation from poverty, hunger and economical shortages includes bulding large dams. These according to him will help India out of poverty alleviation and help in stabilising the GDP owing to its benefits of generating hydroelectricity, irrigation and also providing drinking water to millions of people worldwide.However, in this bide to develop technologically and economically the downsides of it were ignored. Displacement, destruction of the ecology and degradation of environment are only a few mentioned downsides.Various programme and packages with a vision to reconstruct the conflict zone i.e. the North East India into a gate way of east initiated the idea of development projects in this region. Under the planning commission of India, the entire eight state of the Northeast is also under its view in building large Dams to generate hydropower by dismantling the river courses which can be dangerous for various reasons; the major being that the region falls under the seismic zone.

To improve the condition of the nation government has made a formal model of planning was adopted in India after independence. Accordingly, the Planning Commission was set up on March 15, 1950, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as the chairman. The main aim of planned development was to attain balanced economic growth by transforming the backward colonial economic system into a developed modem industrial one which the prime minister in European countries especially the Soviet country of that time. The five year plans have undertaken this challenge and most regions in the country has felt their long-

term impact. The main approach to planning for development of the tribal villages has been to break their isolation and therefore build rural infrastructure and raise their standard of living through the adoption of improved technology of production, which is, by replacement of shifting cultivation by settled cultivation. In the 1970s the India government began to recognise that the people of Northeast India have been left behind in the economic development. Thereafter, since the early 1970s various schemes for the development of infrastructure and economy of the Northeast region were formulated. These schemes include the Hill Area Development Projects, Tribal Area sub-plan. Tribal Development Agency Projects, Border Area Development Programme, and formation of the North Eastern Council. The Government of India's approach to development planning since the 1970s involved special support for geographically backward areas. The "Gadgil Formula" for allocation of central plan assistance to states was evolved in 1969. The criteria used to define these states include (i) remoteness and hilly terrain, (ii) large populations of indigenous (tribal) peoples, (iii) inadequate economic and social infrastructure, and (iv) inadequate capacity to raise resources on their own. Most of the Northeast states fall under this category. The Gadgil formula was revised in 1980 and other similar states have been added to this "special category states". For these special category states, assistance was provided on the basis of 90 percent grant and 10 percent loan. In the state of Assam the pattern of central assistance is 70 percent loan and 30 percent grant.

To bring about an integrated development of the Northeastern region, the central government set up North Eastern Council (NEC) in 1971 by an act of parliament, the North Eastern Council Act, 1971. The Council started functioning from 1972

and act as an advisory body and a development wing of the Ministry of Home Affairs. To bring about balanced socio-economic development in the region, NEC supplements the efforts of the states by rendering them such balancing and infrastructural support as they needed. The North Eastern Council (Amendment) Act, 2002 amended the North Eastern Council Act, 1971 which included Sikkim into its fold. Since its inception the council fiinctions as a regional planning body for the Northeastern region, formulate specific projects and schemes to benefit two or more states and review the implementation of projects and schemes and recommend measures for effecting coordination in the matter of implementation of such projects and schemes. It has taken up several projects for the development of infrastructure in the region. Some public sector units have also been set up in the region. The NEC is blamed for adopting a highly bureaucratic and technical approach in its quest for finding regional policies for the region and spends major portion of its plan outlay in developing infrastructure and assumes that by taking care of infrastructural development it can achieve regional development. Authors like Munshi, Guha and Chaube have shown that infrastructural indices associated with modernisation have no correlation with the actual growth indices in the units of Northeast India. With its over emphasis on infrastructure with a half-hearted concern the NEC failed to create human capacity formation for a balanced regional development. The failure in building the local forces of production and human capacity development has made the region increasingly dependent on the mainland. Though the region has rich mineral, water and forest resources, the absence of industrialisation make the region a market ground for manufactured products from industrialised regions of India and more new industries and jobs

created outside the region. A vast chunk of the money earned is spent on buying consumable items imported from industrial parts of mainland India. The Shukla Commission that submitted a report to the Government of India entitled "Transforming the Northeast" in March 1997 and estimated that about Rs.2,500 crore worth of consumable items is imported from outside the region every year. Therefore, the questions of being neglected, geo-political and economic situation after independence, the colonial economy still retained and the government approaches to development in the northeastern region is always being raised. The mainstream economic thinkers generally blame that economic backwardness or neglect is the main source of political turmoil in the Northeast region, and that once this problem is taken care of, the main source of political turmoil will go away. It is true that, militant groups, political parties and public opinion in Northeast states do complain about the region's economic underdevelopment and this has resulted in the alienation of the people. Once developmental efforts begin to generate a host of opportunities and penetrate into the lower strata of society, people will cease to resort to insurgency. As the mainstream analysts believe, one of the main reasons for the rise, growth and sustenance of insurgency in the region is the lack of development, and the region as a whole suffers from lack of developmental initiative. It is also true that insurgent groups in the region have been successful in exploiting the prevailing sense of general deprivation among people to further embolden their position. However, the belief that initiation of developmental efforts would automatically end insurgency is just a wishful thinking. Such a line of thought fails to analyse the problem in its entirety.^" Though the insurgent groups complain about economic backwardness or neglect,

their primary complaint is perceived injustices grounded in the history of how the Indian postcolonial constitutional order came into being.' What is striking is that the bureaucrats, politicians and military officers who make Northeast policy are either oblivious of the historical issues that insurgencies raise, or consider them too trivial to merit substantive engagement.The Northeast region is marked with diversity in economic pursuits but geopolitical hindrances have prevented the area to develop economically at par with many other parts of the country. The lack of development and industrialisation has resulted in the growing economic disparity of the region vis-a-vis the national average; and this rising disparity has further led to the growing sense of alienation among the people. Economic deprivation, disparity, exploitation, lack of development and a growing sense of alienation, en masse, created congenial condition for the rise of ethnic conflicts leading to insurgency in the region. 'Approval of the objectives of these movements in certain cases has further deteriorated the situation, and as a result, a sense of integration with the national mainstream faced a serious setback. For this reason it is felt that, "the region is heading towards a paradoxical state of external integration and internal disintegration and thereby frustrating the developmental efforts." Though underdevelopment is not the only reason for the rise of insurgency it still remains as the prime factor for the prevailing insurgency in the region. Due to widespread insurgency, political turmoil and social tensions, developmental funds are being diverted for the maintenance of law and order which only makes the situation worse. The operation of banking activities, laying of railway tracks, operations of the oil and tea companies, etc., constitute a major challenge for the development process. Most importantly, the continuation of

insurgency provides the corrupt political establishment with a smokescreen for its non-performance. Therefore, there is a vicious cycle of underdevelopment, political and social tensions, and insurgency in the region since independence.

In fact, the top five dam-building countries today account for nearly 80% of all large dams worldwide. China, which had only 22 dams prior to 1949, has built around 22,000 large dams, close to half of the world's total number. Other countries among the top-five dam building nations include the United States with over 6,390 large dams, India with 4,000 and Spain and Japan with between 1,000 and 1,200 large dams each. Estimates suggest that 1,700 large dams have been under construction in other parts of the world in the last five years. Of this, a total 40% were reportedly being built in India (World Commission on Dams 2000: 8-10) However, the construction rate slowly declined coming down to 75% in 1990s as compared to its peak period in 1970s, even when there was a growing scarcity of water and rising demands for hydropower across the world (Khagram 2004: 8-10)

Large dam does not glorify longer among the people as it comes along with destruction and displacement of various population worldwide. A section of people who were displaced from their lands are the tribal and indigenous people whose livelihood is depending on their land and natural resources of its surrounding areas where the development projects have been taken places. Among the tribal and indigenous people land, river, mountain and its natural resources are the only means for their sustenance. And they are the one who have been sacrificing in the name of greater common goods while in returned they were

displaced from their own homeland and forced them take refuge in other places. The chakmas, and Hazong are the living example.

A brief introduction of Big Dams

The protests against big dams in Northeast India have become a regular feature in the newspaper and regional medias yet it is not being able to reach out the mainstream. Although, among these eight states Assam became stand forefront when it comes to protest against this big dams, initially it has started by student's movement against big dams in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and time to time during election to becomes a major election issue for the state likeAssam.Spearheading the anti-dam protest in Assam is the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), a peasant movement which has declared that political parties supporting the construction of mega- dams in Assam would be voted out. Giving a call of "final warning" to central government, KMSS sent a petition signed by more than 110,000 people to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, demanding a complete moratorium on all government clearances to mega-dams in the Northeast.In Arunachal Pradesh, the state government has signed 168 memoranda of understanding with private and public companies for big dams in the mountainous region. Alarms are being raised in the state of Assam over the dams' downstream impacts. A detailed study on the downstream impacts of 2000 MW Lower Subansiri Dam by an expert group of faculty from three Indian universities has recommended that no mega-dams should be built in tectonically unstable northeastern India.

The Arunachal government, however, chose to downplay these concerns, saying the downstream impacts are exaggerated. It strongly lobbied for speedy clearances of all hydro projects in the state by writing to concerned ministries, ignoring suggestions by India's environment minister that the Prime Minister stop all dam construction work in the region until an assessment to survey the dams' impacts was completed. Several Arunachal parliamentarians have gone so far as to label people opposing the dams as "anti-nationals."

Agitated by this response, protesters in Assam burnt effigies of Arunachal state's Chief Minister. Two student groups have issued a call for joint resistance against the dams.Aware of the growing public opinion against big dams, the Assam government has been taking a posture expressing concern over wanton building of dams in Arunachal Pradesh. The credibility of such statements remains to be time tested[8].

The Anti dam episodein the Northeast state is not a new phenomenon especially the dam against the Lower Subansiri project has a decade long history. The project was envisaged by the Brahmaputra Flood Control Commission as back as 1955 with a view to flood moderation and irrigation. Finally the Brahmaputra Board transferred the project to NHPC in May, 2000 without any decision regarding the scientific investigations. As the riparian anxiety and the uncertainties about its socio-ecological impact grew by 2002, the student body called AASU started campaigning against the mega dams. At the same time a few other NGOs too joined the rally and held protest marches at various points.

[8]https://www.internationalrivers.org/resources/anti-dam-protests-get-louder-in-northeast-india-1689

Finally in December, 2006, a tripartite meet was held involving the Assam Government, NHPC and AASU, after which a scientific expert committee was set up to investigate the 2000 MW project[9]. Ironically, NHPC had begun the construction work at a furious pace without carrying out a downstream impact study. Only after AASU launched yet another agitation did the NHPC start cooperating with the expert committee in September 2008. So when the final recommendations of the scientific study came out on 28 June, 2010, they put the public mood in Assam into a panic. The revealing report states, "The selected site for the mega dam of the present dimension was not appropriate in such a geologically and seismologically sensitive region. Therefore it is recommended not to construct the mega dam in the present site." On 17 July, 2010 the House Committee of Assam Legislative Assembly, formed after shrill demands by the opposition parties, asked the government of Assam to follow the expert committee recommendations and take necessary action with the centre.

Manipur:Dams and their Emergence in Manipur

The state of Manipur has a long civilization which is why it is known as a cradle of human civilization. It has been divided into hill and valley.The valley is790 meter high above the sea level is surrounded by the hills in all sides. The formation of the central plain is known as lmphal valley. In the south of the valley there is a lack called the Loktak. There is a geological explanation maintains that the Imphal valley was formed due to the uplift in the southern mountain, which led to the reversal of the drainage system and impounding of water in the area

[9]https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/openindia/mega-dams-campaigning-against-plans-of-indian-government/

where there are the lakes and swamps[10]. In fact, the state is rich with environmental and socioeconomic by the gift of mother nature in the form of lakes or wetlands, locally known as'Paat'. These paats have helped the people of Manipur to develop in a unique way to sustain and earn itself a place without much dependency on the government. Manipur is also abundance with a large number of rivers and streams which traverse her mountains and valleys. Most of these rivers are rain fed rivers. The Barak river is the longest and largest river starting from a point of northern hills flows into the western and southern hills, then to Cachar in Assam and finalJy to the Sunna valley of Bangladesh. The !rang and the Makru of the Tamenglong area flow into the Great Barak. The Imphal or Manipur river traverses the valley of Manipur, starting from the hills to the north valley flows into Chin hills and to the Chindwin in Burma. The Imphal, the Iril, the Nambol and the Thoubal river run across the heart of the valley. The rivers and the fertile banks provide livelihood to the people who live in their watershed systems, though during the rains they turn into devastating demons of devouring floods and bring forth the alluvial soil enriching the fertility of the land. As is the phenomenon globally, so in Manipur too, there has been a constant interplay of its natural endowments and politics. In other words, the geography of Manipur has not been bereft of politics. With its complex geographical and topographical settings, the state is known to be a very vulnerable state in the Northeast region and is in search of a compromising position between the hills and the valley. Such vulnerability can be attributed to the fact that different geographical conditions have produced different socioeconomic conditions in various regions of the state.

[10] S.C. Sinha, Ethno-botanical Study of Manipur,Ph. D. Theis is, Canchipur, Manipur Universily

Further, the traditional pattern of resource usage among different sections of the people has also contributed to an uneven economic growth thereby enlarging the vulnerability. For a long time, the limited arable land, made fertile by the streams and rivers running down from the surrounding forested hills, has played a key role in the economic life of the people in both the hills and plain. Since the pre-colonial regimes, the sharing of productive forces between the people of hills and plains through their close interaction has been well acknowledged in most of the historical literature. It is also a matter of fact that, while the large forest area of the hilly region provides the household commodities of the entire state, the fertile valley has been responsible for high levels of food production in the state. Traditionally, there has been co-existence between the peoples of the hills and the valley in sharing resources such as rice production, forest products, water, etc.

Meanwhile, the state is today following a path of development that is almost parallel to the Indian pattern previously examined by taking up various projects like roads, buildings, irrigations, hydro-power, etc. At the same time, the state has already experienced the way in which similar kind of development has been managed in the past and has been witness to the story of both success and failure of these projects. This has now reached a critical stage requiring an assessment of these projects, particularly in the case of dams. The imperative for such examination arises not only to ensure that the benefits accrue to every section of people in the state but also for a comprehensive understanding of their various aspects in terms of the interplay between politics, culture and natural resources.

Manipur is a small state which belongs to part of the eight states of the NorthEast India. It did not have any major and medium irrigation project up to the year

1972-73. Most of the agricultural activities are dependent on capricious rainfall that is the reason why proper facilitation of irrigation to supply water is crucial. Before the year of 1975 there was no big project in the state, after the year 1975 major, medium and multipurpose irrigation projects have been introduced in the state. Major and medium irrigation was started only from the 4th plan period onwards[11]. The state has so far taken up 8 projects as per the government record, which are mega dam, medium dam and multipurpose irrigation projects. Of these 8 projects, 3 projects namely Thoubal Project, Singda dam Project and Khuga dam Project are multipurpose projects. Loktak Lift Irrigation (LLI) is the major project and remaining four are medium projects namely, Imphal Barage, Khoupum Dam, Sekmai Barrage and Dolaithabi projects. The Loktak Lift Irrigation Project is one of the biggest lift irrigation project in the North Eastern Region of India. Among these eight projects, Thoubal Multipurpose Project is the only ongoing construction at present.

The government is hoping that with the completion of all the 8 projects will give an ultimate annual irrigation potential of 1,09,785 ha. with water supply and power components of 19 MGD and 10 MW respectively. Khoupum Dam Project, LLI Project, Imphal Barrage and Sekmai Barrage Projects, Dolaithabi Barrage have already been completed. It has start giving irrigation benefits but whether it has fulfilled the promised made by the project planner needs to understand. The Singda Multipurpose Project was approved by the Planning Commission in the year 1974 and its construction was started from 1975. The irrigation and water supply components of the project were completed in 1995-96. Since then,

[11] CAG Report Government of Manipur, Report No.2 of 2017

irrigation potential of 4000 ha. has been created and 4 MGD of raw water is supplying to state PHE Deptt. Out of this 8 Major and Medium Irrigation and Multipurpose Projects Khoupum Dam, Imphal Barrage, Sekmai Barrage, Loktak Lift irrigation, Singda Multipurpose Project and the Barrage component at Keithelmanbi Khuga Multipurpose project, Dolaithabi Barrage project and a part of left Canal of Thoubal Multipurpose Project have been completed. The only ongoing project left is the Thoubal Multipurpose Project. As per the IFCD office, is the Head Work and remaining Part of Canal System of Thoubal Multipurpose Project.

From the completed and partially completed project Irrigation potential of 36,847 ha has been created up to 2008-09 with utilization of 27,000 ha. In addition, 1,200 ha and 900 ha of low lying areas of Loushipat and Poiroupat respectively have been reclaimed by Thoubal Multipurpose Project. Appreciable Progress of the on-going Major and Medium irrigation and multipurpose projects could not be achieved onwards 2003-2004 up till date owing to financial constraint coupled with the prevailing law and order in the state. The Khuga multipurpose project was sanctioned for Rs. 15.00 crores in 1980 by the Planning Commission. The Project has promised to create 1500 ha of annual irrigation Supply of 5 MGD of raw water for water supply and also to generate 1.50 Mw of power. The Project works were taken up in 1982-83. Owing to rescission of the 1st contract and fixation of 2nd contract in 1986, law & order situations, financial constraints, ethnic clashes etc., completion of the Project has been delayed and rescheduled in 2010-11. The progressive expenditure upto March, 2010 is Rs. 357.76 crores. The budget provision for 2010-11 is Rs. 33.15 crores. The dam has been completed to

1.1 Khuga Dam

The Khuga dam is another multipurpose project located near Mata village which is 10 km from the district headquarter of Lamka, Churachandpur. The dam project started in 1983 after being halted for a very long period it resumed in 2002. On 12, Nov 2010 Sonia Gandhi inaugurated the dam. It is also known as Mata dam by the local villagers of Churachandpur. The height of the dam is 38 metres and the width is 230 metres. The Khuga dam has created an artificial lake at the southern tip of Lamka town and became one of the artificial lakes of Manipur.

The purpose of the Khuga Dam is to irrigate 15,000 hectares of agricultural land, to provide 10 million gallons of drinking water and generate 1.5 MW. When the project was built with an aim to provide an alternative solution to curve the problems faced by the people mainly of Churachandpur and the entire state of Manipur in general. Agriculture being the primary source of the region, the priority on irrigation, drinking water and electricity was given when the dam was constructed.

With more than Rs 300 crores invested, the proposed "output" of Khuga Dam is unlikely to be experienced by the people of Churachandpur. It may also be mentioned that the audit report of March 1999, on the performance review of the dam, says, "Since 1984, the IFCD, Manipur, carried out construction work on 25.37 km of canal over an area of 40.27 hectares of forest land in Dampi reserve forest without obtaining the required clearance for diversion of forest land. Barring the unaccounted environmental destruction (that still continues) the overall concept of the multipurpose Khuga Dam project in itself was unpractical and paradoxical.

Two parallel absurd realities fast unfold in Manipur. The efficacy of several commissioned mega dams Khuga dam, the Khoupum dam and the Singda dam and even the 105 MW Loktak project is increasing exposed, as evident by wide reporting on their non-functioning of their vital components, of regular breach of canals and dams lying idle and defunct since decommissioning. Small scale farmers, fishing communities in and around Loktak wetlands will wilfully testify the unfulfilled promises and the underperformance of the 105 MW Loktak HEP project in Manipur.

In another reality, notwithstanding the exposition of efficacy and tacit underperformance of commissioned mega dams, there's concerted and aggressive move of the Government of Manipur to construct series of mega dams all across the Rivers of Manipur under the Manipur Hydroelectric Power Policy, 2012, even initiating series of global tenders inviting multinational corporations and full preparations of Memorandum of Understandings with these giant profit mongering corporations.

The recent announcement to initiate investigations into corruption and misappropriation of allocations for Khuga dam construction comes amidst recent reports of breach of Khuga dam canals, inundating agriculture land which it intends to irrigate. The JAC on the Khuga Dam Project recently apprised the Prime Minister of India on the irregularities and misappropriation of funds to the tune of Indian Rupees (INR) 1.5 billion involved in Khuga dam construction and appealed for his direct intervention to investigate such misappropriations. The Khuga dam project, earlier approved by the Planning Commission at the estimated

cost of INR 15 Crores in 1980 with work started in 1983 suffers inordinate delay and the project cost escalated to INR 434.65 Crores by October 3, 2011.

The Khuga dam, which intends to generate 1.5 MW and to provide irrigation to 15,000 hectares of agricultural land in Churachandpur District, has long failed to generate single unit of power and no irrigation and water supply provided to denizens of Churachandpur Town. No one has ever heard of the power generation since the project commissioning in 2010. Rather, impacts of the Khuga dam are increasingly evident, with drying up and increased pollution of Khuga River, desertification of Churachandpur Town is becoming an obvious reality. If such assertions are proven true, it will reveal a very dangerous and alarming aspect of mega dams' construction in Manipur. This will also subject these mega dams to questions its rationality and viability of its intent and purpose. Absence of conducting detailed impact assessment, both upstream and downstream, improper surveys on feasibility of catchment areas for planned power generating capacity and land related conflicts due to inadequate consultation with communities marked the Khuga dam construction.

As far as irrigation is concerned, Churachandpur is a hill district where jhum cultivation is practiced. Few of the plains areas in the adjoining districts have permanent cultivation that requires improved irrigation. While the idea of irrigation for jhum cultivation in the hilly region is yet to be conceptualized and is, thus, unrealistic to many, people felt, and not without resentment, that the actual benefit would go elsewhere and not to the hill people of this district. As feared, people are faced with a drinking water scarcity and yet are doubtful whether the water reserved in Khuga Dam would qualify as “clean” for drinking.

Several villagers living in the vicinity of the dam, as also visitors, have reported that the “stagnant water” actually “smells”. Power supply was always a luxury for the people of Churachandpur, and of late the situation is at its worst. Though the locals were either ignorant or unaware during the implementation of the project, it became the talking point in the later stages. People waited, hoped and imagined. Now, with the much-hyped project standing tall and ready to function, villagers and supposed beneficiaries feel otherwise. Those in Churachandpur and, specifically, Lamka live in fear of the dam, for they believe Khuga Dam will fall one day and Lamka will be doomed.

1.2 Singda Dam

Singda Dam is one of the multipurpose dam and also one of the highest earthen dam in Manipur of 60 m height and 490m length. It is located at Kangchup, 20 kilometers away from Imphal and constructed over Singda River . Singda Dam project has been constructed by National Projects Construction Corporation Limited in 1975. The project was taken up with the aim of supplying drinking water in greater Imphal areas besides irrigating agricultural fields of 4148 hectares in Phayeng and Lamsang in Imphal West district. It was completed in 1995.

Since the Dam blocks free flowing river of Singda which start affecting in various ways. Aquatic animals specially fish that depends on the flow of the river are in great danger.

The Singda Bazaar Board Development Committee (SBBDC) has urged the State Government to limit the reconstruction and renovation of Singda dam within the boundary of the dam as it keep encroaching the land to expand the compound

without taking proper consent from the people of the area. There was a resistance made by the people to oppose any acquisition of land by the Government outside the existing boundary of the land. There were numbers of public meeting held to against the step taken by the state government. Several stakeholders like Kadangband Part-I Khun Committee, Singda Naharol Yaipha Thoumi Kanglup meira paibees of Singda, Kandangband and Ireng and numbers of villagers . The meeting while lauding the effort of the State Government to renovate the dam pointed out that SBBDC was set up in 1975. Maintaining that people of the nearby areas are not against the eviction of the houses and farmlands which are within the boundary of the dam, the meeting observed that villagers would however stand against acquisition of SBBDC areas outside the boundary of the dam. The meeting also resolved to extend co-operation to the dam authority in the eviction of the encroachers. Speaking to reporters SBBDC Chairman L Mohendra said that SBBDC is the land owner of the areas like Singda Bazar, Kadangband Part-I and Ireng etc which have around 60 houses. The houses built at the space located in front of the main gate of the dam come under the ownership of SBBDC. The committee would co-operate the dam authority in the eviction of the houses built inside the boundary of the dam, he added.

Another contentious mega dam in Manipur, quite similar to the underperformance of Khuga dam is the Singda dam in adjoining area of Imphal West and Senapati District of Manipur. Its 750 KW power generating unit lies rusted in the immediate vicinity of the Singda Dam, failing to generate a single unit of power since its commissioning. The Singda Dam, commissioned in 1995 and located about 20 km northwest of Imphal, is a multipurpose Project intended to provide

drinking water, irrigation and also for the generation of 750 Kilowatt of electricity. In 1975, the Government of Manipur already acquired 517 acres from Ireng and Kadangband village for the project, which includes prime agriculture land for the construction of canal and water supply.

The Singda dam is also widely criticized for its failure of irrigation project. Besides plans to irrigation of the agricultural fields in Kadangband, Chirang, Phumlou, Sanjenbam, Lairensajik, Phayang, Lamsang in Imphal West District, the project also aimed to supply water to greater Imphal. However, the water supply aspect records underperforming trend. The proposed eviction plan to develop Singda dam by the Government of Manipur in 2012 is opposed by communities settled in the periphery of the dam, especially in Ireng and Kadangband Villages. The proposed eviction will now affect nearly 220 members of the communities residing in and around Singda New Bazaar, viz. the Kharam, the Vaiphei, Rongmei (Ireng Nagas) and the Meiteis. A participatory review to rectify the underperformance of the Singda dam and to end causing further inconvenience to residents around Singda dam is still lacking despite wide reporting on flaws and underperformance of the dam.

The people of Singda Bazaar area have been residing at the present area by setting up SDBBC ever since the Government started construction works of the dam. Saying that the Government did not have any qualm with the SDBBC for the past many years L Mahendra questioned what the hidden agenda behind the recent move of the Government is. The areas of SDBBC, with exception to Ireng, not only come under Imphal West district and Sekmai Assembly Constituency but also have a Gram Panchayat.Of the 310 acres of land acquired by the Government

for the construction of Singda dam, 14 acres of land were from Imphal West district, he added. As such, the families who are residing just outside the main gate never encroached the land of the dam, he added. During the meeting, the locals decided on four resolutions.The meeting resolved that around 60 houses in the nearby area had been there since 1975, when construction of the dam had just begun. The plots for the houses were provided under the New Singda Bazaar Board Development Committee. The village has been known as the Kadangband Part I and is now presently under the Lairenkabi-Kadangband Gram Panchayat under Sekmai Assembly Constituency and since the village falls outside the boundary of the Dam, it cannot be evicted while taking up beautification or development works of the dam, the meeting resolved. In case the village is affected by the developmental works of the dam, then the chairman and the secretary of the board will initiate strong actions against it, it said. They also said that if the government decides to go against the public resolutions than any untoward eventuality rising out of it should be borne by the government. They also appealed to all including the MLA, Zilla Parishad, Pradhan, Members and public to join hands and work for the development of the dam.

1.3 Ithai Barrage

Loktak Lake, the largest freshwater lake in northeast India, also called the only Floating lake in the world due to the floating *phumdis*[12] on it, is located near Moirang in Manipur. The Keibul Lamjao National Park, covering an area of 40 km (15 sq mile), which is the last natural refuge of the endangered sangai or Manipur brow-antlered deer (Cervus eldi eldi), is situated in the southeastern

[12] Various mass of vegetation mixed with soil and other organic matter made decomposition

shores of this lake and is the largest of all the *phumdis* in the lake. This ancient lake plays an important role in the economy of Manipur, serving as a source of water for hydropower generation, irrigation and drinking water. It is also a source of livelihood for the rural fisherman who lives in the surrounding areas and on *phumdis*, also known as "*phumshangs*"[13]. Human activity has led to severe pressure on the lake ecosystem. 55 rural and urban hamlets around the lake have a population of about 100,000 people. Considering the ecological status and its biodiversity values, the lake was initially designated as a wetland of international importance under the Ramsar Convention on March 23, 1990.But the lake was designated by the Ramsar Convention under the Montreux Record on June 16, 1993.

The Ithai Barrage was constructed in the year 1979 at the downstream of the Manipur river as a part of the Loktak Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project. One of the purpose of this barrage is to maintain sufficient water volume in the artificial reservoir outcome of the Loktak Multipurpose Hydroelectric project. The Manipur river is connected to Loktak through Khordak river and is the only inlet/outlet for the Loktak. The water stored is transferred through a mountain range, west of Manipur valley to the narrow Leimatak River, which is at an elevation of 312 meters lower than Loktak (NHPC, 1994). "The main aim of the project was to regulate the water of Loktak where the rocky hump rises in the river bed near Ithai village". The report for the construction of the project was prepared in 1967 and the actual construction work commenced in 1971 under the control of Ministry of Irrigation, as a central sector project. The project was handed over to the National

[13] It is the subversion of the word 'phumdi' or the decomposition mass of the mixture of various vegetation with soil.

Hydroelectric Power Corporation on 1st January 1977. The construction was taken up under the Ministry of Irrigation and Power in 1971. It was executed by the National Hydro Power Corporation and commissioned in 1983 at an estimated cost of Rs. 115 crores, with a capacity of 105 MW of power by 3 units (each producing 35 MW) and to provide lift irrigation facilities for 24,000 hectares of land.

Imphal River the only river that outlet of draining water from the central valley of Manipur, as all the rivers, streams and major water bodies in the valley are connected directly or indirectly through the Loktak Lake, and subsequently drained outside the state joining the Chindwin-Irrawaddy system of Burma (Singh. H Tombi, 2018).

Therefore, Ithai barrage can be considered as the main gate to control quantity of water of Manipur Central valley, playing an important role in the environment of the valley as regards to the water supply, water storage, flood, drought, agriculture, fishery, irrigation, power production, aquatic flora and fauna etc. of Manipur.

With the construction of the Ithai barrage and initiation of Loktak Hydro-Electric Project, there have been certain changes in the climatic condition and socio-economic life of the people and environment of Manipur in general.

This dam has ‘permanently’ raised the water level of this wetland to 769.12 meters (measured at park area), and has blocked the natural flow of water to and/or from the wetland, and has altered the hydrologic cycle of this delicately balanced system. Before the construction of the Ithai barrage, the natural dredging

process continuously cleared the silt that is brought down by the various streams and rivers from the valley and the hills. The roots of phumdi and other aquatic vegetation during lean season, i.e., when the water level reduces, touches the bottom for nutrients. During monsoon water level rises and with this the vegetation rises up bringing up the silt with them. Much of this silt gets washed by the current of the rivers, which flows out through the Manipur River. Along with these waters, some of the vegetation or the phumdi flows out through the river itself, serving as a natural control device to get rid of extra vegetation. This is the natural decay and regeneration, the life and death, of the Loktak. In the post-barrage scenario, the water level is maintained, or at least sought to, at a particular level all throughout the year resulting in silting up of the wetland at an unprecedented rate. Other changes include gradual thinning of the floating phumdi (vegetation), endangering original aquatic vegetation, extinction of fish species, and destruction of fish migration and the increased spread of phumdi now covering almost half of the total area of the present water body. Remote Sensing studies conducted jointly by the Manipur Remote Sensing Application Center and the Space Application Center, Ahmedabad (1999) shows that the area under phumdi has increased from 10499 ha. In1990 to 13506 ha. in 1994. Presently deposition of approximately 336,325 tons of silt annually is reported and as in other reservoirs this is ‘more than the siltation rate expected when the project was conceived’. According to the Loktak Lift Irrigation Project (Revised) Vol.1, May 1980, it will take about 160 years to reach the dead storage level. But considering the high rate of siltation, the life expectancy of the reservoir is feared to be much lower.

The other problem associated with siltation, weed infestation and proliferation of the phumdi is the gradual reduction of the water holding capacity, which results in reduction of power generating capacity of the project. The water pollution is due to the 'inflow of organochlorine pesticides and chemical fertilizers used in agricultural practices around the wetland. Further, municipal waste brought by Nambul River, soil nutrients from the denuded catchment areas and domestic sewage from the city settlements contributes to the slow death of this wetland. But recent study under the aegis of Government of Manipur indicates that the water is found to be chemically 'unpolluted'. It is instead microbial pollution that has exceeded in Keibul Lamjao area, beyond the permissible limits of drinking water.

This finding indicates major health implications for the people who directly depend on the water for their daily need of water. On the degree of inundation, it is reported that some 20,000 to 83,000 hectares of cultivable lands got submerged after the construction of Ithai Barrage. The Government's estimate of 20,000 hectares is considered an understatement; on the other hand the estimate done by S. Ibomcha of an area of 83,000 hectares seems to be slightly exaggerated. However proper survey and estimation has not been conducted on the total inundated area, either by the Government or by others. One reason for the discrepancy in figures could be because the Loktak does not have a definite shoreline and its extent is primarily determined by rainfall pattern[14]. Nevertheless, it will be possible to come to a reliable estimate through an understanding of the dynamics, land use system and the cropping pattern of the population that surrounds the wetland. De Roy (1992) estimates that 30 % of them along the

[14] N. RandhirSingh, 1999

wetland got submerged and some 12,000 local people are now no longer able to use shallow fishing techniques".

With the inundation of peripheral areas of Loktak Lake several thousands of hectares of land could not be used for agriculture and it caused the loss of the employment opportunities for more than one lakh people. Apart from the failure in agriculture, cattle's rearing was also not possible since there is no grazing ground of the people. The indigenous technique of Phoom fishing in Loktak Lake also becomes difficult due to the constant rise of water level in the lake. Hence, the Ithai barrage caused unemployment to more than one lakh people in and around the lake.

A serious question which arise from an introspection of underperforming dams in Manipur is why the small state like Manipur should waste public money in the first place for big structures that failed to serve it's the promises made during the execution time of the project, but rather displaced peoples from their ancestral land, lives and future and that help in irrupting unnecessary conflict and division within the villages of the indigenous communities. Why should people be compelled to sacrifice their land for a development that will entail loss and devastation for them?

Amidst all such stories and realities of failures and underperforming of mega dams, as exposed and highlighted by the media, what should be the lessons learnt? Is the Government taking seriously of such realities and the message within? Why is there no investigation of such reportages to prove the veracity of such reportages and to effect necessary rectification measures? Are there no lessons

learnt from such dam failures? One wonders why the Government of Manipur insist only on building more dams despite failures and non performance of its previous mega dams. Any responsible and people oriented State, which believes in democratic process will be sensitive to peoples' complaints of fraught and violations by communities harmed by such destructive development onslaught.

One needs to ponder who benefits out of mega dams, the contractors, the politicians, dam builders, equipment suppliers or is it the people. Why should indigenous peoples of Manipur sacrifice their land, forest and other survival sources for such large scale projects, which only benefits the contractors, the politicians, the engineers and the suppliers? Such contradictory and destructive development only constitutes a fraught development process. The Manipur Hydroelectric Policy, 2012 is only aimed to further serve the corporate interest to maximize profits from the exploitation and destruction of peoples land and resources.

There is a need for state government to conduct an in-depth study and investigation on the dam which give no benefits to the masses rather than and under performance of several mega dams of Manipur, primarily with respect to Khuga dam, the Khoupum Dam and the Singda dam. Such investigation should also cover the social, cultural, health and environmental impacts. A special assessment of the arbitration of human rights based approach to development and other advances on development standards should also be considered. The holistic assessment of the performance and underperformance of mega dams with due

participation of all affected communities and the larger people of Manipur through an open and transparent process should precede before pursuing any further mega dams in Manipur. There should be a review of the 105 Loktak Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project and its multifaceted impacts.The review should also assess the applicability and adherence to the recommendations of the World Commission on Dams, 2000 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007. The implementation of the Manipur Hydroelectric Power Policy, 2012 will simply be irrational and impractical without conducting a review of failed and underperforming dams in Manipur.

The Government's exclusionary move and decision to promote mega dams all over Manipur without consulting the indigenous communities is a violation of indigenous peoples' rights as outlined by UN Declaration on the Rights of indigenous peoples. The community have not been provided the necessary information on the proposed plans. This exposed the lack of transparency and accountability of the government in its plan for dam building spree in Manipur. Furthermore, the government seem to be ignorant that the land acquisition will further impoverish and marginalised the poor and more importantly violate of the rights of indigenous people. One wonders in Manipur why development stakeholders failed to analyse the performance and impact of large hydro projects before promoting more of them? Lack of proper repair and maintenance, lack of attempts at power optimisation, lack or insincere attempts at catchment area treatment to reduce siltation, flawed appraisals and surveys before dam construction, exclusive decision-making and governance mechanisms due to which non feasible dam projects are initiated are some of the key reasons that led

to dam underperformance in Manipur. Lessons learnt through analysis make for better decisions for the future. Involvement of communities' right from inception to implementation to monitoring can contribute in minimizing social and ecological impacts

So long as the rationale of the new proposed mega dams is not to ensure sustainable and equitable development with due participation of affected communities in decision making and seeking alternatives and further due recognition of their rights over their land, and to address the social and environment impacts created by such mega dam, one will only construe that the proposed mega dams plan in Manipur under the Manipur Hydroelectric Power Policy 2012 will be just another sham exercises to rigidify the malpractices, nepotism and manipulations and to further entrench the practice of rampant corruption in Manipur in the guise of development and to cause further inconvenience to the people of Manipur.

People of the Loktak are still having nightmare when they recount the incident happened in the midnight on March 10, 1999, thousands of soldiers Indian Army has thronged in the islets of Thanga, Karang and Ithing in Loktak Lake and detained the local people. The lake is located in Manipur, which has faced decades of military occupation and is home to several separatist movements. The people living on the lake's islets, actually floating islands called *phumdis*, are mostly fishermen and peasants. During the six days of the 1999 military action, these people were accused of being part of the insurgent group UNLF (United National Liberation Front) and were told to reveal information about the insurgents. They were tortured and subjected to other forms of degrading and inhuman treatment.

Even the local women leaders of the locality ‘meira Paibi’s’, fishermen, and the youths were also detained for many hours. They were humiliated in front of their family members and put them in the internment camps. In short, under the guise of anti-insurgency, the people became victims of brutal physical and psychological abuses, all perpetrated by members of one of the world’s most powerful armies.

The Loktak Hydropower Multipurpose Project was originally devised in the 1950s (the time of Nehru) to sell electricity to a large part of the Northeast. Finally, in 1977, the project was commissioned to NHCP. The Loktak Hydropower Station was built with a capacity of 105 mega-watts. While the station was completed as planned, the promises made to the communities along the Loktak Lake and the Manipur River were never kept. Instead their paddy fields and homes were submerged, the communities were forced to move and they never received any compensation. When the emptiness of the state’s promises finally became clear, a strong social movement formed in resistance to the project.

Between 1994 and 2001, the Association Loktak Project Affected Areas Action Committee (hereafter “the Association”) and 10 indigenous leaders representing the towns on the periphery of Loktak Lake and the Manipur River1 initiated a legal case against the Loktak Hydro Multipurpose Scheme for not taking appropriate mitigation measures before construction and for not implementing a proper consultation process with the communities. In their many legal petitions, rallies and meetings, the Association claimed that NHCP did not take into account factors that reduce the storage capacity of the lake and the adverse effects that

artificial intervention in the river's flow would produce in the lake. NHCP also failed to take into account possible adverse consequences for tribal practices of agriculture, such as *jhuming* (shifting cultivation). As a consequence of interfering with the river, the water running through the valley is now causing grave erosion downstream. The sediments accumulating in the lake result in a profuse growth of weeds and water hyacinths, which generates water stagnation and negatively affects fishing and other livelihood activities. The petitioners demanded compensation and the establishment of a committee of experts to evaluate the damages and explore sustainable solutions.

The movement was, however, weakened by a long legal process, during which an army of experts, engineers, environmentalists, lawyers, and bureaucrats submerged the people in an endless discussion that only stopped when NHCP refused to pay compensation. Nonetheless, the movement against the Loktak Hydropower Project had drawn the attention of many human rights and anti-dam activists that during the 80s and 90s campaigned furiously against mega-hydropower projects all over India.

The New Movement: Against Exclusive Environmentalism

The movement was revived in 2006. This year saw the establishment of the Loktak Development Authority (LDA), an institution that was created as a result of the Manipur Loktak Lake (Protection) Act 2006 and was promoted by the Manipur Government, led by its Chief Minister Okram Ibobi Sing2. The purpose of the LDA was "to provide for administration, control, protection, improvement, conservation and development of the natural environment of the Loktak Lake."

The disastrous effects of the Loktak Hydropower Project were now impossible to hide, and environmental policies were urgently needed in order to preserve the lake as well as the ancestral communities that for centuries had maintained a sustainable relationship with the wildlife and natural resources of the lake3.

However, instead of recognizing the important role of the local communities in protecting the lake, government officials did not consult or even consider these communities when they drafted the Act of 2006 and established the LDA. The Act was, on the contrary, detrimental to the communities as it prohibited fishing, cultivating land or even living in a designated 'core area' (70.30 square kilometers) and surrounding 'buffer area.' The *modus vivendi* of the local communities was completely ignored. In addition to the restrictions mentioned above, the Act of 2006 emphasizes the government's ownership of Loktak Lake, ignoring the historical presence of the lake communities. Adding to the tyranny of the exclusions presented in the Act, the Government of Manipur designated the National Hydropower Corporation (NHCP) as a prominent member of the Steering Committee of LDA, completely disregarding the NHCP's major role in the contamination of the lake, the forced displacement of many people and the destruction of the traditional way of life in Loktak.

The LDA must be seen in the bigger picture of Indian environmental politics. Since the time of Indira Gandhi's rule, an exclusionary conservationist discourse has been influencing government policy and language. Influential bureaucrats and political parties tied to the National Government want to protect forests, tigers and other endangered species and habitats without considering the rights of

the *adivasis* (indigenous people) and communities living in these areas. These exclusionary efforts have been helped by the ambiguities of classification; in the Loktak case, the Meithei tribal groups living around the lake are not technically classified as Scheduled Tribes (indigenous people recognized by the Indian Constitution). Because of this regulatory loophole, the Government could introduce the above-mentioned Act of 2006 and effectively take control of the lake.

Local communities have realized the implications of the Act, and protests against it have gained momentum. Support organizations, local NGOs, independent activists and local environmentalists have collaborated to create a network for advocacy, activism and struggle in order to avoid the mistakes of the past and mobilize the community against NHCP and the present conservation policies. One of the recent activities of the movement has been to translate important documents into local languages (Meiteilon and Rongmei) to ensure better participation in future public hearings, an obligation that the authorities did not respect during the consultation process. The local communities have also set up a common platform called the Loktak People's Forum, where the demands of the villagers are compiled and organized. A women's group from Loktak has also criticized the Act of 2006. "The Act," one of the local women said, "is a direct and immediate threat to my right to daily livelihood and so I shall fight till death." The struggle has also helped bring together various tribal communities of northeast India who are fighting against dams and developmental projects like the Doyang Hydro Electric Project (DHED) in the state of Nagaland.

On the June 7, 2011, a public hearing on the expansion of the Loktak Hydropower Multipurpose Scheme took place. The discussion was primarily about the "Loktak Downstream Project," a subsidiary part of the Scheme that would use the discharge from the main Loktak Hydropower Station to create another 66 mega-watts of power. Despite the irregularities in the notification of the public hearings, such as lack of translation of the notification into local languages, the remoteness of location of the hearings and the unsuitable time chosen to conduct the public hearing (when rice field were being prepared), many organizations voiced their discontent with the project. The media in Manipur, however, argued that the public hearing had been a success and that the attendance of the villagers signaled a "thumbs up" for the Downstream Project. Some days after the public hearing, new meetings were coordinated by CCDD (Citizen's Concerned for Dams and Development) to mobilize people against the project. The multi-stakeholder resistance movement is convinced that the Loktak Downstream Project is part of an historical process of deceit orchestrated by the NCHP and the Government of Manipur. The struggle against the Downstream Project is thus a new chapter of resistance against the manner in which national and local authorities treat 'peripheral' communities outside of the mainstream of development.

Conclusion:

For decades, local communities in Loktak Lake have witnessed the application of various policies, projects and interventions (developmental, military and conservationist) that superficially seem to protect life in and along the lake. But

most of these interventions have only led to an erosion of the traditional life of local fishermen, women, peasants and villagers.

The Loktak case is an illustrative example of the way multiple competing discourses and practices shape a territory. This case also unveils the contradictions of initiatives that, during the last seven decades, have been presented as promoting development and protecting the environment in the so-called "Third World," including projects and policies that deal with issues such as global warming, forest protection and endangered species. In many cases, such initiatives negatively affect traditional communities.

The Loktak Lake has become a disputed territory in which many strategies have been used to control and exploit local resources. And in spite of the fact that these strategies used different discourses inspired by often contradictory ideological convictions, they are all interwoven with each other. Struggling against these exploitative discourses, local communities have fought to maintain their agency and control over their lands and livelihoods. Their efforts are crucial to the effort to rethink existing global development models and environmental protection schemes.

The future of the Anti-dam movement

All the states of Northeast India Assam, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur are coming forefront against the construction of Large dam In the midst of the recent central government proposed. Assam being the largest among all these Northeast state have prominent voice.

The most vocal of Assam is the AllAssam Student Union have enough voice which can be heard and they feel that the campaign as not only a national issue in Assam, but to the entire Northeast India. For that matter, their movement does not limit itself to Lakhimpur and Dhemaji districts, but also encompasses the environmental concerns of other projects such as the Kirichu Dam in Bhutan or the proposed Tipaimukh Dam on the Barak River and the ongoing Thoubal Multipurpose Project and also known as Mapithel Dam on the Thoubal River in Manipur.

As many environmentalist and other concerned subject experts have warned of a plethora of environmental, geological, demographic and socio-economic problems, the Lower Subansiri project alone would use 31,000 bighas of pristine forestland in Arunachal, out of which 25,000 bighas will be submerged.

"Given such dangers, we demand a cumulative downstream impact study over the entire stress of the rivers. If peaceful negotiations fail, a full scale blockade movement will remain the only option," warns Dr. Samujjal Bhattacharya. His comment cannot be ignored. Showing a remarkable level of restraint, AASU has so far maintained a completely peaceful movement. With its impressive history and the unparalleled influence it enjoys in the Assamese public sphere, a leap into the role of a resistance movement by AASU would paralyze normal governance in Assam.

The state government however argues that mega dams are a must if India is to prevent the diversion of the Yarlung Tsangpo (the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra in Tibet). As China plans for the world's largest power project in the

upstream . New Delhi in that case will have to go to the International Court of Justice to show the beneficial use of the river in India. “But the people of the Northeast will become a pawn in the race between Beijing and New Delhi,” Dr.Bhattacharya argues, “Assam’s power need is at the maximum 1100 MW which is attained from state’s own production and buying electricity from other projects. If we are to be granted First User Rights of the Brahmaputra by showing its beneficial use, we have suggested some multipurpose micro-projects which will both generate electricity for Assam and contain floods and erosion,” states the AASU leaders.

The mega dam broke apart near the Brazilian city of Rio De Janeiro, rendering 13000 homeless. Such earth-shattering accidents have ushered in a new era of decommissioning. In the year of 2011, Myanmar's President Thein Sein surprised many by stopping the constructionof the $3.6 billion Myitsone hydroelectric project in the Kachin state. In a recent report of the World Register of Dams (WRD) suggests all the capitalist economies in the world including the USA have hugely reduced the construction of mega dams. In fact, the Indian Government, itself, of late has shown greater alertness on the issue of river dams across mainland India. The government has passed strictures on a whole slew of projects from Uttarakhand’s Loharinag Pala (on socio-religious grounds) to the Polavaram dam in Andhra Pradesh (on grounds that mandatory public hearings were not held).

Whether such national standards apply to the peripheral Northeast remains the elusive question. The anti-dam movement in the Brahmaputra valley, a local

commentator writes, has already surpassed the celebrated Narmada Bachao Andolan in terms of numerical strength. The social impact in Indian environmental struggles, be it the NBA or the Chipko Movements, largely remains confined to the affected areas and NGO circles.

In Assam, it has already acquired a significant subnationalist colour that has driven the whole of Assamese civil society towards supporting it. As the buzz grows louder, the book that easily attained best seller status in the recent NE Book Fair in Guwahati, was Akhil Gogoi's anti-dam dossier *Morubhumi Ahe Lahe Lahe (*Gently comes the Desert). The dams, without doubt, could turn the downstream valleys into a desert. But if they collapsed, an apocalyptic flood could swallow all in its path.

Chapter Mangasuba/ Five

Government response and various form of negotiation

In the previous chapter we have thoroughly discussed the people's movement and their way of mobilization and most importantly their reason to oppose or support any government aided project, especially Dam Projects in this case. After this the current chapter will solely focus on the nature of negotiation or dialogue, alongside the government responses to people's movement. Most importantly the chapter will focus on the various forms of politics and their effects at different levels and at different time period.

In this context what the researcher is implicating as dialogue is the communication between those who are involved in the central or state led development projects like expansion of roads, oil exploration, other natural resources exploration and building large dams and the people affected. The aim of dialogue here is to create awareness about the project and to inform the people of the needs and benefits of the development project in the state. Dialogues provide transparency about the development projects to be carried out. .

The opposition to the dam building was movement originally associated with the involuntary displacement of people residing in the project areas which has also evolved with the degradation of environment and the complex environmental risk and uncertainty, and far-reaching environ-mental impact of the dams and irrigation based on them. On the other hand, the project developer including government and the engineers consider large dams as the main solution to the challenges of water management in the country. The popular anti-dam movements

have demanded that a variety of possible technological options, including large dams, needs to be re-examined to ensure sustainable water re-source development. While the official plan for water supply in the coming decades is critically based on the enhancement of storage capacity with the help of large dams, the social, economic, environmental and political criticisms of these projects deserve serious attention[1].

The principal objective of the dialogue is to open professional and innovative conversation between diverse stake holders on the construction of dams, especially large dams. The dialogue transcends the ideologically guided positions of large versus small, or dams versus no dams, looking out over the unsearched frontiers and addressing the questions relating to the prospects and challenges posed by the task of develop water sustainably and equitably. In the light of the immense energy and water potential latent in the Ganga-Brahmaputra-Meghna (Barak) basins of eastern and north-eastern India, the dialogue addresses the issue of social and environmental related concern on the construction of large water projects. The main elements of this policy dialogue is to go beyond the classical pro dam and anti-dam perspective and to evolve a trans-parent, realistic, scientific, and rigorously democratic process of decisions on water resource projects, especially dams, which will help in setting ground for a larger national-level dialogue in the near future.

Planning or construction of several large dam projects has been moving towards Northeast India in the name of developing irrigation, power generation and water

[1]Dams and Development: Report On a Policy Dialouge
https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/4412689.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae5b17943a76ed93c7b441444701ef491

supply. In many cases dam project were able to provide water for irrigations However, with the passage of time, the cumulative effects of serious negative impacts of these projects have become more visible, raising questions on the desirability of dams. The critical stand of organised movements against specific large dam projects, like the Narmada Bachao Andolan Tehri Baandh Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti, Stopped Tipaimukh Dam Movement etc. have emerged from the continuous neglect of the social, economic and environmental fallouts of large dam projects. In most of the cases, government officials have rejected the reports which the activists have upheld it with utmost enthusiasm. In the long term and popular interest, there is a need for breaking such a deadlock and evolve more comprehensive criteria and guidelines for decision- making on dams. For this matter there is a needof an interdisciplinary viewpoint and considered various opinion towards building a wide acceptability from diverse stakeholders.

Causes behind Anti-Dam Movements

Continuous negligence of the problems of involuntary displacement, inadequate resettlement and rehabilitation, lack of transparency and questionable economic performance have eroded the credibility of large civil engineering constructions, evoking widespread campaigns and the cohort of social activism against large dams. Opposition to dams has increased immensely primarily due to the displacement and absence of resettlement and rehabilitation. 80 per cent of the displacement in the country today is caused by Central or state funded development related projects. Indigenous people are the one who has suffered the most due to dam-related displacement and development ventures by their location. They are the real victims of such projects as dam sites essentially are in hilly areas

where the dependency on common property resources is high. On the issue of rehabilitation, the track record of dam projects remains very poor. In many cases, government initiate rehabilitation only after resistance against displacement has reached globally. Ideas of community and area development get a back seat with the local people continuously making sacrifices for development projects, in the form of social, economic and cultural immiserisation. When the affected villagers realized that they are the one who has been marginalised from all the benefits of the projects, they became part of the other fraction opposing such projects in the name of development Moreover, the construction workers of development projects like dams are not locals but hired from different places. Given the fact that dam projects largely ignore the economy of the people displaced and affected by them, it becomes important to look at the problem afresh from a comprehensive cost-effective point of view as well.

There is another dimension to the opposition to many of the dam projects. The growing consciousness of the need for a comprehensive, innovative and open approach to the assessment of dams and for evolving a new set of criteria and guidelines for decision-making on dams cannot be wished away. After a comprehensive assessment, a dam project may very well emerge as the best available option for water management in some cases. In that case, the issue of displacement and compensation needs to be addressed through a widely acceptable and negotiated process based on a more equitable distribution of the losses and gains. A broader innovative approach is very much in need to address the issue of land acquisition. The earlier practices has to be replaced with innovative ideas for overall progress and not focus on few. Though the issue of

involuntary displacement and inadequate rehabilitation and resettlement has rightly received the largest attention due to the human dimension of the issues involved, the dam projects have also attracted criticism on other grounds, especially on the question of environmental impact, ecological sustainability and comprehensive cost-benefit analysis. To address all these points, a comprehensive set of criteria and guidelines are badly needed.

The construction of dams in India, as elsewhere, has evoked further controversy after the submission of the report of the World Commission on Dams (WCD) in November 2000. The officials in the Ministry of Water Resources have branded the report as anti-development. The 26 guidelines outlined in the report are described as unrealistic in many cases. Notwithstanding the official stand, the need for a clearer set of guidelines and criteria for decisions on dams is needed[2]. These guidelines are to be set up along three pathways. The first is the social pathway of adequate resettlement and rehabilitation of the people affected by the projects (PAPs). The second is the environmental pathway of comprehensive assessment of sustain-ability of the projects. The third pathway is the more complete economic assessment and pricing of water. For the quantification of the aggregated impact on the disadvantaged groups, an impact assessment needs to be executed in a detailed manner with a multi-disciplinary framework for decision-making. The Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) must recognise all the PAPs independent of whether they hold a land or not. India at present does not have R&R policy, and one draft version has been waiting for several years for finalisation in Delhi. Except the Maharashtra Rehabilitation Act, all other RR

[2] Kumar and Prasad 2002

policies are requirements imposed by donor agencies like the World Bank. In the light of a very inadequate Land Acquisition Act, which has emerged from the British original, and the absence of a national rehabilitation policy, there exists a serious need for an appropriate institutional framework for ensuring satisfactory R and R of the PAPs.

Environment Aspect

Even though human dimension of involuntary displacement and uncertain resettlement and rehabilitation have remain most discussed reasons for opposition to large dams and movements related to it, the environmental dimension of dams are also equally important. The obstacles to the ecological integrity of the river basins and their negative impact on the biodiversity also deserve serious attention. The aspect of seismic risks associated with large dams and the economic implications of high sediment load in the Himalayan rivers needs to be openly and competently assessed.

Conclusions and Recommendations: In the light of the deliberations in the policy dialogue it was clear that dams constitute an integral part of available technological interventions for integrated water resources development. The choice of the exact type and scale of any intervention would be guided by a process better informed of their social, economic and ecological impacts. In order to achieve this, the traditional approach to water resource engineering needs to enrich itself with the diverse disciplinary studies on water resources use. The recommendations emerging from the forum discussions contribute towards setting up new guidelines and legislation relevant to water and energy resource

development in general and large dams in particular. Current gaps in policy and guidelines for decisions on dams need to be remedied with an interdisciplinary knowledge base with a transparency process of comprehensive evaluation of technological interventions, with reliable data, freely accessible to all stake-holders. The new national water policy (2002) appears to have accepted in theory but the practical need for a new paradigm within which this research will be performed remains inadequately described. The discussions in the policy dialogue stressed on these gaps in knowledge that cannot be filled easily in the near future. At this stage of development, there is an urgent need to interject some amount of lateral thinking, which will allow the hidden elements of the holistic picture to emerge and achieve salience. The experience of past efforts at intervention into the regime of both Hinalayan and non-Himalayan watercourses has many lessons that need to be understood and integrated into the traditional concept and practices of water resource development.

The search for a more comprehensive framework for decision making on dams was the aim of the policy dialogue on 'Dams and Development'. So far two different discussion groups were formed during the dialogue. The first group went in for a detailed discussion on the issues of resettlement/rehabilitation and modalities of stakeholder participation. The second group focused on monitoring, compliance, data availability and also the economic performance and ecological sustainability of dams. Important recommendations and insights regarding the future criteria and guidelines for large dams in India emerged from the group discussions. These points should not be ignored by officials or investors, and they need to be given serious consideration. These can be aggregated as;

1. Proper methodology of building consensus opinion, considering the perception of different groups of stakeholders of proposed river valley projects, who stand wide apart not only in terms of physical distances but also in terms of losses and gains, should be developed. Departmental decisions should be based on open and peer-reviewed scientific literature.
2. Data at the state level with concerned departmental representation should be made available for research purposes. Easy access to river system data, at least on the rivers within the national boundary, should be guaranteed.
3. There is a need to execute environment impact assessment according to the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) notification of 1994. The evaluation criteria should include impact on soil in terms of degradation and productivity status, loss of genetic resources (flora and fauna), loss of or damage to habitat. Notices should be given in local newspapers or the general mode of transferring information, through public hearing at prominent public places or radio broadcasting, should be adopted. People should be made aware of the project document, which should be available for reading much before any public hearing. Isolated, sparsely populated areas will have special criteria set with regard to access to the document at the local village authorities.
4. There are several other dimensions to decision-making on water resource development, which are social, political, economic and cultural in nature. These aspects have been neglected for a long time. The choice of technology, and the size of the project in the event of a dam being decided, whether small, medium or large, should be decided through a trans-parent

process. A methodology for the comprehensive assessment of dam projects with regard to its impact on people and ecosystems should be developed as fast as possible.

5. With regard to right to information, which is a critical basic right in the development of multi-stakeholder decision-making, there is an urgent need for a public information system, long before the inception of the actual project. Decision on the project should not be taken without the active participation of the population concerned, and for that' translation of technical aspects into a language understandable to the local population is a prime requisite.
6. All assessments should be carried out with certitude by an external agency with a high standard of professional credibility.
7. Need to involve Gram Sabha representatives in identifying the DPs/PAPs, and in fixing criteria for adequate compensation and rehabilitation. The representatives should include women from all classes so that their needs are also voiced.
8. Need to consider all groups affected by a project, independent of whether or not they own land. About 40 per cent of the negatively affected include the tribals who are non-patta holders and depend heavily on the common property resources (CPRs). Therefore, they are denied any compensation. Even the women, aged, diseased and the children constitute a major portion of these vulnerable populations and hence a proper insight and realisation of their needs is a must.

9. The basic principle for compensation and rehabilitation is replacement value of the CPRs, social, cultural, economic and psychological systems. Hence, an impoverishment risk analysis needs to be done so as to identify the risks well in advance during the project identification phase. The baseline socio-economic survey can provide the required database for analysing the risks posed by the project.
10. Rehabilitation is a process leading to sustainable living that should as a rule, begin before the project starts. It needs to be based on the principle that the lifestyles of those displaced should be better off than before the project or at least equal to it.
11. Need for a clear gender component in the rehabilitation package as well as profound understanding of the informal economy to which the tribal belong, who have to make the painful transition to the formal economy. In addition to offering them alternative livelihood security, their training, to impart them technical skills, is necessary in order to help them regain a decent livelihood.
12. There is an urgent need for a review of existing legislation in India in the context of international standards and human rights law. Need for an implementation body at the local level, consisting of the Gram Sabha, the Gram Panchayat, NGOs, project officials, technical experts (including engineering, environmental and administration experts). The project-affected people and areas should receive a part of the benefits of dam projects on an essential and priority basis.

13. Adequate rehabilitation necessitates forming a realistic picture of the monitoring of the R&R plan and of the issue of right to livelihood.
14. There is a need for a department of rehabilitation at the state and national levels, with a clear policy and criteria for monitoring the implementation process.
15. An independent interdisciplinary body of high professional standing should evaluate the environmental impact of the projects. Monitoring of the project is desirable every five years after the date of completion of the dam project, which can be extended to 10 years after the completion of the project for the command areas.
16. The whole question of the management of silt in the reservoir has been ignored so far. A clear strategy for the management of silt should be laid out and provisions should be made for periodic desilting of the reservoir, wherever feasible.
17. Need to generate the pre-dam scenario, so that ecological rehabilitation monitoring can be attempted.
18. Comprehensive assessment of the economic performance of dams should be undertaken on the basis of target achievement and should reflect the investment and rates of return. It needs to be ascertained as to what is the anomaly between the projected and recognised scenario. The issue of de-commissioning of dams not meeting expected economic, social and environmental objectives needs to be given serious consideration.
19. Management of water resources through major structural interventions like dams and barrages has become too complex to be handled from a narrow

civil engineering perspective. There emerges therefore, an urgent need to broad-base the irrigation/water resources department of the states by inducting experts and scientists of related disciplines-to evolve a truly multi/interdisciplinary approach towards water resources management and to bring all related activities under the aegis of a single authority. Such a dispensation will facilitate proper assessment of other technically viable and socially acceptable options to meet the growing need for water, before a dam option is accepted.

Communication Gap

The needs of building a bridge between the government and to those stakeholders who are involving directly or indirectly in the process of making development projects in the state. There is always a gap between the governments in reaching out to the masses especially to the project implemented areas.

Environmental Information System(ENVIS): The government of India in December 1982 established an Environmental Information System as a plan program to provide information related with environmental to the decision makers, policy planners etc. across the country. The ENVIS Centres have to perform several task assigned to achieve the objectives responsibly. It plays an important role in formulating environmental management policies but also in the decision making process aiming at the environmental protection and improvement of environment in sustaining good quality of life for all the living beings.

Interrogating the policies: So far when it comes to arrangement for the affected villages government has failed to provide alternative livelihoods. In various dams

displacement cases even after the reluctance to adopt and operationalise a land-for-land policy but the challenge for project authorities and state governments under pressure to rehabilitate the affected people find sustainable non-land based livelihoods. So far most states have failed to adopt any successful alternative measures for self-sustain strategies under state government programmes. The chances of success amidst the multiple disabilities and `spirals of impoverishment' that involuntary resettlement imposes are even more remote. The researcher has witnessed that in the Loktak Multipurpose project Project of Moirang in Manipur, some small schemes has been given to the poultry farming. The schemes helped in running the farm for few months. But due to some illness all birds died and since then the farm remain closed and the buildings gradually reduced to ruins. One of the major exceptions is the difficulty in finding suitable avenues for economic diversification of the displaced people into activities which is not related to land, is fisheries. Dam projects require larges reservoirs therefore creating tremendous avenues for new livelihood with the help of freshwater fisheries. For example in Mapithel Dam, the state government for many years did not recognise the reservoir as a valuable source for livelihood for the displaced people and instead fishing rights were auctioned in the open market. In Bargi, same thing happened but with the help of Medha Patkar and Dr. B.D. Sharma they were able to form an organisation named as 'Bargi Band Visthapith Evem Prabhavit Sang'. Thereafter the organisation started a civil disobedience movement and protested against fishing auctions and also organised mass fishing as part of their movement. As the result, the state government fully recognised their fishing rights and sale to federations of cooperative fishing societies in Bargi

in 1994 and subsequently the same could be seen in the Hasdeo Bango and Tawa in 1997.

Problems of host communities

One very significant problem is the host population as their unwillingness to allow or accept the relocated displaced people or community in their region. The problem is unavailability of large unoccupied areas for resettlement of oustees. Therefore the displaced people are often resettled amidst existing settlements, giving rise to inevitable competition for scarce resources and jobs. There may also be social and cultural incompatibility which often leads to conflicts. In any conflict, the victim remains the displaced people because they are vulnerable and dependent upon the host community. If such conflicts go unchecked, the result can be distress sales by resettled oustees, resulting de facto in one more forced resettlement on even more disadvantaged terms.

Accountability and responsibility

Seeing the condition of previous project in the case of Manipur, there is not much expectation from the project developer. So far the Government of Manipur has been unable to fulfil demands of the people which have been displaced from the area. Either there is a delay in compensating or providing their settlement where they could venture out for their alternative sources for livelihood. In the case of Ithai barrage a large number of villagers have been evicted from their source of livelihood. Fishing and cultivation were the only source of staying in and around

the Ithai. They were force to leave from their 'Khangpoksang'[3]. Still now the affected people of the Loktak Hydro Multipurpose Project and the Ithai barrage continue their protest to decommission the projects. In another case, Kuga Dam of Churachandpur district has already submerged numbers of villages including their paddy fields. Even after getting the compensation most of the affected villagers were unable to live a normal life and forced them to migrate in the Imphal areas or to the big cities as the government has made not much effort to provide alternative sources of their livelihood. Yet the government is planning to bring more state led development projects in the state to harness the rich natural resources of the state.

For healthy governance, full participation by both men and women is the basic requirement. The participation has to be informed and organized. To achieve this, freedom of association and expression and an organized civil society on the other hand is a must. Clubs, Meira-Paibees in the plains and village councils in the in hills represents various communities; along with other various organizations represent the vibrant civil society of Manipur. But the state government has failed to engage and communicate with the civil society. Without proper communication channel with civil society there cannot be good governance or welfare state. There is a huge untapped potential of engaging the strong grassroots civil society organizations for developmental works. However, to the credit of the civil society of Manipur, they have been the vigilante for democracy in Manipur so far, fighting the undemocratic and repressive policies of the government.

[3]Floating hut built in the heart of Loktak where numbers of people are live with their family and fishing as their only means of livelihood.

To bring a better understanding between people and the government it requires fair legal framework that needs to be enforced impartially. To safeguard the human rights, particularly those of minorities are also required. Independence of judiciary in lower courts in Manipur is doubtful as many decisions are influenced by the executive.

Transparency

When decisions are taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations it is transparent. For clear transparency, information regarding any concerned issue or project should be made available or readily accessible to all the involved or affected parties. Therefore such information is required to be easily understandable and readily available to everyone. Transparency cannot exist when corruption and nepotism is the norm for governance. This is exactly what is happening in Manipur and can easily justified and indicated by the number of court cases for appointment and promotion in government services It is not surprising that government officials meet Ministers and bureaucrats for promotion and appointment more often than for discussing developmental works.

Effectiveness and efficiency

"Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal." Under this sustainable use of natural resources and environmental protection are very much covered. Manipur is miserable in this context. Corruption and nepotism has weakened the institutions to such an extent that they are not able to

use the resources to produce results that meet the needs of society forgetting about making the best use. The result is there for all to see -bad roads, flooding, traffic congestion, no employment generation, no industrial development, decrease in quality of education etc.

Accountability

"Accountability is a key requirement of good governance." Governmental institutions as well as organisations in both private and public sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to their respective stakeholders any organization or institution should be held accountable and responsible for their actions and decisions to the people or stakeholders entrusted in them. Institutions in Manipur, especially those in the government sector, scores very low in accountability. When there is flooding in Imphal city after slight rain, nobody is accountable. Millions of rupees are lost every day due to bad roads, and nobody is accountable. Rightly said, "Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law". For smooth functioning of any administration adding these elements of governance can bring enormous change and help in sustaining a transparent administration for the people. It will certainly lead to empowerment of people to participate in the decision making process at various levels and perform to their capacities. One crucial requirement is to restore the confidence of the public towards government and its administrative agency about their capacity and will to deliver "good governance". In this regard the idea of "Citizen's Charter", initiated by the then British Prime Minister John Major in 1992, is worth visiting. The charter sees public services through the eyes of those who use them; otherwise for too long the provider had dominated. The Citizen's

Charter is a promise on the part of the government to raise quality, increase choice, secure better value and extend accountability. It sets important principles of public service. Its idea is to enhance "good governance" through people's participation and strengthening grassroots democracy.

The mechanism of 'consultive forums' is very much importance to any state for better governance yet this is missing in the case of Manipur. This forum comprises of representatives from the academic line, civil society as well as experts in various fields on the one hand and representatives of government and heads of departments on the other hand. As the new government in Manipur has promised "good governance" and a corruption free state to the people of Manipur, it will be then most appropriate for the present Government to prepare a white paper on where Manipur stands on good governance and what it intends to take up to realize the same. Then only we can have a yardstick on which the promise of the new government be assessed[4].

Case of Mapithel, specific information:

It been more than a decade long the struggle of Manipur against large dams has been going on and it has brought various issues. The Government Authorities' failure to assess the multi-faceted adverse impacts of dams commissioned in Manipur, procedural irregularities in the environmental clearances to these dams e.g. flawed public hearings, manipulative rehabilitation and resettlement, flouting of environmental norms just to name a few. State Government's push for large

[4] Thoudam, Jagat : What Manipur need: A white paper on good governance. http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=news_section.opinions.Politics_and_Governance.What_Manipur_needs_A_white_paper_on_good_governance_By_Jagat_Thoudam

dams continues despite severe protest raised by local people. Absence of consultation and prior consent of communities to be affected is a hallmark of such mega dam projects. Deployment of heavy military to suppress protest during public hearings has been an old strategy.

In such growing chaos few voices have sharply raised crucial questions. 'Citizens' Concern for Dams and Development' (CCDD), Centre for Research and Advocacy Manipur, are some of the important name among them. CCDD is founded in 1999 as a collective of individuals and organizations CCDD has ceaselessly working with other civil society organisation since to raise awareness about adverse impacts of large dams on rivers and to bring justice to project affected people. The organisation has been working closely with the communities affected by the construction of these Dams. These effected communities are the indigenous groups. They tried to support and empower these groups to raise their voice and protest against the project for the construction of dams like Mapithel Dam, Tipaimukh Dam, and many others. They are also engaged in critical as well as constructive dialogue with State Government to discuss their effect of such construction and their underlying policies.

Mapithel Dam Affected Villages Organisation (MDAVO) was formed in 1990, mostly by villages that fell within the submergence area. MDAVO also did not have the support of all the villages which are yet to be affected or submerged. However, in 2008, these villages formed the Mapithel Dam Affected Ching-Tam (hill-valley) Organisation (MDACTO), bringing together even those who had at first cooperated with the project authorities. The eventual resistance of these

villages after 28 years of approval underlines the failure of the state to address the concerns of affected communities.1980s mark the beginning of the resistance movement and extreme measures were carried out. There were instances were tuned ugly as in the major protest trucks and machines of IFCD were burnt down in opposition to the forceful implementation of the project. Large numbers of villagers were arrested and tortured. Despite the state brutality, Chadong village were firmed and made it clear to dam developers and showed strong resistance. Their continued struggle of resistance forced the project developers who are also the Government of Manipur to discuss the issue in 1993. A memorandum of agreement (MOA) was signed between affected villagers in June 1993, with the representation of MDAVO and the Government of Manipur. As per the MOA, the process of R&R was to be completed within two years of signing the agreement but it never happened. Some other villages accepted the compensation and shifted in other areas. The compensation offered by the state was in the form of money and it has been given in an instalments basis in a piecemeal. The Mapithel Dam Thoubal River Valley Multipurpose Project Affected Villages Committee (MDTRVMPAVC) had 16 rounds of negotiation in the span of 3 years and finally entered a Memorandum of Agreed Terms on 19th June 1993. As per the agreed terms, the rate of land compensation are negotiated for the paddy field to be given 1,00,000 per acre, homestead land 50, 000 per acre and the jhumland or forest 25,000 per acre. In the agreed terms it is said that, the amount of compensation shall be paid to the land owners in instalment within the years 1993-94 and 1994-95. Interest on the amount of compensation shall be paid if the amounts of

compensation are not paid within 1994-95. But in 8 years' time 7 times instalment, a total of 86% was paid.

Promises made by the state were false and soon the villages have also realised the same. Due to reallocation, dam construction, militarisation and the nature of compensation the quality of life in the village have drastically declined. The compensation process took more than twenty years and later MDACTO joined hands with MDAVO in demanding review of the R&R. While they government stall the R&R work, the actual construction work has been sporadic. The whole construction site is under high military radar. The Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of India and Naga armed militant group was signed in 1997. Afterwards the construction remained suspended in 2008 after signing a Suspension of Orders (SoO) with Kuki armed militant groups. Even after signing those agreements, the project site was still under heavy military surveillance and restrictions were imposed on mobility of people in the area. The construction of the dam began in 1989; it soon stopped due to the unrest. It restarted in 2005 only to be stopped again. In 2007 the coffer dam was built, and following its construction, work on the dam stopped again. Company officials claim that five of its workers were killed by unknown armed groups in 2008. Following this latest spate of deaths a fresh wave of militarization took place[5]. There was also an instance where the project developers used the military power and violate of human rights. In a women's rally on 2008 there was scuffle between protester and the police which resulted in injuring one woman who is later tuned disabled. There were several demonstrations and protest happened but it was suppressed

[5] ibid

with militarization. The rising water submerged the School, Churches, grazing ground and the entire village in the water. Mapithel Dam Affected Villages Organisation (MDAVO) expressed serious concern regarding wide dimensional devastation of forest areas by the Mapithel dam water last year which continues till date. MDAVO also appealed the project proponent/State Government of Manipur to release Mapithel dam water till its lowest level to check submergence/devastation of the area. An all women rally was organised a protest against the dam construction. During the protest, there were instances of violation of human rights. On 3 November 2008, a women rally was attacked by the police leading to grievous injuring of one woman who is now disabled for life. Many protesters were also injured during the rally. The rally was stopped from entering the dam site where they were to present a memorandum to dam authorities to meet the demands of affected people. This is only one example of many that demonstrates the misuse of the police and armed forces, which act with impunity in a heavily militarized area. The incident, which has been caught on tape, lays bare the state's agenda to crush constitutional forms of resistance. The affected villagers became so irritated to the GOM, IFCD for altering the agreed term as these smaller amounts cannot be used purposefully. As all the basic amenities like houses and community buildings like the Church were to be rebuilt at the expense of the state, but were in fact built by the villagers themselves. Now a part of MDACTO, these villages have come to realise the promises made by the state were false the quality of life has deteriorated.

The President Mr. Ramthar Shaiza, MCDVO told to the reporters at Manipur Press Club that the State Government has not compensated the villagers of six affected villages properly. He said that they have been provided only Rs.25, 000 per household as compensation although in some village's compensation per household reached up to Rs.25 lakh. In addition, the Government also not responded to the demand for ensuring free power supply to the affected villagers even after staging different forms of stir like sit-in-protests and rallies ("Mapithel Dam affected", 2016).

On June 5, 2016 an affected village (Riha village) of Mapithel dam observed the World Environment Day with an exhaustive environment awareness programme. Mapithel Dam Affected Villages Organisation (MDAVO) expressed serious concern regarding wide dimensional devastation of forest areas by the Mapithel dam water last year which continues till date. MDAVO also appealed the project proponent/State Govt. of Manipur to release Mapithel dam water till its lowest level to check submergence/devastation of consent (FPIC) of the affected communities. In addition, it calls for attentions with five reasons why Mapithel dam stop which will bring catastrophic to the people of Manipur.

1. The filling up of Mapithel dam reservoir has already submerged an extensive portion of the agriculture land, grazing ground, forest areas of Louphong and Chadong villages respectively. If the dam is fully constructed the entire Chadong Village, Lamlai Khunnou and other villages along Mapithel Hill range will be submerged.

2. Fifty Six villages inhabited around the Thoubal River, especially in the catchment area of the river, depend on this river for their livelihood where they

get fish, collect sand and earn their basic livelihood. Thousands of domestic animals use this water for drinking. The dam will also affect the seasonal migration of fishes in Thoubal River.

3. Communities affected by Mapithel dam are now threatened with forced eviction. This has also led to confusion, social divide and violation of affected indigenous communities' rights among people that already affected by this dam.

4. Mapithel dam construction is marked by absence of a detailed and participatory impact assessment, threatening the people's survival. The legal process has also failed to deliver justice for Mapithel dam.

5. The dam will have serious impact on forests, flora and fauna in upstream and downstream portion of Thoubal River. Also, the construction is already marred with violations and has disregarded the community voices recognized under Forests Right Act, 2006.

Personal Reflection and Conclusion

The indigenous peoples of Manipur urged the state and central Government of India to seek the free, prior and informed consent. United Nation's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNRIP) Article 31(1) have clearly mention the right to maintain, control, protect and develop cultural heritage. Again in Article 32, indigenous people have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.

The National Green Tribunal is still considering the dam's violation of forest rights under the Forest Conservation Act, 1980 and the Forest Rights Act, 2006. In clear procedural violations, the Ministry of Environment and Forest of the

Government of India accorded final “Forest Clearance” for the dam only on 31st December 2013, more than 30 years after the project obtained approval in 1980. On August 4, 2015 the Tribunal asked a regional office of the environment ministry to file an affidavit on whether forestland was diverted prior to the completion of conditions stipulated in the clearance order. The officer “shall also answer on the point whether any forest land has been sub-merged for construction of the project and if so, from which date and its present status.” The affidavit has to be submitted by August 24 and then next hearing is has been fixed for the 26th. The State’s claim of land and forest purchase is a violation of the Manipur Hill Areas Regulation Act, 1956 and the Forest Rights Act, 2006.

Hence on 31 August 2016, the Prime Minister Office has sought reasonable clarification regarding Mapithel Dam and the Union Ministry of Power has directed the state government to stop the commission of Mapithel Dam (PMO Intervence Commisioning of Mapithel Dam, 2016). As the Manipur Government have serious allegation and failure of the various mega Dam in the state. The PMO was urged to review and investigate the failure and under performance of all commissioned mega dams in Manipur. According to Section 3 Rule 5 of the Environment Protected Act, 1986 called the Environment Impact Assessment Notification 1994 is to carried out before any project on majority activity is undertaken to ensure that it will not in any way harm the environment on short term or long term basis. The environment impact assessment is used to identification the potential beneficial and adverse impact of development project on the environment, taking into account environment, social, culture and aesthetic consideration. The aim of EIA is to identify and address at any stage in the project

planning and designing. Sadly, the Mapithel dam was not taking any initiative of EIA by the government of Manipur as it was implemented in 1980s.

To conclude, it is clear that the multipurpose project of Mapithel Dam taken by the state government has violated the United Nations on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples, 2007. Even The National Green Tribunal considered dams as violation of forest rights under the Forest Conservation Act, 1980 and the Forest Rights Act, 2006 and the project has not reported to Environment Impact Assessment. Lastly, in the name of development numbers of villagers were became homeless, jobless, restless, fear, hunger and displacement of school and church. This is violation of the basic Fundamental Rights of the India constitution.

The Hydro-Power Aggression in Manipur

North East India has been identified by the Central Government as the country's 'future powerhouse' and recently the Central Electricity Authority has identified potential for 168 large dams in the Northeast with an installed capacity of 63,328 MW. Out of which 20 dams have been proposed in Manipur. The region has also been witnessing aggressive drive for seeking carbon credits for hydro power projects by dam developing Companies. Looking at Carbon Credits as subsidy means and a big economic incentive, dam developers are aggressively pursuing for seeking profits.

Several multipurpose dam projects have been executed by the Manipur State Government despite strong resistance by local people against building dams. Manipur being a conflict torn state with the several paramilitary deployments

often comes handy. For instance the heavy military was deployed by the Irrigation and Flood Control Department of Manipur during construction of Mapithel Dam of the Thoubal Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project in January 2015. Mapithel dam site is in fact seen as evidence to state's way of favouring for corporate interests and militarization of peoples' land and survival sources.

Aram Pamei, who is always vocal against the building of dam strongly resist the construction of the Tipaimukh mega dam project. She has raised the question "Are we giving away our land and resources to multinational corporations without our consent forms of development? Is bribing the community leaders to extract their natural resources in the conflict ridden chaotic canvas of Manipur hijacked by corporate interests in hydro power sector, the meaning of 'consent' is often adopted as per convenience. Most of these civil societies has been continuously demanding for 'consent' in its true spirit free prior informed and consent."

CCDD along with some other Civil Society Organisation has shown that the mega dam projects taken up in the state have not catered to the energy needs of local people despite their household consumption being very low. People have started to rely on alternative sources of energy such as small affordable solar energy units.

Jiten Yumnam from CRAM raises a fundamental question about the development projects specifically on dam "For whose benefits are these dams being built, when they are not being used to meet the energy needs of the locals?" He has further elaborated the connection between excessive interest of the government building

dams and International Financing Institutions (IFIs). During the field visit the researcher has been associated with the CRAM, an interview given to CSO Partnership in Development Effectiveness in pushing large dams in Manipur and across NE India.

These entire organisations has been instrumental in providing awareness among the locals about what is all happening without much of their knowledge to which they are losing their ancestral lands and the rivers on which they have been depending for their livelihood since time immemorial.

These CSO's work has been engaging in dialogue with the affected communities, particularly youth and sensitizing them about the kind of damage done by the big or mega dam projects and their effects to their rivers, forests and ecosystem of the region. They have been creating a platform for connecting with youth by organising various awareness programmes in connection with the specific days when internationally celebrated. Though organising such events has created an opportunity to highlight the importance of their resources and the struggle. For example, in 2014 the theme for the World's Indigenous People's Day celebrated on August 09 was "In Defense of Our Land, Forest, Water, Our Rights and Future". International Rivers day celebrated on March 14, 2014 concluded with a mass protest rally at Thoubal River at Riha Village along Mapithel Range in Ukhrul District, Manipur by the Mapithel Dam Affected Villagers Organization against the project which will submerge more than 1000 Ha of forest land.

Struggle against large dams

With the connection of other fellow organisations from the North East states like Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal, Sikkim, Tripura, Mizoram and Nagaland the CSO's of Manipur has been playing main role in raising voice or strong protest against construction of Tipaimukh Dam for 1500MW Tipaimukh Hydroelectric Multipurpose Project (THEP) proposed over the Barak river at the trijunction of Assam, Mizoram and Manipur which may later affect in Bangladesh. The Tipaimukh dam will submerge more than 27,000 hectares of forest land, while displacing several thousands of communities. The project will affect enormous scale of ecology for instance the flora and fauna, sacred places of different communities which are residing at the particular area, heritage of Manipur and it will massively ffect the livelihood and violate the human rights of tribal people of the Hmar community, the Zilengrong communities of Tamenglong including other indigenous communities depending on Barak River. The construction work was stalled in March 2007 in the wake of massive protests across the country and from the International Community as well.

Some of these leading CSO's from Manipur has been working forefront and engaging in protest against the kind of project which are affecting the livelihood of people without giving an alternative means of survival.. One example of the Environmental Clearance (EC) was granted for Tipaimukh dam on October 24, 2008 despite the strong objections by the affected communities. CCDD has been urging Ministry of Environment and Forest, and the Government of India for revocation of the EC granted to the Tipaimukh dam and urging Govt of Manipur

to revoke the MoU it signed with NHPC and the Satluj Jal Vidyut Nigam Ltd. on April 28, 2010, reaffirmed on October 22, 2011.

In 2013 CCDD and Committee on the Protection of Natural Resources in Manipur (CPNRM) made a joint representation in front of Chairperson of FAC, DG of Forest and Special Secretary, MoEF, registering strong objection to the idea of having a separate forest clearance for the forest impacts in Mizoram side only due to the proposed construction of THEP. In May 2016 CCDD along with North East Dialogue Forum and Centre for Research and Advocacy, Manipur co-organized a public consultation on "Tipaimukh Dam and Indigenous Peoples Rights" at Manipur Press Club, Imphal. The consultation resolved to approach the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on these proposed big dams.

CCDD has also been demanding stopping of on-going construction of Mapithel Dam. Fraught with several irregularities the construction has spanned over last three decades. Once commissioned, the project will displace over 12,000 people (16 villages) submerge 595.1 hectares of forest land and more than thousand hectares of fertile agricultural land. In January 2014, CCDD strongly decried the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF), Government of India for conceding final Stage II Forest Clearance for Mapithel Dam, the CCDD urged the State Government to stop Mapithel Dam construction till the free prior and informed consent of all affected communities are obtained.

CCDD brought to light several procedural irregularities plaguing the Mapithel project like grant of EC without full adherence to Forest Rights Act, 2006 (FRA,

2006), or exposing convenient double standard approach adopted by Ministry of Tribal Affairs while according highly objectionable 'exemptions' accorded by Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA) for construction of Mapithel dam. Citing an instance wherein the Ministry vouched for FRA 2006 compliance in Vedanta Mining case in Orissa to protect the tribal communities CCDD highlighted that the same Tribal Ministry exempted the application of FRA, 2006 in the case of Mapithel dam. This resulted in the Hon. National Green Tribunal halting work on Mapithel Dam for some time and was a landmark in raising these issues.

While advocating strongly for consent of communities affected CCDD has been demanding revocation of the Stage II Forest Clearance for Mapithel Dam granted on Dec 31, 2013 and of MoTA's letter to the MOEF on Dec 18, 2013 not to apply Forest Rights Act, 2006 for Mapithel dam.

CCDD has also expressed serious concern over the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the North Eastern Electric Power Corporation (NEEPCO) for taking up four Hydroelectric Power Projects in Manipur on, and demanded repeal of the MoU in the interest of the indigenous population. CCDD also demanded repeal of the Manipur Hydroelectric Policy, 2012, stating that it only aimed to further serve the corporate interest to maximise profits from the exploitation and destruction of land and resources.

Seeking an alternative approach

Driven by stalwarts like Jiten Yumnam, Aram Pamei, Joseph Hmar; what CCDD is intently seeking is an alternative approach wherein the voice of communities be

heard and their simple and traditional way of life and their rights on the forests and rivers be respected.

While the activist like Aram Pamei, Jiten Yumnam and Ramananda Wangkheirakpam states that the government should promote comprehensive energy policy that encompasses the most feasible alternate energy solutions in Manipur. Instead of bringing large projects government should take an alternate measure based on the needs of people so to minimise the impact on environment. They have also expressed that the government should respect the human rights and should conduct a thorough investigation into human rights abuses and review the performance and compliance with environmental rights of the existing but under performing power projects.

The death of two anti-dam activists in police firing at Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh is also another big example of strong resistance against the building of big Dams which not only going to hamper area but also exploit the scared place of the particular communities. When something unwanted incidents happened in one particular states against the protester, the entire Northeast shows solidarity and condemned against the atrocities. Organisation like CCDD plays a crucial role in organising a 'public consultation meeting' to resolve that big dams issues and opposed in the state. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), Citizens' Concern for Dams and Development, North East Dialogue Forum, Centre for Research and Advocacy, Centre for Research and Organisation, Manipur etc. are few names to be mentioned.

Authorities have promised big benefits for the state once the dam is constructed. For instance, they say that of the 1,500 MW the project will generate, Manipur will get 15 per cent free of charge.The same promise, however, was made while constructing the 105 MW Loktak project, activists point out. But Manipur is buying some power from the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation that is running the project. The anti-dam activists have been pointing out that several tribal villages in Manipur and Mizoram will be submerged in the dam waters. Rare flora and fauna will be destroyed forever. However, brushing aside the people's concern the government went ahead. Some activists told IANS that the central government has not learned a lesson from the Thoubal dam in Manipur.

There were objections from the people to this project which would generate power, provide water for irrigation and drinking. But the public demand was ignored by project officials and a new police station and an Assam Rifles camp were opened in the vicinity of the dam under construction.

Officials told IANS that several years back some persons came and asked the engineers and workers to leave. This was ignored as police and Assam Rifles personnel were present nearby. Some days later the persons returned and shot three workers dead and torched expensive machinery, after which all the officials and workers fled. They refused to return for many years though the government promised them cast-iron protection. The gunmen were never identified or caught and the dam is yet to give benefits to the people.

The Mapithel dam has also uprooted the tribal village of Chadong. All the houses, school and church building have gone under water. The government has been

turning a deaf ear to the activists, merely saying that all the villagers had taken compensation. Besides they were given alternative land for settlement.

Dominic Kasung, chairman of the Mapithel Dam Affected People, appealed to the villagers of Tipaimukh not to be swayed by the financial arrangements. He said, "The villagers still regret the way they had been trapped in the misleading promises of the government." And also added that the government and the local MLA and officials remain unconcerned about the plight of the Chadong villagers. Phulindro Konsam, chairman of the Committee on Human Rights, AMUCO has been extending helping hand with these organisation in raising strong resistance against the construction development projects without taking free prior consent from the people of the area.

CRAM has also been forefront in raising awareness and regularly organising consultation programme among the affected villagers including women. As the organisation is giving a platform to the women who are more vulnerable with all these development project to form their own group to strengthen and empowering themselves to safeguard from all kind of unwanted events.

CORE is one of the oldest organisation which has been playing a big role in bridging the gap between people in the above mentioned instances.

In the case of Mapithel dam, the multipurpose dam violates Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 and Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980. The affected villages formed MDAVO organisation filed a case before the National Green Tribunal (NGT) on the issue of forest c larence. The impact of dam construction has led to

a coercive displacement of a large number of poor people, siltation in reservoirs leading to economic inefficiency, salination and waterlogging in irrigated areas and the creation of health hazard. The benefit of the dam project should be equity, sharing its benefits between the project-affected people and the project benefit people. However, in the case of Mapithel dam, the multipurpose project affected people got only monetary compensation which is also in a piecemeal without proper R&R plan. And there are some villages who are still not ready to take the compensation unless there is proper negotiation between the government. This have dived the village into two groups of different opinions. The kind of monetary compensation which has provided by the government can sustain the affected people for a few limited time. Kipgen, critically analyses the politics of Mapithel dam and term as the political closure approach, emphasizing the state's hegemony over the affected tribal communities through forceful intrusion into the life's and livelihood of the people violating the traditional rights of the tribal community settling in the Mapithel valley. In name of development indigenous people are forcefully dispossessed from their ancestral land. The politics of Mapithel dam can be viewed as a conflict of water resource management between the State government and the tribal project-affected communities. The state government apply the concept of eminent domain 15 in the case of Mapithel dam project and overrule the laws given to the hill tribal to govern themselves under Article 371 (C) and the Manipur (village Authority in hills areas) Act of 1956. According to the affected villagers claim, the dam water will benefit the Imphal valley people only. Funds have been allocated for the construction of canals from the site of the project towards Imphal valley for irrigation purpose connecting

Keithelmanbi. The primary objectives of Mapithel dam project are to harness irrigation water for 33,449 hectares of land. The barrage connecting from the dam site to Keithelmanbi was completed in 1999.

Applicability and practicality of resolution:

The resistance to Dam projects in Manipur is not a new phenomenon. The protest against Mapithel Dam or the Thoubal Multipurpose project can be justified on the ground that none of the objectives made during the MOU signed between the government of Manipur and the affected villagers so far including flood management, hydropower production, irrigation and navigation, providing proper drinking water has been fulfilled in Manipur in the past. Perhaps, the existing dams in Manipur are in an under-performing stage. For instance, the first major dam in Manipur, the Ithai Barrage which raised the water level of the Loktak and maintained it constantly at that level to drive the electric generating turbines inside the three tunnels through the Lamdan Hills to ultimately flow into the Barak river system at Leimatak valley, has met with a fair degree of success in terms of electric power generation, but it caused extensive damages to the surrounding ecology which has affected in the farmlands in the low lying areas of the Loktak hinterlands, inhabited by various indigenous communities. Sadly, these fertile agricultural lands turned into marshlands[6].

The Khuga Dam of Churachandpur district, which intends to generate 1.5 MW and to provide irrigation to 15,000 hectares of agricultural land. The Khuga Dam

[6] Ngamjahao, kipgen Dissenting voices from the Margin: Mapithel Dam in Manipur https://www.epw.in/journal/2015/39/reports-states-web-exclusives/dissenting-voices-margins.html

has long failed to generate a single unit of power, the release claimed. The eastern canal of Khuga Multipurpose Project breached during a trial run about 3.1 kilometers from the dam site on, 2008, washing away a fishpond and partially submerging a paddy field. The crater formed after the embankment of Khuga canal submerged the agricultural field. Perturbed by the collapse of the canal, the Churachandpur District Students' Union (CDSU) has stated that the incident has exposed once again the sub-standard work undertaken by the Government even after spending crores of rupees on the construction of Khuga Dam. Furthermore, the 750 kilowatts (KW) power generating unit of Singda Dam at Kangchup lies rusted, failing to generate a single unit of power since its commission. The recently commission Dolaithabi barrage also lays defunct for many days in the post-inauguration. The blocking of the river Iril has started affecting the lives of many thousand peri-urban and urban poor[7].

The controversial Tipaimukh Dam is being protested by the indigenous Hmar and Zeliangrong communities, as it would lead to displacement and destructions. The propose dam will also submerge various historical and legendary sites with vital spiritual and cultural significance to the indigenous Hmar people and lead to destruction of rich biodiversity which is threatening the peoples' right to life and livelihood. The proposed 1500 MW Tipaimukh Dam will involve felling down of 27,000 hectares of forest and cutting of 7.8 million trees. However, the project developer which is the Manipur Government has decided to go ahead with the project at any cost without consultation and taking consent from the people.

[7] Mamta Lukram,& Jangminthang Haokip, Dolaithabi Barrage a barrage of concealing facts http://epao.net/epPageExtractor.asp?src=features.Dolaithabi_Barrage_A_Barrage_of_Concealing_Facts_By_Mamta_Lukram_Jangminthang_Haokip.html..

Large dams continue to have huge impacts on indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities in a small state of Manipur. In fact, the experience of dam projects in Manipur has marginalised the indigenous people by dispossession both from their land and other resources, lack of compensation or inadequate compensation, and human rights abuse. The laws to protect their rights are weak or not adequately implemented even for the violation of environment it takes many years at the Tribunal Procedural and conceptual failures in project planning and resettlement and rehabilitation have had serious impact on the lives of the indigenous people. They have full rights not to be forcibly removed from their lands or territories and no relocation should take place without their free, prior and informed consent.

Conclusion

Dam plays an important role in generating economy to boost the nation. ‘Temples of modern India' was term coined by the First Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru during the time of Bhakra Dam construction. Building Dam project was one of the visions of development of modern India but it was not very long to turn into Tomb for millions of people in India. The thrust for harnessing hydro energy has never contented and the government continue to build larger dams in India.

Sardar Sarovar Dam became one of the most controversial dams in India which get attention from across the world with the strong resistance led by Medha Patker and Baba Amte. Tehri is another controversial dam which has displaced a large numbers of people. As dam not just come with development but also accompanied with destruction which lead displacement of millions of people across the country. With time people are realizing the pros and cons of building large dams and how it has been affecting people specially the poor ones. In most of the time large dams or other development projects were being built in the tribal areas making their life vulnerable Tribal are the one who sacrificed everything in the name of larger common cause and gain nothing and they remain as refugees in other states or other country. For instance the Chakmas and the Hazong who were displaced by the Kaptai Dam project in the year 1960 were originally from Chittagong Hill tract.

When it comes to Northeast, the region has a bio diversity hotspots and rich natural resources with a plenty of rivers and lakes like the mighty river

Bramhaputra and the Barak along with numbers of tributaries and fresh lake like the Loktak Lake where the government has planned to build numbers of dam. Those who lost their land to the Loktak project but were not counted among the displaced or compensated for it.. It has become a crucial issue in the Northeast in the context of the thinking that the region should be turned into the powerhouse of India. 48 possible major dams are being planned in the region and a list of more than 100 others is being[1]. The former Prime Minister Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee gave recognition to this process by launching on 24th May 2003, the 50,000 MW hydro-electrical initiatives for the Northeast[2].

These initiatives have to be studied in the context of past experience because most dams being planned are in the tribal areas where the CPRs are the norm. Many of them are in Arunachal Pradesh where the tribes live according to their community ownership ethos but the individual based law does not recognise their land as their livelihood. Many other dams too are in the tribal areas. For example, according to official sources, the proposed Pagladia dam in the Nalbari district of Assam will displace 18,347 persons while field data show that it will affect 105,000 persons, 80% of them Bodo and other tribals who live on their CPRs that the law does not recognise as their livelihood[3]. We have noticed it in the ongoing study on development-induced displacement in Assam 1947-2000[4]. All the projects together have used around 15 lakh acres of land, two thirds of it CPRs. Around 20 lakh persons have been deprived of their livelihood. However, the official records account for a little over 400,000 acres of land and 300,000 persons displaced or

[1] Menon et al. 2003
[2] The Telegraph, 25th May 2003
[3] Bharali, 2004
[4] Fernandes and Bharali forth comin

deprived by it. The rest of the land is not accounted for and the people whose livelihood depended on it have not been counted because the law does not recognise their community ownership. So in the eyes of the State the communities that have inhabited there for centuries before the colonial law was enacted are encroachers on it.

People of Manipur have already witnessed the plight of multipurpose projects before the Thoubal multipurpose project appeared. The 105 megawatts Loktak Hydroelectric Project is located in Bishnupur district. The Manipur river, as it flows south from Imphal, branches into the Khordak channel, which is the only inlet and outlet for the Loktak Lak . The Project was commissioned in 1983 and has been administered by the National Hydro-Electric Project Corporatio (NHPC). The major component of the project is the Ithai barrage which acts as an artificial reserviour to ensure sufficient volumes of water for the project.

The Ithai barrage is located at the junction of the Manipur River and the Khuga River where the Khordak channel leaves the lake, flowing southwards. The project came up before Environment Protection Act, 1986, when it came into force which led to mandate for a comprehensive impact assessment of the projects. It was also mandatory for consultations with affected people to be held before the setting up of the project.

The Loktak lake is known for ‘Phumdis’ or floating masses of vegetation and other organic matter. The livelihood of the people living in the surrounding area depends on the lake. Fishing was their main occupation for their sustenance and the fisherman’s were staying on the Phumdis by making small huts. The Loktak

Lake was declared as a ‘wetland of International Importance’ under the Ramsar Convention in 1990 in an International Treaty for the Conservation and Sustainable use of Wetlands.

Numbers of activist have been repeatedly alleged that the barrage has affected the natural degradation process of the rivers and stream that drain into the Loktak Lake, which caused flash floods in the area and also create havoc in the ecology. Villagers and the affected people along with the CSO’s have been demanding to decommission for the past many years. Many people have stated that it is high time the project should be decommissioned as people of Manipur should be getting electricity from the project at 10 paisa per unit but people are paying more. And also public must be aware of the megawatts of electricity that the Loktak Hydel Project has produced since its commission. The detailed project report has promised drip irrigation for 40,000 hectares of land around the lake to enable multiple cropping. Although, the project has completely failed to meet what they have promised, he added that there were other places in the state where small hydel projects could be developed instead. “Loktak Lake cannot be compromised,” said Singh. “The people who governed the state 34 years ago were innocent. They were just made to sign on a paper. This cannot continue anymore.”

According to an environmentalist from state, Ram Wangkheirakpam , stated that ‘this has come when there is a renewed push to fast track the Lower Subhansiri Project of Arunachal Pradesh’. The Lower Subhansiri dam, 2,000 megawatts Hydro Electric Projects on the Subhansiri River in Lower Subhanshiridistrict of Arunachal Pradesh has been kept on hold since 2011 following an order of the

National Green Tribunal and mass protest by various indigenous groups. ‘People must remember that the NHPC does not have too many projects of its own in the North East and in public meetings to garner public support for the Lower Subhansiri project, it has often projected the Loktak as an example of successful projects it has implemented’ by Wangkheirakpam Ram.

Himanshu Thakkar, founder and director of the South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People, a Delhi-based advocacy organisation, have also expressed that government would “have to give in to people’s sentiments” at some point. “If dams must be built, they should be done in a more transparent and democratic way. Currently, in addition to the Loktak project, the NHPC operates two more dams in the North East i.e. the 60 megawatts Rangit project and the 510 megawatts Teesta dam, both in Sikkim. Apart from the Lower Subansiri, the public-sector corporation is awaiting environmental clearances on four other projects in the region.

In an interview with the head project of Loktak Project, Bedi Ram, expressed that the opposition to the dam stemmed from ‘ignorance’. ‘The real problem is the Manipur river,’ he countered. ‘The river’s capacity is very little, which has further diminished as a result of siltation, so floods are inevitable. The government should try and revive the river instead of blaming the barrage.’ He further added that water that flowed down from Manipur’s hills added to the floods in the Imphal Valley. ‘We have been telling the government that it should construct big check dams to stop that water,’ he said. “That is the only way to prevent the valley from getting submerged.”

Decommissioning of dams in India is indeed rare but the Tajiwala barrage, a colonial structure on the Yamuna river, was decommissioned in 1999 and replaced by the Hathikund barrage in 2002 because the old structure had stopped serving its purpose. Although, 'In India, the Central Water Commission doesn't want the word decommissioning to enter the vocabulary of water resources management in the country,' said Thakkar. But, though, decommissioning of dams is a fairly common practice internationally. In the United States of America, more than 900 dams have been torn down since 1980. France, too, has seen quite a few dams being decommissioned recently. In the rest of Europe also, thousands of dams are being put through a review process. Among Asian nations, Japan is currently in the middle of bringing down its Arase Dam located upstream on the Kuma River.

The submerged paddy field snatched away the livelihoods of many people whose lives were depending on wet paddy cultivation and fishing activities. In its effect the Ithai barrage of the downstream of the Loktak hydel project have also displaced many people and submerged their land. Even after this the Government were not ready to acknowledge the landless indigenous people including the Rongmei tribe of Bishnupur. As they were the forest dwellers and follow their own traditional customary laws which has made them forced eviction in connection with the project.

The Khuga dam of Churachandpur is also multipurpose project is built across the river Khuga or Tuithra at the Mata village eight kilometres south of the town of Churachandpur. The khuga dam was inaugurated by Smt. Sonia Gandhi under the

heavy security in the year of 2009. Before it was inaugurated, series of protest and demonstrations from the affected villagers as well as from other part of the districts. On December 14, 2005 in a peaceful protest demonstration turned violence where three person have killed and more than 25 were injured by the security personnels who opened fire to disperse the agitation protestors who were demanding for their entitlement rights, compensation and rehabilitation packages which was promised to be given by the government[5]. The Khuuga dam affected some 24 villages altogether and submerged nine villages along with their fertile agriculture land. Some of the village received compensation under MLR & LR Act but many other villages refused to accept the compensation proposal. During the time of negotiation, the government have promised to provide all the necessity requirements but the affected and displaced villages faced more problems in their new settlement areas. The government did not build any house for the displaced instead they were provided with a meagre sum of Rupees 3000/ per household through the village chiefs.

And to those who were benefitting from the Khuga dam were the contractors, government officials, politicians etc. but not any of the displaced persons or the affected villagers. Unfortunately, the dam failed to deliver any of the targeted so called 'Development' goals. Rather it has uprooted and displaced hundreds of villagers from their ancestral land. It not only deprived affected people from their livelihood but also the dam has failed to provide any other alternatives for survival. Dam has already halted the free flowing Khuga river but giving series of difficulties to the downstream people. The dam not only marginalised poor people

[5] Bhuril, David Dams and its impact on Environment

but also degraded the ecology. The Khuga Multipurpose project was built with the tall promises of delivering electricity, drinking water and irrigation but it remains a distant dream.

Rivers in India are being impounded, diverted its course and strangulated in the middle and leaving no water for the riverine ecosystems to perform their vital ecological and life support functions. A flowing river supports the entire ecosystem, livelihoods like fishing, riparian and flood plain farming and also replenishes groundwater. It also dilutes and flushes out pollution, provides habitats for organisms ranging microorganisms to we human being.

These dams were conceived to become the pride of the state, but it does nothing more than just changing the landscape and displacing thousands of family form their ancestral lands. Environmental justice remains a distant dream as the dam stand to pollute the densely populated downstream routes. While more money is designed to be pumped into the failed projects in Manipur, the absence of strong political will to secure environmental justice will only further corrupt. The dam has forcibly divided environmental concerns; while at the same time it has given birth to more policies promote reckless development as said by David Bhuril.

Voices of rejections were raised from diverse indigenous people's organizations, Khuga dam has severely missed the people for which it was targeted. The on-going controversies with the project certainly establish the need for the project developers to review not only the expensive project but more importantly to review the existing policy on indigenous peoples and tribal. In the name of Public Hearing by representatives of the state actor severely exempted the indigenous

people's voice. As a result, the reports or recommendations that usually enhance the pursuit of the dam builders obviously failed to incorporate the indigenous people's perspectives. While various ambiguities remain unexplained the project was imagined without gaining public acceptance.

The state as well as the project developer's or the dam builder's policy on the indigenous people's remains incompatible to the survival prospect of the same who were expected to sacrifice their land. It is also evident that if the project is imposed on the indigenous peoples and their land it will result in violation not only of their rights, but also of their survival chances. While the obligatory process of 'free, prior and informed consent' evades the people who were affected, the state and the project developers did not prepare the ground where participation must also be 'active', free and meaningful'. Decisions related to the fundamental human rights of the indigenous people are taken away without their consent. The supposed 'consultation' or public hearing was merely ceremonial contacts that will never generate the desired legitimacy from the indigenous people.

The indigenous people's experiences under the government of Manipur further affirm this reality time and again. The failure to identify the indigenous peoples who will be affected by the project still remains a hurdle. There is no recognition of the survival and cultural uniqueness of the indigenous peoples in the proposed projects areas. This severely undermines the value that land and forest have for the indigenous peoples. As a result, the 'compensation' measures that have become a tool failed to secure their sustainable livelihood system. Not only was that, the indigenous peoples left out again in the race for compensation. There is

already a visible growing resentment as few acclaimed ‘representatives’ colludes with bureaucrats and politicians to seal a larger share of the compensation in the name of the people who were uprooted and displaced. This has created a stark social division.

There is no ‘culturally appropriate development plan based on full consideration of the options preferred by the indigenous people.’ While the indigenous peoples wanted the state and the dam builders to recognised and protect their rights to own, develop, control and use their land and resources, the state or the dam builder could not draw any lines to safeguard their interests. Failing to subscribe to and digressing from the overblown ‘development’ project, the indigenous peoples believe that the supposed ‘development’ path that is expected to be ushered by the project will only hamper their livelihood system and survival prospect. The indigenous people has expressed that the project will create social catastrophe after their land is submerged and the people uprooted, insecure and displaced. And also the absence of transparency has severely undermined the interest of the indigenous people in whose land the dam is proposed. This has barred the indigenous communities from the decision making processes.

The project has also failed to recognise the ownership of indigenous people’s land rights. The project is seen as an attempt to push them out of their land and reduced the customary rights of indigenous peoples to their land and other resources.. This amounts to negations of the indigenous people’s rights over land that are owned and used by them in conformity with customary laws since time immemorial. The land question that is surfacing with the proposed project threatens the indigenous communities and their survival prospects. The state as well as the project

developers ought to prioritise the sustainability of the indigenous people's culture, livelihood system and their active participation in decision that will affect them.

Despite the threat of negative adverse impacts the project would have, the indigenous communities are not aware of any clear pre-conditions for the project's approval. The project that is absent of any social assessment process, therefore, is seen as imposed and undemocratic. And also the adverse social impact of the project, whether short term or cumulative, have been seriously underestimated. When any projects, small, medium or large, that was or is undertaken by the government of Manipur severely stagnates in if not corruption then in all sorts of inefficiencies, most of the dams in Manipur also stand on the same ground. Performance problems, in terms of cost over running, project delays, absence of political will and accountability and security. So thus, in the case of Mapithel Dam or the Thoubal Multipurpose project. The Thoubal Multipurpose project was approved by the planning commission in 1980 and the construction of Dam began in 1989. The project has targeted to produce 7.5 megawatt of electricity while providing 10 million gallons of water to Imphal and also to provide irrigation. The project has been undertaken by the IFCD with the assistance of the central government.

The project will displace over 12, 000 people, submerged around 11 villages and 777.34 hectres of paddy field and 110.75 hecters of homestead and 293.53 hecter of Jhum land as per the government official but in other report which has compiled from CSO's it has more than what the government official have claimed. Among the six submerged villages, Chadong village has submerged completely. Chadong village was known for its soil fertility and its bountiful

granaries where a year's harvest can be last for the next two years. Since the year 2015 January, the river water has been blocked and stored in the reserviour which led villagers to run for their lives in a short noticed. Many of the villagers could not collect their belongings and some of them were adamant to remain in the water.

As per the affected villager Dominic Kasung, from the Chadong village have expressed that 'the people here are all farmers, to look out for an alternative arrangement is impossible unless the project developer provide alternative solution for their livelihood'. Hoomila Awungshi a single mother of 4 children, whose paddy field has been gone under water has expressed her agony by saying that the project bring nothing but a disaster who snatched away all their lands, grazing ground, their ancestral burial ground, even the churches and the schools. She has also expressed that their source of income was to do wet cultivation and collecting fish and river snails but now they do not even have the fishing rights.

David Mungva a 70-year-old villager from Chadong have also expressed the strong disappointment of how the dam reserviour snatched away their only means to communicate with the entire world, the lone bridge of Chadong has also washed away by the time when the dam start blocking the river and left no choice among the people to stand and watch silently. As there was nothing the villagers could stopped from the raising water and they had to run for the higher area. People of Chadong village do not have resettled and make a temporary makeshift in the higher part of the Mapithel hill range. Among the village there is a division and it has become three villages now due over the compensation. Two more

villages have established within the village of Chadong and settled in the other parts.

The village chief of Chadong village have also expressed that how the mega project has divided people among the villages over the compensation. The government has successfully divided the affected villagers in the upstream areas. Many of them have taken their compensation and scattered here and there and some of them who are still not ready to take the compensation are still on the table with the government. Among the affected villagers of the upstream villages most of the households are challenging with the shifting of occupation with the changing scenario which has forced them to sit back at home. Some of the youth have taken up row boat made of bamboo and plastic drums to earn money from the tourists who have come to see the new emerging lake to say or the dam reserviour. Apart from that, boating is the only means for the Chadong villagers and for that it is compulsory to arrange both. The government have made some fault promises and providing boats were one of the promises they have made which has not fulfilled so far and people have to adjust with the local made boat which is quite risky for life. In the recent faithful day May 2019 with the cyclone phony three tourists lost their precious lives at the dam reserviour. Most of the Tangkhul people have shifted either at the Ukhrul or Imphal in search of new avenues and some even have started to open tea stalls nearby the Khuman Lampak bus parking which is also happened to be the parking for people who have come or to go to the Ukhrul or Senapati etc. Many of the youth have also shifted to other big cities like Delhi, Bangalore, Mumbai, etc.

On the other hand, people who are staying in the downstream affected areas are some Kuki tribal and the majority are the Meiteis. Tumukhong village is the immediate downstream village of the project which is located within the zero kilometre of the dam, as per the norm of WCD, people are not supposed to be housed within the kilometre of the dam but in the case of Manipur and the on-going mega project of the Thoubal Multipurpose project have shown clearly how the project developers and the state government negligence. There is no as such provision for the affected downstream villagers and time to time when there is a continuous raining people of the vicinity specially the Tumukhong villagers have to remain awake in the fear of the dam breakdown. The was a report in the local newspapers and the media of the leaking the dam but the IFCD department have beautifully covered it and when enquired the Chief Engineer have defended well as part of the construction leaking does happen as the project is still going on and there are more to be constructed.

Because of the blocking of river, number of villager in the downstream whose livelihood is depending on the small scale works like sand and rock mining of the Thoubal river bed was put on halt. . For them there is no alternative option but to starve. Since the year 2015 people are facing acute difficulties in earning for their livelihood. This has led to the rise of school dropout rate as the parents are unable to afford. The blocking of river has made people difficult to sustain their life. Women and children have become more vulnerable as the main bread earner of the family has to temporarily migrate to other neighbouring states in search for alternative source of income. Women also have their share of blunders as they have run to their household at the same time look for alternatives for their daily

needs. Often they ended up looking for domestic work like cleaning utensils, washing clothes and cooking in the neighbouring villages. In some of the cases women and children have fall into the trap of human and child trafficking. There are reports which show that children have been sent to other states for domestic work and women were recruited for flesh sale. Unwanted incident has also started occurring in the villages with frustration of joblessness and they see no means of provision to sustain normal lives. Domestic violence rate has increased among the households in both the affected villages in upstream and downstream areas. Displacement have also induced the migration rate as people start moving out from their villages in the places like Ukhrul, Imphal, Jiribam, Moreh and Churachandpur to look for alternative sources of income. For instance, most of the downstream villagers were engaged with the sand queries and drive truck by themselves to deliver the loads. But with the halt of river they are now forced to leave their jobs and move out from their villages. As a result many of them have shifted to Jiribam, Silchar, Dimapur and Moreh.

While making a mega project, assessment is an important task which is absent generally in most of the development projects that has happened in Manipur. An assessment will determine the resettlement, rehabilitation and relocation of the inhabitants. The government is depriving thousands of people of their existence because of their destructive policy every time they execute development projects like the present ongoing Mapithel Dam or the Thoubal Multipurpose project. There is a huge communication gap between the project developer, the state government, and the affected people which need to be resolved. The affected people should be assured to provide all the necessary requirements to have an

alternative livelihood. There also need to strengthen the compensation as the government provide a meagre amount in instalment for more than ten to twenty years. Taking free prior consent from the villagers is compulsory for each development project before its execution and participation of the villagers in decision making process need to be addressed.

In the context of Manipur, specifically, the government has been violating the rights which have been entitled to affected villagers, this need to be addressed properly and respect the tribal customary laws and indigenous people right. What we can see is that most of the developmental project comes along with the heavy militarization and often terrorise the local people and this has also led to human right violation.

In the conclusion, development is in need in the states of North East India specifically small states like Manipur which is still very much in underdeveloped. The people of Manipur also respect the change that comes along with developmental projects undertaken by the central or state government for the betterment of society but not at the cost of human rights violation and loss of their dignity. The indigenous people and the tribal people are mostly affected by these projects. They are already marginalised from the society and such central and state led development projects make them more vulnerable and put them into the corner which needs to revise and redress. Rehabilitation and resettlement has always been a problem when it comes to development projects and this need to be strengthened and resolved at the earliest. And most of all transparency and people's participation in the decision making should be given top priority. The UN special rapporteur and other international communities have been extending

its solidarity and raised their voices against the violation made by the central and state government. It is high time for both the central and state project developer to accommodate what the international bodies like UN have been asking and respect the affected communities.

The policies require t revision and make more accountable so that people can also participate and express their opinions. Providing schemes for the affected people to look for alternative income sources is a must. There is also a need to respect the indigenous people and tribal people world view as their life is surrounded with all these natural resources, forest, hills, rivers and land. Land plays an important role for each and every tribal as well as indigenous community. While making any programme or policies government should keep in mind all the above recommendations to bridge the gap between the people and the government. They should look for other alternative solution in bringing development in the states without giving much hurdles or snatching rights of the people which is entitled for each human being.

Books

Abdul Ali, *Notes on Early History of Manipur,* Calcutta, 1923.

A.C. Sinha, *Beyond the Trees, Tigers and Tribe*s, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1993.

A.K. Ranjit Singh, 'Emergent Ethnic Processes in Manipur: A Reappraisal', in D. Pakem (ed), *Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in North-East India,* New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1990.

Alokesh Baruah, *India's North-East: Developmental Issues in a Historical Perspective*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributor, 2005.

Amita Baviskar, *In the Belly of the River: Tribal Conflicts over Development in the Narmada Valley*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1995.

Ashok Kumar Ray and Satyabrata Chakraborty, *Society, Politics and Development in North East India*, New Delhi: Mittal Publication,2008.

Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

B.B. Kumar, *Problems of Ethnicity in the North-East India*, New Delhi: Astha Bharati Concept Publishing House, 2007.

B. J. Deb, *Regional Development in North-East India: Issues and Prospects,* New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, 1995.

B.M. Abbas, 'River Basin Development: Keynote Address', in Munir Zaman (ed), *River Basin Development,* Dublin: Tycooly International Publishing Limited, 1983.

Bramha Chellaney, *Water, Peace and War: Confronting The Global Water Crisis*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013.

Chandana Bhattacharjee, *Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement,* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1996.

David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha, *Nature, Culture, Imperialism – Essays on Environmental History of South Asia*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

David B Moore and Gerald. J Schmitz (eds), *Debating Development Discourse: Institutional and Popular Perspectives*, New York: St's Martin Press, 1995.

David Reid Syiemlieh, Anuradha Dutta, Srinath Baruah, *Challenges of development in Northeast India*,New Delhi:Regency Publication, 2006.

Dhanabir Laishram, *North East in Benthic Zone*, New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2007.

Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society,* U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 1984.

H.M Mathur and M.M. Cernea (eds), *Development, Displacement and Resettlement: Focus on Asian Experiences*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1995.

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System,* New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Imtiaz Ahmed, 'Basic Conflict of 'We' and They' Between Religious Traditions, between Hindus, Muslims and Christians in India', in Imtiaz Ahmed, Partha S.Ghosh and Helmut Reifeld (eds), *Pluralism and Equality: Values in Indian Society and Polity*, New Delhi: Sage Publications,2000.

J.A. Allan, *The Middle East Water Question: Hydropolitics and the Global Economy,* London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions,* London:Sage Publication, 2010.

John Barry, *Environment and Social Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

John Parratt, *Wounded Land: Politics and Identity in Modern Manipur*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2005.

John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World,* U.S.A.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007.

Jyotirinda Dasgupta, 'Community, Authenticity and autonomy', in Amrita Basu and Atul Kohli(ed), *Community Conflicts and the State in India,* New Delhi:Oxford University Press, 1998.

Kay Milton(ed). *Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology*, London: Routledge, 1993.

K.S.Aggarwal, *Dynamics of Identity and Intergroup Relations in North East India,*Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1996.

Kousar J. Azam (ed) *Ethnicity, Identity and the State in South Asia,*New Delhi:South Asian Publishers, 2001.

Lokendra Arambam, 'Meitei Cultural History, Economy, Society and Ideology from Early Times to the Eighteenth Century A.D.', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Manipur University, 1996.

Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, *Alternative Paradigms of Development,* New Delhi: Lancer Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1992.

Manju Menon and Kanchi Kohli(Compiled),*Large Dams for Hydropower in Northeast India-A Dossier*, Delhi: Kalpavriksh, South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People, 2005.

Monirul Hussain, *Interrogating Development: State, Displacement and People Resistance in North East India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications India Private Limited, 2008.

M. N.Karna, *Social Movements in North-East India,* New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1998.

Nepal Padam and Anup Shekhar Chakraborty, *Politics of Culture, Identity and Protest in North-East India*, Delhi: Shri Krishna Offset Press, 2012.

Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, London and New York: Zed Books, 2001.

PhanjoubamTarapot, *Insurgency Movement in North Eastern India*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1993.

Raiful Ahmed and Prasenjit Biswas, *Political Economy Of Underdevelopment Of North-East India*, New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2004.

Rakhee Bhattacharya, *Northeastern India and its Neighbours: Negotiating security and Development*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2014.

Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Rasmi De Roy, 'Case Study of Loktak Lake of Manipur', in K.J.S. Chatrath (ed), *Wetland in India,* New Delhi:Ashis Publishing House, 1992.

R. K. Samanta, *India's North-East: The Process of Change andDevelopment,* Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1994.

Rohan D'Souza, *Drowned and dammed: Colonial capitalism and flood control in Eastern India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Sajal Nag, 'Withdrawal Syndrome: "Secessionism" in Modern North-East India', in Milton Sangma, *Essays in North-East India*, New Delhi:Indus Publishing Company, 1994.

Samir Amin,*Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*, Oxford University Press, 1979.

Samir Kumar Das, *Blisters on their Feet: Tales of Internally Displaced Persons in India's North East*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2008.

Samir Kumar Das, 'Civil Society and the Struggle for Self Determination in the Northeast India', in Monirul Hussain(ed.), *Coming out of Violence: Essays on Ethnicity, Conflict Resolution and Peace Process in Northeast India*, New Delhi: Regency Publication, 2005.

Samir Kumar Das, *Governing India's Northeast: Essays on Insurgency, Development and the Culture of Peace*, London: Springer, 2013.

Sangeeta Kamat, *Development Hegemony: NGOs and the State in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Sanjeev Khagram, *Dams and Development: Transnational Struggles for Water and Power*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Sanjib Baruah, *Beyond Counter Insurgency: Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

SK Chaube, *Hill Politics in Northeast India*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 1999.

Subir Bhaumik, *Troubled Periphery*, New Delhi: Sage Publications India, 2009.

Sukant K.Chaudhury, *Myopic Development and Cultural Lens*, New Delhi: Inter-India Publication, 1993.

Sumi Krishna, *Agriculture and a Changing Environment in Northeastern India*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2012.

S. Parasuraman, *The development dilemma: Displacement in India*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.

Thayer Scudder, *The Future of Large Dams: Dealing with Social, Environmental, Institutional and Political Costs*, U.S.A.: Routledge, 2006.

Thingnam Kishan Singh (ed), *Look East Policy and India's North East: Polemics and Perspectives*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2009.

Tiplut Nongbri, *Development, Ethnicity and Gender*, New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2003.

Udayon Misra, *The Periphery Strikes Back*, Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 2000.

Walter Fernandez and Melville Pereira, *Changing Land Relations in North Eastern India: A Comparative Study of Six Tribes and One Non-Tribal Community*, Guwahati: North-Eastern Social Research Centre, 2004.

Walter Fernandes and Gita Bharali, *The Socio-Economic Situation of Some Tribes of Bishnupur and Palizi*, Guwahati: North Eastern Social Research Centre, 2002.

Walter Fernandez and Melville Pereira, *Changing Land Relations and Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Northeastern India*, Guwahati: North-Eastern Social Research Centre, 2005.

Vandana Shiva, *India Divided: Diversity and Democracy Under Attack*, New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005.

Reports

Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision-Making, The Report Of The World Commission On Dams, London and Sterling: Easthscan Publication Ltd, 2000.

North East Council Vision 2020 (Vol, 1 and 2), Government of Manipur: Manipur Gazette, Monday, Imphal: December 9. 1996.

Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons Due to Construction of Major Dams: Volume I, New Delhi: National Center for Human Settlements and Environment, NCHSE, 1986.

Tipaimukh Dam Plan and Uncertainities in Manipur, Centre for Research and Advocacy, Manipur, 2014.

Journals

A Sundaram, 'Look East Policy', *International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology*, 2013, 2 (5).

Asit K. Biswas and Cecilia Tortajada, 'Development and large dams: A Global Perspective', Water Resources Development, 2001, 17 (1): pp. 9-21.

Bhagat Oinam, 'Patterns of Ethnic Conflict in the North-East', *Economic and Public Weekly Journal*, 2003, 38 (21).

B. K. Roy Burman, 'Problems and Prospects of Tribal Development in North-East India', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 1989, 24 (13): pp. 693-697.

Denis Goulet, 'Development Ethics: A New Discipline', *In International Journal of Social Economics*, 1997, 24: 1160-71.

G. Dasgupta and I Dey, 'State of Research on Forced Migration in the East and North-East', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 2010, xlv (21): 37-41.

Gita Bharali, 'Development-Induced Displacement: The Struggles behind, International Conference on Development and Displacement: Afro-Asian Perspective', Osmania University, Hyderabad, November 27-28, 2004.

Gita Bharali, 'Development Projects Threat to Tribal Livelihood: Case Study', *BULLETIN of Assam Institute of Research for Tribals and Scheduled Caste*, Guwahati, 2006, 1 (XVI).

Gurpreet Mahajan, 'Land, Community and Self-Governance: Emerging Normative Issues', *Eastern Quarterly*, October 2007- March 2008, 4 (III & IV): pp. 238-241.

Jhimli Bhattacharjee, 'Dams and Environmental Movements: The Cases from India's North East', *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 2013, l3 (11): 2250-3153.

Jhimli Bhattacharjee, 'The Circular Causation of Ethnicity and Development In North East India', *International Journal Of Development Research*, 2014, 4 (1): 071-074.

Jitendra Singh, 'Sociology of Displacement: Specially Focus on Tribal's of India', *International Research Journal of Management Sociology & Humanity (IRJMSH)*, 2015, 6 (10), P. 22.

Manju Menon, Neeraaj Vagholikar, Kanchi Kohli and Ashish Fernandes, 'Large Dams in the Northeast: A Bright Future?', 2003, *The Ecologist Asia,* 11 (1): pp. 3-8.

Ngamjahao Kipgen, 'Dissenting Voices from the Margins', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2015, 50 (39).

Prasenjit Biswas, 'Post-Development, Democratic Discourse and Dissensus: A Critique of Vision 2020', *Eastern Quarterly*, October 2007-March 2008, 4 (III & IV): pp. 178-188.

Ramananda Wangkheirakpam,'Lessons from Loktak',*The Ecologist Asia*, 2003, 11(1), p.23.

R.K.Ranjan, 'Tipaimukh', *The Ecologist Asia*, 2003, 11 (1): p.76.

Subir Bhowmick, 'Tripura's Gumti Dam Must Go', *The Ecologist Asia*, 2003, 11(1): pp. 84-89.

U Goswami, Internal Displacement, Migration, and Policy in Northeastern India, *East-West Center Washington*, Working Papers, 2007, 8: pp. 1-45.

Walter Fernandes, 'Development-Induced Displacement: The Class and Gender Perspective', paper presented at the International Conference on The Emerging Woman in the Indian Economy, Christ College, Bangalore, November 26-27, 2007.

Wdanga Noyoo, 'Ethnicity and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 2000, 15(2).

V. Bijukumar, 'Social Exclusion and Ethnicity of North East India': *The NEHU Journal*, 2013, XI (2), pp. 19-35.

Thesis

Kshetri Rajiv Singh, Large dams and the political dynamics in Northeast India: an exploration through the case of Manipur, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2014.

Ramananda Wangkheirakpam, 'Dams and Discontents: The case study of the floating population of Loktak Lake', unpublished M.Phil Dissertation.

Newspapers and Online Sources

Amador J. Monica, 'Caught between War, Development and Conservation: the Case of Loktak Lake in Northeast India', 1 July 2011, https://www.ritimo.org/Caught-between-War-Development-and-Conservation-the-Case-of-Loktak-Lake-in (accessed on March 3, 2019)

‘Call to stall dam project’, *The Telegraph*, http://www.telegraphindia.com/1130709/jsp/northeast/story_17094312.jsp (accessed on 2 February 2015).

‘Campaign against dam construction, rights violations in Manipur featured in national news’, Campaign’s for People’s Goals for Sustainable Development. http://peoplesgoals.org/development-justice-in-the-news-campaign-against-dam-construction-in-manipur-gaining-ground/ (accessed on 2 February, 2015).

DAMS, DISPLACEMENT, POLICY AND LAW IN INDIA, http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/articles/ncsxna/art_dam.pdf

George Ledec and Juan David Quintero, ‘Good Dams and Bad Dams: Environmental criteria for site Selection of Hydroelectric’, *The World Bank Latin America and the Caribbean Region*, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Sector Management Unit, November 2003. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/LACEXT/Resources/258553-1123250606139/Good_and_Bad_Dams_WP16.pdf

Jiten Yumnam, ‘Failed Dams in Manipur? Any lessons learnt’, *E-pao Manipur*, , http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=news_section.opinions.Opinion_on_Building_of_Tipaimukh_Dam.Failed_Dams_in_Manipur_Any_lessons_learnt_By_Jiten_Yumnam (accessed on Feb 2, 2015)

Jiten Yumnam, ‘Manipur’s Urgencies for Alternative Energy’, *HueiyenLanpao*, 2014, http://www.hueiyenlanpao.com/articles/item/20675-manipur-s-urgencies-foralternative-energy (accessed on Feb 2, 2015).

‘Lakhwar Dam Project : Why the project should not go ahead’, *South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People*,

http://sandrp.in/Lakhwar_Dam_Project_Joint_Statement_June2013.pdf (accessed on Feb 4, 2015).

'Large dams in Northeast India Rivers, forest people and power', *The Ecologist Asia*, January-March 2003, 11(1) http://www.kalpavriksh.org/images/EnvironmentandDevelopment/NorthEastDams/NE-Dams.-Ecologist-Vol-11-No1.pdf

Maninder Gill, 'Dams and Resettlement as Development: A Case for Building Good Practice', *Cultural Survival*, 1999. https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/brazil/world-commission-dams-review-hydroelectric-projects- (accessed on Feb 2, 2015)

'Maphithel Dam Construction Infringes Human Rights of Affected', *Kangla Online,* http://kanglaonline.com/2013/03/maphithel-dam-construction-infringes-human-rights-of-affected/ (accessed on Feb 4, 2015).

Neeraj Vagholikar, 'Are big dams leaving India high and dry?', *Sanctuary Asia*,

http://www.sanctuaryasia.com/magazines/conservation/5289-are-big-dams-leaving-india-high-and-dry-by-neeraj-vagholikar.html (Accessed on 3 April 2015).

Neeraj Vagholikar and Partha J. Das, 'Damming Northeast India-Juggernaut of hydropower projects threatens social and environmental security of region', Kalpavriksh, Aaranyak and ActionAid India, Pune/Guwahati/ New Delhi. 2010.

Reporting dams and development: Strengthening media's capacity to report research in Northeast India, 2012, http://panosrelay.panosnetwork.org/wp-content/static/2012/03/Reporting-research-on-dams-and-development-NE-India_March2012.pdf

Shilpi Srivastava and Lyla Mehta, 'Nexus and Security Not Another Nexus? Critical Thinking on the New Security Convergence in Energy, Food, Climate and Water', *STEPS Working Paper, Brighton: STEPS Centre,* Research Gate, 2014. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279511573_Nexus_and_Security_Not_Another_Nexus_Critical_Thinking_on_the_New_Security_Convergence_in_Energy_FoodClimate_and_Water (accessed on Feb 2, 2015).

State of India's Rivers for India Rivers Week,2016, https://sandrp.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/north-east-report.pdf

Tanya Wragg-Morris, with contributions from Leisa Perch, 'Dams, Development and Displacement: Towards more inclusive and Social futures', *The International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth*, 35, 2012.

'The experience of Asian indigenous peoples with the finance lending policies of international financial institutions: A select overview', *Forest People Programme,* http://www.forestpeoples.org/topics/african-development-bank-afdb/news/2013/04/experience-asian-indigenous-peoples-finance-lend-0 (accessed on Apr 12, 2015)

'Tipaimukh High Dam', *International Rivers,* http://www.internationalrivers.org/resources/tipaimukh-high-dam-3499 (accessed on Feb 2, 2015)

'Why the ruling bjp in Manipur wants loktak hydroelectricity project broken down', https://scroll.in/article/846333/why-the-ruling-bjp-in-manipur-wants-loktak-hydroelectricity-project-broken-down(accessed on Apr 2, 2019).

Hydropower development and right to free, prior and informed consent (fpic) of indigenous peoples : Case study on Mapithel Dam project, Northeast India prepared by Naga Peoples

Movement for Human Rights, https://iphrdefenders.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/final-_northeast-india1.pdf