

To what extent has the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord in 1997 led to the improvement of socioeconomic status and human rights conditions of Indigenous inhabitants of Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh?

The signing of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord in 1997 was a juncture in the pivotal crossroads of history, promising transformative change and heralding a new era of continuity, it held the potential to reshape the socioeconomic landscape and safeguard the human rights of the indigenous people in Bangladesh's Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). Envisioned as a cornerstone for progress, the Accord sought to bridge the divide between national aspirations and indigenous realities. However, the failed implementation of the Accord by the Government of Bangladesh on key provisions has resulted in minimal change in socioeconomic and human rights conditions of Indigenous people, revealing a disconcerting narrative of stymied change and enduring struggles. Militarisation of CHT has persisted despite the provisions stipulated within the Accord, leading to ongoing human rights violation by security forces against Indigenous people. Indigenous people remain internally displaced, landless, and vulnerable due to unresolved land rights regulations and militarisation. As a result, rehabilitation of Indigenous refugees and internally displaced persons has faced significant challenges in implementation. Furthermore, regional autonomy granted under the Accord provisions has been ineffective, limiting the bodies' ability to improve socioeconomic conditions of the Indigenous people. While there have been improvements to conditions by international development organisations and economic growth, ultimately, the Accord has failed to improve the Indigenous people's conditions.

The CHT is a region located in south-eastern Bangladesh, inhabited by more than 12 Indigenous ethnic groups such as Tripuras, Chakmas and Marmas.¹ These groups are ethnoculturally distinct to the Bengali majority of Bangladesh. Due to these differences and historical tensions between Indigenous people and

¹ World Bank. (2008). *Bangladesh: Indigenous/Tribal Population and Access to Secondary Schools (Draft)*. Dhaka: World Bank - Bangladesh.

consecutive governments, Indigenous people have demanded autonomy and independence. Consequently, a decade long guerrilla insurgency was conducted by the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS). The conflict concluded with the signing of the Accord between the PCJSS and the Government of Bangladesh.²



Figure 1: Map of the CHT Region. Source: Wikipedia (Modified)

² Islam, S. (2003). THE INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 20(2), 137-160.

The enduring military occupation serves as a stark example of both change and continuity. Initially rooted in response to insurgency, militarisation has not waned in the postaccord period. It has perpetuated in a cycle of human rights transgressions, indigenous people confront persistent curbs on their freedom, encompassing movement, association, and access to information, imposed through curfews, and media tightly controlled by the military.³ This has fostered a litany of injustices, with indigenous people subjected to inhuman torture, arbitrary arrests, extra-judicial killing, and kidnappings.^{4,5} This has been accompanied by a paradoxical escalation and continuation of inter-communal violence towards indigenous people, marked by targeted arson, sexual violence, and coercive land seizures by state-sponsored actors.⁶ While the Accord aimed to reduce militarisation and ensure withdrawal of forces to permanent army bases, the ground reality remains far from this vision.⁷ A fractional reduction of 105 temporary camps from 500 during the pre-accord period, coupled with emergent deployments amid the COVID-19 pandemic, underscores the discord between intent and action.⁸ Moreover, encroachment of Armed Police Battalions into 20 withdrawn camps has further diluted any semblance of genuine demilitarisation.⁹ The military's Operation Uttoran has further undercut implementation of the Accord through obstructing progress in governance, general administration and development sector.¹⁰ Thus, continuation of militarisation and corresponding oppression and human rights violations of the Indigenous underscores the Accord's failure to bring change.

³ Arens, J. (1997). Winning Hearts and Minds: Foreign Aid and Militarisation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 32(29), 1811-1819.

⁴ Amnesty International. (2017). *Human rights violations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts: An update*. Dhaka : Amnesty International .

⁵ Human Rights Watch . (2023). *Bangladesh: Events of 2022*. New York: Human Rights Watch

⁶ Rahman, R. (2021). Conflict among indigenous communities and settler Bengali community of Chittagong hill tracts: is there a way to peace? *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Legal Studies*, 3(2), 35-40.

⁷ Government of Bangladesh and Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity . (2001). *Chittagong Hill Tracts Treaty, 1997*. Retrieved from South Asia Terrorism Portal: <https://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/bangladesh/document/actandordinances/cht1990.htm>

⁸ Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti . (2020). *Coronavirus: Human Rights in CHT*. Brussels: Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization.

⁹ Ching, M. M. (2019). *State, Development and Indigenous People of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh*. Adelaide : Flinders University.

¹⁰ *Op Sit Ching*

The precarious land rights of Indigenous people have led to lack of development of the Indigenous people. During British rule, the CHT Regulation of 1900 provided special protection to Indigenous people, protecting their land rights by limiting outsiders' from the plains ability to enter, reside or acquire rights to the land in CHT.¹¹ However, successive constitutional amendment by the post-colonial governments eroded protective measures provided to Indigenous people, making it easier for Bengalis from the rest of Bangladesh to enter, reside, and hold private property in CHT, leading to an increase in transmigration of Bengalis into CHT.¹² Additionally, transmigration of non-Indigenous residents became a state-sponsored affair as a counter-insurgency strategy, to increase the non-Indigenous population in the 1970s-80s. During this period, Indigenous people were systematically evicted from customary land by security forces which was then redistributed to transmigrators, profoundly impacting Indigenous people as they lost access to common land previously used to perform *jhum*.¹³ This caused Indigenous people to flee to nearby states in India or become internally displaced within CHT.¹⁴ To resolve this issue in the postaccord period, a Land Commission was established with the purpose of resolving land disputes between Indigenous people and transmigrators. However, implementation of the Land Commission has been stagnant and ineffective due to legal impediments such as recognition of customary land rights by the mainstream legal system. Subsequently, displacement of Indigenous people continues due to forced land requisition by the security forces, forestry department and continuation of counter-insurgency strategy of transmigration of Bengali

¹¹ Government of Great Britain(1900). *CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS REGULATION 1900 (1 OF 1900)* . London : Keeper of Public Records.

¹² Chakma, P. (2020). *The Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation and its constitutional status*. Dhaka: The Daily Star.

¹³ A cultivation technique of indigenous communities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh and nearby regions in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, and Nagaland in India requiring which required vast valleys and yearly rotation of fields.

¹⁴ Chakma, S. (2006). Introduction: Border Histories and Border Crossings in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bengal. In A. Jhala, *An Endangered History: Indigeneity, Religion, and Politics on the Borders of India, Burma, and Bangladesh* (pp. xv–lxxii). Dehli: Oxford Academic.

settlers into CHT.¹⁵ Against this backdrop, the Indigenous people remain ensnared in a web of vulnerability, bereft of land, the very foundations of sustenance and dignity, traversing the postaccord period without socioeconomic improvement.

The legacy of neglect towards the Indigenous people is also reflected in the lack of rehabilitation of Indigenous refugees and internally displaced persons in the aftermath of the guerrilla war. In line with the Accord, the Task Force on Rehabilitation of Returnee Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons was established to expedite and implement repatriation packages for 70,000 Indigenous people who sought refuge in Tripura, India, during the preaccord period.¹⁶ The repatriation packages were signed between Indigenous leaders and the Bangladesh Government, ensuring socioeconomic guarantees to the returnees. However, Indigenous people did not receive any guaranteed benefits, such as loan exemptions, rehabilitation of Indigenous civil servants, funds for housebuilding, livestock, and food rations.¹⁷ This has led, the Indigenous to remain in a poor financial state and socioeconomically disadvantaged. Moreover, as land and houses of 9,700 Indigenous families remained occupied by transmigrated Bengalis, it has led to an increase of the Indigenous IDP population from the original 100,000 to 144,500, eroding the overall economic status of Indigenous people. Further compounding the issue, disagreements between the JSS and the Bangladesh Government regarding the classification of transmigrant Bengalis as IDPs has left 100,000 Indigenous displaced persons displaced by counterinsurgency operations unrehabilitated. As a result, Indigenous people remain in temporary government-controlled camps, with restricted freedom of

¹⁵ Adnan, S. A. (2011). *Alienation of the Lands of Indigenous Peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh*. Copenhagen: IWGIA.

¹⁶ Roy, R. (2004). CHALLENGES FOR JURIDICAL PLURALISM AND CUSTOMARY LAWS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: THE CASE OF THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS, BANGLADESH . *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 1-70.

¹⁷ Badiuzzaman, M., Cameron, J., & Murshed, S. (2013). Livelihood decisions under the shadow of conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. *World Institute for Development Economics Research*.

movement and lack of access to education and work.¹⁸ The sluggish progress of the Task Force has regrettably resulted in little change, maintaining the status quo of socioeconomic stagnation of Indigenous refugees and displaced persons in the postaccord period.

The inefficient regional structures have been another formidable challenge in the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions of the Indigenous people. Hill District Councils were instituted in each district of the CHT to provide partial autonomy to the Indigenous population by superseding the Deputy Commissioner's authority. Envisaged as agents of regional empowerment and autonomy, the Councils were tasked with key responsibilities spanning administration, law and order, development, health, and education, with members elected by permanent residents of the CHT.¹⁹ However, the elections of members have been contentious due to controversy surrounding the citizenship reforms in the CHT particularly on the definition of a permanent resident and inclusion of transmigrated non-Indigenous residents into the electoral roll by the Bangladesh Government. This has resulted in politically motivated appointments of interim councils by the ruling government. Thus, deviation from intended electoral processes have led to compromised independence and rampant corruption and ineffective policy decision within the Councils.²⁰ Adding to this challenge, the Regional Council, established to coordinate and guide Hill District Council policies and act as an overarching statutory apex body of the CHT has been stymied by constitutional constraints, rendering it ineffectual.²¹ Consequently, the lack of authority and cohesion in decision-making of councils has led to conflicting laws and regulations that hinder the socioeconomic progress of Indigenous people. The outcome is indigenous people continue to feel unrepresented and face remote improvements in

¹⁸ Special Rapporteur. (2011). *Study on the status of implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of 1997*. New York: UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

¹⁹ *Op Sit* Government of Bangladesh

²⁰ Larma, J. B. (2023, 05, 01). Current State of CHT. (M. R. Tripura, Interviewer) (Current chairperson of Regional Council).

²¹ Sing, B. B. U. (2023, 08, 01). Current State of CHT. (M. R. Tripura, Interviewer) (Current Minister of CHT Affairs).

their socioeconomic status in the postaccord period, due to the domination of the Bengali majority of the government.

In a striking departure, international development initiatives have attempted to reshape and improve the socioeconomic conditions of Indigenous people in the CHT. As a result of the Accord, PCJSS insurgents were disbanded which led to an immediate cease to insurgency in CHT. Consequently, international development organisation-initiated programs in CHT have been established to promote peace building and improve socioeconomic conditions within CHT. The UN's CHT Development Facility played a significant role in facilitating development of socioeconomic conditions for Indigenous students through programs such as the AusAID Australian Development Scholarships which provides access to Indigenous people to complete tertiary education in Australia. As a result, a small subsets of well-educated and elite class Indigenous with high socioeconomic status have been established.²² In addition, the Canadian International Development Agency operates 300 schools, offering Indigenous students a superior educational experience as compared to the national average. This coupled with the introduction of native language primary education, has increased educational attainment levels among Indigenous people.²³ Consequently, there has been a rise in workforce participation among Indigenous people, establishing a well-educated Indigenous population and fostering growth of a burgeoning middle class. This transformation has shifted the economy of the Indigenous people from resource-driven to service-centric economic paradigms. Overall, this has caused a small yet impactful rise in the socioeconomic status of Indigenous people.²⁴ However, this nuanced metamorphosis is substantially constrained by military interference and a narrow focus on lifting the

²² UNDP-CHTDF. (2011). *Project Completion Report*. Dhaka: United Nations Development Programme - Bangladesh .

²³ Sabina, N., & Chakma, K. (2015). *Final Review-Promotion of Development and Confidence Building in the Chittagong Hill Tracts* . Dhaka: United Nations Development Programme - Bangladesh.

²⁴ Gerharz, E. (2002). Dilemmas in Planning Crisis Prevention: NGOs in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. *Journal of Social Studies*, 19-36.

moderately poor up to the middle class although it has left the deeply marginalised on a path of continual suffering.

In addition to this a shift has occurred in the economy of the CHT with creation of nascent industries. In the postaccord period, CHT underwent a substantive period of economic growth due to increased internal stability. A transition from subsistence *jhum* agriculture to cultivation of high-value crops have been observed easing reliance on subsistence farming, accompanied by improvements in post-harvest practices, the value of agricultural products produced in the CHT by Indigenous farmers have increased significantly in the postaccord period.²⁵ Similarly, tourism has become a thriving industry, providing employment opportunities to secondary industries of Indigenous artisans, preserving traditional Indigenous culture. Consequently, subsets of Indigenous population have observed general increases in socioeconomic status.²⁶ However, only an enclave of politically affluent and land-owning Indigenous have benefitted from these establishment of nascent industries. Concurrently, the burgeoning demands underpinning the tourism sector has created inflationary pressures, increasing the cost of living for the marginalised Indigenous population.²⁷ Moreover, major tourism operators of hotels and resorts in the CHT are owned and operated by the military, diverting profits to the Bangladesh Army. Further, the militarisation prevents international tourists from entering the CHT, diminishing a great earning potential for the Indigenous.²⁸ It is observed, yet again, change is significantly inhibited and controlled by military interference, with large subsets of the Indigenous population remaining deeply marginalised.

The Accord stands as a testament to the pursuit of change of indigenous rights and socioeconomic advancement in the CHT region. The intentions underlying the Accord sought to uplift the lives of the

²⁵ Talukder, K., Paul, T., & Council, R. (2013). *Report on agriculture development strategy for Rangmati. Rangamati, Bangladesh: Agriculture & Food Security Project*. Rangamati : Rangamati HDC.

²⁶ Chakam, M. (2017). *Tourism Development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: The Impact on Indigenous Peoples (IPs)*. Adelaide: Flinders Univeristy.

²⁷ Op sit Talukder

²⁸ Op sit Chakma

marginalised indigenous communities, yet shadows of unfulfilled promises by the Government of Bangladesh have cast a sombre pall over the landscape of progress. The narrative of change, though set in motion, has been marred by a disheartening lack of continuity. The poignant irony lies in the persistent militarization that has unleashed a torrent of human rights transgressions, subverting the very principles that the Accord sought to uphold. Land rights, the bedrock of identity and stability, remain ensnared in unresolved strife, leading to the displacement and vulnerability of Indigenous people – a stark reminder of the ceaseless struggle they endure. The canvas of rehabilitation, once painted with optimism, has become an intricate tapestry of challenges, as the plight of refugees and internally displaced individuals persistently defies resolution. The autonomous bodies born of the Accord's vision, intended to be harbingers of empowerment, have languished in the shadows of ineffectiveness, their potential curtailed by the weight of inaction. While shards of progress have been manifested through international development initiatives and pockets of economic growth, these achievements have remained confined to a select few among the Indigenous populace. Thus, the signing of the Accord, a symbol of change, has failed to deliver improvements to the conditions of the Indigenous people of the CHT.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Interviews (Unpublished):

Larma, J. B. (2023, 05, 01). Current State of CHT. (M. R. Tripura, Interviewer)

(This interview with the current chairman of the Regional Council greatly helped to gain a deeper understanding on the current functions of the Hill District Councils and the Regional Council, providing insight into the shortcomings of these councils, barriers to effective use of these councils and the reasoning behind these deeply political and racial issues.

Sing, B. B. U. (2023, 08, 01). Current State of CHT. (M. R. Tripura, Interviewer)

(This interview with the current Minister for CHT Affairs and Development greatly helped to gain understanding on the current processes that the Government of Bangladesh is undertaking to implement the ACCORD, and the obstacles faced by the government in implementing the ACCORD.)

Acts and Laws:

Government of Bangladesh and Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity . (2001). *Chittagong Hill Tracts Treaty, 1997*.

Retrieved from South Asia Terrorism Portal:

<https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/document/actandordinances/cht1990.htm>

(This treaty was important to understand the provisions and processes legislated within the treaty in order to progress the statuses of the Indigenous people, this allowed to compare the progress that have been made in the pre- and postaccord period.)

Government of Great Britain. (1900). *CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS REGULATION 1900 (1 OF 1900)*. London: Keeper of Public Records.

(This legislation was important to understand the protections guaranteed to the Indigenous people under the British-Raj and to observe the differences in the rights guaranteed to the Indigenous people in the pre- and postaccord period to prevent marginalisation.)

Secondary Sources

Journal Articles:

Adnan, S. A. (2011). *Alienation of the Lands of Indigenous Peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh*.

Copenhagen: IWGIA.

(This journal article was important to understand the processes by which the Indigenous people of the CHT have been marginalised during the Pakistani and Bangladeshi government rule during the 50s-80s and the root causes and actions of the Government in this process. This source has also allowed for modern schemes in the continuation of land-grabbing from Indigenous people.)

Arens, J. (1997). Winning Hearts and Minds: Foreign Aid and Militarisation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 32(29), 1811-1819.

(This journal article was used to understand the reasoning behind the militarisation of the CHT in the preaccord period and the consequences that militarisation had brought to the Indigenous people.)

Badiuzzaman, M., Cameron, J., & Murshed, S. (2013). Livelihood decisions under the shadow of conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. *World Institute for Development Economics Research*.

(This journal article was used to understand the current situation of the internally displaced Indigenous people and refugees and the framework that are currently being progressed on to improve on these situations.)

Chakam, M. (2017). *Tourism Development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: The Impact on* Adelaide: Flinders University.

(This journal article was used to understand the role of tourism in the economic growth of the CHT region and the beneficiaries of tourism, the impediments to the growth of tourism and the limitations faced by the tourism industry and the negative consequences attached to the growth of tourism.)

Chakma, S. (2006). Introduction: Border Histories and Border Crossings in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bengal. In A. Jhala, *An Endangered History: Indigeneity, Religion, and Politics on the Borders of India, Burma, and Bangladesh* (pp. xv–lxxii). Delhi: Oxford Academic.

(This journal article was important to understand why the Indigenous people chose to flee Bangladesh and seek refuge in India.)

Ching, M. M. (2019). *State, Development and of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh*. Adelaide : Flinders University .

(This journal article was important to understand the overall tate of the development of CHT and it's Indigenous people in the postaccord period, it encompassed several key issues however, the militarisation was the focus from this piece of work.)

Gerharz, E. (2002). Dilemmas in Planning Crisis Prevention: NGOs in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. *Journal of Social Studies*, 19-36.

(This journal article was important to understand the impact of NGOs and International Organsiations in the developmental field of CHT, focusing on the consequences, outcomes, benefitsa dn areas of improvement.)

Islam, S. (2003). THE INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 20(2), 137-160.

(This journal article was important to understand the pretext on the signing on the ACCORD and the actions that led upto the signing of the Accord.)

Rahman, R. (2021). Conflict among indigenous communities and settler Bengali community of Chittagong hill tracts: is there a way to peace? *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Legal Studies*, 3(2), 35-40.

(This journal article was key to understand the continuation of the inter-communal violence in the CHT and the encouragement and funding provided by the state to carry out these attacks.)

Roy, R. (2004). CHALLENGES FOR JURIDICAL PLURALISM AND CUSTOMARY LAWS OF : THE CASE OF THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS, BANGLADESH . *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 1-70.

(This journal article was key to understand the struggle faced by the Indigenous people in their aim to gain land rights and the failure by the GoB to acknowledge the customary land rights system that was held by the Indigenous before the introduction of western systems and/or documents.)

News Article:

Chakma, P. (2020). *The Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation and its constitutional status*. Dhaka: The Daily Star.

(This news article was used to understand the changes made to the original CHT Regulation under the British that led to the transmigration of Bengalis into the CHT.)

Reports:

Amnesty International (2017). *Human rights violations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts: An update*. Dhaka: Amnesty International.

(This report was used to understand the ongoing human rights violations in the CHT in the postaccord period.)

Human Rights Watch . (2023). *Bangladesh: Events of 2022*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

(This report was used to understand the ongoing human rights violations in the CHT in the postaccord period.)

Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti . (2020). *Coronavirus: Human Rights in CHT*. Brussels: Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization.

(This report was used to understand the ongoing human rights violations in the CHT in the postaccord period.)

Sabina, N., & Chakma, K. (2015). *Final Review-Promotion of Development and Confidence Building in the Chittagong Hill Tracts* . Dhaka: United Nations Development Programme - Bangladesh.

(This report was used to understand the role of UNDP-CHTDF in the development of the CHT and the key roles it plays to improve the livelihoods of the Indigenous people.)

Special Rapporteur. (2011). *Study on the status of implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of 1997*. New York: UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

(This report was crucial to understand the current state of the Indigenous IDPs and refugees and the overall state of the Indigenous people, further it provided thematic information on the implementation of the Accord.)

Talukder, K., Paul, T., & Council, R. (2013). *Report on agriculture development strategy for Rangmati. Rangamati, Bangladesh: Agriculture & Food Security Project*. Rangamati : Rangamati HDC.

(This report was crucial to gain understanding on the impact of the shift towards new forms of agriculture and the improvement and good change that it brings to the CHT. It also provided key information on the key stakeholders of the agricultural industry and shortcomings of the industry.)

UNDP-CHTDF. (2011). *Project Completion Report*. Dhaka: United Nations Development Programme - Bangladesh.

(This report contained information on the improvement of education services provided to Indigenous students across a wide range of levels through AusAID and DANIDA and how these services have better helped the Indigenous to become more educated and increase their socioeconomic status.)

World Bank. (2008). *Bangladesh: Indigenous/Tribal Population and Access to Secondary Schools (Draft)*. Dhaka: World Bank - Bangladesh.

(This report contained information on the Indigenous tribes in Bangladesh and the distinct ethnocultural differences between the majority Bengali population and the minority. It also provided information on the status of constitutional recognition of the Indigenous people.

Source Analysis

Larma, J. B. (2023, 05, 01). Current State of CHT. (M. R. Tripura, Interviewer)

The source is to a great extent accurate as Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma (Shantu Larma) has great insight into the inner workings into the implementation of the Accord as the chairperson of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council, PCJSS and Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum. Larma provided a detailed account on the implementation of the Accord from the aspect of the Regional Council, his past as the guerrilla leader and the current actions of the Government of Bangladesh in regard to the CHT issue. The source can be deemed accurate as it is Larma's own lived experiences and is backed up by several meeting minutes and internal documents. While the source is accurate Larma is biased towards the perspectives of the Indigenous struggle and is affected by his political association to PCJSS which is in direct opposition to the Awami League (the current party ruling Bangladesh). This bias was clearly seen when Larma used quite emotive and strong language to describe the lack of implementation of the Accord and the struggles faced by the Indigenous. However, Larma is a reliable source of information as obtaining the internal minutes, communications and documents would otherwise not be possible, further, as the interview was conducted during the writing of this essay, it contains the most up to date information. Although, Larma is biased, avoiding the strong and emotive language and focusing on the statements backed by documents was beneficial in producing the essay.

Adnan, S. A. (2011). *Alienation of the Lands of Indigenous Peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh*. Copenhagen: IWGIA.

The source is to a great extent accurate as Professor Shapan Adnan in his role at the Department of Development Studies at the University of London is an expert in the CHT subject matter especially in area of land rights, development and conflict. The document was produced as a result of indepth analysis of existing and past policies, field studies, surveys and focus group discussions. In addition to this, Adnan uses several independent and peer-reviewed journals and reports to provide additional backing to his research and improving accuracy of his work. While the source is accurate, Adnan has biases in his work as he uses sources sympathetic to the PCJSS and is a known dissident of the Government of Bangladesh, in addition to this, the publishers of his work the IWGIA and the CHT Commission are both groups that work to progress the right of the Indigenous people in the CHT. Therefore, Adnan has a preconceived and inherent bias towards the Indigenous which might affect some of his work. However, the work produced by Adnan is reliable as the information produced includes several other independent and peer-reviewed journals, further supported by official data and statistics. Although there are some inherent biases in Adnan's work it was a reliable and useful source as it drew information from a wide range of sources.

Ching, M. M. (2019). *State, Development and of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh*. Adelaide : Flinders University.

The source to a great extent is accurate as the work produced is the thesis submitted for a degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Dr. Mya Mya Ching. Ching is subject matter expert on the CHT and throughout the process of writing her thesis was supervised by professors and academic advisors that ensured accurate and factual information was presented in the thesis.

The thesis included several independent and peer-reviewed journals and reports, indepth analysis of existing and past policies, field studies, surveys and focus group discussions. While the source is accurate, Ching has some biases as part of the indigenous group herself, further she is also influenced in part due to being part of the civil service of the Government of Bangladesh. As a result, it can be inferred Ching had some preconcieved notions and ideas. However, the source is reliable and useful, as it contains information that has been disserted and analysed as part of the process to publish a Doctorate thesis. Further, the ideas and opinions in the source are supproted by a multiple array of sources independent of the thesis.