

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN INDIA

Introduction

Due to the intensification of armed conflicts in recent decades, the fleeing of innocent people in search of a safe and stable environment has increased. This occurrence is often a result of war, extended conflicts, widespread violations of human rights, oppression of minorities, natural and technological disasters, and other related factors. Population displacement as a result of the intensification of armed conflict in recent decades has become a common phenomenon around the world and remains a critical source of vulnerability for people everywhere. Refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) are two of the most vulnerable populations impacted by this. As depicted in the UN guiding principle, internally displaced persons are “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border. Displaced persons suffer significantly higher rates of mortality than the general population. They also remain at high risk of physical attack, sexual assault, and abduction and frequently are deprived of adequate shelter, food, and health services.” According to a figure recently published by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), a total number of 71.1 million people are living in an internally displaced state at the end of the year 2022. Out of those 62.5 million have been forced to flee their homes because of conflict and violence. The war between Russia and Ukraine fuelled the number of conflict-induced internally displaced people worldwide. People who are compelled to evacuate their homes to avoid political violence but do not cross any international borders are classified as conflict-induced internally displaced persons.

Internal displacement produces humanitarian, developmental, and societal impacts of real significance as millions of people are forced to move from their homes and familiar places to uncongenial places for various unpleasant reasons including violent conflicts, natural disasters, and developmental works conducted by a governing body. It also generates burning political questions around the citizenship, culture, and identity of a plethora of people. Development and conflict have a strong and reciprocal relationship. On the one hand, civil war can seriously impede economic growth, creating a vicious cycle of conflict and decline. On the other hand failures in development increase the likelihood of civil war and conflict

(Collier,2004). In India, Conflict and developmental works are two primary causes of internal displacement (Das,2008).

CONFLICT-INDUCED INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN INDIA

The core causes of conflict-induced displacement, such as chronic political oppression and inequality or historical enmity, provide background data and forecasting possibilities; Before forced displacement happens, such conditions are usually combined with a proximate cause, such as ethnic cleansing, rioting, or war. Political violence such as genocide, politicide, and civil war caused most large-scale forced displacement around the world (Lischer,2007). India is no exception, the issue of displacement in the region has been aggravated by various conflicts, including acts of genocide, clashes between different ethnic groups, and incidents of communal violence. India is home to a large number of diverse ethnic and tribal communities. There exist several factors that contribute to the emergence of ethnic conflict, including a substantial structural crisis, prior inter-ethnic grievances, institutional elements that foster ethnic intolerance, political agents exploiting history to generate negative emotions like fear, resentment, and hatred towards others, as well as inter-ethnic competition for resources and rights. (Blagojevic,2010).

Despite having a large number of internally displaced people, India has yet to establish a legislative framework to address this issue. Here we frequently observe that IDPs are referred to as migrants. It is important to talk more about conflict-induced internal displacement in India. Internal displacement induced by development has been handled by the government through laws like the ‘Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation, And Resettlement Act, 2013’ to ensure minimum displacement of the existing population, owning or staying on the land, provide fair compensation to the families who are affected or whose land has been acquired or livelihood has been affected, but internal displacement brought on by conflict is not specifically addressed by law; instead, these people are frequently classified as refugees or migrants in order to avoid obligations. where government interests and conflict victims are related like in the instance of the Kashmiri pandits there is the government’s desire to combat Pakistani Muslim militants. While 350,000 displaced Kashmiri pandits receive 40\$ a month 300,000 IDPs in the northeast including scheduled or tribal communities get almost nothing; which clearly demonstrates the disparity between state government responses to IDPs in Jammu and Kashmir, and the Northeast (Banerjee,2006).

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Jammu and Kashmir are regions of multiple cultures, religions, races, ethnicity, and identity. The valley is a victim of constant violence and conflict between two countries, and various militant, rebellious, extremist, and terrorist groups. Armed rebel forces have aroused among the Muslims; who wanted self-determination or accession to Pakistan. The dispute between India and Pakistan over the line of control is an inter-state conflict that has led to considerable disruption and displacement of inhabitants. One powerful influence in the valley is fundamentalism, which indoctrinates and brainwashes Kashmiri Muslims, particularly the younger generation, to embrace its cause and Tethered to a militant mindset. According to the fundamentalists, the presence of Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley hinders the expansion of fundamentalist Islam. This depiction implies that the militants targeted the Kashmiri Hindus because they are seen to embody the secular principles of the Indian people (Duschinski,2008). Things got worse in 1986 when specifically, the temples of Anantnag began to be attacked; Multiple pandits were killed, and some were hanged. Elections were held in 1987, which the Congress and Farooq Abdullah reportedly manipulated. The state elections in 1987 fueled the fire, and all separatist and anti-India factions banded together under one banner to contest elections for ulterior objectives. The alleged rigging of elections fueled the growth of separatists. During Farooq Abdullah's government, the militant group Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) became increasingly active. Religious strife and communal hatred had begun (Thakar & Mishra,2020).

The first Kashmiri pandit leader Tika Lal Taploo was shot dead by the militants on 14th Sep 1989. After that a spate of targeted killings of Kashmiri pandits in the valley started; journalist advocate Prem Nath Bhat on 27th Dec 1989 and on 4th Nov 1989 retd. The judge who sentenced Maqbool Bhat to death was also shot dead by the militants. Violence proliferates uncontrollably across Kashmir. Hizbul Mujahideen issued an ultimatum on April 14, 1990, which was published in Alfasa and stated that all pandits were to leave Kashmir within two days. After a few targeted assassinations in the near future, the pandits began to worry about their safety, and each death of a close-knit community member began to lower their spirits. Pandits thought their displacement was temporary, but as time went on, it mostly became permanent. Relief organizations in Jammu registered 33,618 households, including 29,836 Pandit families, according to government records. The majority of these officially recognized displaced pandits reside in camps spread around the Jammu area. (Shekhawat,2009). In 2010, the government of Jammu and Kashmir stated that 219 Kashmiri

pandits have been killed since 1989 but according to Kashmiri pandit Sangharsh Samiti, the number lies between 399-650. Over 1635 people across other faiths including Muslims have been killed since 1990 by militants. Still, around 100,000 people live in the city of New Delhi and around 340,000 people live in Jammu.

While some displaced people argue that Kashmiri Muslims are the stakeholders; the majority think that radical armed organizations supported by Pakistan are to blame for this mass exodus. Whatever the case may be, the Indian government failed to secure the safety of the community. Despite direct central government authority being imposed from 1990 to 1996, terrorist attacks continued. About 250,000 Kashmiri pandits had been internally displaced by 1996 to Jammu, Delhi, and other locations (Saha,2000). Around 40,000 Kashmiri pandits have lived in tents across Jammu for years as refugees. In 2011, then PM Dr. Manmohan Singh shifted them to concrete apartments in refugee colonies in Jagti, Purkhoo, and Muthi in Jammu. It is from these two-room apartments that Kashmiri pandits dream of a home they no longer have. They also get cash assistance from the government. However, some of the families are still forced to live in tents and cash assistance is not enough to survive. IDPs here do not get any special status and are treated like refugees. The government marked their displacement as voluntary. Under PM's employment package around 3000 jobs have been provided to pandits in 2020-2021. As a part of rehabilitation around 520 IDPs have returned to Kashmir under the scheme, but around 250 of them stay at a transit camp in Kulgam's vessu in very bad living conditions. In February 2015, the government announced 6000 transit accommodations for the employees but only 18% of these have been completed or partially ready and 50% of the work is yet to begin. Following the revocation of Article 370 around 14 Kashmiri pandits and Hindus have been killed in the union territory including one 35-year-old revenue department official and a school teacher from Samba near Jammu. Around 87 civilians and 99 security personnel have also died in terror attacks since 2019. Terrified Kashmiri pandit's protests and having lost all hope in the administration around 100 Kashmiri pandits again leave Kashmir as they did in the 1990s for their and their family's safety. The government should ensure the safety of the IDPs before sending them back or rehabilitating them. According to media and residents, approximately 548 people arrived in the Jagti district after fleeing their homes in Baramulla and Kupwara districts. approximately 250 people fled the Matton Pandit colony in Anantnag district between 1-8 June 2022 due to an increase in criminal violence and insecurity. Approximately 300 people fled the Vessu

colony in the Anantnag district between 1 May and 8 June due to an increase in criminal violence and insecurity.

CENTRAL INDIA

In accordance with the 2010 UNDP Human Development Report, 81% of the STs, 66% of the SCs, and 58% of the OBCs belong to the category of multi-dimensionally poor. The regions of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Odisha are home to a notable population of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), with Chhattisgarh having 50% and Jharkhand and Odisha both having 40% of their population belonging to these groups. The social and economic conditions of the SCs and STs residing in the impoverished regions of Odisha, Chhattisgarh, and Jharkhand remain a matter of concern, as they continue to face the dual challenge of social discrimination and material deprivation despite various initiatives aimed at their upliftment. (Chandhoke, 2012). The communist Naxalite ideology has gained support among marginalized Adivasi communities. In areas without state governance, Maoists have established alternative administrations, consolidating power at the grassroots level. (Behera, 2019). Any form of extremism inevitably leads to conflict and violence, and Left Wing Extremism (LWE), also known as Naxalism, is no different. Starting from the Naxalbari village of West Bengal, the Naxal movement has established its presence in over 155 districts in 15 states. Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Telangana, Jharkhand, and Andhra Pradesh are among the most affected states (Mandal, 2009) Dantewada, Bastar, Kanker, Rajnandagaon, and Narayanpur in Chhattisgarh are the strongest bases for the movement. The Chintalnar massacre of 76 troops in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district in April 2010 and the killings of key Congress party leaders in Chhattisgarh's Jeeram ghati area in Sukma district in May 2013 were high points of the Maoist insurgency. These two episodes, together with numerous more audacious attacks on security forces, alerted the country's policymakers to the fact that the insurgents posed a major threat (Sahoo, 2019).

If we superimposed a map of today's Maoist insurrection over a map of the mining activity that is fuelling India's economy the most, the two would almost perfectly line up. Two states which are most affected by Maoist insurgency; Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand topped \$20 billion in 2008 and more than \$1 trillion in proven reserves still sit in the ground (Miklian, 2012). This is not a coincidence; politicians, police, and mining companies all profit from these mining ventures, which frequently skirt regulations designed to safeguard sensitive environmental or human areas. Mining deregulation was viewed as a fantastic

opportunity by major and minor firms; using the 'fog of war' to justify the land grab without any prior consent and appropriate relief and rehabilitation to displaced people. Mining firms paid both the militia and the Maoists to clear land through proxy wars or to continue uninterrupted mining works. Maoists fund their war or in other words, their insurgency activities, and to locals, they play their Robinhood credentials (Hoelscher et al., 2012). The construction of special economic processing zones, hydroelectric facilities, industrial units, and the employment of cast mining techniques has major consequences for tribal life, including ecological damage and mass relocation. In the name of the counter-insurgency State-sponsored armed vigilante group Salwa Judum forced over 100,000 villagers to flee from their homes because they were living atop resource beds (Miklian, 2009). By June 2006, officially, 54,768 people were in 17 camps located on blacktop roads spread over Konta, Geedam, Biramgarh, Bijapur, and Usoor blocks; The majority of tribals from three districts of Chhattisgarh: Dantewada, Bijapur, and Sukma escaped to the nearest forest outside of Chhattisgarh mainly to the Khammam, Warangal, and east Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. In 2009, there were 16,361 IDPs in the Khammam district and around 5000 in the Warangal district. Gote Koya tribals are the most affected by the Salwa judum militia. Around 55,000 displaced Gote Koyas now live in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Odisha, According to the writ petition filed by 'KARTAM JOGA and Ors', between June 2005 and August 2007; 537 persons were killed, At least 2825 houses were burned and the Salwa Judum looted thousands of houses in Dantewara and Bijapur districts. In the year 2011, the Supreme Court of India gave a verdict to revoke the state-instated Salwa Judum by declaring it illegal and unconstitutional. The anti-Naxal Salwa judum activities by the government were criticized for human rights violations, the use of child soldiers, and undertrained youth for counter-insurgency roles. Both Maoists and the government are the stakeholders in the displacement of the tribals. The Naxalite movement in India is one of the 'longest and most lethal' homegrown insurgencies across the globe. To counter the insurgency state and central governments gave draconian powers to the police and security forces which often get misused. Ordinary tribal people are victims of the conflict and violence created by the Maoists. The mainstream media frequently portrays the Naxalite movement as a people's war and the Naxals as Robin Hood, which is untrue. Maoist insurgents or left-wing extremists are not representative of the tribal people nor all the tribals are Maoist. In integrating the people's movement that fights for the rights and entitlements of the local people with the Maoists, both the state and the Maoists have a similarity. By labelling tribals as Maoists, the government

ignores their responsibility to provide fundamental human rights to them. The causes of displacement due to conflict in central India are not only limited to armed confrontations between state security forces and Maoist cadres. In fact, conflicts also arise from state repression against people's resistance movements related to land acquisition and mining, as well as violence stemming from communal riots between different ethnic and religious groups. Additionally, the forced eviction of forest-dwelling and forest-dependent tribes is also a source of conflict in central India.

NORTHEAST INDIA

Northeast India shares international borders with China, Tibet, Bhutan, Myanmar, and Bangladesh, and is linked to the rest of India via a short corridor. Northeast India is the epicentre of numerous ethnic nationalities. Numerous ethnic groups came to northeast India from various regions at different times. They have diverse sociocultural traditions and speak different languages. No matter how much we talk about one citizenship or one nationality, the reality is far from this utopia. Even after 76 years of independence, people from northeast India identify themselves as different from the rest of India or “mainland” India. Northeast is a theatre for diversity; People of the Northeast do not have a common or collective identity, which is why there are many ethnicity-based conflicts and competition between people of different ethnicities. There is a trend in the northeast states, that the majority tribal group often attack vulnerable minority tribal community. When one's ethnic group is attacked or persecuted by another, ethnic identification becomes even more important. This is because one's ethnic group is frequently viewed as a source of protection from other groups and a possible provider of a safe environment (Blagojevic,2010). The dream of creating an ethnic homeland of one tribe made some other tribals homeless. Creating a homogenous homeland in a diverse region like northeast India is impossible. There was a problem with meeting the conflict between political boundaries and ethnic or social boundaries. The various ethnic groups of the northeast do not fit in neatly with the political boundaries. If we try to correlate political boundaries with ethnic ones then northeast India may be divided into 50-60 mini-states which is not possible so statecraft has to build on the basis of existing differences among ethnic and linguistic groups. There is a trend in the northeast states, that the majority tribal group often attack vulnerable minority tribal community. Because of the multi-faced conflict in northeast India, the number of IDPs are quite high. The IDPs are unwelcomed wherever they go, their Indian citizenship is hardly of any help to them. If the government

does not take rehabilitation and resettlement of the IDPs seriously; the day is not far when IDPs of different states will start demanding a state or homeland of their own in the northeast.

- **ASSAM**

Assam is the homeland of many ethnic groups and tribal people. Looking at the diversities of culture, ethnicity, and, religion of the state; it is called “mini-India.” However, this diversity caused insecurity among the different ethnic groups about them being deprived of their rights and resources by the other groups. The ongoing series of episodic ethnic group clashes is one of the reasons for internal displacement in Assam. After taking over Assam in 1826, the Britishers established the tea and oil industry there; to solve the labour deficit problem, they migrated laborers from Orissa and Jharkhand. They hired educated Bengali Hindus as administrative workers, teachers, and health and law professionals there. They managed to excel in their business but failed to include Assamese middle-class people in this, giving Assamese people a feeling of isolation in their own space-own land and this eventually created an anti-Bengali feeling in Assamese middle-class people. Britishers also ignored their request to use the Assamese language in schools and offices. The linguistic conflict between Bengali migrants and Assamese people created a socio-cultural conflict between them. After independence Migrants from Bangladesh are considered to be a threat to the indigenous people and, indigenous culture and as the migrants were mostly peasants there was tension about land as well. 14000 Bengalis were internally displaced because of the riots over language issues in 1972-73. The Bodo movement in the 1980s cost hundreds of Santhal and non-Santhal lives and displaced thousands of them from their homes.

Beginning of 1979 there was a movement against immigrants from Bangladesh led by the All Assam Student Union (AASU) and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) called bideshi khedao movement also known as the Assam movement to detect and depart Bangladeshi migrants from Assam. This movement was non-violent until the 1983 legislative assembly election; when they wanted to eliminate the immigrant Bangladeshi people from the electoral rolls. The movement was mainly against the Muslim immigrants of the Bengali community. On one hand, a series of attacks and counterattacks between the immigrant Muslims and Assamese people have been stated. On the other hand, there was a clash between Bodos, the plains tribe in Assam, and the Assamese in Gohpur, Darrang district; the plains tribal council of Assam decided to contest the election and got the support of Bodos. As a result, on 13th February 1983 AASU and AAGSP workers tried to block access to the

polling booth by burning bridges. This incident is known as the Gohpur incident. The Mangaldoi incident happened between the Muslim immigrant and the Assamese people in char areas south of Mangaldoi, more than a hundred of people died because of group clashes. The most annihilated of all, the Nellie massacre happened on 18th February 1983. This took place against immigrant Muslims by the Assamese and Tiwa tribes in Nellie village in the nowgong district. 1600-2000 people were killed during a six-hour period in the morning. The report of the Tiwari Commission (which was created to investigate this matter) is still private, the government did not make it public because of that the deserved justice is not delivered to the victims. The reason behind this genocide is primarily the provoking campaigns of AASU against the migrants, especially against Muslim immigrants. If we see the whole picture of electoral violence in 1983 in Assam it is difficult to say who were victims and who were attackers as there was no set pattern of group clash. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signed the Assam Accord with the leaders of the AASU and AAGSP to formally end the Assam Agitation in 1985. When group clashes took place, many people fled from their homes and took shelter in and outside Assam. The IDPs were distributed to 53 camps in the districts. In the Nellie refugee camp, 3500 people were sheltered, 15000 were in the dabaka camp, 9000 were in the Jamunamukh camp, and 5400 in the Kampur camp. Nowgong is the worst damaged district during the election violence with 23000 displaced people. Darrang, kamrup, and north Lakimpur were also severely affected.

There are many insurgent groups that advocate the independence of Assam, the most prominent among these are ULFA (The United Liberation Front Of Assam) and Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT). Insurgency started in Assam with the formation of ULFA in 1979. The most intensive periods of the insurgency were in the 1990s when ULFA and BLT were very very active during that time in Assam. The Bodo movement started in 1987 peacefully by the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) with Bodo Sahitya Sabha demanding a Bodo state to protect their identity and culture. But the movement turned violent when ethnic cleansing started from Bodo areas or the areas claimed by Bodoland Autonomous Council(BAC). In June-July 1993 Bengali Muslims were targeted by the Bodo insurgents in the Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon; between 18000 to 20000 people were affected from thirty villages. Again In 1994 Bengali Muslims, as well as Hindus, were the targets nearly 65000 people were displaced. In 1996 and 1998 tea tribes like Santhals, orations, and Mundas were targeted, and nearly 115,000 tea tribals were forced to flee from their home and take shelter in the 61 relief camps in Kokrajhar district. Around 200 Santhals, orons, and Mundas were killed as they

were trying to protect their lands, and nearly 30 Bodo tribals were also killed in the violent conflict. In the 1998 attack, the tea tribe also fought back with their militant outfits like the Cobra Force. Around 231,989 people were displaced from both non-Bodo and Bodo communities. Around 239,076 people took shelter in the relief camps during these ethnic conflicts, and even after the Bodo settlement more than 70000 non-Bodos still remain behind in the camps.

By the year 2005, Assam has witnessed clashes between different communities, who are earlier living together with relative harmony and peace. Almost every district was affected where hundreds lost their lives and thousands of tribal people are forced to live in relief camps. Different civil society organizations tried to normalize the relationship between different tribal groups. In 2008 all Assam Students Union started a movement against illegal immigrants which resulted in 14,000 Muslim fleeing from their homes and taking shelter in the relief camps. Inter-communal violence in 2012 forced 36,000 Muslims to be internally displaced and take shelter in relief camps, potentially hundreds of thousands remained displaced outside of official camps. In 2014 Kokrajhar, Aulaguri, Chirang, and Sonitpur, the four districts of Assam had the largest number of IDPs over 300,000.

- **TRIPURA**

The ethnic conflict in Tripura is rooted in decades-long tensions between indigenous tribes and migrants from Bangladesh, which has led to violence and forced displacement. During the partition Between 1947-51, around 610,000 Bengali refugees fled from Bangladesh to Tripura, again during the Bangladesh liberation war of 1971 around 1.038 million Bengalis moved into Tripura from Bangladesh. Indigenous people think Bengalis are a threat to their culture and the limited resources that they had; Large-scale transfer of cultivable land of tribal people to Bengali migrants caused a revolt in the 1980s led by Tripura national volunteers. In June 1980, approximately 200 Bengali people were massacred by tribal insurgents, which led to the burning of the village by the Bengalis. Since then, almost 120,000 Bengalis are internally displaced in Tripura due to targeted attacks of insurgent groups like The National liberation front of Tripura or the All-Tripura Tiger Force. The Bengalis retaliated and formed a militant group, the United Bengali Liberation Force (UBLF). The UBLF is also attacking the tribals; the exodus became two ways. The insurgent activities from both sides resulted in the loss of 1300 lives. According to the 'Dinesh Singh Committee Report,1980' in 141 relief camps there were 189,919 IDPs out of which 1/5th were

tribals. The government provided jobs to over 1000 families and khas land and housing grants to about 50000 IDPs but going back home is still a dream for many and they live in the inhuman situations of the relief camps without basic amenities like food and water.

- **MIZORAM**

Reans are a scheduled tribe of Mizoram displaced because of the ethnic clash with dominant Mizos in Mizoram in 1997. They were the second largest tribal group of Mizoram when they demanded autonomy within Mizoram the Mizos saw this as a threat to their Mizo state and marked the reangs as outsiders. In 1995, following a clash between mizos and reangs or brus, The Young Mizo Association and Mizo Students' Association demanded that brus be removed from the state's electoral rolls, contending that the tribe was not indigenous to Mizoram. According to bru leaders, they are forced to accept the Mizo language as a medium of instruction despite having their own language Kokborok. In 1997 the conflict further complexified; many reans tribes were brutally killed by the Mizos. the reangs militant group The Bru National Front (BNLF) started attacking Mizoram police which further intensify the violence and eventually, 6589 Reangs families were displaced from their homes and fled to Tripura. According to govt of Tripura, 36000 reangs fled into Tripura during 1997-99. Since then, they are treated like refugees and have been living in six relief camps in north Tripura. The Indian Government has made multiple attempts to resettle the Brus in Mizoram; even after signing a pact in 2018 with two states and Bru representatives for the resettlement of Brus in Mizoram, the Bru community is frightened by threats to life and further ethnic repression in their home state but remains unsuccessful as the Mizo groups are opposing this resettlement. Keeping everything in mind in January 2020 the central government, govt of two states, and bru representatives come together once again after 2018 this time with the idea to resettle them in four districts of Tripura -North Tripura, Dhalai, South Tripura ad Gomati. per the Agreement, each resettled Bru family would be given 30x40 sq. ft. of land & Rs. 1.5 lakh for construction of house, fixed deposit of Rs. 4 lakhs, Rs. 5,000/- cash assistance per month for two years, and free ration for two years. According to the news reports, the Tripura government has constructed over 2000 houses and 4171 families have been resettled and the remaining 2131 families are in the process of rehabilitation. Recently they have also received voting rights in Tripura which will enable them to participate in the 2023 assembly election. However, there are state-wide strikes opposing the pact, if the government does not settle this matter efficiently, or else in the future, this will take a turn to a more conflicting situation and trigger a deeper humanitarian crisis.

- **MANIPUR**

Manipur is mostly divided into the hilly and valley plains areas. The Naga and Kuki tribes of Manipur, with a population of 35% and most Christians, live in the hilly regions that make up 90% of the country. Like all the northeast states, Manipur is also a victim of ethnic conflicts. The major ethnic conflicts that caused many internal displacements are the conflict between Meiteis and Meitei Pangals or Manipuri Muslims (1994), between Nagas and Kukis (1992-1998), and between Kukis and paites (1998). All 29 listed scheduled tribes in Mhanipur belong to the Naga group or Kuki group. Meitei forms about 60% of the total population. Meitei lives in the plains while Kukis and Nagas are in the hills. Nagas wishes to have a major part of Manipur to be merged as a part of greater Nagaland or Nagalim, Meitei wants their independent state and Kukis wants a state carved out from the present state of Manipur for the Kukis. This direct contradiction to each other created a more complicated scenario in Manipur. There is an ongoing conflict against each other. Also, Insurgent groups are demanding alternative arrangements, and the reintroduction of inner line permits from the government to remove the non-local population and some of them are demanding independence from India. Some of the major insurgent groups in Manipur are Kuki national organization, united people's Forum, united national liberation front, people's liberation army.

The Naga and the Kukis have a dominant presence in all hill districts in Manipur. Before 1992, there had never been a significant war between them. This changed in 1992 when it began in the town of Moreh in the Chandel district, which is home to both Nagas and Kukis, it is the most important trade center lying between Manipur in India and Tamu in Myanmar. Nagas claimed the "homeland" of Kukis as a part of their greater Nagaland or Nagalim. The National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM) claimed four districts of five in the hill area as part of their greater Nagaland or nagalim and the United Naga Council (UNC) of Manipur issued a quit notice for all Kukis living there. The Naga insurgent group army started attacking unarmed Kuki people, killing them, and burning their houses, soon Kukis also started to counterattack and formed their own insurgent group. As a result, 1000 people were killed, and as many as 130000 were displaced from their homes (Singh, 2009). The Kukis are still demanding justice for the 1993 genocide as Neither the Indian government nor the state government put any effort to rehabilitate them nor they tried to talk to the Kukis instead they are signing Naga peace accords. As a result of this discrimination, the Kukis are holding grudges against the government and demanding a separate state for the Kukis.

During the kuki-paite ethnic clash in 1997-1998, almost 13000 people fled from their homes to Mizoram and chin hills in Myanmar, 352 people were killed, and 4670 houses were destroyed. The tension between Thadou-speaking Kuki and Paite-speaking communities about nomenclature got intensified when 15 male members of Saikul Paite village were kidnapped by the insurgent group Kuki national front, out of which 10 people were killed by them. As revenge paite community of Churachandpur town burned down houses of the Kukis and started attacking the Kuki community people. The attack and counterattack of the villages ended in October 1998 with a peace agreement between the two communities. The conflict was virtually ended but the mistrust between the communities is still there and if not tackled carefully this will lead to a second wave of ethnic violence between them.

The violent conflict between Manipuri Muslims or Pangals and Meiteis started by the communal rumour that Meiteis are badly beaten up by the Muslims. The real conflict was between a Muslim gang of armed smugglers and a newly formed Meitei underground organization (people's Republican Army), the reason for their conflict was interpersonal but the false rumour turn it into a communal clash or religious conflict. All the household including the mosque in the Pangals-dominated village purum pangaltabi was set on fire by the Meitei rioters, the other Muslim-dominated villages were also affected; 100 Muslims and 4 Meiteis were killed, and 196 households and 1144 people are victims of this riot.

- **MEGHALAYA**

Meghalaya is considered more peaceful than any other state in northeast India. however, Ethnic tension is simmering between illegal Bangladeshi immigrants and the local indigenous people. These tensions are mainly due to ethnic issues and not related to religion. mainly there are three tribal groups- Garo tribals, Khasi tribals, and Jaintia tribals. Meghalaya was formed in 1972. After that, the dominant tribe "Khasis" started systematic violence against the Bengalis in Shillong, the capital of Meghalaya. As the Bengalis in Shillong were managing the administration, politics, services, and business, the Khasis wanted to take the rights over there to control the new tribal state. There was a silent ethnic cleansing that was happening at that time which eventually caused almost 25000-35000 Bengalis to be internally displaced. They mostly settled down in West Bengal or Assam. Those who left behind have to face attacks by the Khasis. Other than Bengalis, Nepalis, and Biharis are also the target of these attacks.

THE WAY FORWARD

According to Kant, to be perpetual peace must have a solid foundation not merely be temporary like a ceasefire. Every few months we are told that there is peace in northeast India and yet armed forces' special power acts were extended for a few more months to ensure that there is more peace. Instead of signing ceasefire agreements with insurgent groups government should try to address the root cause of the conflict. Avoiding the issues that cause grief in communities does not make the grief go away, it resurfaces in places and situations in unexpected ways.

The resettlement and rehabilitation policy is like compensation for the loss inflicted by displacement than a right to be claimed by the victims. It depends on the charity to be doled out by the government. To find the solution to conflict-induced internal displacement first, we need to know how many conflict-induced IDPs are actually there in India; then to solve or at least improve the situation government should first give the IDPs a separate legal identity, not a migrant or refugee. Then, make plans exclusively for them. Government should ensure and safeguard basic human rights and the social status of marginalized groups. Government should disseminate awareness among marginalized groups about their fundamental rights or human rights because "In many cases, the authorities are reluctant to fulfill their 'obligations' precisely because the victims do not assert their rights often enshrined in and guaranteed by the existing municipal laws and seek remedies against arbitrary encroachment on them."

The government adopted a two-way approach to solving the insurgency problem; the first one is by doing overall development of the problematic area and the second is by armed counter-insurgency. Government should have focused more on the first one for long-term solutions instead, the second one is louder. Vulnerable tribal people are usually the ones most affected by the conflicts; hence, forced displacement is high among them. Often, they were displaced to other states and they were not given special forest rights there because of the state-specific SC-ST Special Rights act and forced out of the forest. Government should revise SC-ST special rights act as tribal people are highly dependent on the forest's natural resources. The 'one nation one identity' ideology should be reflected here also. Inclusion can be a great tool, As a long-term solution. Government should try to make more tribal inclusive plans and policies. The government is trying to rehabilitate Kashmiri pandits into Kashmir but failed to give them any safety government should take action like for mizos in Tripura.

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