

Inheritance for Aboriginal People: Bangladesh Perspective

Bilashi Shaha¹, Dr. Anisur Rahman²

¹Assistant professor, Department of Law and Land Management, Islamic University, Kushtia.

²Professor, Department of law, Islamic University, Kushtia.

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.908000123>

Received: 25 July 2025; Accepted: 31 July 2025; Published: 01 September 2025

ABSTRACT

This article explores the legal and socio-cultural dimensions of inheritance rights among the aboriginal people in Bangladesh. Despite constitutional guarantees of equality and non-discrimination, many indigenous groups, including the Chakma, Marma, Santal, Garo, and others, face systemic challenges in asserting their traditional inheritance rights within the framework of the dominant legal system. The study examines how customary laws often govern inheritance in these communities and how they intersect, clash, or coexist with national regulations such as the Civil Code, personal religious laws, and land administration policies. Special attention is given to the gender disparity in customary practices and the lack of legal recognition for women's inheritance rights among many tribal groups. Using a qualitative approach, the article critically analyzes case studies, statutory provisions, and court rulings while reflecting on the impacts of development projects and land dispossession. The article concludes by recommending legal reforms and culturally sensitive policy measures to safeguard the inheritance rights of Aboriginal people, ensuring social justice and sustainable development in Bangladesh.

INTRODUCTION

Succession is an essential issue for Aboriginal people in Bangladesh. There are various rules and regulations for Aboriginal people. Chakma, Marma, Hajong, Mru, Tanchangya, Tripura, and Kheyang follow paternal lines; e.g., male issues get priority over females even if the male portion excludes them. According to the Sudam³ of Chakma, the only son becomes the successor of the deceased person's property. If two or more sons, whether full-blood or half-blood⁴ get equal portions, even sons of pre-deceased sons get the property on the representation of their father. In the Hajong clan, all sons get property equally after the father's death, and there is no application of the doctrine of representation. Usually, a daughter cannot get property. Still, if there is no son of the deceased person, then the daughter becomes the owner, and the next time the daughter's degree is used to determine succession as the daughter's daughter exists, then the son is excluded from the property. But in Garos, Khasi, and Jaintia, the matrilineal line. In the Garo community, men do not become successors at all. An unmarried son cannot demand any property earned by hard labor in his mother's family. During marriage, all property shall be given to his mother, and after marriage, all earned property shall be given to his wife. Garo men cannot transfer any property without permission from their wives and sisters.

Importance of the Study

Customary law is a law that a person has practised from time immemorial. Aboriginal people follow customary laws and practices in their daily lives, which are applied from generation to generation. The nature and character of their customary law are quite different from general customary law. There are specific types of customary law applicable to the Aboriginal people in settling their disputes generation by generation. Basically, Aboriginal people's land rights depend on two rights: i. collective rights and ii. individual rights. They have collective rights on their jhum land, and at the same time, a person has practiced individual rights in specific circumstances. There

¹ Assistant professor, Department of Law and Land Management, Islamic University, Kushtia.

² Professor, Department of law, Islamic University, Kushtia.

³ National custom

⁴ Consanguine or uterine brother

are national and international treaties and protocols in which individual and collective rights are enumerated. Their inheritance right depends on their customary rights. No statutory or codified law applicable to that state is to be used for them to determine their rights.

Object of the Study

The primary objective of this study is to critically examine the traditional inheritance rights of Aboriginal people from a legal, social, and cultural perspective.

Explore the customary inheritance system of various groups of Aboriginal people.

Assess the compatibility and conflicts between their customary law and the formal laws existing in Bangladesh.

Evaluate the state policies and legal frameworks on the inheritance rights of Aboriginal people.

Highlight gender disparities in customary inheritance practices and the implications for indigenous women's rights.

Recommend policy and legal reform to ensure the recognition and protection of Aboriginal inheritance practices.

Hypothesis of the Study

Although Bangladesh's Constitution ensures equality and justice, aboriginal people continue to face systemic exclusion from formal inheritance rights due to the dominion of personal laws, socio-cultural marginalization, and lack of legal recognition, thereby leading to unequal property distribution and intergenerational economic disparity within these communities.

METHODOLOGY

The research will be concluded by applying the mixed qualitative and quantitative method of study. Necessary data and information will be collected from the primary and secondary sources of the relevant field. An average of 50 Aboriginal people are selected for the question. A purposive and snowball sample is to be used. The survey will be executed using a predefined structured questionnaire to gather data. The collected data will be processed manually, and an analysis will be made in order to make the study more analytical, informative, and useful to the users.

Chakma

The Chakmas are the largest tribe in Bangladesh. Buddhism is the predominant religion among the tribe. They call their tribal chief Chakma Raja. The Chakma are more advanced than most other indigenous Bangladeshi tribes. Ancient customs and social usages play an important role in determining succession. In the ancient period, according to the National Customs of Sudan, the person who offered fire at a funeral, and the next morning, all the substance of the deceased person was left in the river. Such a person or persons became a successor. But this custom is not practiced in the present time. Practiced customs or usages, important opinions of Chakma Raja, and various judgments relating to guardianship, gift, and will are the basis for determining succession.

The rules and principles that are related to the ownership of property

According to the National Custom or Sudam, the only son becomes the successor of the deceased person's property. If there are two or more sons, then they get equal property. All sons, whether full-blood or half-blood (consanguine or uterine), get an equal portion. Sons or sons of pre-deceased sons get/ get the property in the representation of their father. In spite of living separately from the father, the son or sons get/ get property equally. Sick, insane, idiot, and physically disabled sons/sons get/get equal portions.

Widows do not become successors to their husbands' property. But they get maintenance until they marry a second time. At the same time, if they have no child, then the widow becomes the successor. If there is no son

or son of the deceased person, then the daughter becomes the successor. A posthumous child becomes a successor, whether it is a son or daughter.

If the deceased person is unmarried, then the brother will get the property. In the absence of a father, mother, or full brother of the deceased person, the sister becomes the successor. Illegal sons do not become successors. The deceased woman's womb becomes the successor.

In Chakma Raja's family, the elder son becomes raja, and he gets all movable or immovable property by succession. If there is no such son, then the daughter's elder son becomes Raja. Family financial privileges like provident funds, pensions, gratuities, life insurance, etc., are regulated by their personal rules and principles. Any person may give a gift from his property to any person, his wife, or his daughter as he wishes.

Any person in his lifetime may make a will in favor of a successor or successors and choose the person he selected. In the absence of a father, the mother becomes the guardian of the minor children. But there is a major son, and then he becomes the guardian of the minor. In the absence of a father, the mother becomes the guardian of the minor in spite of her second marriage. If there is no form of any competent guardian and there is a scope of corruption relating to property, then the District Commissioners become the guardian.

Garos

The Garos are a matrilineal ethnic community of Bangladesh that inhabits Mymensingh, Tangail, Jamalpur, Sherpur, Sylhet, and Gazipur. Their ancestry shall be counted from maternal succession in lieu of paternal succession. Garo males cannot become successors to the deceased's property. The man goes to his father-in-law's house after marriage.

Rules and principles relating to succession

Men do not become successors at all. Women become successors. The unmarried son cannot demand any property that he earned by hard labour in the mother's family. During marriage, all property shall be given to his mother. After marriage, all earned property shall be given to the wife. Men have no right to take money in their hands except for transit costs or business purposes.

Garo men cannot transfer, sell, or gift property without the permission of their wives or sisters. If he has done so, it becomes illegal except for family welfare or basic necessities. If any member of his family does not make any objection to such a transfer within 2 years, it becomes an absolute transfer.

There is no rule for partitioning property in a joint family. If any person forcefully separates from this family, he loses his rights and ownership. But he becomes separate from social meetings, and his portion is determined by discussion.

If a wife marries another husband or lives with another male, leaving her own husband, then she loses the rights and title to her property. At that time, residue property temporarily vests in the husband, such as the husband marrying a widower from Machang. The new wife becomes the owner of such property. In the case of a married husband, such property shall return to the Chachii degree (maternal descendant).

Adulterous women were always excluded from property. Daughters become the owners of such property. But no daughter exists, such property shall return to Chachii's degree of nearest kinship or degree.

Nakna becomes the owner of the property. Any girl who takes a husband from the father of the Machong family and lives separately cannot be regarded as nakna. But she lives separately for a job, business, or specific reason; she can be regarded as nakna.

Parents must take permission from their major daughter before transferring, selling, or mortgaging property. No objection shall be valid if the mother becomes of sound mind during such transfer. Parents, specifically the mother, shall select one successor from among two or more daughters. One daughter can be nakna. Nakna's husband is Nakram. The youngest daughter becomes Nakna if there are two or more daughters.

Nakna must marry the selected paternal brother. If she does not agree with it, then she is excluded from succession. Daughters of Nakna are called Agadi. If a girl does not marry paternal assembly, they cannot demand her mother's property. If Nakna dies without leaving a daughter or a full sister, then the other sisters get the property. Widower becomes guardian of his children.

If there is no daughter of any nakna, other daughters have no children, and nearest degrees do not exist; then such a daughter demands succession property. There are two or more wives whose first wives (Jikmomong) and daughters get property. If the first wife has no daughters, then the second wife's daughter of the husband's blood gets the property. Where the selected nakna dies before marriage, the unmarried daughter is selected as nakna. In the case of the marriage of all daughters, the daughter who marries into the paternal ancestry is selected as nakna.

Garo takes adoption. By a general meeting and festivities, such adoption is to be taken. Where there are no children of the deceased person, the nearest kindred or adopted daughter gets property by offering (deceased person) funeral cakes. If any nakna dies, leaving a daughter, then his husband's remarried wife has no rights to take property, but her daughter. Garo male does not make will. But with the permission of her wife, she can make it.

Hajong

Hajong is mainly followed by the Hindu succession. They are matrilineal. Senior adult males become the guardians or karta of their families. All family members are obliged to follow the directions for the karta. The Dowry system is recognized in society. It is determined by the bride's status and social and economic condition. The widow's marriage is practised by them. The majority of them live in Meghalaya, Assam, Arunachal, and Bangladesh, e.g., Tahirpur, Dharampasha, Durgapur, and Jhenaigati. After the death of the father, the son gets equal property. The daughter could not get the property if any paternal ancestor existed. The deceased son's sons are excluded from the succession. But if no successor exists, then they get the property. If the deceased person has no son, then the daughter becomes the owner. Next time, a Daughter's degrees are used to determine succession and the son-excluded property if the daughter's daughter exists. But the daughter dies, leaving only the son, and then the son becomes the successor, and the son's ancestry is followed. The brother and sister have no mutual rights to their property if there is a main successor. The owner can make a will in favour of the husband or wife, son or daughter. There is a practice to adopt in the Hajong families. There is no recognition of an illegal son in their family.

The Mros(Mrus or Moorangs)

The Mro people are considered the original inhabitants of Chittagong Hill, where they migrated from Arakan of Burma in the 14th to the 15th century. They live in valleys and often fortified their villages. Although they did not have a written language of their own, some individuals could read the Burmese and Bangla scripts. Most of them identified as Buddhists, but their religious practices were primarily animistic. They live like a joint family. Son gets father's property, but the younger son gets half ownership of the property. According to the Moorangs' society, if the husband dies without any son or daughter, then the widow comes back to her father's house with all her properties. But if any son or daughter is left behind, the case widow has the option to back or not. They are patrilineal. Sons get their father's property. Also, daughters are given priority as successors. The youngest son gets half of the total portion of the property. If no child exists, the widow will come to her father's family with furniture and gold. But if there is any child, then it is optional.

The Tanchangya

The Tanchangya people are one of thirteen indigenous ethnic groups residing in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). The Tanchangya people have been living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts since the prehistoric age. Nowadays, Tanchangya people live in Rangamati, Bandarban, Ukhia, and Teknaf areas of Bangladesh. Tanchangya also lives in the northeast Indian states (Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram) and the Rakhine state of Myanmar. Most of the Tanchangya live in the reserve forest of Chittagong Hill Tracts, but on 10th April 2000,

the government declared a new law entitled 'The Forest (Amendment) Act'⁵. The male children of a deceased Tanchangya father equally divide the property among themselves. Daughters can only claim a share of the property if they have no brothers. If the deceased father has no biological children, his adopted son inherits all of his property. If a wife is separated from her husband while she is pregnant and later gives birth to a male child, that child will inherit the property of the ex-husband. If someone dies without a spouse or children, their property will pass to their brother. Sons get an equal portion of the property after the father's death. The daughter cannot demand any portion. But if there is no son, then she can demand. If there is more than one wife, all sons get an equal portion of the deceased's property. If there is no son of his own, then the adopted son becomes the successor. He must maintain the adopted mother. Otherwise, she gets an equal portion. Insane, mad, or separated living sons get an equal portion of the property. An illegal son cannot become the successor. Pre-deceased children's children become successors.

The Tripura

The Tripura, also referred to as Tipra, are an ethnic group from the Indian state of Tripura. The Tripura people, through the Manikya dynasty, ruled the Kingdom of Tripura for many years until the kingdom joined the Indian Union on 15th October⁶. The Tripura are an indigenous people residing in both the plains and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. During the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the princely states of Tripura were neither merged into India nor Pakistan. However, the Kingdom of Tripura merged with India in 1949 through a merger agreement. According to the 2011 census, 93.60% of the Tripura people follow the admixture of Hinduism and Animism, and 6.4% of the Tripura people are Christians. Clans form the basis of social and administrative organization within these communities, beginning at the village level and extending up to the chieftainship of the entire community. These indigenous groups uphold their traditional freedoms, which are rooted in the principle of self-determination. Tripura's main festival is boishu. The patrilineal system is to be maintained by the Tripura tribe. Their property is passed from father to sons. Daughters normally do not inherit land or immovable property unless there are no male heirs. A widow may have the right to use her husband's property during her lifetime, but cannot transfer or sell it. After her death or remarriage, the property typically reverts to her husband's family or son. The traditional system of Tripura is male-dominated, but modern education has begun to change these trends.

The Marmas

The Marma, formally known as Moghs or Maghs, primarily reside in the Bandarban, Khagrachari, and Rangamati Hill Districts, where they have established the Bohmong and Mong Circles. Some Marmas live in Bangladesh's coastal districts of Cox's Bazar and Patuakhali, while others live in Tripura, India, and Myanmar. The Marmas considered these names to be pejorative because they mean pirate. They are the second largest ethnic group in Bangladesh, originating from Burmese (Myanmar) ancestry. They migrated from present-day Rakhine state to the Chittagong Hill Tracts between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Marmas are subdivided into 12 clans named after the place from which they migrated. They celebrate many festivals throughout the year, but Sangrai is considered the largest celebration. Patrilineal inheritance is to be followed by them. Traditionally, inheritance passes through the male line. Sons inherit most of the family property, including land, houses, and livestock. Daughters generally do not inherit land but receive personal belongings and gifts during marriage.

Santals

The Santals are one of the ancient and largest indigenous communities in northwestern Bangladesh. Often described as children of nature, they are deeply connected to their environment. The Santal community is primarily found in the northern districts of Dinajpur, Naogaon, Thakurgaon, and Panchagarh. They played an active role in the Tebhaga Movement, led by Ila Mitra in 1950, as well as in the Santal and Kol revolts. Santal women, particularly young girls, are naturally beauty-conscious. Both Santal men and women decorate their bodies with tattoos. Their homes, although constructed from mud, are typically neat and clean. Santals follow the patrilineal system. Son gets property from his father. Daughters are excluded from the inheritance of land or

⁵ 2000

⁶ 1949

immovable property. A widow cannot inherit land property. But she may continue using the deceased husband's land until their sons are mature. If she remarries, she loses the right to use the land.

Khasi people

The Khasi are indigenous or tribal people primarily residing in the state of Meghalaya in northeastern India, with smaller populations in neighboring Assam and parts of Bangladesh. Their language is the northernmost representative of the Austroasiatic language family. A significant minority of the Khasi practice their traditional tribal religion. Those Khasi people living in the hilly areas of Sylhet, Bangladesh, belong to the War sub-tribe. In the War regions, including Bangladesh, the main crops cultivated by the Khasi are betel leaf, areca nut, and oranges. The Khasi are renowned for their unique living root bridges, which they design and construct. In several Indian states, the Khasi have been recognized as a scheduled tribe. Additionally, the Khasi society is matrilineal, meaning lineage is traced through the mother's side. In the Khasi tribe, lineage and clan identity are traced through the mother. Children belong to their mother's clan, not their father's. The youngest daughter, called ka khadduh, inherits the ancestral property. She becomes the custodian of family assets, including land and houses. This system ensures the continuity of the clan through the female line.

The Jaintia

Jaintia, an ethnic group living in the Sylhet region, has a very rich tradition and political history. Once they lived in the southern area of Sylhet. However, after the partition of Bengal in 1947, the majority of them migrated to the Jaintia Hills in Assam, where most of them are now settled. A small section of them now live in Jaintapur Upazila in Sylhet. The Jaintia in Bangladesh constitute an ethnic group numbering about twenty thousand. No documentary evidence regarding the community is available. The Jaintia have their own language, but they get education through the Bangla medium. The dress of the Jaintia and Khasi tribes of the males is similar. But women wear the traditional Jaintia dresses. Agriculture is the main occupation of the Jaintia. Rice is the staple food of the Jaintia. The Jaintia society is matriarchal. Hoktoi is the religious festival of the Jaintia. However, pantheists believe the Jaintia are much influenced by Hinduism. The matrilineal system is to be followed. Property, clan identity, and family lineage are traced through the mother rather than the father. Inheritance of family property is passed to the youngest daughter, who is regarded as its custodian. She remains in the ancestral home and cares for her parents in their old age. If there are no daughters, inheritance may pass to the nearest matrilineal female relatives. Men do not inherit ancestral property. While men may earn and own personal property, this property remains with women.

Manipuri

The Manipuri people are one of the major ethnic communities in Bangladesh. They migrated to the country between 1764 and 1789. Currently, they reside in various locations within the Sylhet Division. As per the 1991 census, Bangladesh was home to around 25,000 Manipuri people. Their native language is classified under the Kuki-Chin branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, which belongs to the broader Mongoloid language family. Literature has a long and rich history. In agricultural practices, Manipuri men and women work together in the fields. Men typically clear the jungles and till the soil, while women are responsible for sowing seeds and transplanting crops. The Manipuri culture is vibrant and colorful, with dance and music playing a vital role in their traditions. Manipuri dance is characterized by gentleness, tenderness, and devotion. A very popular festival in Manipuri is a type of Gopi dance celebrating the romantic liaison between Radha and Krishna. The dress they wear during a dance is really gorgeous and beautiful. Most religious rites and festivals of the Manipuri are based on the seasons of the year. They also celebrate the rice harvest through a singing contest. Manipuris cannot marry within their own clans. A Manipuri bride visits her parents for the first time on the fifth day after marriage, creating an occasion for a lavish feast. All members of the clan are invited to this ceremony. Manipuri has its own rituals regarding the disposal of the dead body. The Manipuri society is patrilineal and patrilocal. Inheritance generally follows the male line from father to son. Daughters are excluded from inheriting ancestral property, although they may receive movable property or gifts at marriage. The eldest son often gets a slightly larger share or even full responsibility for managing ancestral land and family rituals. If a man dies without sons, his property may pass to his brother or male relatives in the paternal line. Manipuri women do not inherit immovable property except the streedhan and dowry items.

Kheyang people

Kheyang is a group of indigenous people inhabiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The word Kheyang originated in Khlong, which means person in the language. The endonym Hyow means Chin. Among Bangladesh's ethnic groups, the Kheyang are one of the smallest, numbering just 2,345 people, according to the 1991 census. At present, the approximate number of the Kheyang in Bangladesh is 4500. They live in Kaptai and Chandraghona in Rangamati Hill Districts and in Bandarban Sadar, Thanchi, and Rowangchari upazila in Bandarban District. Every Kheyang society has a leader who is called Karbai or Headman. Kheyang society has a patriarchal structure. The father of the family is the head of the household. In a village without a headman, the villagers have to appoint a pacesetter. This leader resolves disputes that arise among the villagers, promoting non-violent coexistence. When a person is accused of committing a criminal offense, the headman takes action in keeping with standard social legal guidelines. The accused person may additionally be punished or forgiven, and the judgment is delivered publicly, considering the seriousness of the offence. Members of the Kheyang community, both men and women, are very industrious. However, men hold a dominant position and particularly adhere to societal laws. The Kheyang inheritance system is patrilineal, and property passes through the male line. The eldest son typically inherits the majority of the family property. He is responsible for taking care of the parents, conducting family rituals, and managing property after the father's death. Daughters are generally excluded from land inheritance but may receive movable property or a gift at marriage.

Case references relating to the Inheritance of Aboriginal people

In *Md Tajul Islam v. Bangladesh and others* (writ Petition no. 3034 of 1994, HCD), the leasing of khas land to non-indigenous persons in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This case affirms the land rights of Aboriginal people, which are closely tied to inheritance in customary law.

In *Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust and others v. Bangladesh and others* (writ petition no. 5863 of 2009), the case concerned the protection of customary land rights and the eviction of aboriginal people. It highlights the lack of recognition of customary property rights in mainstream law and the need for constitutional protection.

In the *Jumma People's Network* case, it concerns displacement, land alienation, and rights of the jumma people and indirectly touches on inheritance through land ownership.

In *The Rangamati Hill District Council Act 1989* and *The CHT Regulation, 1900*, it is not the case, but important statutory instruments where customary laws on inheritance and property are implicitly recognized. These laws limit the transfer of land to non-Aboriginal people and recognize customary usages and inheritance among tribes.

Survey Result Summary

A. How is property inherited in your community?

Patrilineal 65%

Matrilineal 12%

Equally among children 18%

B. Do women inherit property in your community?

Yes 28%

No 59%

Don't know 4%

C. Are you aware of national laws on inheritance?

Yes 31%

No 69%

D. Have you or anyone in your family faced an inheritance dispute?

Yes 37%

No 63%

E. Should inheritance rights be equal regardless of gender?

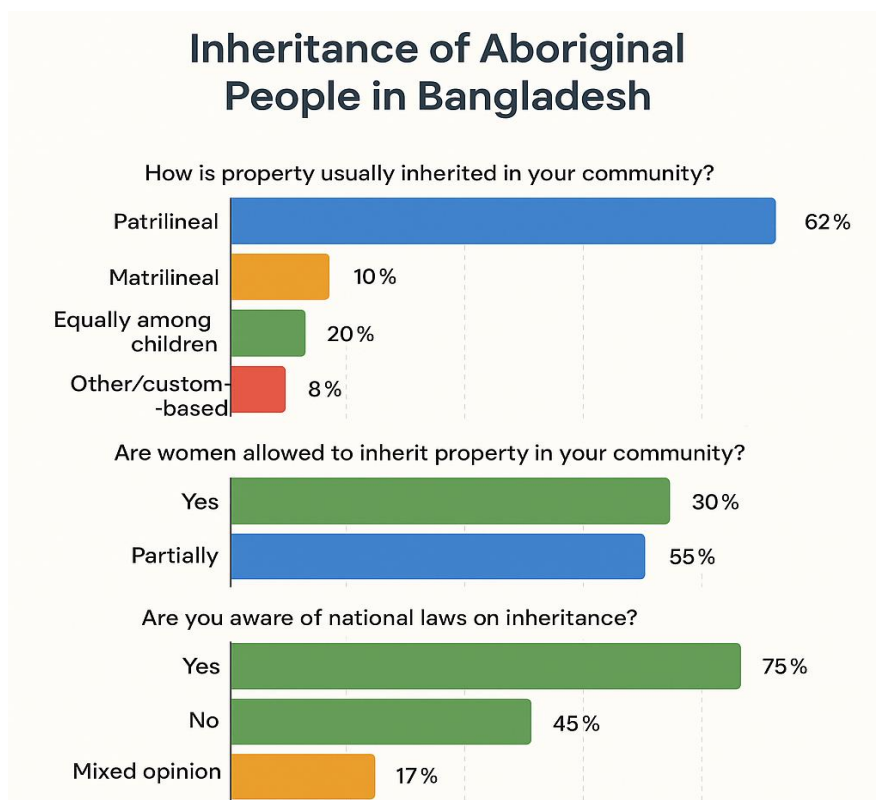
Yes 54%

No 29%

F. Do you feel protected by the current legal mechanism regarding inheritance?

Yes 18%

No 65%



Suggestion

The following are the suggestions of this article are:

There is a recommended state recognition of Aboriginal inheritance customs through amendment or special legislation.

Make the codification of Aboriginal laws in consultation with tribal leaders.

Advocate for equitable rights for women and daughters in indigenous inheritance practices.

Legal aid services should be established in the hill districts and tribal regions to help indigenous people.

There should be awareness campaigns to ensure their rights.

Academic and governmental research on customary practices should be improved.

Encourage the inclusion of Aboriginal people's voices in national policy-making on their rights.

Make an Aboriginal peoples' rights commission to monitor violations and ensure fair practices in inheritance rights.

CONCLUSION

The situation of the aboriginal peoples in Bangladesh is mirrored in many other indigenous areas around the world. Aboriginal peoples are indigenous ethnic communities who were the earliest inhabitants of a specific region. Their physical features, cultures, language, traditional houses, and dress are more special than those of other common people. They are mostly Mongolian-Stock, and they belong to a Tibeto-Burman language family living in Bangladesh. Their economy is land-based, especially in terms of jhum cultivation. They maintain their traditional way of life and protect their distinct identity as a separate people, with their own languages, customs, and traditions. Now, some legislative and administrative measures have been taken for the Aboriginal people. The constitution of Bangladesh also recognizes them as having the special status of the Hill Tracts and the rights of its aboriginal peoples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ahsan, Syed A & Bhumitra Chakma: Problem of National Integration in Bangladesh: The Chittagong Hill Tracts, Ashian Survey, Vol.XXIX, No.10, October 1989.
2. Asian Development Bank: Draft Working paper on indigenous peoples, ADB, Manila, 1995.
3. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division: Chittagong Hill Tracts Statistics 1983, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka, February 1983.
4. Chakma, Bhumitra & Kabita Chakma: Through Indigenous eyes: A compilation of articles on the Chittagong Hill Tracts by indigenous writers, Bangladesh Indigenous and Hill peoples Association for advancement (BIHPAA), Dhakka, n.d.
5. Chakma, Kabita & Glen Hill: Thwarting the indigenous Custodians of Bio-diversity, in philip Gain(ed): Bangladesh: land, forest and forest people, Society for Environmental and Human Development (SEHD), Dhaka, October 1995.
6. Chakma, Siddharta: Prasanga Parbatya Chattagram (in Bengale), Nath Brothers, Calcutta, 1985
7. Chowdhury, B.K: Genesis of the Chakma Movement (1772-1989): Historical Background, Tripura Darpan Prakashani, Agartala, Tripura, And January 1991.
8. "The study 'The Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations' (UN Doc. No. E/CN.4/Sub.2, Vol. II) was prepared by Jose R. Martinez Cobo in his capacity as Special Rapporteur for the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.
9. Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission: Life is not ours: Land and Human Rights in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, distributed by International Work Group for indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Copenhagen, and Organizing Committee Chittagong Hill Tracts Campaign (OCCHTC). Amsterdam, May 1991.
10. Hutchinson, R.H. Snayed, superintendent, Chittagong Hill Tracts: An account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 1906.
11. Ishaq, M(ed): Bangladesh District Gazetteers Chittagong Hill Tracts, Ministry of Establishment, Dhaka, 1971.
12. IWGIA: The Indigenous world (1994-1995), International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen, 1995.
13. Kempf, E(ed): The law of the mother: Indigenous peoples and protected areas, Earthcan Publication Ltd, London, 1993.
14. Mey, Wolfgang(ed): Genocide in the Hill tracts, Bangladesh, IWGIA Document No.51, Copenhagen, December 1984.

15. Mohsin, Amena & Bhumitra Chakma: The Myth of Nation Building and Security of Bangladesh: The case of Chittagong Hill Tracts, in Ahmed, Iftekharuzzaman and Imtiaz(eds): Bangladesh and SAARC: Issues, Perspectives and outlook, Dhaka, 1992.
16. Roy, Chakma Salil: Parbatya Chattagramer Arthanaitik Samasshya O Tar Samadhan(in Bengali), in Susamoy Chakma(ed), Bijhu, Dhaka 1979, pp.7-24.
17. Raja Bhuvan Mohan Roy: Histry of the chakma Raj Family, Chittagong Hill Tracts Districts Gazetteer (1971), pp.33-36.