



## National Campaign Against Torture

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# **Assam's NRC:** **Four Million Tales of Mental Torture, Trauma & Humiliation**



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## **1. Executive summary**

The State Coordinator of the National Register of Citizens (NRC), Assam under the supervision of the Supreme Court of India has been preparing the controversial National Registrar of Citizens (NRC) with the aim to identify foreigners i.e. those who had allegedly migrated to the State after 24<sup>th</sup> March 1971. This is part of the implementation of the 2005 tripartite agreement signed by the Government of India, Assam Government and the All Assam Students Union (AASU) to implement the Assam Accord of 2005.<sup>1</sup>

The NRC treats each and every resident of Assam as a suspected “non-citizen” and put the onus of proving him/her as an Indian citizen based on the eligibility criteria and particular admissible evidence of the period 1951 to 24<sup>th</sup> March 1971. Anybody who does not possess admissible evidence is a non-citizen/foreigner. There is no scope for negligence. The poor, illiterate and landless have been the most seriously affected for simply not possessing/retaining the admissible documents or understanding the NRC processes itself.

On the midnight of 31 December 2017, a partial draft of the NRC was released. The complete draft NRC was released on 30 July 2018 in which 40,007,707 persons were excluded from the draft NRC.<sup>2</sup> On 26 June 2019, the NRC authorities further published Additional Draft Exclusion List consisting of 1,02,462 persons whose names had been included earlier in the complete draft NRC published on 30 July 2018.<sup>3</sup> The total number of persons excluded from the draft NRC at present stands at 41,10,169 persons before the publication of the final NRC on 31.08.2019.<sup>4</sup>

Exclusion from the final NRC to be published on 31.08.2019 effectively means declaration as foreigners with draconian consequences from imprisonment to deportation or remaining stateless forever with direct impact on the descendants. In the immediate term, exclusion from the draft NRC shall mean filing appeal before the designated Foreigners' Tribunal constituted under the Foreigners' (Tribunals) Order,

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1. The Accord, signed in 1985 to end the anti-immigration agitation in Assam, created an exclusive cut-off date of March 25, 1971 for Indian citizenship for the residents of the state. The date for the rest of India is November 26, 1949, and for those migrating from East Pakistan is July 19, 1948.

2. Over 40 lakh left out of draft NRC in Assam, The Hindu, 30 July 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/over-40-lakh-people-left-out-in-new-draft-nrc/article24550576.ece>

3. Press Release by NRC Assam dated 26th June 2019, available at <http://www.nrcassam.nic.in/pdf/English%20Press%20Release%2026%20June%202019.pdf>

4. About 40,07,707 persons were excluded from the NRC on 30<sup>th</sup> July 2018 and another 1,02,462 persons were excluded on 26 June 2019. Please see, “Ahead of July deadline, one lakh more people excluded from NRC in Assam”, The Hindustan Times, 26 June 2019 available at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/one-lakh-more-people-excluded-from-nrc-in-assam/story-Hx4ewmewcw3hk3cvi7bnPM.html>

1964. Once the appeal is lost before the Foreigners' Tribunal, it implies the denial of all rights and privileges accorded to a citizen, imprisonment and detention including for indefinite period unless the order of the Foreigners' Tribunal is overturned by the High Court. Once the High Court rejects, a further appeal can be filed in the Supreme Court. If unable to challenge the orders of the Foreigners' Tribunal, it can mean deportation, subject to any State accepting him/her as a citizen of that country or else remaining Stateless forever, thereby affecting the descendants too. Challenging before the Foreigners' Tribunal, the High Court and the Supreme Court is very expensive while those affected are mostly poor, illiterate and landless.

Given the draconian consequences, exclusion from the draft NRC has been causing mental torture as defined under Article 1 of the UN Convention Against Torture (UNCAT). Numerous studies across the world on immigration and deportation have shown that *"apart from often-lifelong physical effects, torture survivors suffer disproportionately from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, depression, disassociation, disorientation and self-isolation, with grave long-term consequences"*.<sup>5</sup>

The NRC process has taken a heavy toll on mental health of those who are excluded from the draft NRC. Each of the four million people has a tale to tell about mental torture, trauma and humiliation of being excluded from the draft NRC.

#### **i. State of mental torture in the NRC process**

A field survey in Assam from 16 to 20 July 2019 by the *"National Campaign Against Torture"* (NCAT) showed that out of the 91 respondents interviewed, 81 stated that they had been suffering from extreme (*bahut*) anxiety, *inter alia*, due to fear of the prospect of deportation, fear of separation from family members, and lack of money to appear before the Foreigners' Tribunals or appeal before the High Court and Supreme Court while nine have been suffering from moderate anxiety and only one person was suffering from mild anxiety. It means that 89% of the respondents were suffering from extreme anxiety, 10% were suffering from moderate anxiety and only 1% stated to be suffering from mild anxiety.

If a total of 41,10,169 persons stand excluded from the draft NRC at present,<sup>6</sup> by extrapolating the survey conducted by the NCAT, it can be said that 36,99,152 persons were suffering from extreme anxiety and 4,11,017 persons were suffering from mild anxiety.

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5. Heeren, Mueller, et al., "Mental\_health\_of\_asylum-seekers:\_a\_crosssectional\_study\_of\_psychiatric\_disorders", BMC\_Psychiatry(2012),\_12:114; Carswell, Blackburn, Barker, "The\_relationship\_between\_trauma,\_postmigration\_problems\_and\_the\_psychological\_wellbeing\_of\_refugees\_and\_asylum\_seekers", Int'l Journal of Social Psychiatry, 2011\_Mar; 57(2):107-19.

6. About 40,07,707 persons were excluded from the NRC on 30<sup>th</sup> July 2018 and another 1,02,462 persons were excluded on 26 June 2019. Please see, "Ahead of July deadline, one lakh more people excluded from NRC in Assam", The Hindustan Times, 26 June 2019 available at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/one-lakh-more-people-excluded-from-nrc-in-assam/story-Hx4ewmewcw3hk3cvi7bnPM.html>



Out of the 91 respondents interviewed, all of them stated that they felt insulted/ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC, 88 respondents stated that the fear family separation, 81 respondents stated that they fear deportation while 55 respondents stated that they are suffering from trauma and depression.

Out of the 91 respondents interviewed, 77 respondents stated that they have been suffering from sleep disorder as a result of anxiety, 37 respondents stated that it affected their eating habits /appetite loss, 22 respondents stated that it affected their thought process while 24 respondents stated that it affected their work.

## **ii. Cases of suicide as a consequence of extreme mental torture**

Mental torture has started following the publication of the partial draft NRC on the midnight of 31 December 2017 in which thousands of people were excluded.<sup>7</sup>

The *National Campaign Against Torture* (NCAT) monitored the NRC-related suicides and at least 31 persons committed suicide after being excluded from the draft NRC.

The major causes of the suicides have been mental trauma due to exclusion or fear of exclusion from the draft NRC, harassment due to repeated hearings before the NRC authorities, inability to bear the costs to appear before the NRC authorities, fear of detention or deportation, separation from family members, exclusion of family members, and humiliation as alleged foreigner.

Most of the victims who committed suicides belonged to extremely poor families. Extreme poverty and inability to hire lawyers have added to the woes of the family members who have been excluded from the draft NRC.

The poor victims who committed suicide include Aklima Bewa (daily wage labourer),<sup>8</sup> Anwar Hussain (daily wage labourer),<sup>9</sup> Sahimoon Bibi (worked in others' households),<sup>10</sup> Hanif Khan (a driver),<sup>11</sup> Gopal Das (daily wage labourer),<sup>12</sup> Balijan

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7. Over 40 lakh left out of draft NRC in Assam, The Hindu, 30 July 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/over-40-lakh-people-left-out-in-new-draft-nrc/article24550576.ece>

8. Fear Of Losing Citizenship Is Driving People To Suicide In Assam, IndiaSpend, 2 November 2018, <https://www.indiaspend.com/fear-of-losing-citizenship-is-driving-people-to-suicide-in-assam/>

9. Goalpara man commits suicide after receiving NRC notice, Time8, 4 December 2017, <https://www.time8.in/goalpara-man-commits-suicide-after-receiving-nrc-notice/>

10. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

11. NRC cloud over Cachar suicide, The Telegraph, 2 January 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-cloud-over-cachar-suicide/cid/1438408>

12. Worried about inclusion of name in NRC, man allegedly commits suicide, The Sentinel, 15 June 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/worried-about-inclusion-of-name-in-nrc-man-allegedly-commits-suicide/>

Bibi;<sup>13</sup> Abola Roy (daily wage labourer);<sup>14</sup> Rajesh Singh (labourer);<sup>15</sup> Binay Chand;<sup>16</sup> Deepak Debnath (bicycle mechanic);<sup>17</sup> Samsul Haque (daily wage labourer);<sup>18</sup> Surendra Barman (daily wage labourer);<sup>19</sup> Bhaben Das (daily wage labourer);<sup>20</sup> Noor Nehar Begum (17 years old minor whose father is a daily-wage labourer),<sup>21</sup> etc.

### **iii. Responsibility of the State with respect to torture**

The UN Special Rapporteur on Torture in his study of February 2018 presented to the UN Human Rights Council stated that the State have responsibility *“to refrain from engaging in, or knowingly contributing to, any act of torture or ill-treatment, whether through acts or omissions, whenever they exercise their power and authority, including each time they bring a person within their jurisdiction by exercising control or influence over a place, person, or process”*.<sup>22</sup>

A study of the cases of exclusion from the Draft NRC show that people have been excluded from the draft NRC because of the criminal negligence, dereliction of duty and biases of the NRC officials either of their own or interference of the non-state actors spearheading the ant-foreigners agitation in Assam. Otherwise, there is no reason for exclusion from the Draft NRC for the following reasons:

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<sup>13</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>14</sup>. Assam: Wife served 'doubtful voter' notice, man, The Times of India, 9 July 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/wife-served-doubtful-voter-notice-in-assam-man-commits-suicide/articleshow/64920874.cms>

<sup>15</sup>. Exclusion from NRC allegedly leads to two suicides in Assam, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 11 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/exclusion-from-nrc-allegedly-leads-to-two-suicides-in-assam/>

<sup>16</sup>. Mother fighting case to prove citizenship in Assam, man hangs self, The Indian Express, 11 September 2018, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/mother-fighting-case-to-prove-citizenship-under-nrc-in-assam-man-hangs-self-5349634/>

<sup>17</sup>. Allegedly worried over his citizenship status, man commits suicide in Assam, The Hindustan Times, 28 October 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/allegedly-worried-over-his-citizenship-status-man-commits-suicide-in-assam/story-XMdoVNvh47L34zpfGtGeOK.html>

<sup>18</sup>. Suicides over NRC raise concern in Assam, The Telegraph, 17 November 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/suicides-over-nrc-raise-concern-in-assam/cid/1675476>

<sup>19</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>20</sup>. 45-year-old Man's suicide sparks NRC debate, The Sentinel, 5 March 2019, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/45-year-old-mans-suicide-sparks-nrc-debate/>

<sup>21</sup>. The story of a suicide: Did fear of losing citizenship drive a teenager in Assam to end her life?, Scroll.in, 29 June 2019, <https://scroll.in/article/928732/the-story-of-a-suicide-did-fear-of-losing-citizenship-drive-a-teenager-in-assam-to-end-her-life>

<sup>22</sup>. Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, A/HRC/37/50, 26 February 2018

- father included in the draft NRC but children excluded;<sup>23</sup>
- father excluded but children included using the documents of the father;
- one sibling included but another sibling of the same parents excluded;
- entire family members included but one member declared as a foreigner by the Foreigners Tribunal and excluded from the draft NRC;<sup>24</sup>
- spelling errors of the father/grandfather in the legacy documents;
- Foreigners Tribunals declaring the applicant as Indian citizen but he or she excluded from the draft NRC;<sup>25</sup>
- NRC officials refusing to accept the verdict of the Foreigners Tribunal declaring the applicant as Indian citizen;<sup>26</sup>
- NRC officials dubbed as "foreigner" without existence of any "foreigner case" existed in the records either with the Assam Police's border wing or in the Foreigners Tribunals;<sup>27</sup>
- declared as a foreigner and kept in illegal detention because of mistaken identity and excluded from the draft NRC;<sup>28</sup>
- persons born in Assam but parents hailing from other Indian States and therefore, lacking legacy documents in Assam;<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>. Additional NRC draft exclusion list: Names of Assam movement leader's family members excluded, Firstpost, 29 June 2019, <https://www.firstpost.com/india/additional-nrc-draft-exclusion-list-names-of-assam-movement-leaders-family-members-excluded-6903011.html>

<sup>24</sup>. Disabled detainee's wife clings to 'last hope' in Assam's NRC push, Indian Express, 8 July 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/disabled-detainees-wife-clings-to-last-hope-in-assams-nrc-push-5819910/>

<sup>25</sup>. Sahitya Akademi winner named in Assam NRC exclusion list, The Indian Express, 2 July 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/sahitya-akademi-winner-named-in-assam-nrc-exclusion-list-5809848/>

<sup>26</sup>. How e-Commerce Giants like Flipkart are Helping Small Traders Dream Big & Write Their Success Stories, News18, 9 July 2019, <https://www.news18.com/news/india/how-e-commerce-giants-like-flipkart-are-helping-small-traders-dream-big-write-their-success-stories-2223813.html>

<sup>27</sup>. Marwari BJP leader gets foreigner notice in Assam, The Hindu, 12 July 2019, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/marwari-bjp-leader-gets-foreigner-notice-in-assam/article28415303.ece>

<sup>28</sup>. Madhumala Das Was The "Foreigner", Assam Cops Arrested Madhubala Mondal, NDTV, 27 June 2019, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/mistaken-identity-branded-a-foreigner-assam-woman-freed-after-3-years-2059830?from=home-topscroll>

- notice as Doubtful voter (D-voter) served via WhatsApp<sup>30</sup>;
- descendants/kin of freedom fighters<sup>31</sup>, martyr of Assam Agitation,<sup>32</sup> former President of India<sup>33</sup>, first Deputy Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly<sup>34</sup> and many other eminent personalities excluded from the draft NRC despite having the requisite legacy documents;
- exclusion from the draft NRC was without assigning any reason at all<sup>35</sup> etc.

There is little doubt that the NRC process has been turned into an instrument of mass mental torture because of the criminal negligence, dereliction of duty and biases of the NRC officials either of their own or interference of the non-state actors spearheading the ant-foreigners agitation in Assam.

There is a need to establish accountability of the same especially when the same forced people to take their own lives.

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<sup>29</sup>. Woman Declared Foreigner In Assam, Her Family Claims Roots In Bihar, NDTV, 26 June 2019, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/women-declared-foreigner-in-assam-her-family-claims-roots-in-bihar-2059247>

<sup>30</sup>. CISF jawan tagged doubtful voter, in Assam NRC exclusion list, The Hindu, 8 July 2019, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/cisf-jawan-tagged-doubtful-voter-in-assam-nrc-exclusion-list/article28323458.ece>

<sup>31</sup>. Gorkha Group Decries Exclusion of Gorkha Martyrs' Kin from NRC, Indisene, 30 June 2019, <https://insidene.com/2019/06/30/gorkha-group-decries-exclusion-of-gorkha-martyrs-kin-from-nrc/> <https://insidene.com/2019/06/30/gorkha-group-decries-exclusion-of-gorkha-martyrs-kin-from-nrc/>

<sup>32</sup>. Additional NRC draft exclusion list: Names of Assam movement leader's family members excluded, Firstpost, 29 June 2019, <https://www.firstpost.com/india/additional-nrc-draft-exclusion-list-names-of-assam-movement-leaders-family-members-excluded-6903011.html>

<sup>33</sup>. Why relatives of former president Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed are not on Assam's final NRC draft, 31 July 2018, <https://scroll.in/article/888735/why-relatives-of-former-president-fakhruddin-ali-ahmed-are-not-on-assams-final-nrc-draft>

<sup>34</sup>. EXCLUSIVE: Assam's former Dy Speaker's kin declared 'Foreigner', CJP, 3 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/assams-former-dy-speakers-kin-declared-foreigner/>

<sup>35</sup>. Among those still missing in NRC, son of freedom fighter and Assam agitation participant, Indian Express, 10 July 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/assam-nrc-list-exclusion-list-freedom-fighter-5823256/>

## **2. Mental torture and applicability of the UN Convention Against Torture in the NRC process**

Article 1 of the UN Convention Against Torture states, *"the term "torture" means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity."*

The NRC is a process to extract information from all persons residing in Assam to prove their citizenship based on certain identified documents. The NRC makes every person a suspect; and inability to prove citizenship makes a person a foreigner, liable to be denied the rights entitled to a citizen; and subsequent, deportation to Bangladesh where each alleged foreigner in Assam is alleged to have come from.

As stated earlier, a study of the cases of exclusion from the Draft NRC show that people have been excluded from the draft NRC because of the criminal negligence, dereliction of duty and biases of the NRC officials either of their own or interference of the non-state actors spearheading the anti-foreigners agitation in Assam. The responsibility of the State therefore cannot be denied.

On the concept of mental torture, at national level, the Supreme Court of India in *Samar Ghosh vs. Jaya Ghosh*, (2007) 4 SCC 511, said, *"We have come to a definite conclusion that there cannot be any comprehensive definition of the concept of "mental cruelty", within which all kinds of cases of mental cruelty can be covered. No court in our considered view should even attempt to give a comprehensive definition of mental cruelty."*

At international level, in its Concluding Observations on Chile, the UN Human Rights Committee recommended Chile to eliminate the practice of refusing to provide emergency medical care to women suffering complications from illegal abortions, unless the women confessed to information about those who performed the abortions as it constituted a form of torture.<sup>36</sup>

Numerous studies across the world on immigration and expulsion have shown that *"apart from often-lifelong physical effects, torture survivors suffer disproportionately*

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<sup>36</sup>. UN Doc. CAT/C/CR/32/5 (14 June 2004), §§6(j)

*from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, depression, disassociation, disorientation and self-isolation, with grave long-term consequences".<sup>37</sup>*

By national and international standards on mental torture, the NRC is a spectacularly cruel programme.

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<sup>37</sup>. Heeren, Mueller, et al., "Mental\_health\_of\_asylum-seekers:\_a\_crosssectional\_study\_of\_psychiatric\_disorders", BMC\_Psychiatry(2012),\_12:114; Carswell, Blackburn, Barker, "The\_relationship\_between\_trauma,\_postmigration\_problems\_and\_the\_psychological\_wellbeing\_of\_refugees\_and\_asylum\_seekers", Int'l Journal of Social Psychiatry, 2011\_Mar; 57(2):107-19.

### **3. NCAT survey results: 89% of those excluded from the Draft NRC suffering from acute mental torture**

The *National Campaign Against Torture (NCAT)* conducted a field survey in Assam from 16 to 20 July 2019 and the researchers visited Garoghutu, Rangapani, NK Angarkata and Shantipur villages under Tamilpur Tehsil in Baksa district on 17 July 2019; Govindapur, Kharmuza and Goalpara township in Goalpara district on 18 July 2019; and Haulitari and Kahibari villages under Boko Police Station in Kamrup (Rural) district of Assam on 20 July 2019.

The visit was severely hampered by flood in the State and the NCAT researchers were able to interview only 91 respondents including 22 females who have been excluded from the draft NRC as published on 26 June 2019.

Out of the 91 respondents interviewed, 81 stated that they had been suffering from extreme (*bahut*) anxiety, inter alia, due to fear of the prospect of deportation, fear separation from family members and lack of money to appear before the Foreigners' Tribunals or appeal before the High Court and Supreme Court while nine have been suffering from moderate anxiety and only one person was suffering from mild anxiety. It means that 89% person were suffering from extreme anxiety, 10% were suffering from moderate anxiety and only 1% suffering from mild anxiety.

A total of 41,10,169 persons stand excluded from the draft NRC at present i.e. 40,07,707 persons were excluded from the draft NRC on 30<sup>th</sup> July 2018 when the draft NRC was published while 1,02,462 persons were excluded on 26 June 2019.<sup>38</sup>

By extrapolating the survey conducted by the NCAT, it can be said that 36,99,152 persons were suffering from extreme anxiety and 4,11,017 persons were suffering from mild anxiety.

Out of the 91 respondents interviewed, all of them stated that they felt insulted/ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC, 88 respondents stated that the fear family separation, 81 respondents stated that they fear deportation while 55 respondents stated that they are suffering from trauma and depression.

Out of the 91 respondents interviewed, 77 respondents stated that they have been suffering from sleep disorder as a result of anxiety, 37 respondents stated that it affected their eating habits /appetite loss, 22 respondents stated that it affected their thought process while 24 respondents stated that it affected their work.

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<sup>38</sup>. Ahead of July deadline, one lakh more people excluded from NRC in Assam, The Hindustan Times, 26 June 2019 available at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/one-lakh-more-people-excluded-from-nrc-in-assam/story-Hx4ewmewcw3hk3cvi7bnPM.html>

The summary of responses of 91 persons excluded from the draft NRC and interviewed by researchers of the *National Campaign Against Torture* on 16-20 July 2019 on the state of mental torture is provided as Annexure-1 of this report.

### **3.1 Testimonies of those excluded from the draft NRC on the state of mental torture**

Though 91 respondents were interviewed, this report provides testimonies of the 32 key respondents on their exclusion from the draft NRC and state of mental torture, trauma, humiliation and degrading treatment.

### **3.2 Testimonies of those excluded from the draft NRC despite being declared as citizens by Foreigners' Tribunals**

#### **Testimony No.1: Arup Sarkar whose father died of heart attack after being excluded from the draft NRC despite being declared as a citizen by Foreigners' Tribunal**



▲ Arup Sarkar (28 years), son of late Ananda Sarkar, resident of NK Angarkata village in Baksa District of Assam, is a daily wage labourer. In 2015, family head Ananda Sarkar had submitted the application for inclusion in the NRC (ARN No. 101832402144233401487) for five family members including himself. Ananda Sarkar had submitted his father Kanda Ram Sarkar's legacy document (Legacy Data Code: 120-4063-0826) issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam which stated that Sarkar was in the voter list of 1966. But none of his family members were included in the draft NRC. Out of extreme mental



stress and harassment, Ananda Sarkar suffered from a heart attack and died on 4<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

When the NCAT researchers interviewed Arup Sarkar (28 years) at his village on 17<sup>th</sup> July 2019, he was trembling during the interview. He stated that he was extremely worried about the future of his family, particularly following the death of his father Ananda Sarkar who had suffered a stroke at his home at NK Angarkata and taken to Guwahati Medical College but he died on the way to the hospital. Arup Sarkar further claimed that officials (he did not know their identities) demanded bribe of Rs 70,000 for getting favourable order from the Foreigners' Tribunal in the case against his mother Rajkumari Sarkar. His mother, Rajkumari Sarkar has legacy documents and her four siblings have been included in first draft NRC on the basis of their father legacy document but Rajkumari Sarkar was excluded.

NCAT researchers have checked the documents produced by Arup Sarkar, which included (1) Legacy Data Code 120-4063-0826 of Kanda Ram Sarkar issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam which stated that he was in 1970 voter list, (2) voter lists of 1966 and 1970 voter list having the names of Arup's grandparents Kanda Ram Sarkar and Sowani Bala Karmakar, (3) Legacy Data Code 120-3027-7851 of Sowani Bala Karmakar issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam which mentioned that her name was in 1970 voter list, (4) order of the Foreigners' Tribunal, Baksa in FT Case No. 841/BAKSA/2017 which declared Ananda Sarkar as genuine Indian citizen, (5) Medical Certificate of Death of Ananda Sarkar issued by the Gauhati Medical College, (6) school certificate of Ananda Sarkar issued by the Headmaster of Dakshin Paka Govt Aided High School, (7) two Land Revenue Payment Receipts issued by Bodoland Territorial Council issued to Ananda Sarkar, (8) PAN Card of Ananda Sarkar, (9) Voter list of 1965 of Binod Bihari Rai, father of Rajkumari Sarkar (mother of Arup Sarkar), (10) Legacy Data Code 120-4072-6682 of Binod Bihar Rai issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam which mentioned that his name was in 1966 voter list, and (11) Certificate of Proof issued to Rajkumari Rai by Gaon Burah Shri Ram Nath Mandal of Nakuchi Pathar village in Barpeta District of Assam dated 18.12.2014.

The Superintendent of Police (B) made a reference against Ananda Sarkar, S/o Late Khandu Ram Sarkar, village Hatiduba under Tamulpur police station in Baksa district, suspecting him to be foreigner. The reference stated that the opposite party (Ananda Sarkar) illegally entered into India from Bangladesh after 25/03/1971 for livelihood and had been living in government land at village Hatiduba and during enquiry the opposite party could not produce any documentary evidence in support of his entry prior to 25/3/1971. But during the trial the opposite party produced sufficient documents to establish himself as Indian citizen. In its order dated 21.3.2018 in FT Case No. 841/BAKSA/2017, the Foreigners' Tribunal, Baksa stated, *"Since the name of the father of the opposite party was entered in the voter lists of 1966, 1970, 1985 and 1989 and having born in India (Assam), the name of the opposite party was entered in the voter lists of 1985 and 1989 along with the name of his father, the evidence of the opposite party are sufficient enough to prove that*

*the opposite party is an Indian citizen and for which the opposite party cannot be termed as a foreigner as suspected by the Referral Authority.” The FT declared that Ananda Sarkar “is not a foreigner”.*

Despite this, Ananda Sarkar and his father members have not been included in the complete draft NRC released on 30<sup>th</sup> July 2018. On the other hand, Ananda Sarkar's wife Rajkumari (Rai) Sarkar is also facing a foreigners case before the Foreigners' Tribunal despite the fact that the name of her father Binod Bihar Rai was entered in the voter list of 1965 and had Legacy Data Code 120-4072-6682 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration, Assam. Rajkumari's four siblings have been included in the draft NRC based on the same legacy data of their father Binod Bihar Rai. The exclusion from the draft NRC and the mental trauma led to the death of Ananda Sarkar by suffering a heart attack on 4<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

Arup Sarkar described his worries as “*extreme*” and in fact he was trembling during the interview and could not properly express himself. He said he could not properly eat or sleep due to mental stress. He felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite having all the valid documents.

## **Testimony No.2: Sukumar Sardar excluded despite Foreigners' Tribunal declaring him as a citizen**

▲ Sukumar Sardar (aged 30 years), son of late Phanindar Kumar Sarkar, is an agricultural labourer residing at Kahibari village under Police Station (P.S.) Boko in District Kamrup (Rural), Assam. He has been excluded from the draft NRC despite having requisite documents and legacy data to prove his parents' pre-1971 residence in Assam.

His father Phanindar Kumar Sarkar was enlisted in the voter list of 1966 in Assam and has legacy data code No. 150-4028-4697 which makes Sukumar Sardar eligible for inclusion in the NRC. But in the family, only his wife Mamata Mandal has been included while Sukumar Sardar and their 5-year-old daughter have been excluded.

Sukumar Sardar had earlier been identified as an “illegal migrant” by the Assam Police and the Superintendent of Police (B) of Kamrup (Rural) registered a case against him and forwarded a reference before the Foreigners' Tribunal to determine whether or not Sukumar Sardar is an illegal migrant.

During the hearing at the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2, Kamrup (Rural), Sukumar Sardar submitted that he was born at Kahibari village under Boko Police Station in the district of Kamrup (Rural), Assam and that his father and grandfather were also born at village Putimari under Boko Police Station in the district. He further claimed that the police never visited his house or searched his documents. Sukumar Sardar submitted sufficient documents in the Tribunal to prove his nationality, including the certified copies of the voter lists in the years of 1966 and 1970 of his father/parents; voter lists of his father in the years 1977, 1985, 1989, 1993 and 1997; the school

certificate of himself issued by the Headmaster of Kahibari LP School; voter list of himself in the years of 2005, 2010, 2012, 2016 and 2017; and Gaonburah (village headman) certificate of his birth place and the name correction affidavit of his father.



**[Sukumar Sardar]**

In an interview to the NCAT researchers at Kahibari village on 20 July 2019, Sukumar Sardar said he did not know why he was excluded from the draft NRC because he had been declared to be bonafide Indian national by the Foreigners' Tribunal in May 2017 and had submitted the FT order as well as the legacy data of his father to the NRC officials. He stated that he did not understand the process adopted by the NRC officials as his elder brother Buddhi Sardar was included in draft NRC based on the same legacy documents of their father, Phanindar Kumar Sarkar while he himself was excluded.

NCAT researchers checked the documents produced by Sukumar Sardar and found that vide order dated 8.5.2017 in BFT Case No. 1220/2016, the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2, Kamrup (Rural) stated that the opposite party (Sukumar Sardar) *"has submitted sufficient reliable documents to prove his nationality" and declared that "opposite party Sukumar Sardar is found not a foreigner and he belongs to Indian National."* Sukumar Sardar stated that he did not have any more cases pending before any Foreigners' Tribunal or Court. NCAT researchers also checked the legacy document produced by Sukumar Sardar issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam in which it is stated that his father Phanindar Kumar Sarkar's name was enlisted in 1966 Voters List of Assam.

Sukumar Sardar further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future of his family and he feared separation from his wife who has been included in the draft NRC. The exclusion from the draft NRC had affected his sleep pattern and eating habits. He has been suffering from mental trauma and termed his extent of worry as “extreme”. He further stated that he felt ashamed of being labeled as a foreigner due to exclusion from the draft NRC.

**Testimony No.3: Jogen Mandal excluded despite Foreigners' Tribunal declaring him as a citizen**



▲ Jogen Mandal (50 years), son of late Roshik Mandal, is a resident of Kahibari, P.S. Boko, District Kamrup (Rural), Assam. He is a daily wage labourer. All of his 8 family members, including himself, have been excluded from the draft NRC.

NCAT researchers interviewed Jogen Mandal at his village Kahibari on 20 July 2019 and checked his documents. One of the documents is the order dated 19.12.2016 of the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2, Kamrup (Rural) in BFT Case No. 32/2015. According to case records, the Assam Police suspected Jogen Mandal to be “an illegal migrant” and the Superintendent of Police registered a case and forwarded a reference to the Foreigners' Tribunal to ascertain whether Jogen Mandal is an illegal migrant or not.

In the written statement submitted before the FT No 2, Kamrup (Rural), Jogen Mandal stated that his parents had migrated to India due to civil disturbance in the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and was granted Indian Citizenship by the Government of India (Citizenship certificate being No. 1055 dated 15/09/1966). Meanwhile his father died after migration to India and his pregnant mother (Kiran Bala Mandal) shifted to Kahibari village in Kamrup Rural District of Assam where he was born in 1967. Local Gaonburah (village headman) Govinda Mandal deposed before the Foreigners' Tribunal stating that he knows the mother of Jogen and that Jogen was indeed born in his village. In its order dated 19.12.2016, the Foreigners' Tribunal held that *"opposite party Sri Jogen Mandal belongs to Indian National and he is found not to be foreigner"*.

NCAT researchers also checked the Citizenship Certificate issued by the Indian authorities to Kiran Bala Mandal, mother of Jogen Mandal vide dated 15.9.1966.

Jogen Mandal further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future of his family and he fears separation from his family members. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep properly and this has affected his work and eating habits. He described his mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He further stated that he felt ashamed of being labeled as a foreigner due to exclusion from the draft NRC despite the order of the Foreigners' Tribunal which declared him to be Indian citizen.

#### **Testimony No.4: Dhiren Mandal excluded despite Foreigners' Tribunal declaring him as a citizen**

▼ Dhiren Mandal (60 years), son of late Roshik Mandal, is a resident of Kahibari, P.S. Boko, District Kamrup (Rural), Assam. He is a daily wage labourer. All of his four family members, including himself, have been excluded from the draft NRC.

NCAT researchers interviewed Dhiren Mandal at his village Kahibari on 20 July 2019 and checked his documents. Scrutiny of his judicial/court proceedings revealed that vide order dated 29.02.2016 the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2, Kamrup at Boko in Case No. BFT 277/2015, the FT had declared him to be *"a foreigner who had illegally entered into India (Assam)"*. Dhiren Mandal challenged this FT order before the Gauhati High Court. The petitioner stated that his parents had migrated to India from East Pakistan due to civil disturbance and religious persecution and they were registered as citizens of India on 15.09.1966, and the petitioner's son Madan Mandal was declared as Indian citizen by the same Foreigners' Tribunal vide order dated 11.12.2015 in BFT Case No. 282/2015. The High Court vide order dated 29.05.2018 in Case No. WP(C)5972/2016 set aside the order dated 29.02.2016 and directed the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2, Kamrup at Boko to re-hear and pass fresh order within a period of 60 days.



**[Dhiren Mandal]**

As per the direction of the High Court, the case was heard afresh by the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2, Kamrup (Rural) at Boko and vide order dated 18.07.2018, the FT stated, *"Accordingly at the time of retrial the cross examination of the Proceedee as D.W.1 and son of the Proceedee as D.W.2 are recorded. That D.W.1 was born at East Pakistan and at present has been residing at village Kahibari. That the name of the mother of D.W.1 has been recorded in the citizenship registration certificate of 1966 and his name has been included in the voter list of 1977. That D.W.1 has one son named Madan Mandal, one daughter and four brothers. That a case was registered against the son Madan Mandal and he was declared as Indian National...The duty of the Tribunal is to decide on cases on the basis of oral evidences. And from the materials found available in record and after going through BFT Case No. 277/15 it appears that there is no doubt regarding the nationality of opposite party."* Further, the FT declared *"As for direction of Hon'ble Gauhati High Court, the son, Madan Mandal is examined and his statements recorded along with his father Dhiren Mandal/opposite party. After going through the hearing, observation and after completion of retrial, the Proceedee Dhiren Mandal is not found as a foreigner"*.

The entire family of Dhiren Mandal had to face proceedings before the Foreigners' Tribunal. His son Madan Mandal was declared as Indian citizen by the Foreigners' Tribunal No 2, Kamrup at Boko vide order dated 11.12.2015 in BFT Case No. 282/2015. The Tribunal also declared his mother i.e. Dhiren's wife Ms Dropadi Mandal as Indian national vide order dated 11.12.2015 in BFT Case No. 281/2015.

Still, none of the four family member of Dhiren's family was included in the draft NRC despite the Foreigners' Tribunals declaring them as citizens.

Dhiren Mandal further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future of his family and he feared separation from his family members the most. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep properly and this has affected his eating habits. He described his mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He further stated that he felt ashamed of being labeled as a foreigner due to exclusion from the draft NRC despite three separate orders from the Foreigners' Tribunal which declared him, his wife and their son to be Indian citizens.

### **Testimony No.5: Krishna Das excluded despite Foreigners' Tribunal declaring him as a citizen**

▼ Krishna Das (40 years), son of Madan Chandar Das, a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam, is a bike mechanic. Accordingly to him, he hardly earned Rs 40,000 per year.

NCAT researchers interviewed Krishna Das at his village on 17 July 2019. He stated that out of five members in his family only his wife's name has been included in the draft NRC. The names of other family members were not included despite submission of his father's legacy documents. As per the legacy document issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam, Krishna Das' father Madan Chandar Das was enlisted in the voter list of 1966 under 48 No. Bhawanipur LAC and has legacy data code no. 120-1080-0653. Further, the Foreigners' Tribunal, Baksa vide order dated 19.3.2018 declared Krishna Das as Indian citizen in FT Case no. 2193/BAKSA/2016. Krishna Das stated that he submitted all these documents before the NRC authority. Further, the Tribunal an order dated 19/03/2018 passed in F.T. Case No. 2195/Baksa/2016 had declared Sri Madan Das, father of Krishna Das, not to be a foreigner.

As per the document, a reference was made under the provisions of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983 by the Superintendent of Police (B), Nalbari against Krishna Das, s/o Madan Das, suspecting him to be an illegal migrant. Subsequently, the said reference was transferred to the Foreigners' Tribunal, Nalbari.





**[Krishna Das]**

In its order dated 19.3.2018 the Foreigners' Tribunal, Baksa observed the following:

*"Since the name of the father of the opposite party were entered in the voter lists of 1965, 1966, 1971 and 1997, the father of the opposite party is a citizen of India and since the opposite party was born in India (Assam) in the year 1976 and the name of the opposite party was entered in the voter list of 2006, the opposite party is also Indian citizen and the opposite party cannot be termed as foreigner as suspected by the referral authority. Moreover, this Tribunal by an order dated 19/03/2018 passed in F.T. Case No. 2195/Baksa/2016 has declared the father of the opposite party not to be a foreigner." Therefore, the Foreigners' Tribunal declared that "the opposite party Sri Krishna Das, S/o Sri Madan Das, vill- Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Dist –Baksa (Assam) is an Indian citizen and not a foreigner."*

He further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future of his family and he feared separation from his family members. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep properly and described his mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He further stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.



### **Testimony No.6: Banamali Das excluded from the draft NRC despite Foreigners' Tribunal declaring him as a citizen**

▼ Banamali Das (56), S/o Late Jyotish Chandra Das, R/o Village Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, District Baksa is a marginal farmer residing with his family at Garoghutu village under Tamulpur PS in Baksa district of Assam. He is the eldest among his brothers and sisters. Altogether 18 members of his family including his children, two brothers and their children and one sister have been excluded from draft NRC despite having all requisite proofs of pre-1971 residence in Assam.

On 17.7.2019, Banamali came and met the NCAT researchers at Garoghutu Anganwadi Center.



**[Banamali Das]**

He shared his bitter experiences about the ongoing NRC process and showed his legacy data proof and other documents to the NCAT researchers. He said Assam Police (Border) accused him of being a foreigner and filed a reference before the Foreigners' Tribunal: Baksa, at Tamulpur under F.T. Case No.664/BAKSA/2017 seeking to declare him as a foreigner. The case was heard and disposed off and vide order dated 12.11.2018, the Foreigners' Tribunal at Tamulpur held that Banamali Das is not a foreigner but a genuine Indian citizen. He said he and his brothers and sisters have born in Garoghutu village and have been living there. Banamali Das, his younger brothers Nishikanta Das and Ajit Das, his sister Sumati Das and their children claimed their pre-1971 legacy under Legacy Data Code of

their late father who was a registered voter with Sl. No. 488 at Chavalpara village in 48 Bhavanipur LAC under undivided district of Barpeta during 1966 Assam State Assembly Elections and his Electoral Roll was marked as Legacy Data Code: 120-4071-8111 by the NRC authorities.

Das stated that all members in the family were extremely fearful of the prospects of detention in the event of exclusion from NRC. He said he and his brothers and sister feel ashamed and degraded and that the high level of anxiety has led to sleep disturbances and disruption in thought process in them.

Perusal of their documents revealed that Banamali Das, his brothers and sister have submitted all the requisite documents to prove their pre-1971 legacy such as 1966 Electoral Roll of their father, his land and tenancy record of 1960, EPIC of each them, educational certificates, Order of the FT declaring Banamali Das as a genuine Indian citizen, Birth Certificates etc.

### **Testimony No.7: Niranjan Das excluded despite being declared as a citizen by the IMDT**

▼ Niranjan Das, age 64, lives at Garoghutu village, P.S. Tamulpur in Baksa district of Assam, along with his wife Jyotsna Das, two sons and a daughter-in-law. He and his family's primary source of livelihood is agriculture.



On 17.7.2019, Niranjana Das and his son Bijoy Das met the NCAT researchers at Garoghutu Anganwadi center during the latter's visit to Tamulpur area.

Niranjana said despite having all requisite documents of pre-1971 residence, he and his children were excluded from the draft NRC published in January 2018. When asked what he thinks should be the reason for he and his family's exclusion, Niranjana said the Assam Police had in 1986 filed a Reference (No. 17/86) against him before the Illegal Migrants (Determination) Tribunal, Nalbari accusing him of being a foreigner and entering into India after 24.3.1971 illegally. The said reference was registered as Case No. I.M (D) T (Nal) 196/88 - *State vs. Niranjana Das*.

The I.M (D) Tribunal heard the case and based on evidence produced by Niranjana Das, the Tribunal in an order dated 24.2.1989 held that his father Adhar Chandra Das was resident of Garoghutu village and therefore, Niranjana Das is an Indian citizen by birth. It held the allegation of Assam Police was without any basis.

NCAT researchers verified his documents and found that Niranjana's late father Adhar Chandra Das was a registered voter with Sl. No. 368 at Chawalpathat under Barpeta Circle in 48 Bhavanipur LAC under undivided district of Barpeta during 1966 Assam State Assembly Elections and his Electoral Roll was marked as Legacy Data Code: 120-4071-7270 by the NRC authorities. To prove his pre-1971 residence in Assam Niranjana Das submitted a copy of a registered deed of sale of land of 1964 in the name of his father, a land revenue payment receipt no.089 in Book No.5919 dated 4.5.1971 issued in his own name, a copy of order of the I.M (D) T dated 24.2.1989, his School Certificate, Electoral Photo Identity cards of his family members etc before the NRC authorities.

Despite production of all requisite records, he and his members were not included in the draft NRC so far.

When asked about what he and his family thought about their future, Niranjana Das told the NCAT researchers that he was extremely worried about the future. He was very fearful of the outcome. He said because anxiety his health has deteriorated since the exclusion from the draft NRC and he has been suffering from hypertension. He said some months ago he suffered from stroke as a result of which he became partially paralysed.

On asking if he is ashamed or insulted on being excluded from the draft NRC, he said: *"of course, I feel extremely humiliated, harassed and degraded."*

### **3.3 Testimonies of those excluded from the draft NRC despite having the legacy data prior to 1971**

It is pertinent to mention that an overwhelming majority of the people have been excluded from the NRC despite possessing the requisite legacy data.

**Testimony No.8: Nurul Alam Siddiqui excluded despite being a government school teacher and his father serving as a school teacher of Govt of Assam since 1963**



▲ Nurul Alam Siddiqui, S/o Ramjan Ali Miah, R/o Village Kharmuza, Circle Balijan, District Goalpara is a teacher in a government school in Assam applied in 2015 along with family members and blood relatives for enrollment in NRC. His wife and two kids have been included in the draft but he was left out despite submitting the requisite documents prescribed under the NRC. Based on the same legacy data of his father, his two sisters and three brothers and their kids have been included in the draft NRC.

On 18.7.2019, Mr. Siddique told NCAT researchers at Goalpara that his father Ramjan Ali Miah was enrolled in NRC 1951 under legacy code: 200-0010-5733 at House No. 103, Village: 88 Purana Nagar, P.S. Lakhipur, District Goalpara. His father studied in Gauhati University and served as a lower primary school teacher in Assam's Education Department since 1963.

After verification of the bunch of documents provided by Mr. Siddique, NCAT researchers found that Mr. Siddique's father Ramjan Ali Miah was enlisted in 1951 NRC along with his father Hussain Sheikh at Sl. No.4 in their family tree. Miah completed his Pre-University (class 12<sup>th</sup>) Certificate from Gauhati University in 1963 and joined the State's education department to serve as a lower primary school teacher since 1963.

Mr. Siddique said all his brothers and sisters, he also submitted all these documents along with his claim for inclusion in the NRC. His two kids, three brothers and their children and his two sisters have been included but his own name was excluded.

He told the NCAT researchers that his anxiety level was extremely high as he is very much apprehensive about the uncertainty of outcome in the final list of NRC. He was fearful of the prospect of detention in case of being declared as a foreigner and separation from his family. He told that exclusion from the draft NRC has degraded his image and dignity in the eyes of his colleagues and friend circle. He further informed the NCAT researchers that he has not been getting sound sleep since he was first excluded from the draft NRC in January 2018, lost concentration on work and was unable to eat properly due to high degree of anxiety.

### **Testimony No.9: Sangita Das excluded despite her father being included**

▼ Sangita Das (29 years), w/o Prashanta Das, R/o Rangapani village under Tamulpur circle in Baksa district is housewife and a mother of a two year old child, was not included in the initial list of the NRC published in January 2018. Thereafter, she filed a claim for inclusion based on the legacy data code: 180-3009-7317 of her grandfather Late Raghunath Das like her father and her other siblings. Based on this legacy data Nani Gopal Das and his sons and daughters except Sangita have been included in the draft NRC.



During their visit to Tamulpur circle on 17.7.2019, Sangita met the NCAT researchers who interviewed her in detail.

On verification of her documents it was found that along with the claim form Sangita submitted her deceased grandfather's legacy data (1970 Electoral Rolls), EPIC

No.GGF1090273, his School documents, PAN Card of her father Nani Gopal, her own educational certificates showing the linkage that she is daughter of Nani Gopal Das. However, despite that her name was not included although she had attended two hearings at places above 120 km away from her village.

When asked about what she thought about her future, Sangita told she was extremely anxious and fearful of the horrible consequences of being declared as foreigner after exclusion from the draft NRC. She was ashamed of the exclusion and felt let down among her friends, society and family members who have been included and she was equally worried about being separated from her family.

**Testimony No.10: Promodh Chandra Dutta excluded despite legacy data of 1951 based on which his son, daughter, grandson and a nephew included in the draft NRC**

▼ Septuagenarian Promodh Chandra Dutta (79) years, S/o Hariballav Dutta, R/o Rangapani village under P.S. Tamulpur in Baksa district is a shopkeeper in Tamulpur town. He has been excluded from the draft NRC along with his four family members despite having proven his pre-1971 residence in Assam with convincing documents.

On 17.7.2017, NCAT researchers met Mr. Dutta at his residence in Rangapani village and requested him to share his experiences about the ongoing exercise of the NRC in Assam. He informed that since he and his family members have been excluded in the draft NRC in January 2018, he has been regularly doing rounds either to the NRC Seva Kendra in Tamulpur or to various revenue offices, including the Deputy Commissioner, Baksa district at Mushalpur, to obtain certified copies of documents. He said despite being a being a patient of hypertension, liver and heart problems he and his family members have attended 4 hearings of the NRC in Mushalpur, 45 km away from his village. But he has been unsuccessful so far to get enrolled in the draft NRC. He said people like him are being unnecessarily harassed.

When asked about what he thought about his situation, Mr. Dutta said based on documents/proof; he and his family members have to be included in the NRC, but given the attitude of the authorities he is now very much apprehensive about the final outcome. He said his concerns are rising each day as more and more reports of harassments and cases of suicides by people excluded from the draft NRC are being reported each day. He is very much fearful of the inhuman and degraded treatment of suspected foreigners in detention centres as much he is fearful of separation from family at this fag end of life, in case of being declared a foreigner because of exclusion from the draft NRC.





**[Promodh Chandra Dutta]**

He told despite efforts, negative thoughts keeps coming leading to deprivation of sleep and loss of concentration on work, and resultantly deteriorating his ill health.

On verification of his documents, NCAT researchers found that Mr Dutta submitted certified copy of 1951 Electoral Rolls of his late father Hariballav Dutta marked by the NRC authorities as Legacy Data Code: 200-6050-1306 and his own Electoral Rolls of 1970 marked by the NRC authorities as Legacy Data Code: 11 0-3020-4514 and educational documents dating back to 1964 – 1970.

Mr. Dutta further informed that based on the legacy data of his father as well as his own, one of his sons, two daughters, one grandson and a nephew have been included in the draft NRC. He said he is at loss why he and his descendants have been excluded.

**Testimony No.11: Subhadra Das excluded despite 1965 legacy data based on which her three brothers, their children & grand children included in draft NRC**

► Suhadra Das, aged 60, w/o Lt. Madan Das is a widow and a resident of Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, District Baksa. She lives with her son Baloram Das, a petty businessman, at their family residence at Garoghutu village under PS Tamulpur. She along with her son Baloram was excluded from the draft NRC published in January 2018. Thereafter, the mother son duo applied for inclusion and

submitted all requisite documents including legacy data but their names have not been included so far.

During their visit to Tamulpur area on 17.7.2019, NCAT researchers met both Subhadra and Baloram at Garoghutu Anganwadi Center and interviewed them. The mother son duo said the NRC process has made their life hell as ever since exclusion from it in early January they have been regularly doing rounds either at the NRC Kendra or at the District Headquarters, Mushalpur or some revenue offices to obtain this and that documents. They said their family spent above Rs. 6000/- to attend NRC hearings twice at Mushalpur as well as obtaining certified copies of requisite documents and lost more a week precious time in this process.

When asked about what she thought about the future of herself and her family members, Subhadra said she was not much concerned about her own future but highly concerned about the future of her son, daughter-in-law and her grandchildren. She told the NCAT researchers that despite submitting all necessary documents and proofs she was very worried about the outcome of their efforts and the troublesome reports of suicides of persons excluded from the draft NRC make her and her family members more depressed. She said that since left out of the draft NRC in early 2018, she has not been able to get sound sleep nor eat properly because of all pervading fear of being separated from family and relatives in the event of being declared as foreigners due to non-inclusion in the final NRC.

Verification of their documents revealed that Subhadra submitted copy of her deceased father Khetram Das' 1965 Electoral Roll with SL. No.48 at Garoghutu Village under 66 Tamulpur LAC in Baksa district marked as Legacy Data Code: 110-5010-1247; certified copy of her husband's Electoral Rolls of 1979, her father-in-law Khoka Mohan's 1966 Electoral Rolls marked by the NRC authorities as Legacy Data Code: 120-4071-2767, copies of her and son Baloram's documents including Electoral Rolls, educational certificates, marriage certificates issued by the competent authorities.

Subhadra Das informed the NCAT researchers that based on the legacy data of her father Khetram Das, her three brothers and their children and grand children living at Garoghutu village have been included in the draft NRC.

### **Testimony No.12: Manmohan Das excluded despite 1951 NRC legacy data**

▲ Manmohan Das (52) S/o Jatin Das, R/o Village Garoghutu, PS Tamulpur, Baksa district is a resident of Village Garoghutu under Tamulpur P.S. in Assam's Baksa district. He works as a mason and lives with his wife and a son. He and his family members have been excluded from the draft NRC published in January 2018.





**[Manmohan Das]**

During the visit of the NCAT researchers to Tamulpur circle on 17.7.2019, Manmohan Das met the former at Garoghutu Anganwadi Center and shared his experiences to get himself and his family members included in the NRC.

When asked about the reasons for exclusion from the draft NRC, he showed his bunch documents. Verification of the documents revealed that he and his family members have not been included because of pending cases in the Foreigners' Tribunal. But, he said neither he nor his wife nor his son ever received any notice from the FT as on date. His son Nityananda is shown by NRC authorities as "Doubtful Voter." He said he himself was at loss to comprehend why he and his family have not been included despite producing all requisite documents before the NRC authorities. It has been found that he submitted his father Jatin Chandra Das' 1951 NRC, 1964 Tenancy records and EPIC card of father, EPI Card & School Certificates of self, his wife and son.

On being asked if he was worried, he said he and his family members were extremely anxious about their future as no one knew for certain what would be the fate of those excluded. He said the stories of suicide by people excluded from the draft NRC made him uneasy and restless and he could not sleep well due to anxiety. He said he also concentration on work as anxiety pervades his thought process. He felt let down and isolated.

### **Testimony No.13: Babul Das despite 1951 NRC legacy data**



▲ Babul Das (44), S/o Upendra Chandra Das, R/o Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Baksa district, works as a driver with a private company which provides ambulance services to the department of health in Assam. He lives at Garoghutu village with his wife and daughter. All three of them have been left out from the draft NRC published in January 2018.

On 17.7.2019, Babul Das and his wife Maloti Das met the NCAT researchers at Garoghutu village. When asked why they were excluded from the draft NRC, Babul and his wife said they have no clue because they are neither doubtful voters nor suspected foreigners and they have been consistently exercise right of adult franchise in each elections including the recently concluded Parliamentary elections 2019. None of them also received any notice from either police or FT. Babul said except him and his daughter all family members in paternal side including his father Upendra Chandra Das have been included in the draft NRC based on his father's legacy data i.e. NRC of 1951. He told that he along with family attended four hearings of the NRC at Mushalpur, 65 km away from his home and spent around Rs.10,000/-. He also informed that he lost at least one week productive time to attend NRC related works including the four hearings at Mushalpur.

Verification of his documents by the NCAT researchers revealed that Babul Das legacy data of his father along with linkage documents of his own such as his EPI Card while his wife Maloti Das submitted 1951 NRC of her father Mantulal Das, her linkage documents such as EPI Card and educational documents.

They said they were very much worried and were fearful of separation from their respective families in event of exclusion from the draft NRC. Babul said he feel insulted in the eyes of colleagues and friends because of the exclusion.

**Testimony No.14: Nur Nehar Begum excluded despite 1951 NRC legacy data**



▲ Nur Nehar Begum (36 years), daughter of Nur Islam, is a resident of Govindapur in Goalpara district of Assam. Her husband's name is Anowar Hussain. She is a housewife. Out of five members in the family only she has been left out of the draft NRC.

NCAT researchers interviewed Nur Nehar Begum at Goalpara on 18 July 2019 and checked her documents. NCAT researchers checked her Voter ID (EPIC No. BYK0000449) registered under 37-Goalpara E (Gen) assembly constituency; 1951 NRC bearing the name of her grandfather, Tasharuddin Sakke with Legacy Data Code No 200-0002-2267 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam; her birth certificate issued on 27.6.2005 and Voter List of 1979 in which her father Nur Islam Sheikh, s/o Tasherruddin was enrolled.

Yet, Nur Nehar Begum has not been included in the draft NRC. She stated that she did not understand the procedure adopted by the NRC officials because her two sisters and two brothers have been included in the draft NRC based on the legacy documents of their paternal grandfather Tasharuddin Sakke with Legacy Data Code No 200-0002-2267.

She further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, she was extremely worried about the future of his family and feared separation

from her family members. When specifically asked, she stated that she could not sleep properly and this has affected her eating habits. According to her, watching news about NRC on the TV makes her more worried. She described her mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. She further stated that she felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.15: Golak Mandal excluded despite 1951 NRC legacy data**

► Golak Mandal (53 years), s/o Khushi Mohan Mandal, resident of Kahibari, PS Boko, District Kamrup (Rural), Assam, is an agricultural labourer.

In his interview with the NCAT researchers on 20 July 2019, Golak Mandal stated that in his family of seven members, only three members, i.e. two sons and one daughter have been included in the draft NRC.

Although his three children have been included, Golak Mandal said he himself has been excluded despite submission of the legacy document published by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam in which his father, Khushi Mohan Mandal was enlisted in 1951 NRC and has the Legacy Data Code No. 150-0021-2846.

Golak Mandal stated that he is in the voter list and has been voting in every election but he was served a notice by the Foreigners' Tribunal at Boko and the case is going on. He stated that he attended two hearings in FT at Kamalpur in Kamrup District which is over 100 km and spent over Rs 1 lakh as legal fees. He said he is illiterate and does not understand the legal process and the NRC procedures. His younger brother Brindavan Mandal has been included in the final draft NRC released on 30 July 2018 based on the legacy document of their father Khushi Mohan Mandal.

Golak Mandal told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep or eat properly and described her mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. He stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.16: Samsul Haque excluded despite 1951 NRC legacy data**

► Samsul Haque (40 years), s/o Nurul Islam, a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam, is a tailor.

In his interview with the NCAT researchers on 18 July 2019, Haque stated that out of five family members, only his wife has been included in the draft NRC, despite having requisite legacy documents. He presented a certified copy of the NRC 1951

which had the names of his grandparents Ajgor Ali and Kajoli and their son (or Samsul's father) Nurul Islam. He also showed a certified copy of the electoral roll of 1966 in which his father Nurul Islam's name was entered under 44-Goalpara LAC.

Samsul stated that when he sought to know the reason for exclusion from the draft NRC, the officials told him that his name appeared as D-voter in the computer records. But according to Samsul, there is no case pending against him either with the Assam Police or any Foreigners' Tribunal.

He stated that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep or eat properly and described his mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.17: Prakash Chandra Barman excluded after being included in the first two draft NRC based on 1955 school leaving certificate**

▼ Septuagenarian Prakash Chandra Burman, S/o Lt. Iswar Burman, R/o village Gurihati, PS Khoirabari, Udalguri district lives with his family at Gurihati village in Udalguri district of Assam. His family comprising four members including himself, his son, daughter-in-law and a grandson was included in the first draft NRC published in January 2018 and second draft NRC published on 30 July 2018 but out four family members three of them i.e. Prakash Chandra Burman, his son Manuj Burman and his grandson Rupam Burman have been excluded in the third draft NRC published on 26 June 2019.

On 17.7.2019, NCAT researchers met the grand old gentleman Burman at his son-in-laws' home at Kumarikata village during the former's visit to Tamulpur area.

When asked about his reaction, Mr Burman said he was hell shocked to find that names of his and his son and grandson were excluded in the third draft NRC despite being consistently included in the first and second drafts. He said he is deeply agonized and fearful of the future, especially of his son and grandson. He said he has not been able to sleep or eat properly since coming to know their exclusion on 26 June 2019. He said exclusion has made their lives miserable as future remains uncertain. He is fearful of the prospects of detention and deportation and is ashamed of after being excluded from the draft NRC on the ground that he is a foreigner. When asked did he ever receive any notice either accusing him as a foreigner or doubtful voter, he replied in the negative. He informed that in the aftermath of exclusion from the draft NRC dated 26 June 2019, he personally went to the Foreigners' Tribunals in Mangaldoi and Udalguri districts to verify if any case has been registered against him accusing him of being a foreigner. He said the officials of both FTs despite searching for hours did not find any case against him.



**[Prakash Chandra Burman]**

NCAT researchers asked him if he could share his documents for examination by them. He said it will take him half an hour to get it sent to him by email and exactly after half an hour Mr. Burman provided copies of his documents. NCAT researchers found that Mr. Burman's family comprising himself, his son, daughter-in-law and grandson have been consistently included in the first and second draft NRC but abruptly excluded in the third draft NRC published on 26 June 2019. As per official records of the NRC, Mr Burman was recorded under Legacy Data Code: 320-2008-4417. It has been found that Mr Burman was a registered voter with SL No. 117 and House No.49 in Block No.106 in Gurihati village under P.S. Kalaigaon in Mangaldoi Sub-Division of 65 Kalaigaon LAC of Darang district. As per certified copy of 1965 Electoral Rolls of his mother Nityabala Burman, she was registered as voter with SI no. 139, House No. 49 in Block No.106 in Gurihati village under PS Kalaigaon in Mangaldoi Sub-Division of 65 Kalaigaon LAC of Darang district. As per his School Leaving cum Character Certificate, Mr Burman was 9 year-old when he completed primary school on 12 February 1955. It was found that in the voters list Mr Burman has been whimsically branded as a Doubtful voter in 2019 Electoral Rolls.



### **Testimony No.18: Lalchand Ali excluded despite 1962 legacy data**



▲ NCAT researchers met Lalchand Ali, S/o Lt. Montaz Ali, R/o Village: Govindapur, Circle Balijan in Goalpara district and a bicycle mechanic by profession, at Goalpara on 18.7.2019. He informed that out of 20 family members including his three brothers and two sisters all have been included in the draft NRC except him.

On verification of his documents, NCAT researchers found that he and his brothers and sister have submitted the same legacy data of their father Lt. Montaz Ali, who was enrolled as a voter of Village Pathartali under 52-Baghbar LAC in Barpeta Sub-Division in Kamrup district in 1962, 1966 and 1970. To probe his linkage with his father, Mr Ali like all his brothers and sisters submitted the part of the voters list containing his name, school certificate, driving license, PAN card, Concern Certificate issued by the Gaon Burah of Gobindapur village. Based on the legacy data of their deceased father all descendants on his father's side have been included apart from him. On asking about the reasons for his exclusion, Mr Ali told that the NRC authorities told him he was excluded because he is shown as a 'D' voter in 2010 Electoral Rolls which means he is a doubtful voter implying that his Indian nationality is doubtful. He further told that his wife Ms. Marjina Begum has also been

dubbed as a D voter. He however said that none of them ever received any notice from the FT Court as on date.

NCAT researchers found his level of anxiety extremely high as he was very much fearful of being separated from family and being detained in case declared as a foreigner. He stated he and his wife have not been able to get sound sleep or concentrate on their respective work ever since exclusion from the draft NRC. He said they have heard horrible stories of inhuman and degrading treatment being given to those detained in foreigners' detention centre across Assam. He further stated that separation from the kids produces spine chilling feelings in both of them.

### **Testimony No.19: Utpal Das excluded despite 1965 legacy data**

▼ Utpal Das, s/o Sunil Das, is a resident of Ranga Pani village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa district of Assam.



In his interview with the NCAT researchers on 17 July 2019, Das stated that four members of his family had applied for inclusion in the NRC but none of them has been included despite having requisite legacy documents. He stated that his grandfather Nitai Kumar Das was enlisted in the 1965 voter list under 66 No. Tamupur LAC with Legacy Data Code being 110-5008-4924 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam. He also exhibited school certificate issued to his father Sunil Chandra Das by the Headmaster of Rangapani Primary School dated 1/10/1982 which stated that Sunil Chandra Das had studied in the school and completed his studies in the school on 31.12.1969.



Utpal Das also stated that the NRC officials told them that the reason for exclusion from the draft NRC is because the family members were D-voter but they were never aware of it because they had not received any notice from the police or Foreigners' Tribunal. He further stated that the family spent over Rs 15,000 for NRC works and they took loans to meet the expenses.

Utpal Das further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. He could not sleep or eat properly and described his mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He further stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.20: Radha Charan Mandal excluded despite 1964 legacy data**

▼ Radha Charan Mandal (70 years), s/o Rang Lal Mandal, resident of Kahibari, PS Boko, District Kamrup (Rural), Assam, is a daily wage labourer.

In his interview with the NCAT researchers on 20 July 2019, Radha Mohan Mandal stated that all seven members of his family have been excluded from the draft NRC despite having requisite legacy documents. He presented a Citizenship Certificate of father Ranga Lal Mandal issued on 15.2.1964. But he has been marked as D-voter although he has been voting in the elections.



**[Radha Charan Mandal]**

Radha Saran Mandal told NCAT that as a result of exclusion from the NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep or eat properly and described her mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. He stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the NRC despite being a bona fide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.21: Rakesh Dhar excluded despite 1965 legacy data**

▼ Rakesh Dhar (19 years), s/o Amar Dhar is a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam. He is a student.

In his interview with the NCAT researchers at his village on 17 July 2019, Rakesh Dhar stated that four members of his family had applied for NRC but none of them has been included despite having requisite legacy documents. He stated that his grandfather Dinesh Chandar Dhar was enlisted in the 1965 Voter List under 66 No. Tamupur LAC with Legacy Data Code being 110-5010-1206 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam. He also exhibited the citizenship certificate of Dinesh Chandar Dhar issued by the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Kamrup, Guwahati dated 30/11/1976.



**[Rakesh Dhar]**

Rakesh Dhar further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. When specifically asked, she stated that he could not sleep or eat

properly and described his mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. He stated that the family sold cows and goats to meet the expenses incurred for the NRC. He further stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.22: Raju Bala Das excluded despite 1965 legacy data**

▼ Raju Bala Das (76 years), a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam, has been excluded from the draft NRC despite having the legacy document of herself.

In her interview with the NCAT researchers on 17 July 2019, Raju Bala Das stated that none of her five family members has been included in the draft NRC despite having requisite legacy documents. Her own name was entered in the 1965 voter list under 66 No. Tamulpur LAC with Legacy Data Code being 110-5010-1255 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam. Her name is still entered in the 2013 voter list under 58-Tamulpur assembly constituency (EPIC No. GGF7337668). Yet, she has been declared a D-voter.



**[Raju Bala Das]**

Raju Bala Das stated that she had to attend hearings at the NRC Seva Kendra at Goreswar in Baksa district which is 40 kms away from her village. She stated that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, she was extremely worried about the future

and feared separation from her family members. When specifically asked, she stated that she could not sleep or eat properly and described her mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. She further stated that she felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.23: Shanti Das excluded despite 1966 legacy data**

▼ Shanti Das (52 years), son of Raj Kumar Das, resident of Village Garo Ghutu in Baksa district of Assam, is engaged in small business. He is illiterate.

In an interview to the NCAT researchers at his village on 17 July 2019, Shanti Das stated that none of his four family members (self, mother, wife, and son) has been included in the draft NRC despite submission of requisite documents. The name of his father Raj Kumar Das was enlisted in the 1966 Voter List and the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) of Assam issued voter details with Legacy Data Code 120-4080-0821. In addition, Jugali Das, mother of Shanti Das, was also enlisted as a voter in Assam in 1966 and has legacy data code no. 120-4080-0825. Basanti Das, wife of Shanti Das, is the daughter of Naresh Das whose name was entered in the voter list of Assam in 1966 and has legacy data code no. 110-4028-2615. Basanti Das' grandfather Navdweep Das was enlisted as a voter in Assam in 1966 and has legacy data code no. 110-4028-2614 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of NRC Assam. Therefore, according to Shanti Das, it is surprising that his entire family have been left out of the draft NRC.



**[Shanti Das]**

When asked specifically whether he or any member of his family was declared a D-voter, he stated that they did not receive any notice from the police or the court but when he went to check the status of their applications, the NRC officials reportedly



told him that all of his family members were D-voters as per the records in the computer.

Shanti Das told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future of his family and he fears separation from his family members. He told the NCAT researchers that the exclusion from the draft NRC has affected his sleep pattern and eating habits. He has been suffering from mental trauma and termed the extent of his worry as “extreme”. He further stated that he felt ashamed of being labeled as a foreigner due to exclusion from the draft NRC.

### **Testimony No.24: Anil Das excluded despite 1966 legacy data**

▼ Anil Das, s/o Adhar Chandar Das, a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam, is a tailor.

In his interview with the NCAT researchers on 17 July 2019, Anil Das stated that none of his three family members has been included in the draft NRC despite having requisite legacy documents. He stated that his father Adhar Chandar Das was enlisted in the 1966 voter list under 48 No. Bhawanipur LAC with Legacy Data Code being 120-4071-7270 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam.



**[Anil Das]**

Anil Das said no member in his family was declared a D-voter and he did not know why they have been excluded from the draft NRC.

He further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. When specifically asked, he stated that he could not sleep or eat properly and described his mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. He further stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.25: Juran Das excluded despite 1965 legacy data**

▼ Juran Das (63) S/o Lt. Biswanath Das, R/o Village Rangapani, PS Tamulpur, Baksa district is a petty businessman. He lives at Rangapani village with his wife, sons and grandchildren. He and his family members have been excluded from the draft NRC published in January 2018. But, he is clueless as to why he was excluded from the draft NRC.



During his interview to the NCAT researchers at Garoghutu Anganwadi Center on 17.7.2019, Juran Das said that the local level NRC officials at Tamulpur informed him that he, his wife and sons were put in the category of doubtful voters which means suspected foreigners. But, he said his family members have been

consistently casting their votes in all Lok Sabha, Assam State Assembly and local election as on date and none of them from his family ever received any notice either from police or Foreigners' Tribunal so far.

Perusal of his documents revealed that his late father Biswanath Das was enrolled as voter with Sl. No. 82 at Rangapani village under 66 Tamulpur LAC during 1965 and was marked by the NRC authorities under Legacy Data Code: 110-500-4932. He said he submitted his father's LIC Policy premium receipt dated 15.12.1960, certified copy of 1969 Elector Roll of his father, land ownership record of 1970 in his own name, his Permanent Resident Certificate dated 29.9.1983 issued by the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Kamrup district, Guwahati, his EPI Card, Electoral Rolls of 1985, 1997, 2005, 2010, 2017 and 2018.

When asked what he thought about his and his family members' future, Juran Das said he was extremely worried. He said he has been suffering from hypertension and gastritis and his health has only deteriorated since his family was excluded from the draft NRC, partly due to high level of anxiety and partly due to exhaustion caused to him during five hearings at district headquarters, 70 km away from his residence. He said despite being an Indian citizen by birth, the NRC authorities have rendered him virtually stateless and reduced him to a laughing stock in the society.

### **Testimony No.26: Jaydeb Das excluded despite 1965 legacy data**

▼ Jaydeb Das, aged 50, S/o Lt. Jogendra Kumar Das, R/o Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, District Baksa is a marginal farmer at Rangapani village under Tamulpur PS in Baksa district of Assam. He heads his family of five members, including his wife Sandhya Das, two sons and one daughter. He said he belongs to the Scheduled Caste community of Namasudra. None of them are included in the draft NRC.

On 17.7.2019, Jaydeb Das, like all other concerned excluded persons, came to the Garoghutu Anganwadi Centre to request the visiting NCAT researchers to help him and his family members get enrolled in the NRC. He said he and his family members are tired and disgusted repeatedly attending NRC at 120 km away from his village. He said he has lost all confidence in the NRC process and view it as harassment to the poor people like him. Citing cases of suicides by persons being excluded from draft NRC, Jaydeb told the NCAT researchers that if the government cannot extend any kind of help to the people, it should not at take away their lives and livelihood.

When asked about what he thought about his own future and his family members, Jaydeb expressed helplessness and agony. He said not many options were left for a poor family like his as he cannot engage a lawyer in case of being declared as foreigners. He told ever since they were left out of the draft NRC last year, it has been difficult for the entire family to either concentrate on their respective work or eat properly. The NCAT researchers found Jaydeb extremely anxious about his and family members' future.





[Jaydeb Das]

On verification of his documents, NCAT researchers have found that Jaydeb had submitted 1965 Electoral Roll of his deceased father Lt. Jogendra Kumar Das (Legacy Data Code: 110-5008-4925) along with linkage documents such as voter card, SC certificate, certified copy of his electoral roll of 1997 and linkage documents of his son and daughter.

### **Testimony No.27: Karuna Das excluded despite 1966 legacy data**

▼ Karuna Das (55 years), S/o Lt. Kalachand Nama Das, R/o Village Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, District Baksa is a shopkeeper at the village market in Rangapani. He is the head of his family comprising himself, his wife, one son and daughter-in-law and a grand kid. He is suffering from hypertension.

During their visit to Tamulpur circle on 17.7.2019, Karuna met the NCAT researchers at Garoghutu Anganwadi Centre and shared his bitter experiences about the ongoing NRC exercise in Assam.

He told the NCAT researchers that despite producing all prescribed documents he and his four family members have been excluded from the draft NRC. On verification of the documents submitted by him, NCAT researchers found that Karuna said like his brothers and sisters he submitted certified copy of 1966 Electoral Roll of his late father Kalachand Nama Das (Legacy Data Code: 120-4050-8137) along with certified copy of his own Electoral Roll of 1997 and linkage documents of his family members. He informed that based on the same legacy data, his daughter was

included in NRC in Kamrup district while his elder brother was included in Silapathar of Dhemaji district and three nephews were included in Tamulpur in Baksa district. But, he and his other family members have been excluded. He said he is at lost to comprehend how some descendants have been included while others left out based on the same legacy data.



**[Karuna Das]**

When asked about their state of mind, Karuna and his Bidyut Das (25) told the NCAT researchers that level of anxiety was very high as they were very anxious about their uncertain future. They were fearful about detention in case of being declared as foreigners and separation from the family. The high level anxiety has resulted in sleeplessness and disorientation in thought process of Karuna ever since they have been excluded in January 2018. This led to aggravation of the hypertension in him.

### **Testimony No.28: Ratan Lal Ariya, excluded despite 1970 legacy data**

► Ratan Lal Ariya (around 20 years), son of Rebati Ariya, resident of NK Angarkata village under Baksa district of Assam, is a daily wage labourer. NCAT researchers interviewed Ratan Lal Ariya at his village on 17 July 2019.

He informed the NCAT researchers that in 2015, his family applied for inclusion in the NRC but none of them (four members) was included in the draft NRC. Ratan Lal Ariya claimed that his grandfather Madhav Chandar Ariya was entered in the 1970

voter list and has been issued Legacy Data Code No. 120-3016-1378 by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) of Assam which showed that the name of Madhav Chandar Ariya was entered in the voter list of 1970. Further, even her mother Arati Arya's father Lal Mohan has legacy documents issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam which stated that his name was in the voters' list of 1966 (Legacy Data Code: 120-4056-6468) and the Pradhan of Natabari II Gram Panchayat in Cooch Behar district of West Bengal issued a certificate dated 24.6.2015 stating that Mr Arati Arya, w/o Lalmohan Arya, of village Charaljani in Cooch Behar, West Bengal, was known to him and was permanent resident of the said address. But still, Arati Arya has not been included in the draft NRC. These documents were verified by the NCAT researchers.

Ratan Lal Ariya told the NCAT researchers that his sister (married) has been included in the draft NRC based on the family's legacy data.

He further told the NCAT researchers that a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and he feared separation from his family members. He stated that the exclusion from the draft NRC has affected his sleep pattern, eating habits and work. He is suffering from mental trauma and termed his extent of worry as "extreme". He further stated that he felt ashamed of being labeled as a foreigner due to exclusion from the draft NRC.

### **Testimony No.29: Utpal Das excluded despite 1970 legacy data**

▼ Utpal Das is a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam.



In his interview with the NCAT researchers at his village on 17 July 2019, Utpal Das stated that six members of his family had applied for inclusion in the NRC but none of them has been included despite having requisite legacy documents. He stated that his grandfather Deben Das was enlisted in the 1971 Voter List under 49 No. Patacharkuchi LAC with Legacy Data Code being 110-2023-3808 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam. Further, his mother Kalpana Das' father Anukul Dhar was enlisted in 1970 voter list and has Legacy Data Code No. 110-3021-9670.

Utpal Das further told the NCAT that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future of his family and feared separation from his family members. He could not sleep properly and described his mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He further stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.30: Bhuli Das excluded despite 1970 legacy data**



▲ Bhuli Das (50 years), daughter of Fanindar Chandar Das, a resident of Garo Ghutu village under Tamulpur Circle in Baksa District of Assam, is an agricultural labourer.

In her interview with the NCAT researchers on 17 July 2019, Das stated that none of her six family members has been included in the draft NRC despite having requisite



legacy documents. She stated that her father Fanindar Chandar Das was enlisted in the 1970 voter list under 66 No. Tamulpur LAC with Legacy Data Code being 110-3021-9752 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam. She also showed a school certificate issued by the headmaster of the school at Garoghutu stating that she had passed out from the school on 31.12.1976.

Bhuli Das stated that no member in her family was declared a D-voter and she did not know why they have been excluded from the draft NRC. According to her, her brothers Hari Krishna, Govinda and Umananda and sister Lalita have made to the draft NRC. Her husband Shyamal Das has also been excluded from the NRC although his father Birendra Kumar Das was enlisted in the 1966 voter list under 52 No. Baghbar LAC with Legacy Data Code being 120-4062-5766 issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam.

Bhuli Das further told the NCAT researchers that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, she was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from her family members. She could not sleep or eat properly and described her mental trauma/suffering as “extreme”. She further stated that she felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.31: Ananta Mandal excluded despite 1970 legacy data**



▲ Ananta Mandal (60 years), s/o Hemanta Mandal, resident of Kahibari, PS Boko, District Kamrup (Rural), Assam, is a daily wage labourer.

In his interview with the NCAT researchers on 20 July 2019, Ananta Mandal stated that all four members of his family have been excluded from the draft NRC despite having requisite legacy documents. . He presented a copy of legacy document issued by the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC) Assam in which his father, Hemanta Mandal was showed enlisted in the voter list of 1970 under 66 NO. Tamulpur LAC and has the Legacy Data Code No. 110-3018-9553 which makes Ananta Mandal eligible for inclusion in the NRC.

Ananta Mandal stated that a case was filed against him by the police before the Foreigners' Tribunal No. 2 Kamrup (Rural) at Boko alleging that he is a foreigner. But in this case, his name has been mentioned as "Ananta Kumar Roy, s/o Late Hemanta Kumar Roy", a resident of Kahibari under Boko Police Station of District Kamrup (Rural). Ananta Mandal told the NCAT researchers that the police never visited his residence or asked to show any piece of documents. However, despite submitting documents including the legacy data issued by the NRC authorities, the Foreigners' Tribunal in its order dated 28.05.2019 declared him a foreigner.

Ananta Mandal told the NCAT researchers that he is a poor man and illiterate man and he does not know how the court works. He stated that as a result of exclusion from the draft NRC, he was extremely worried about the future and feared separation from his family members. He could not sleep or eat properly and described her mental trauma/suffering as "extreme". He stated that he felt ashamed of being excluded from the draft NRC despite being a bonafide Indian national.

### **Testimony No.32: Bharat Mandal excluded despite 1971 legacy data**

▼ NCAT researchers interviewed Bharat Mandal (33 years), S/o Lt. Chandi Mandal, R/o Haulitari, P.S. Boko, District Kamrup (Rural), Assam on 20 July 2019 at Chamaria under Boko PS in Kamrup (Rural). Despite proving his pre-1971 residence with requisite documents, he has been excluded from the National Register of Citizens (NRC) currently underway in Assam.

Verification of his documents revealed that his late father Chandi Mandal was enrolled at Voter Sl. No. 298 in the voter list of 1971 at village Chamaria under 55-Boko Legislative Assembly Constituency (LAC). As per voter details provided by the office of the State Coordinator of NRC, Assam Chandi Mandal's Legacy Data Code was 150-2018-5611. On seeking documents of his linkage with his father, Bharat Mandal showed Field surveyors copy of his Scheduled Caste Certificate (No.KAV.11/2013/2510 dated 17.2.2014) issued by the office of the Sub-Divisional Officer (Sadar), Kamrup, Amingaon, Guwahati and a copy of his School Certificate (No.680 in Book No. 7 dated 5.1.1998) issued by the Headmaster, Navodaya Primary School, Guwahati Sub-Division in Kamrup district of Assam.

Mr. Bharat informed the NCAT researchers that he and his two kids have not been included in the draft NRC. On asking the reason he said that in July 2017, he had received a notice dated 10.7.2017 from the Foreigners' Tribunal No.2, Kamrup, Boko directing him to appear before it and prove with evidence that he is not a foreigner.

Verification of the notice revealed that a case (BFT 1006/2016) State Government of Assam vs. Bharat Mandal s/o Chandi Mandal has been pending before the said FT Court. Mr. Bharat said he engaged a lawyer, appeared and submitted written submissions along with all requisite documents before the FT Court, Boko on 2.8.2017. He said his case was still pending and he is unaware about the current status.



NCAT researchers have found Mr. Bharat extremely worried about his own future as well as his 2 kids. He feared separation from his own family as well as his brothers and sisters in case of being declared a foreigner and accordingly excluded from the draft NRC. He told the NCAT researchers that the pending FT case and exclusion from the draft NRC have affected his sleep pattern and thought process. He could no longer concentrate on his work and felt ashamed of being labeled as a foreigner as well as exclusion from the draft NRC.



#### **4. At least 31 persons committed suicide as a result of extreme “mental torture”**

On the midnight of 31 December 2017, a partial draft of the NRC was released and on 30 July 2018, the complete draft was released which excluded 40,007,707 persons from the citizens register.<sup>39</sup> On 26 June 2019, the NRC published Additional Draft Exclusion List consisting of 1,02,462 persons whose names had been included earlier in the complete draft NRC published on 30 July 2018.<sup>40</sup>

According to the Supreme Court order, doubtful voters and those whose cases are pending with the Foreigners' Tribunals are to be kept on hold and not to be included in the NRC till their cases are decided by the Tribunals.

The *National Campaign Against Torture* (NCAT) monitored the NRC-related suicides and at least 31 persons committed suicide after being excluded from the draft NRC.

The major causes of the suicides have been mental trauma due to exclusion or fear of exclusion from the draft NRC, harassment due to repeated hearings before the NRC authorities, extreme poverty, fear of detention or deportation, separation from family members, exclusion of family members, and humiliation as alleged foreigner.

Extreme mental trauma due to exclusion or fear of exclusion from the draft NRC of self or family members despite submitting requisite documents has been the primary reason for suicides. Such cases included the suicide of Aklima Bewa (her youngest daughter Moriam Begum, aged 33 years, was declared a D-Voter),<sup>41</sup> Anwar Hussain (his 9-year-old daughter, Jahanara Khatun received notice to prove her Indian citizenship);<sup>42</sup> Lalson Ali (D-Voter),<sup>43</sup> Gopal Das (D-Voter),<sup>44</sup> Balijan Bibi (she and

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<sup>39</sup>. Over 40 lakh left out of draft NRC in Assam, The Hindu, 30 July 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/over-40-lakh-people-left-out-in-new-draft-nrc/article24550576.ece>

<sup>40</sup>. Press Release by NRC Assam dated 26th June 2019, available at <http://www.nrcassam.nic.in/pdf/English%20Press%20Release%2026%20June%202019.pdf>

<sup>41</sup>. D-voter hint in woman death, The Telegraph, 9 September 2016, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/d-voter-hint-in-woman-death/cid/1418986>

<sup>42</sup>. Goalpara man commits suicide after receiving NRC notice, Time8, 4 December 2017, <https://www.time8.in/goalpara-man-commits-suicide-after-receiving-nrc-notice/>

<sup>43</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>44</sup>. Worried about inclusion of name in NRC, man allegedly commits suicide, The Sentinel, 15 June 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/worried-about-inclusion-of-name-in-nrc-man-allegedly-commits-suicide/>

husband declared as D-voters);<sup>45</sup> Abola Roy (wife was declared as D-Voter);<sup>46</sup> Binay Chand (mother declared D-Voter);<sup>47</sup> Hanif Khan,<sup>48</sup> Ratan Rai;<sup>49</sup> Sahimoon Bibi (she and her six siblings were not included in the first draft NRC);<sup>50</sup> Deben Barman (his son and two grandchildren excluded from final draft NRC);<sup>51</sup> Rajesh Singh (all family members excluded from the draft NRC);<sup>52</sup> Bimal Chandra Ghosh (exclusion from the final draft NRC);<sup>53</sup> Nirod Baran Das (humiliation after exclusion from final draft NRC);<sup>54</sup> Deepak Debnath (included in the first draft NRC but name struck off the final draft because he had been served notice by Foreigners' Tribunal);<sup>55</sup> Abdul Jalil (his wife Halima Khatoon and 10-year-old son Hamidul excluded from the final draft NRC);<sup>56</sup> Samsul Haque (his wife Maleka Khatun was excluded from final draft NRC);<sup>57</sup> Surendra Barman (excluded from the final draft NRC);<sup>58</sup> Sandhya

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<sup>45</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>46</sup>. Assam: Wife served 'doubtful voter' notice, man, The Times of India, 9 July 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/quwahati/wife-served-doubtful-voter-notice-in-assam-man-commits-suicide/articleshow/64920874.cms>

<sup>47</sup>. Mother fighting case to prove citizenship in Assam, man hangs self, The Indian Express, 11 September 2018, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/mother-fighting-case-to-prove-citizenship-under-nrc-in-assam-man-hangs-self-5349634/>

<sup>48</sup>. NRC cloud over Cachar suicide, The Telegraph, 2 January 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-cloud-over-cachar-suicide/cid/1438408>

<sup>49</sup>. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

<sup>50</sup>. NRC cloud over woman's suicide in Dhubri, Northeast Now, 11 April 2018, <https://nenow.in/north-east-news/womans-suicide-in-dhubri.html>

<sup>51</sup>. Kin left out of NRC, Assam man commits suicide, The Hindu, 8 August 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kin-left-out-of-nrc-assam-man-commits-suicide/article24627220.ece>

<sup>52</sup>. Exclusion from NRC allegedly leads to two suicides in Assam, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 11 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/exclusion-from-nrc-allegedly-leads-to-two-suicides-in-assam/>

<sup>53</sup>. Teacher Commits Suicide for Non-Inclusion of Name in Draft NRC!, The Sentinel, 15 October 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/teacher-commits-suicide-for-non-inclusion-of-name-in-draft-nrc/>

<sup>54</sup>. Humiliated Over 'Foreigner' Tag, Retired Assam Teacher Kills Himself, NDTV, 22 October 2018, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/assam-nrc-humiliated-over-foreigner-tag-retired-assam-teacher-nirod-kumar-das-kills-himself-1935624>

<sup>55</sup>. Allegedly worried over his citizenship status, man commits suicide in Assam, The Hindustan Times, 28 October 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/allegedly-worried-over-his-citizenship-status-man-commits-suicide-in-assam/story-XMdoVNvh47L34zpfGtGeOK.html>

<sup>56</sup>. EXCLUSIVE: 33rd Suicide Victim of D Voter in Assam: NRC, Sabrang, 16 November 2018, <https://sabrangindia.in/article/exclusive-33rd-suicide-victim-d-voter-assam-nrc>

<sup>57</sup>. Suicides over NRC raise concern in Assam, The Telegraph, 17 November 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/suicides-over-nrc-raise-concern-in-assam/cid/1675476>

<sup>58</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

Chakraborty (exclusion from the final draft NRC);<sup>59</sup> Monnas Ali (exclusion from the final draft NRC);<sup>60</sup> Bhaben Das (fear of exclusion, served with repeated notices from the NRC authorities);<sup>61</sup> Ashraf Ali (fear of exclusion- his name was included in final draft NRC but his inclusion was challenged and he had to attend hearings);<sup>62</sup> Noor Nehar Begum (her name along with mother excluded from the NRC while her father and seven siblings were included).<sup>63</sup>

Most of the victims who committed suicides belonged to extremely poor families. Extreme poverty and inability to hire lawyer have added to their woes.

Poor victims who committed suicide included Aklima Bewa (daily wage labourer);<sup>64</sup> Anwar Hussain (daily wage labourer);<sup>65</sup> Sahimoon Bibi (worked in others' households);<sup>66</sup> Hanif Khan (a driver);<sup>67</sup> Gopal Das (daily wage labourer);<sup>68</sup> Balijan Bibi;<sup>69</sup> Abola Roy (daily wage labourer);<sup>70</sup> Rajesh Singh (labourer);<sup>71</sup> Binay Chand;<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>. Name Missing From Assam NRC Draft, Woman Sets Herself On Fire In Mangaldoi, Time8, 8 February 2019, <https://www.time8.in/name-missing-from-assam-nrc-draft-woman-sets-herself-on-fire-in-mangaldoi/>

<sup>60</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>61</sup>. 45-year-old Man's suicide sparks NRC debate, The Sentinel, 5 March 2019, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/45-year-old-mans-suicide-sparks-nrc-debate/>

<sup>62</sup>. Assam: Man Found Dead After NRC Objection Hearing, Relatives Allege Suicide, Newslick, 27 May 2019, <https://www.newslick.in/Assam-NRC-Ashraf-Ali-Suicide>

<sup>63</sup>. The story of a suicide: Did fear of losing citizenship drive a teenager in Assam to end her life?, Scroll.in, 29 June 2019, <https://scroll.in/article/928732/the-story-of-a-suicide-did-fear-of-losing-citizenship-drive-a-teenager-in-assam-to-end-her-life>

<sup>64</sup>. Fear Of Losing Citizenship Is Driving People To Suicide In Assam, IndiaSpend, 2 November 2018, <https://www.indiaspend.com/fear-of-losing-citizenship-is-driving-people-to-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>65</sup>. Goalpara man commits suicide after receiving NRC notice, Time8, 4 December 2017, <https://www.time8.in/goalpara-man-commits-suicide-after-receiving-nrc-notice/>

<sup>66</sup>. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

<sup>67</sup>. NRC cloud over Cachar suicide, The Telegraph, 2 January 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-cloud-over-cachar-suicide/cid/1438408>

<sup>68</sup>. Worried about inclusion of name in NRC, man allegedly commits suicide, The Sentinel, 15 June 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/worried-about-inclusion-of-name-in-nrc-man-allegedly-commits-suicide/>

<sup>69</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>70</sup>. Assam: Wife served 'doubtful voter' notice, man, The Times of India, 9 July 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/quwahati/wife-served-doubtful-voter-notice-in-assam-man-commits-suicide/articleshow/64920874.cms>

<sup>71</sup>. Exclusion from NRC allegedly leads to two suicides in Assam, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 11 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/exclusion-from-nrc-allegedly-leads-to-two-suicides-in-assam/>

Deepak Debnath (bicycle mechanic);<sup>73</sup> Samsul Haque (daily wage labourer);<sup>74</sup> Surendra Barman (daily wage labourer);<sup>75</sup> Bhaben Das (daily wage labourer);<sup>76</sup> and Noor Nehar Begum (17 years old minor whose father is a daily-wage labourer)<sup>77</sup>

#### **4.1 List of 31 NRC related suicide deaths**

The list of 31 NRC related suicide deaths are given in the table below:

Sl No.	Date of Suicide	Name of victim	Age	Job	Place of suicide	Cause of suicide
1	1.7.2015	Saibun Nesa Laskar <sup>78</sup>	45	Belonged to impoverished family	Sonai, Cachar	unable to trace the legacy data of her ancestors for NRC
2	8.7.2015	Angad Sutradhar <sup>79</sup>	57	Farm labourer <sup>80</sup>	Pakriguri village, Baksa district	Inability by his son Jyotish Sutradhar to submit NRC forms due to

<sup>72</sup>. Mother fighting case to prove citizenship in Assam, man hangs self, The Indian Express, 11 September 2018, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/mother-fighting-case-to-prove-citizenship-under-nrc-in-assam-man-hangs-self-5349634/>

<sup>73</sup>. Allegedly worried over his citizenship status, man commits suicide in Assam, The Hindustan Times, 28 October 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/allegedly-worried-over-his-citizenship-status-man-commits-suicide-in-assam/story-XMdoVNvh47L34zpfGtGeOK.html>

<sup>74</sup>. Suicides over NRC raise concern in Assam, The Telegraph, 17 November 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/suicides-over-nrc-raise-concern-in-assam/cid/1675476>

<sup>75</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>76</sup>. 45-year-old Man's suicide sparks NRC debate, The Sentinel, 5 March 2019, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/45-year-old-mans-suicide-sparks-nrc-debate/>

<sup>77</sup>. The story of a suicide: Did fear of losing citizenship drive a teenager in Assam to end her life?, Scroll.in, 29 June 2019, <https://scroll.in/article/928732/the-story-of-a-suicide-did-fear-of-losing-citizenship-drive-a-teenager-in-assam-to-end-her-life>

<sup>78</sup>. Suicide stirs fresh debate on NRC update, The Assam Tribune, 3 July 2015, <http://www.assamtribune.com/scripts/detailsnew.asp?id=jul0315/state053>

<sup>79</sup>. Report of Deputy Commissioner, Baksa District to the Commissioner and Secretary, Home and Political Department, Govt of Assam and State Coordinator, NRC, Assam dated 13th July 2015 available at <http://www.nrcassam.nic.in/pdf/ANGAD%20SUTRADHAR.pdf>

<sup>80</sup>. 3 Suicides And An Exodus, India Current, on 29th October 2018, Volume XXX, Issue 44, <http://indiancurrents.org/3-suicides-and-an-exodus-2324.php>

						non-availability of linkage certificate with his great-grandfather although legacy document of his paternal uncle was available.
3	4.11.2015	Jamir Khan <sup>81</sup>	75		Tikak China Basti, Ledo PS, Tinsukia district	Fear of exclusion from NRC
4	8.9.2016	Aklima Bewa <sup>82</sup>	62	daily wage labourer	Dankinamari village, Bongaigaon Dist	Daughter, Moriam Begum was declared D-Voter
5	3.12.2017	Anwar Hussain <sup>83</sup>	37	daily wage labourer <sup>84</sup>	Bahmura, Goalpara	Worried about inclusion of daughter Jahanara Khatun in NRC
6	6.12.2017	Akram Uddin Barbhuiya <sup>85</sup>			New Ramnagar, Silchar	Fear of NRC verification

<sup>81</sup>. Dainik Janambhumi, 5 November 2015, <http://nrcassam.nic.in/pdf/Dainik%20Janambhumi%205-11-15.pdf>

<sup>82</sup>. D-voter hint in woman death, The Telegraph, 9 September 2016, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/d-voter-hint-in-woman-death/cid/1418986>;

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<sup>83</sup>. Goalpara man commits suicide after receiving NRC notice, Time8, 4 December 2017, <https://www.time8.in/goalpara-man-commits-suicide-after-receiving-nrc-notice/>

<sup>84</sup>. With Final NRC Draft to be Released in 20 Days, Assam Witnessing Rise in Suicides, NewsClick, 12 July 2018, <https://www.newsclick.in/final-nrc-draft-be-released-20-days-assam-witnessing-rise-suicides>

<sup>85</sup>. Another man commits suicide due to fear of NRC notice in Silchar, Time8, 6 December 2017, <https://www.time8.in/another-man-commits-suicide-due-to-fear-of-nrc-notice-in-silchar/>

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7	1.1.2018	Hanif Khan <sup>86</sup>	40	driver	Kashipur (Part-II), Cachar Dist	Exclusion from 1 <sup>st</sup> draft of NRC
8	19.3.2018	Sen <sup>87</sup>	60		Silchar	Exclusion of wife from first draft of NRC
9	23.3.2018	Lalson Ali <sup>88</sup>	60		Shatagon Village, Barpeta	D-Voter
10	9.4.2018	Ratan Rai <sup>89</sup>	40	Grade IV employee of Inland Water Transport Authority,	Pandu colony no 4, Guwahati	Fear of exclusion from NRC
11	11.4.2018	Sahimoon Bibi <sup>90</sup>	45	Worked in other's households	ward 10 of Dhubri	Fear of NRC
12	11.6.2018	Gopal Das <sup>91</sup>	65	daily wage labourer	Nislamari village under Tangla PS, Udalguri district.	D-Voter; Fear of NRC
13	July 2018	Balijan Bibi, w/o Azbahar Ali <sup>92</sup>	45		Jogighopa PS, Bongaigaon Dist	D-Voter, she failed to bear the expenses of her family to hire lawyers

<sup>86</sup>. NRC cloud over Cachar suicide, The Telegraph, 2 January 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-cloud-over-cachar-suicide/cid/1438408>

<sup>87</sup>. Another NRC-related Suicide in Silchar, Time8, 19 March 2018, <https://www.time8.in/another-nrc-related-suicide-in-silchar/>

<sup>88</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>89</sup>. Man commits Suicide in Guwahati fearing non-inclusion in NRC, Guwahati Plus, 9 April 2018, <https://www.guwahatipius.com/daily-news/man-commits-suicide-in-guwahati-fearing-non-inclusion-in-nrc>

<sup>90</sup>. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

<sup>91</sup>. Worried about inclusion of name in NRC, man allegedly commits suicide, The Sentinel, 15 June 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/worried-about-inclusion-of-name-in-nrc-man-allegedly-commits-suicide/>

<sup>92</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

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14	8.7.2018	Abola Roy <sup>93</sup>	40	Labourer	Halakura, Dhubri district	Wife was notified as D-voter
15	7.8.2018	Deben Barman <sup>94</sup>	70	marginal farmer	Bishkhowa village, Golakganj, Dhubri district	the names of his son and two grandchildren excluded from final draft of NRC published on 30 July 2018
16	8.8.2018	Rajesh Singh <sup>95</sup>	44	labourer	Nakhuti Village, Majbat PS, Udalgiri Dist	Names of all family members excluded from final draft NRC released on 30 July 2018
17	13.8.2018	Nirmal paul <sup>96</sup>	60		Katigora, Cachar,	Exclusion from NRC
18	9.9.2018	Binay Chand <sup>97</sup>	32	daily wage labourer	Dimlarpar village, Baksa district	financial problem in pursuing his mother Shanti Chand's case at the Foreigners' Tribunal
19	14.10.2018	Bimal Chandra Ghosh <sup>98</sup>	59	School teacher and	Tangla town, Udalguri	Exclusion from NRC

<sup>93</sup>. Assam: Wife served 'doubtful voter' notice, man commits suicide, The Times of India, 9 July 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/wife-served-doubtful-voter-notice-in-assam-man-commits-suicide/articleshow/64920874.cms>

<sup>94</sup>. Kin left out of NRC, Assam man commits suicide, The Hindu, 8 August 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kin-left-out-of-nrc-assam-man-commits-suicide/article24627220.ece>

<sup>95</sup>. Exclusion from NRC allegedly leads to two suicides in Assam, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 11 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/exclusion-from-nrc-allegedly-leads-to-two-suicides-in-assam/>

<sup>96</sup>. <https://www.facebook.com/100013635074015/posts/487795025018329/>

<sup>97</sup>. Mother fighting case to prove citizenship in Assam, man hangs self, The Indian Express, 11 September 2018, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/mother-fighting-case-to-prove-citizenship-under-nrc-in-assam-man-hangs-self-5349634/>



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				liaison officer at an NRC seva kendra,	district	
20	21.10.2018	Nirod Das <sup>99</sup> Baran	74	retired school teacher and lawyer	Mangaldoi, Darrang district	Exclusion from NRC
21	28.10.2018	Deepak Debnath <sup>100</sup>	49	bicycle mechanic	Ghagra village, Udalguri Dist	D-Voter; Exclusion from final draft NRC
22	12.11.2018	Abdul Jalil <sup>101</sup>	35		Abhayapuri, Bongaigaon district	his wife and son excluded from final draft NRC
23	14.11.2018	Samsul Hoque <sup>102</sup>	46	daily wage labourer	Baguriguri village, Barpeta Dist	Exclusion of his wife Maleka Khatun's name from the final draft of NRC
24	19.11.2018	Surendra Barman <sup>103</sup>	27	daily wage labourer	Srirampur Colony under Simultapu PS, Kokrajhar Dist	D-Voter, Exclusion from NRC
25	16.12.2018	Kailash Tanti <sup>104</sup>		Tea garden labourer	Sontila Tea Estate,	His entire family was

<sup>98</sup>. Teacher Commits Suicide for Non-Inclusion of Name in Draft NRC!, The Sentinel, 15 October 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/teacher-commits-suicide-for-non-inclusion-of-name-in-draft-nrc/>

<sup>99</sup>. Humiliated Over 'Foreigner' Tag, Retired Assam Teacher Kills Himself, NDTV, 22 October 2018, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/assam-nrc-humiliated-over-foreigner-tag-retired-assam-teacher-nirod-kumar-das-kills-himself-1935624>

<sup>100</sup>. Allegedly worried over his citizenship status, man commits suicide in Assam, The Hindustan Times, 28 October 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/allegedly-worried-over-his-citizenship-status-man-commits-suicide-in-assam/story-XMdoVNvh47L34zpfGtGeOK.html>

<sup>101</sup>. Wife, son names missing from draft NRC, man commits suicide in Abhayapuri, Time8, 12 November 2018, <https://www.time8.in/wife-son-names-missing-from-draft-nrc-man-commits-suicide-in-abhayapuri/> ; EXCLUSIVE: 33rd Suicide Victim of D Voter in Assam: NRC, Sabrang, 16 November 2018, <https://sabrangindia.in/article/exclusive-33rd-suicide-victim-d-voter-assam-nrc>

<sup>102</sup>. Suicides over NRC raise concern in Assam, The Telegraph, 17 November 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/suicides-over-nrc-raise-concern-in-assam/cid/1675476>

<sup>103</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

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					Hailakandi	excluded from the draft NRC.
26	20.11.2018	Monnas Ali <sup>105</sup>	65		Kamarchuburi village under Thelamara PS, Sonitpur Dist	Exclusion from NRC
27	8.2.2019	Sandhya Chakraborty <sup>106</sup>		Housewife	Ward No. 5, Mangaldoi town, Darrang district	non-inclusion of her name in the final draft of NRC
28	3.3.2019	Bhaben Das <sup>107</sup>	45	daily-wage labourer	Bholabari under Kalaigaon PS, Udalguri Dist	Fear of NRC
29	26.5.2019	Asraf Ali <sup>108</sup>	88		Sontoli village, Kamrup district,	Fear of NRC
30	26.6.2019	Noor Nehar Begum <sup>109</sup>	17	Daughter of daily-wage labourer	Rowmari Chapori village, Darrang Dist	Exclusion from NRC
31	22.07.2019	Rahim Uddin	47	Marginal farmer	Udali Kachari Gaon, Hojai district	Included in the Draft NRC published on 30 July 2018

<sup>104</sup>. Barak Bulletin, 17 December 2018, [https://www.barakbulletin.com/bn\\_BD/nrc-reject-commits-suicide-in-hailakandi-family-neighbours-blame-nrc/?fbclid=IwAR3\\_7uyWNadquSs5bPGRs6c9WrbonPnbj\\_w\\_G7hyuhxnEd15TER3kuYzGpU](https://www.barakbulletin.com/bn_BD/nrc-reject-commits-suicide-in-hailakandi-family-neighbours-blame-nrc/?fbclid=IwAR3_7uyWNadquSs5bPGRs6c9WrbonPnbj_w_G7hyuhxnEd15TER3kuYzGpU)

<sup>105</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>106</sup>. Name Missing From Assam NRC Draft, Woman Sets Herself On Fire In Mangaldoi, Time8, 8 February 2019, <https://www.time8.in/name-missing-from-assam-nrc-draft-woman-sets-herself-on-fire-in-mangaldoi/>

<sup>107</sup>. 45-year-old Man's suicide sparks NRC debate, The Sentinel, 5 March 2019, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/45-year-old-mans-suicide-sparks-nrc-debate/>

<sup>108</sup>. Assam Man, 88, Commits Suicide; Feared Losing Citizenship, Claims Family, NDTV, 27 May 2019, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/assam-man-88-commits-suicide-feared-losing-citizenship-claims-family-2043567>

<sup>109</sup>. The story of a suicide: Did fear of losing citizenship drive a teenager in Assam to end her life?, Scroll.in, 29 June 2019, <https://scroll.in/article/928732/the-story-of-a-suicide-did-fear-of-losing-citizenship-drive-a-teenager-in-assam-to-end-her-life>

						but was shocked to have been excluded from list of published on 26 June 2019.
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## 4.2 Key cases of suicide due to extreme mental torture

### Case 1: Suicide of Saibun Nesa Laskar

On 1 July 2015, a woman identified as Saibun Nesa Laskar, aged 45 years, committed suicide in South Mohanpur in Cachar district allegedly because she could not trace the 'legacy data' of her ancestors needed to be submitted for the NRC. Karim Uddin Barbhuiya, leader of political party the All India United Democratic Front leader, stated that the deceased "*was mentally torn apart because she could not assemble the legacy data documents for submitting her NRC application*". The deceased lived in extreme poverty.<sup>110</sup>

### Case 2: Suicide of Angad Sutradhar

On 8 July 2015, Angad Sutradhar, a Dalit, committed suicide at Pakriguri village under Salbari police station in Baksa district allegedly due to fear of exclusion from the draft NRC. An investigation was ordered into the case. As per the report of the Deputy Commissioner, Baksa dated 13.7.2015, the case was investigated by Ananda Kumar Das, Sub Divisional Magistrate, Salbari. It was learnt from the family member as well as neighbours that on 8/7/2015, Jyotish Sutradhar, S/o the deceased Angad Sutradhar went to the concerned NRC Seva Kendra (NSK) for submission of NRC Forms pertaining to his family. But he could not submit the same due to non-availability of linkage certificate of himself with his great-grandfather (i.e. Kalamoni) although legacy document of Angad Sutradhar's paternal uncle (Bhuitaram, S/o Kalamoni) was available. Being unable to submit the NRC Forms successfully, Jyotish returned home. In the evening of the same day the family members along with Angad Sutradhar discussed the NRC matter and decided to approach the local Circle Officer (ie circle office, Jalah Rev Circle) the next day for obtaining the linkage certificate of Jyotish Sutradhar with his great-grandfather. After the discussion the deceased Angad Sutradhar was seen going Out of the house while the family members remained busy with their own household chores. As he did not return to

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<sup>110</sup>. Suicide stirs fresh debate on NRC update, The Assam Tribune, 3 July 2015 <http://www.assamtribune.com/scripts/detailsnew.asp?id=jul0315/state053>

his house till around 10-30 pm the family members went looking for him to call him for the dinner. He was found hanging on a tree in the premises of their house.<sup>111</sup>

The report of the DC stated, "*On enquiry, it is learnt from the family members and neighbours that Lt Angad Sutradhar was a very sentimental, emotional and introvert sort of person. However it cannot be ascertained that he has committed suicide owing to pressure/ tension evolved due to the NRC matters*".<sup>112</sup>

After his death, the family member of late Angad Sutradhar submitted NRC forms in the NRC Seva Kendra at Ananda Bazar along with the legacy data of the family i.e. Kalamoni (great grand-father of Jyotish) whose son Bhuita Ram Sutradhar's name is in the legacy data code 110-4029-9255 (E/Roll 1955). Bhuita Ram Sutradhar is paternal uncle of late Angad Sutradhar.<sup>113</sup>

### **Case 3: Suicide of Aklima Bewa**

On 8 September 2016, Aklima Bewa, aged 62 years, committed suicide near her house in Dankinamari village under Bongaigaon police station in Bongaigaon district allegedly due to depression after her youngest daughter was declared a D-Voter. Aklima had lost her husband Sattar Sekh, a daily wage earner, when all her three children - Akram, Saleha and Moriam - were very young.<sup>114</sup> She was very poor and worked as a daily wage labourer.<sup>115</sup>

In 2015, the deceased's youngest daughter Moriam Begum (33 years), who was married, had received a notice from the Assam Border Police Organisation asking her to prove her citizenship at the Foreigner's Tribunal in Bongaigaon. This is despite the fact that the name of her grandfather was included in the 1966 electoral rolls<sup>116</sup> and all her family members were included in the electoral rolls except her.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>. Report of Deputy Commissioner, Baska District to the Commissioner and Secretary, Home and Political Department, Govt of Assam and State Coordinator, NRC, Assam dated 13th July 2015 available at <http://www.nrcassam.nic.in/pdf/ANGAD%20SUTRADHAR.pdf>

<sup>112</sup>. Ibid

<sup>113</sup>. Report of Deputy Commissioner, Baska District to the Commissioner and Secretary, Home and Political Department, Govt of Assam and State Coordinator, NRC, Assam dated 13th July 2015 available at <http://www.nrcassam.nic.in/pdf/ANGAD%20SUTRADHAR.pdf>

<sup>114</sup>. D-voter hint in woman death, The Telegraph, 9 September 2016, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/d-voter-hint-in-woman-death/cid/1418986>

<sup>115</sup>. Fear Of Losing Citizenship Is Driving People To Suicide In Assam, IndiaSpend, 2 November 2018, <https://www.indiaspend.com/fear-of-losing-citizenship-is-driving-people-to-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>116</sup>. Ibid

<sup>117</sup>. D-voter hint in woman death, The Telegraph, 9 September 2016, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/d-voter-hint-in-woman-death/cid/1418986>

The family hired a lawyer in Bongaigaon and was asked to show up at the foreigners' tribunal once or twice every month. Moriam had appeared before the FT at least 25 times with valid documents and on average the family spent around Rs 1,000 a day on these trips, including the lawyer's fees. Aklima accompanied her daughter Moriam on these trips and seemed to grow increasingly anxious.<sup>118</sup> Seeing her daughter's suffering, Aklima slipped into depression and this could be the reason for her suicide.<sup>119</sup>

#### **Case 4: Suicide of Anwar Hussain**

On 3 December 2017, Anwar Hussain, a 37-year-old daily wage labourer, resident of Bahmura village in Goalpara district committed suicide by consuming poison allegedly due to mental trauma after his daughter received notice to prove her Indian citizenship.<sup>120</sup>

The deceased received a notice on 1 December 2017 from NRC Sewa Kendra, asking him to furnish a proper birth certificate for his 9-year-old daughter, Jahanara Khatun. He felt helpless, as he had no idea how to get a birth certificate. He went to the primary school where her daughter had attended classes four years back. But the school too asked him to furnish other details so that it could issue a certificate. He had documents showing his father's as well as his father-in-law's name in the 1966 electoral rolls. But he thought his daughter would be deported to Bangladesh.<sup>121</sup>

#### **Case 5: Suicide of Hanif Khan**

On 1 January 2018, Hanif Khan, aged 40 years, was found hanging from a tree near his residence at Kashipur (Part-II), in Cachar district. Hanif was a driver by profession and stayed at a rented house with his wife and three children. He originally hailed from Pailapool, around 30km from Silchar.<sup>122</sup>

According to local residents, Hanif committed suicide after not finding his name in the first draft of the NRC published on 31 December 2017. Hanif's wife Raksa Khan told the media that her husband had been worried over the NRC issue and always wondered what would happen if their names were not included in the NRC. Raksa

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<sup>118</sup>. D-voter hint in woman death, The Telegraph, 9 September 2016, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/d-voter-hint-in-woman-death/cid/1418986>

<sup>119</sup>. Ibid

<sup>120</sup>. Goalpara man commits suicide after receiving NRC notice, Time8, 4 December 2017, <https://www.time8.in/goalpara-man-commits-suicide-after-receiving-nrc-notice/>

<sup>121</sup>. With Final NRC Draft to be Released in 20 Days, Assam Witnessing Rise in Suicides, NewsClick, 12 July 2018, <https://www.newsclick.in/final-nrc-draft-be-released-20-days-assam-witnessing-rise-suicides>

<sup>122</sup>. NRC cloud over Cachar suicide, The Telegraph, 2 January 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-cloud-over-cachar-suicide/cid/1438408>

said her husband feared going outside and immediately returned home if he saw any police vehicle in the vicinity.<sup>123</sup>

### **Case 6: Suicide of Lalson Ali**

On 23 March 2018, Lalson Ali, aged 60 years, a resident of Shatagon Village in Barpeta, committed suicide after he was classified as a D-voter.<sup>124</sup> According to his son Mukkedesh Ali, his father was extremely scared of being declared a foreigner despite having Legacy Data.<sup>125</sup> The deceased reportedly had Voter ID Card and a Permanent Account Number (PAN).<sup>126</sup>

### **Case 7: Suicide of Ratan Rai**

On 9 April 2018, Ratan Rai, aged 40 years, committed suicide fearing non-inclusion in the NRC in Pandu colony no 4 of Guwahati. He was a grade IV employee of Inland Water Transport Authority. The police stated that he hanged himself with a rope when he was alone at his home.<sup>127</sup> His family members claimed that he was worried as his name was not in the first draft of the NRC published on 31 December 2017.<sup>128</sup>

### **Case 8: Suicide of Sahimoon Bibi**

On 11 April 2018, Sahimoon Bibi, aged 45 years, committed suicide by hanging herself at her house at Ward No. 10 of Dhubri town, allegedly due to fear of NRC verification process. Her father originally migrated from Bihar's Muzaffarpur district to Assam to earn a living. The deceased used to work in the nearby households for a livelihood. She used to live with her husband, Khairul Islam, a street vendor, in a

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<sup>123</sup>. NRC cloud over Cachar suicide, The Telegraph, 2 January 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-cloud-over-cachar-suicide/cid/1438408>

<sup>124</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>125</sup>. With Final NRC Draft to be Released in 20 Days, Assam Witnessing Rise in Suicides, NewsClick, 12 July 2018, <https://www.newsclick.in/final-nrc-draft-be-released-20-days-assam-witnessing-rise-suicides>

<sup>126</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>127</sup>. Man commits Suicide in Guwahati fearing non-inclusion in NRC, Gauhati Plus, 9 April 2018, <https://www.guwahatipius.com/daily-news/man-commits-suicide-in-guwahati-fearing-non-inclusion-in-nrc>

<sup>128</sup>. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

shack along a non-functional railway line.<sup>129</sup> She and her six siblings were not included in the first draft of the NRC published on 31 December 2017. That made her extremely worried about possible exclusion from the draft NRC.<sup>130</sup>

Sahimoon Bibi had reportedly received a notice from Foreigners' Tribunal, Dhubri, two months prior to her suicide and she was running from pillar to post to procure documents that would prove her citizenship. Her husband, Khairul Islam stated that she had visited her parents' place in Muzaffarpur in Bihar to procure legacy documents but failed to get any. Since Sahimoon Bibi was a daily wage earner, she was also finding it difficult to pay lawyer's fees. As per reports, unable to take the pressure any more, she hanged herself from a bamboo on the ceiling of her house with the help of a sari.<sup>131</sup>

### **Case 9: Suicide of Gopal Das**

On 11 June 2018, Gopal Das, aged 65 years, a daily wage labourer, committed suicide at Nislamari village under Tangla Police Station in Udalguri district. He was reportedly under mental distress whether his name would be included in the final draft NRC to be published on 30 July 2018. Although his name is included in the voters' list of 1966, he had received a notice from the Foreigners' Tribunal (FT), Udalguri and was struggling to pay lawyer's fees and he had already spent an amount of Rs.15,000.<sup>132</sup>

According to Superintendent of Police, Udalguri, Longnit Terang, the victim's death did not seem to be related to the NRC as he had sufficient documents to prove his citizenship. But local community leaders stated that the deceased was being repeatedly served notices by NRC authorities despite having sufficient documents.<sup>133</sup>

On 9 July 2018, media quoted Gopal Das' eldest son Ganesh Das as saying, "*Father had visited the FT at least three times in the last one and half months. June 6 was*

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<sup>129</sup>. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

<sup>130</sup>. NRC cloud over woman's suicide in Dhubri, Northeast Now, 11 April 2018, <https://nenow.in/north-east-news/womans-suicide-in-dhubri.html>

<sup>131</sup>. NRC worry leads to suicide, The Telegraph, 12 April 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/nrc-worry-leads-to-suicide/cid/1446472>

<sup>132</sup>. Worried about inclusion of name in NRC, man allegedly commits suicide, The Sentinel, 15 June 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/worried-about-inclusion-of-name-in-nrc-man-allegedly-commits-suicide/>

<sup>133</sup>. Fear of NRC exclusion continues to push Assam's poor over the edge, 20 suicides reported in past 6 months, FirstPost, 13 March 2018, <https://www.firstpost.com/india/fear-of-nrc-exclusion-continues-to-push-assams-poor-over-the-edge-20-suicides-reported-in-past-6-months-6252811.html>



*the last time he visited the tribunal and the next hearing was on June 26. He also gave around Rs 15,000 to the advocate. For us, Rs 15,000 means a lot".*<sup>134</sup>

### **Case 10: Suicide of Balijan Bibi**

In July 2018, Balijan Bibi, aged 45 years, w/o Azbahar Ali committed suicide failing to bear the expenses of her family to fight legal cases to prove Indian citizenship in Jogighopa in Bongaigaon district. She was lodged in Goalpara detention center prior to her death. Her husband, despite submitting all his documents like voters list since 1985, was also declared as "D-voter" allegedly due to a clerical error in his name (Azhar instead of Azbahar) and was given a Foreigners' Tribunal notice in 2012. Azbahar had legacy document of NRC of 1951, where his grandparents' names are mentioned. Yet, he was declared a foreigner and put behind the bars on 16 June 2016.<sup>135</sup>

### **Case 11: Suicide of Abola Roy**<sup>136</sup>

On 8 July 2018, Abola Roy, aged 40 years, a resident of Halakura in Dhubri district committed suicide allegedly after a quarrel with his wife over the family's inability to incur the cost for legal battle to get rid of the D-voter tag of his wife.

Abola Roy and his wife belonged to Koch Rajbongshi ethnic group. The deceased worked as a daily wage labourer and the family was extremely poor. His wife Saharibala, aged 35 years, was declared as a D-voter and served a notice. The family because of their acute poverty was finding it tough to meet the legal expenses to fight the case before the Foreigners' Tribunal. According to the locals, on the night of 7 July 2018, Abola Roy and his wife quarreled all the night over the inability to spend money needed for the legal battle. It is reported that they had talked to some lawyer and were told that they may have to spend about Rs 5000 to bear the cost of legal battle. They did not have the money.

*The Times of India* quoted one of the neighbours as saying, "They shouted and quarreled all night. The husband is financially weak and went into depression after his wife got the D voter notice. The husband in his feat of anger tried to kill his wife

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<sup>134</sup>. Assam FT Notices Generate Tensions on Eve of Final Citizens List: Ailing Gopal Das Commits Suicide, The Citizens, 9 July 2018, <https://www.thecitizen.in/index.php/en/NewsDetail/index/3/14333/Assam-FT-Notices-Generate-Tensions-on-Eve-of-Final-Citizens-List-Ailing-Gopal-Das-Commits-Suicide->

<sup>135</sup>. Final NRC Draft to be released on July 30, Assam witnesses rise in suicides, The Sentinel, 13 July 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/final-nrc-draft-to-be-released-on-july-30-assam-witnesses-rise-in-suicides/>

<sup>136</sup>. Assam: Wife served 'doubtful voter' notice, man, The Times of India, 9 July 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/wife-served-doubtful-voter-notice-in-assam-man-commits-suicide/articleshow/64920874.cms>

*with sharp weapon. Alerted by the wife's cry, we rushed to their house and saw she was in a pool of blood. She was injured on her neck, and we rushed her to hospital."*

The next day Abola Roy hanged himself at his house.

### **Case 12: Suicide of Deben Barman**

On 7 August 2018, a 70-year-old man Deben Barman committed suicide by hanging himself from a tree at Bishkhowa in Golakganj under Dhubri district allegedly due to mental trauma as the names of his son and two grandchildren did not figure in the draft NRC.<sup>137</sup> He was a marginal farmer<sup>138</sup> and belonged to Koch Rajbongshi ethnic community.<sup>139</sup>

The names of Deben Barman, his wife Shome Barman and daughter-in-law Konika Barman appeared in the draft NRC published on 30 July 2018.<sup>140</sup> But the deceased was extremely shocked and depressed after the names of his son, Mahendra Barma, grandson Kishan and granddaughter Mousumi were excluded from the complete draft of the NRC published on 30 July 2018.<sup>141</sup>

### **Case 13: Suicide of Rajesh Singh**

On 8 August 2018, Rajesh Singh, aged 44 years, who worked as a labourer, hanged himself at Nakhuti Village under Majbat Police Station in Udalguri district. He is survived by his mother, wife and four children. His father Ambeswar Singh, who was a fourth grade employee at the Dashiri Tea Estate, had passed away a few years ago.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup>. Kin left out of NRC, Assam man commits suicide, The Hindu, 8 August 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kin-left-out-of-nrc-assam-man-commits-suicide/article24627220.ece>

<sup>138</sup>. 70-yr-old man commits suicide in Assam over his son not making it to NRC draft, The Hindustan Times, 7 August 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/70-yr-old-man-commits-suicide-in-assam-over-his-son-not-making-it-to-nrc-draft/story-PAFLXcQt5FO9skcLDAmxmM.html>

<sup>139</sup>. 70-yr-old man commits suicide in Assam over his son not making it to NRC draft, The Hindustan Times, 7 August 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/70-yr-old-man-commits-suicide-in-assam-over-his-son-not-making-it-to-nrc-draft/story-PAFLXcQt5FO9skcLDAmxmM.html>

<sup>140</sup>. Man commits suicide in Assam, NRC blamed, Business Standard, 7 August 2018, [https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/man-commits-suicide-in-assam-nrc-blamed-118080701110\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/man-commits-suicide-in-assam-nrc-blamed-118080701110_1.html)

<sup>141</sup>. Kin left out of NRC, Assam man commits suicide, The Hindu, 8 August 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kin-left-out-of-nrc-assam-man-commits-suicide/article24627220.ece>

<sup>142</sup>. Exclusion from NRC allegedly leads to two suicides in Assam, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 11 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/exclusion-from-nrc-allegedly-leads-to-two-suicides-in-assam/>

Rajesh Singh's mother Nikhilesh Singh was served a D-Voter notice and directed to appear before a Foreigners' Tribunal twice, but she could not attend. She was therefore declared a foreigner ex parte and remanded to a detention camp one and a half years ago. Due to acute poverty, Rajesh Singh could not do anything regarding legal course to get his mother out of detention camp, adding to his feelings of helplessness and frustration. Then when the NRC final draft was released on 30 July 2018, he was shocked to discover that names of all members of his family have been excluded. His neighbours claimed that Rajesh Singh had committed suicide fearing the uncertain future because of exclusion from the draft NRC.<sup>143</sup>

### **Case 14: Suicide of Binay Chand**

Binay Chand, aged 32 years, a daily wage labourer, was found hanging from a tree near his home in Dimlarpar village in Baksa district on 9 September 2018. He was reported to be deeply worried about the citizenship status of his mother who was fighting a legal battle to prove her Indian citizenship. According to relatives, Binay was facing financial problems and did not have money to meet the legal expenses for his mother Shanti Chand's case at the Foreigners' Tribunal. Baksa's Superintendent of Police Binoy Kalita stated that extreme financial constraints could have led Binay to commit suicide.<sup>144</sup>

Shanti Chand has a Refugee Registration Certificate issued in 1964 by the government of India which states that she was 18 and her husband 25 when they fled Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) and entered Assam to escape communal violence.<sup>145</sup> Refugee Registration Certificate is one of the admission documents for NRC.<sup>146</sup> But the Foreigners' Tribunal in Baksa issued her a notice for appearance before it in March 2018.<sup>147</sup> Of the four brothers, Binay was the youngest and all of them were daily-wage labourers. Meanwhile the entire family of Binay was excluded from the NRC. Binay would often talk about going to a lawyer in Guwahati but he did not have money to pay for the trip or the lawyer.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>. Exclusion from NRC allegedly leads to two suicides in Assam, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 11 August 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/exclusion-from-nrc-allegedly-leads-to-two-suicides-in-assam/>

<sup>144</sup>. Mother fighting case to prove citizenship in Assam, man hangs self, The Indian Express, 11 September 2018, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/mother-fighting-case-to-prove-citizenship-under-nrc-in-assam-man-hangs-self-5349634/>

<sup>145</sup>. Fear Of Losing Citizenship Is Driving People To Suicide In Assam, IndiaSpend, 2 November 2018, <https://www.indiaspend.com/fear-of-losing-citizenship-is-driving-people-to-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>146</sup>. <http://www.nrcassam.nic.in/admin-documents.html>

<sup>147</sup>. Mother fighting case to prove citizenship in Assam, man hangs self, The Indian Express, 11 September 2018, <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/mother-fighting-case-to-prove-citizenship-under-nrc-in-assam-man-hangs-self-5349634/>

<sup>148</sup>. Fear Of Losing Citizenship Is Driving People To Suicide In Assam, IndiaSpend, 2 November 2018, <https://www.indiaspend.com/fear-of-losing-citizenship-is-driving-people-to-suicide-in-assam/>

### **Case 15: Suicide of Bimal Chandra Ghosh**

On 14 October 2018, Bimal Chandra Ghosh, aged 59 years, a resident of Karimchowk area of Mangaldai in Darrang district, committed suicide allegedly due to exclusion from the draft NRC. He was working as an assistant teacher at Tangla Model High School and was due to retire in March 2019. He was also working as liaison officer of one NRC Seva Kendra and lived at a rented railway quarter in the Jalukbari locality of Tangla where he committed suicide.<sup>149</sup>

The deceased was reportedly under acute mental trauma due to NRC as his name did not figure in the final draft list.<sup>150</sup>

### **Case 16: Suicide of Nirod Baran Das**

On 21 October 2018, Nirod Baran Das, a retired school teacher and lawyer, committed suicide by hanging himself at his home in Mangaldoi after he was excluded from the final draft NRC published on 30 June 2018. Despite serving as a teacher at a government school in Assam for 34 years, he was excluded from the NRC.<sup>151</sup>

Das practiced in Mangaldoi court in Darrang district and he used to provide legal aid to citizens left out of the first draft of NRC and did not even take fees from poor clients. But he received the shock of his life when he himself was left out of final draft NRC published on 30 June 2018. Thereafter, his lawyer friends taunted him as a "Bangladeshi lawyer" and he felt deeply humiliated.<sup>152</sup> Except Das, all other members in his family - his wife, three daughters, their husbands and their children - were included in the NRC. Das was also served a notice from the Foreigners' Tribunal.<sup>153</sup>

In his suicide note, Das claimed that he decided to take the drastic step to "*escape the humiliation of being marked as a foreigner after the NRC process*". He blamed

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<sup>149</sup>. Teacher Commits Suicide for Non-Inclusion of Name in Draft NRC!, The Sentinel, 15 October 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/teacher-commits-suicide-for-non-inclusion-of-name-in-draft-nrc/>

<sup>150</sup>. Teacher Commits Suicide for Non-Inclusion of Name in Draft NRC!, The Sentinel, 15 October 2018, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/teacher-commits-suicide-for-non-inclusion-of-name-in-draft-nrc/>

<sup>151</sup>. Humiliated Over 'Foreigner' Tag, Retired Assam Teacher Kills Himself, NDTV, 22 October 2018, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/assam-nrc-humiliated-over-foreigner-tag-retired-assam-teacher-nirod-kumar-das-kills-himself-1935624>

<sup>152</sup>. NRC exclusion causes distress deaths in Assam, Deccan Herald, 23 December 2018, <https://www.deccanherald.com/nrc-exclusion-causes-distress-709480.html>

<sup>153</sup>. Humiliated Over 'Foreigner' Tag, Retired Assam Teacher Kills Himself, NDTV, 22 October 2018, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/assam-nrc-humiliated-over-foreigner-tag-retired-assam-teacher-nirod-kumar-das-kills-himself-1935624>

no one and asked his family to return money to five people whom he owed Rs. 1,200 each.<sup>154</sup>

### **Case 17: Suicide of Deepak Debnath**

On 28 October 2018, Deepak Debnath, aged 49 years, committed suicide allegedly due to depression over a notice from a Foreigner's Tribunal to prove his citizenship at his residence in Ghagra village of Udalguri district. He was a bicycle mechanic.<sup>155</sup>

The family members alleged that he was upset after he received a notice from the Foreigners' Tribunal in Udalguri that he was a suspected foreigner and will have to prove his citizenship. Rajveer, superintendent of police, Udalguri, stated that the family of the deceased alleged that the officials of the Udalguri Foreigners' Tribunal demanded a bribe to settle the case.<sup>156</sup>

Mr Debnath's name had appeared in the first draft of the NRC, published on 31 December 2017 but had been struck off the NRC final draft released on 30 July 2018. The reason listed for rejection was a 'Pending case in Foreigners' Tribunal' that the Border Police had mysteriously foisted in him in the intervening months. Mr Debnath had the 'legacy' data to prove his citizenship as his name had been included in the 1971 voter list.<sup>157</sup>

### **Case 18: Suicide of Abdul Jalil**

On 12 November 2018, Abdul Jalil, aged 35 years committed suicide allegedly due to depression after his wife and son's names were found missing from the draft NRC in Balargudam under Abhyapuri police station of Bongaigaon district. The names of Abdul Jalil's wife Halima Khatoon (25 years) and son Hamidul (10 years) did not figure in the final draft NRC published on 31 July 2018.<sup>158</sup> Abdul Jalil was depressed after knowing that names of Halima and Hamidul were not enlisted in the draft NRC. He hit himself with a machete and died.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>154</sup>. Ibid

<sup>155</sup>. Allegedly worried over his citizenship status, man commits suicide in Assam, The Hindustan Times, 28 October 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/allegedly-worried-over-his-citizenship-status-man-commits-suicide-in-assam/story-XMdoVNvh47L34zpfGtGeOK.html>

<sup>156</sup>. Ibid

<sup>157</sup>. EXCLUSIVE: Despairing of Justice, the 30th Citizen commits Suicide in Assam: NRC, Sabrang, 29 October 2018, <https://sabrangindia.in/article/exclusive-despairing-justice-30th-citizen-commits-suicide-assam-nrc>

<sup>158</sup>. EXCLUSIVE: 33rd Suicide Victim of D Voter in Assam: NRC, Sabrang, 16 November 2018, <https://sabrangindia.in/article/exclusive-33rd-suicide-victim-d-voter-assam-nrc>

<sup>159</sup>. EXCLUSIVE: 33rd Suicide Victim of D Voter in Assam: NRC, Sabrang, 16 November 2018, <https://sabrangindia.in/article/exclusive-33rd-suicide-victim-d-voter-assam-nrc>

### **Case 19: Suicide of Samsul Haque**

On 14 November 2018, Samsul Haque, a 46-year-old daily wage labourer, resident of Baguriguri village in Barpeta district, committed suicide allegedly because of exclusion of his wife's name from the NRC. In the final draft of NRC released on 30 July 2018, the name of the deceased was included but that of his wife Maleka Khatun was excluded.<sup>160</sup>

Maleka, who was declared a D-Voter in 2005, had won her case at the Foreigners' Tribunal in Barpeta based on her legacy documents. Maleka's father's name was in the voter list of 1965 and her mother's in the voters list of 1970. Armed with the judgment of the FT, the couple went to the local election commissioner's office but still Maleka's name was not included in the voter list. Thereafter, she was also excluded from the NRC.<sup>161</sup>

### **Case 20: Suicide of Surendra Barman<sup>162</sup>**

On 19 November 2018, Surendra Barman, aged 27 years, a Hindu, committed suicide at Srirampur Colony under Simultapu police outpost of Kokrajhar district allegedly due to mental trauma after he was declared as a D-voter and excluded from the NRC published on 30 July 2018. He was a daily wage labourer.

A few years ago, Surendra Barman came to Guwahati in search of work where he was detained by the Assam Police and a 'Foreigner' case was lodged against him. During the last two years, this young man, the sole breadwinner of his family was also burdened with having to run from pillar to post to prove his citizenship.

According to reports, Tufanu Barman, who is the grand-father of Surendra Barman has all valid documents as far as 1964 proving himself to be an Indian. Tufanu Barman was allotted a small plot of land in 1966 in which the family is residing to date. Mahendra Barman, father of Surendra Barman is also enlisted in the voters list.

Unable to bear the financial burden and social disgrace of being a foreigner, Surendra Barman allegedly hanged himself in the forest.

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<sup>160</sup>. Suicides over NRC raise concern in Assam, The Telegraph, 17 November 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/suicides-over-nrc-raise-concern-in-assam/cid/1675476>

<sup>161</sup>. Suicides over NRC raise concern in Assam, The Telegraph, 17 November 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/suicides-over-nrc-raise-concern-in-assam/cid/1675476>

<sup>162</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>



### **Case 21: Suicide of Monnas Ali**

On 20 November 2018, Monnas Ali, aged 65 years, committed suicide at Kamarchuburi village under the Thelamara police station in Sonitpur District allegedly because exclusion of his name from the NRC. Ali, who was the sole breadwinner for the family of 10 persons, was quite depressed since the publication of the final draft NRC on 30 July 2018. His name was excluded in the NRC although his father Sukur Ali is present in the NRC of 1951 and also in the Voters list of 1966 and 1971. Except Monnas Ali, all other family members were included in the final draft NRC.<sup>163</sup>

### **Case 22: Suicide of Sandhya Chakraborty**

On 8 February 2019, a married woman identified as Sandhya Chakraborty reportedly committed suicide at her house at ward No 5 in Mangaldoi town due to exclusion from the draft NRC. According to the locals, the woman locked herself in the bathroom, poured kerosene oil and set herself on fire. The son of the deceased alleged that she was under tremendous mental pressure ever since her name did not figure in the final draft of NRC published on 30 July 2018 despite submitting all the requisite documents.<sup>164</sup>

### **Case 23: Suicide of Bhaben Das**

On 3 March 2019, Bhaben Das, a 45-year-old daily wage labourer, committed suicide near a tea garden at Bholabari under Kalaigaon Police Station in Udalguri district allegedly due to fear of being declared a 'foreigner' and repeated serving of National Register of Citizens (NRC) notices. Das was the sole breadwinner for the family consisting of his mother, wife and a child. Das' mother alleged that his son had been running from pillar-to-post to prove his citizenship and was under acute mental trauma after being served with repeated notices from the NRC authorities.<sup>165</sup>

### **Case 24: Suicide of Ashraf Ali<sup>166</sup>**

On 26 May 2019, Ashraf Ali, aged 84 years, was found dead near his residence in Sontoli village in Kamrup district. Ali reportedly had a voter ID card and his name was in the 1971 voters' list. His name was included in the final draft of NRC

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<sup>163</sup>. 35th Citizenship related Suicide in Assam!, Citizens for Justice and Peace, 26 November 2018, <https://cjp.org.in/35th-citizenship-related-suicide-in-assam/>

<sup>164</sup>. Name Missing From Assam NRC Draft, Woman Sets Herself On Fire In Mangaldoi, Time8, 8 February 2019, <https://www.time8.in/name-missing-from-assam-nrc-draft-woman-sets-herself-on-fire-in-mangaldoi/>

<sup>165</sup>. 45-year-old Man's suicide sparks NRC debate, The Sentinel, 5 March 2019, <https://www.sentinelassam.com/news/45-year-old-mans-suicide-sparks-nrc-debate/>

<sup>166</sup>. Assam: Man Found Dead After NRC Objection Hearing, Relatives Allege Suicide, Newsclick, 27 May 2019, <https://www.newsclick.in/Assam-NRC-Ashraf-Ali-Suicide>

published on 30 July 2018 but his inclusion was challenged and he had to attend hearings. According to his family members, Ali was called for NRC hearing on 23 May 2019 in Nalbari district, ahead of the publication of the NRC on 31 July 2019. After he returned home, he was depressed and even stopped eating his meals.

According to reports, Ali was "terribly frightened" that he might be transferred to the detention camp after the exclusion of his name from the NRC due to be published on 31 July 2019.

### **Case 25: Suicide of 17-year-old Noor Nehar Begum<sup>167</sup>**

On 26 June 2019, 17-year-old Noor Nehar Begum, D/o Abdul Kalam, committed suicide by hanging herself allegedly due to fear of being left out of the NRC at Rowmari Chapori village in Darrang district. Noor's name along with her mother did not figure in the NRC lists published so far despite submitting the family's ration card. Her father and her seven siblings were included in the NRC. According to the authorities, she had not been included as she could not adequately prove that she was the daughter of Abdul Kalam.

The deceased's father Abdul Kalam was a daily-wage labourer with stones in his kidney and an enlarged liver. He could hardly go to find work and had no money to treat his illness. Due to financial crisis, Noor had to drop out of school after passing Class VIII.

The fears of the NRC grew intensely after two men from Kheroni, a neighboring village, had been arrested by the police on 25 June 2019 after they were declared foreigners by a Foreigners' Tribunal. As this news spread, Noor reportedly asked her father: "*Abba, is it true that the police arrested two people because their names are not in the NRC? My name is also not there. Will they pick me up too?*" Kalam claimed that it was the fear of being sent to a detention centre that led his daughter to commit suicide when his wife and he had gone to the local NRC office to submit the latter's biometrics.

### **Case 26: Suicide of Rahim Uddin, 47 years<sup>168</sup>**

On 22 July 2019, Rahim Uddin (47), a marginal farmer, died after he consumed poison, fearing detention after being excluded from the draft NRC in Udali Kachari Gaon in Hojai district. The deceased made it to the draft list of NRC published on 30 July 2018 but was shocked to see his name in the latest list of exclusions published

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<sup>167</sup>. The story of a suicide: Did fear of losing citizenship drive a teenager in Assam to end her life?, Scroll.in, 29 June 2019, <https://scroll.in/article/928732/the-story-of-a-suicide-did-fear-of-losing-citizenship-drive-a-teenager-in-assam-to-end-her-life>

<sup>168</sup>. Man commits suicide after exclusion from Assam's NRC draft, says family, msn.com, 23 July 2019, <https://www.msn.com/en-in/news/newsindia/man-commits-suicide-after-exclusion-from-assams-nrc-draft-says-family/ar-AAEKFM?ocid=mailsignout>

on 26 June 2019. The reason given by the NRC authorities was that *"legacy person is not parent/grandparent/great grandparent"*.

The deceased's son Afzal Hussain stated, *"My father was very tense since the NRC hearing where an official accused him of forging documents and said he will have to pay a hefty fine and spend time in jail"*.

Afzal Hussain and two other siblings have been excluded from the draft NRC along with their father.

The deceased's wife Minara Begum filed a complaint stating that her husband was tense about ending up in a detention centre as he believed those out of NRC would be sent to a detention centre. The complaint alleged that one NRC official told the deceased about how he could be jailed and have to pay a fine. The deceased had consumed pesticide first on 19 July 2019 but he survived after hospitalization. He was brought back home on 21 July and he again took pesticide on 22 July 2019.

## ANNEXURE 1: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES OF 91 PERSONS EXCLUDED FROM THE DRAFT NRC & INTERVIEWED BY NCAT ON 16-20 JULY 2019 ON THE STATE OF MENTAL TORTURE

RESPONSES OF PERSONS EXCLUDED FROM NATIONAL REGISTER OF CITIZENS IN ASSAM ON THE STATUS OF MENTAL TORTURE

SL.NO	NAME	FATHER'S NAME	ADDRESS	GENDER	AGE	OCCUPATION	LEGACY DOCUMENTS	STATUS OF MENTAL TORTURE					
								Anxiety level	Effects	Fear of deportation	Separation from family	Depression / trauma	Ashamed /insulted
1	Krishna Das	Madan Chandar Das	Village: Garo Ghutu, Circle/Tehsil, Tamulpur, District: Baksa, Assam	Male	40	Bike mechanic	Father's name in voter list 1966; Legacy Data Code: 120-1080-0653	Extreme	sleep disorder	No	No	Yes	Yes
2	Bimal Das	Nimai Das	Do	Male	39	Shopkeeper	Yes	Extreme	Eating habits	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
3	Astomi Das	Anil Das	Do	Female	29	Housewife	Yes	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	Utpal Das	Prantosh Das	Do	Male			Grandfather Deben Das in 1971 Voter List; Legacy Data Code: 110-2023-3808	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Naba Kumar Das		Rangapani, Circle: Tamulpur, District Baksa, Assam	Male	49	Teacher (Govt school)	Yes	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Lakhi Das	Ganesh Das	Village: Garo Ghutu, Circle/Tehsil, Tamulpur, District: Baksa, Assam	Female	60	Work in others' households	Father's name in voter list 1966; Legacy Data Code: 120-4062-4675	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Kaman Das	Lakkan Chander Das	Do	Female	48	Work in others' households	Father's name in voter list 1966; Legacy Data Code: 120-4071-3872	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	Raju Bala Das	Sudhir	Do	Female	76		Self in 1965 voter list; legacy data code: 110-5010-1255	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	Raju Das	Prafulla Das	Do	Male	17	Student	Grandfather Fatik Chander Das in 1966 Voter List; Legacy Data Code: 120-4080-0651	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	Ajay Das	Amar Das	Do	Male	18	Shopkeeper	Grandfather Nimai Chandra Das in 1965 voter list	Moderate	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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11	<b>Rakesh Dhar</b>	Amar Dhar	Do	Male	19	Student	Grandfather Dinesh Chander Dhar in 1965 voter list; Legacy data code: 110-5010-1206	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12	<b>Utpal Das</b>	Sunil Das	Rangapani, Circle: Tamulpur, District Baksa, Assam	Male	19		Grandfather Nitai Kumar Das in 1965 voter list; Legacy data code: 110-5008-4924	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
13	<b>Anil Das</b>	Adhar Chandar Das	Village: Garo Ghutu, Circle/Tehsil, Tamulpur, District: Baksa, Assam	Male	48	Tailor	Father Adhar Chandar Das in 1966 voter list; Legacy data code: 120-4071-7270	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
14	<b>Bhuli Das</b>	Fanindar Chandar Das	Do	Female	50	agriculture labourer	Father Fanindar Chandar Das is in 1970 voter list; Legacy data code: 110-3021-9752	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
15	Shyamal Das	Birendra Kr Das	Do	Male	50	agriculture labourer	Father Birendra Kr Das is in 1966 voter list; Legacy data code: 120-4062-5766	Moderate	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
16	Pinku Das	Late Ananda Ram Das	Do	Male	18	Student	Grandfather Fatik Chander Das in 1966 Voter List; Legacy Data Code: 120-4080-0651	Extreme	sleep disorder	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
17	Nareshwar Das	Fatik Chander Das	Do	Male	56		Father Fatik Chander Das in 1966 Voter List; Legacy Data Code: 120-4080-0651	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
18	Jyotsna Das	Thoka Mohan Das	Do	Female	60	Housewife	Father Thoka Mohan Das in 1966 Voter List; Legacy Data Code: 120-4071-2767	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
19	<b>Bakul Das</b>	Rabindranath	Do	Male	36	agriculture labourer	grandfather Binod Bihari Das in 1966 voter list, legacy data code: 120-4071-3637	Extreme	Sleep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
20	<b>Shanti Das</b>	Raj Kumar Das	Do	Male	52	petty business	Father Raj Kumar Das in 1966 Voter List; Legacy Data Code: 120-4080-0821	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
21	Mahendra Das		Do	Male	65	agriculture labourer	Yes	Extreme	Eating habits	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
22	Sanjit Das		Do	Male	27		Grandfather Jogesh Chandar Das in 1965 voter list; Legacy Data Code: 110-5010-1204	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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23	Badal Dhar	Anukul Dhar	Do	Male	38	cloth shop	Father Anukul Dhar is in 1970 voter list; Legacy Data Code: 110-3021-9670	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
24	Gita Das		Do	Female	29	Housewife	Yes	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
25	Chanu Dhar		Do	Female	32	Housewife	Yes	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
26	<b>Arup Sarkar</b>	Ananda Sarkar	NK Angarkata, District Baksa	Male	28	daily labourer	Grandfather Kanda Ram Karmakar in 1966 voter list; Legacy Data Code: 120-4063-0826	Extreme	sleep, eating habits and thought process	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
27	<b>Ratan Lal Ariya</b>	Rebati Ariya	Do	Male	25	daily labourer	Grandfather Madhav Chandar Ariya in 1970 voter list; Legacy Data Code: 120-3016-1378	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
28	Niranjan Das	Prafulla Chandra Das	Do	Male	41	agriculture labourer	Citizenship Certificate of 1968 of father; land records of father (1964)	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
29	Brajabasi Biswas	Kanai Lal Biswas	Do	Male	58		Father Kanai Lal Biswas in 1966 voter list; Legacy Data Code: 120-4062-4087	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
30	Ranjit Sarkar	Palan Namu Das	Do	Male	41	Carpenter	Father Palan Namu Das in 1966 voter list; Legacy Data code: 120-4055-9685	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
31	Santosh Namadas	Sri Dam	Do	Male	29	petty job	Father Sri Dam in 1971 voter list, Legacy Data Code: 120-2017-7234	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
32	Kalachan Rajbangshi	Anil Chandar Rajbangshi	Do	Male	61	daily labourer	Father is in 1966 voter list	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
33	Manowara Khatun	Kaku Sheikh	Govindapur, Goalpara district, Assam	Male			Father Kaku Sheikh in 1971 voter list; Legacy data code: 200-2013-0525	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes



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34	<b>Nur Nehar Begum</b>	Nur Islam	Do	Female	36	Housewife	Grandfather Tasharuddin Sakke in 1951 NRC, legacy data code: 200-0002-2267	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
35	Samsul Haque	Nurul Islam	Do	Male	40	Tailor	Father Nurul Islam in 1966 voter list and grandfather Ajgor Ali in 1951 NRC	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
36	Amrul Hussain		Do	Male	33	Driver	1951 legacy data of mother Alekjan's father Alek Seikh; Legacy Data Code: 200-0005-0711	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
37	<b>Dhiren Mandal</b>	Lt Roshik Mandal	Kahibari, PS Boko, District Kamrup, Assam	Male	60	daily labourer	Yes	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
38	Radha Saran Mandal	Rang Lal Mandal	Do	Male	70	daily labourer	Citizenship Certificate of father	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
39	<b>Jogen Mandal</b>	Lt Roshik Mandal	Do	Male	50	daily labourer		Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
40	Ram Mandal	Jogen Mandal	Do	Male	33	daily labourer	Father Jogen Mandal was declared as Indian Citizen by FT Boko vide order dt 19.12.2016	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
41	Ananta Mandal	Hemanta Mandal	Do	Male	60	daily labourer	Father Hemanta Mandal in 1970 voter list; Legacy Data Code: 110-3018-9553	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
42	<b>Sukumar Sardar</b>	Lt Phanindra Kumar Sarkar	Do	Male	30	agriculture labourer	Father Lt Phanindar Kumar Sarkar in 1966 voter list, Legacy Data Code: 150-4028-4697	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
43	Purnima Sardar	Lt Phanindra Kumar Sarkar	Do	Female	45	daily labourer	Father Lt Phanindar Kumar Sarkar in 1966 voter list, Legacy Data Code: 150-4028-4697	Extreme	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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44	Golak Mandal	Khuchi Mohan Mandal	Do	Male	53	daily labourer	Father Khuchi Mohan Mandal in NRC 1951, Legacy Data Code: 150-0021-2846	Extreme	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
45	RAMESH SARKAR	Khagen Sarkar	Village: Haulitari, P.S Boko, Sub-Division: Kamrup, District Kamrup, Assam	Male	53	carpenter	1966 E/Roll of father, linkage document - EPIC Card	Extreme	sleep, thought process and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
46	GOBINDA SARKAR	Surabala Sarkar	Village: Kahibari, Chamaria, P.S Boko, District Kamrup, Assam	Male	42	Agriculture	1970 and 1971 E/Roll of mother and land documents of father, <b>linkage not provided to us</b>	Extreme	sleep, thought process and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	as, hypertension	Yes
47	BHARAT MANDAL	Chandi Mandal	Village: Haulitari, P.S Boko, Sub-Division: Kamrup, District Kamrup, Assam	Male	38	carpenter	1966 E/Roll of grandfather and 1971 E/Roll of father	Extreme	sleep, thought process and work	Yes	Yes	Fever	Yes
48	SAGAR RAI	Shanta Kumar Rai	Village: Kahibari, Chamaria, P.S Boko, District Kamrup, Assam	Male		Daily wager	1966 E/Roll of father	Extreme	sleep and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
49	DIPALI SUTRADHAR	Fatik Sutradhar	Village: Domoni, Khairabari Gram Panchayat, Barpeta Circle, Distt Barpeta	Female	49	Domestic maid	1966 E/Roll and land documents of father; linkage certificate etc	Extreme	sleep, thought process & work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
50	NURUL ALAM SIDDIQUE	Ramjan Ali Miah	Village: Kharmuza, P.O. Kharmuza, P.S. Goalpara, District Goalpara	Male	50	Teacher	1966 E/Roll and 1966 Employment Certificate of father & other documents	Extreme	on sleep, eating disorder, work and social relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
51	LAL CHAN ALI	Lt. Montaz Ali	Village: Gobindapur, P.O. Goalpara, Distt Goalpara	Male	34	Bicycle Mechanic	1966 E/Roll & 1970 E/Roll of father & other documents	Extreme	sleep, eating disorder, work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

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52	NARAYAN DAS	Jogendra kumar Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	62	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of father	Severe	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
53	DIPAK DAS	Narayan Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	33	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card of father & self	Moderate	sleep and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
54	RIPUN DAS	Narayan Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	28	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card of father & self	Mild	work and thought process	No	Yes	No	Yes
55	JAYDEV DAS	Jogendra kumar Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	50	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of father, EPIC Card & S/C certificate of & self	Severe	sleep and eating disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
56	SAMAR DAS	JAYDEV DAS	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	24	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card & S/C certificate of father & EPIC card of self	Moderate	sleep and work	No	Yes	No	Yes
57	SANDHYA DAS	Upendra Chandra Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	47	Agriculture	Legacy data of father	Severe	sleep, eating disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
58	KARUNA DAS	Lt. Kalachan Nama Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	55	Shopkeeper	1966 E/Roll of father and 1977 E/Roll of self	Severe	sleep and work	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
59	GANESH DAS	Lt. Kalachan Nama Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	51	Shopkeeper	1966 E/Roll of father and EPIC Card of self	Severe	sleep, work and thought process	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
60	PRASHANTA DAS	Ganesh Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	28	Shopkeeper	1966 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card of father & self	Severe	sleep, work and thought process	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
61	SAGAR DAS	Ganesh Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	21	Student	1966 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card of father, EPIC card and school certificates of self	Moderate	thought process & study	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
62	SANGITA DAS	Nonigopal Das	Village: Rangapani, P. S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	29	Housewife	1970 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card and linkage documents of father, linkage documents of self	Severe	thought process & social relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

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63	ARCHANA DUTTA	Naren Das	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	30	Housewife	1971 E/Roll of grandfather, EPIC Card and linkage documents of father, linkage documents of self	Severe	thought process & social relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
64	PROMODH CHANDRA DUTTA	Harballav Dutta	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	72	Retired state govt employee	1951 E/Roll and 1946 land records of father, 1970 E/roll of self	Extreme	sleep, eating disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
65	JADU MONI DUTTA	Harballav Dutta	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	44	Shopkeeper	1951 E/Roll and 1946 land records of father, linkage documents	Severe	sleep, work and thought process	No	No	No	Yes
66	KIRAN KUMAR DUTTA	Jadumoni Dutta	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	14	Student	1951 E/Roll and 1946 land records of grandfather, linkage documents of father and self	Moderate	thought process	No	Yes	No	Yes
67	CHAMPA DUTTA	Promodh Ch. Dutta	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	46	Housewife	1951 E/Roll and 1946 land records of grandfather, linkage documents of father and self	Severe	sleep, thought process	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
68	NIRMAL DAS	Nitai Chandra Das	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	38	Agriculture	1970 E/Roll and land records of father, EPIC Card of self	Severe	sleep, work and social relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
69	SHYAMAL DAS	Nitai Chandra Das	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	35	Agriculture	1970 E/Roll and land records of father, EPIC Card of self	Severe	sleep, work and social relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
70	ANNU DAS	Nitai Chandra Das	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	29	Housewife	1970 E/Roll and land records of father, EPIC Card of self	Severe	sleep, social relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
71	JURAN DAS	Lt. Bishwanath Das	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	62	Business	1965 E/Roll, 1963 LIC Policy document of father and EPIC card and PRC of self	Extreme	sleep, eating disorder and work	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
72	GANESH DAS	Lt. Bishwanath Das	Village: Rangapani, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	45	Daily wager	1965 E/Roll, 1963 LIC Policy document of father and EPIC card of self	Extreme	sleep, eating disorder and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
73	BABUL DAS	Upendra Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	44	Private job	1951 NRC of father, School certificate and EPIC card of self	Moderate	though process and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

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74	MALOTI DAS	Mantulal Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	27	Housewife	1951 NRC of father, School certificate and EPIC card of self	Moderate	though process and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
75	SUJIT DAS	Abhiram Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	32	Shopkeeper	1951 NRC of grandfather Bhim Chandra Das, EPIC card of father, SC Caste certificate of self	Severe	sleep, thought process, work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
76	NIRANJAN DAS	Adhar Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	64	Agriculture	1966 E/Roll and 1964 Tenancy records of father, IMDT Tribunal's order dtd 24.2.89 declaring him as a genuine Indian citizen	Extreme	sleep, eating disorder, thought process	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
77	MANMOHAN DAS	Jatindra Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	50	Mason	1951 NRC, 1964 Tenancy records and EPIC card of father, EPIC Card & School Certificates of self	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
78	JYOSNA DAS	Upendra Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	47	Housewife	1965 and 1966 E/Rolls of father, linkage documents of self	Severe	sleep, eating disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
79	BANAMALI DAS	Jyotish Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	59	Shopkeeper	1960 Land records & 1966 E/Roll of father, EPIC Card and other documents of self	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
80	AJIT DAS	Jyotish Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	41	Tailor	1960 Land records & 1966 E/Roll of father, EPIC Card and other documents of self	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
81	NISHIKANTA DAS	Jyotish Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	44	Shopkeeper	1960 Land records & 1966 E/Roll of father, EPIC Card and other documents of self	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
82	SUMATI DAS	Jyotish Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	38	Housewife	1960 Land records & 1966 E/Roll of father, EPIC Card and other documents of self	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
83	RUPALI DAS	Niranjan Chandra Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	28	Housewife	1966 E/Roll of father and linkage documents of self	Moderate	thought process	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

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84	BALO RAM DAS	Madan Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	37	Shopkeeper	1966 E/Roll of grandfather and 1979 E/roll of father and EPIC card of self	Severe	thought process and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
85	SUBHADRA DAS	Lt. Khetram Das	Village: Garoghutu, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Female	60	Housewife	1965 E/Roll of father and EPIC Card and other relevant docs of self	Extreme	sleep, thought process	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
86	GOLOK ARYA	Gandharaj Arya	Village: Hatiduba, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	57	carpenter	1966 and 1970 E/Roll of father and EPIC of self	Extreme	sleep, thought process & work	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
87	MANORANJAN DAS	Ganesh Chandra Das	Natun Basti Angarkata, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	38	Tailor	1966 and 1971 E/roll of father and EPIC of self	Severe	thought process and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
88	JAGAT BISWAS	Gopinath Das	Village: Shantipur, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	53	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of father and EPIC Card of self	Severe	sleep disorder	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
89	PHUKAN BISWAS	Gopinath Das	Village: Shantipur, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	55	Agriculture	1965 E/Roll of father and EPIC Card of self	Severe	sleep disturbance	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
90	PARAN DAS	Meghalal Das	Village: N.K. Angarkata, P.S. Tamulpur, Distt Baksa	Male	32	Mason	1951 NRC of grandfather Mahendra Lal Das and EPIC card of self	Severe	sleep, thought process and work	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
91	PRAKASH BURMAN	Lt. Iswar Burman	Village: Gurihati, Circle: Khoirabari, Disst: Udalguri	Male	73	Senior citizen	1965 E/Roll of Mother, 1970 E/Roll and EPIC Card of self	Extreme	sleep, thought process and work	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes