

**A STUDY ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED
TRIBES (PLAIN) OF ASSAM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
BODOS.**

**SUBMITTED BY
RATANLAL BRAHMA**

**UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF
DR. SHARAD GHODKE**

**SYNOPSIS OF DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.PHIL.) TO
TILAK MAHARASHTRA UNIVERSITY**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
TILAK MAHARASHTRA UNIVERSITY**

PUNE-411037

MARCH-2010

DECLARATION BY GUIDE

This is to conduct that **Sri Ratanlal Brahma**, worked under my guidance while preparing his Dissertation entitled "**A Study on Political Development of Scheduled Tribes (Plains) of Assam with special reference to Bodos.**" for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.). The Dissertation is the result of his own investigation and neither the Thesis nor any part thereof was submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

Place: Pune
Date: 18/02/10

(Dr. Sharad Ghodke)
Head of Department of Political
Science & Public Administration)
MES's Abasaheb Garware College, Pune

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I hereby declare that this project report (**A STUDY ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBES (PLAIN) OF ASSAM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO**) submitted by me is based on actual work carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. Sharad Ghodke**. Any reference to work done by any other person or institution or any material obtained from other sources have been duly cited and referred here. It is further to state that this work is not submitted anywhere for any examination.

Tilak Maharashtra University
Gultekdi, Pune-411037

Signature of Researcher
(Ratanlal Brahma)

Place: Pune

Date: 18/02/10

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I feel immense pleasure in extending my deep sense of gratitude to my revered guide Dr. Sharad Ghodke, Head of Department, Political Science & Public Administration of MES's Abasaheb Garware College, Pune, for his guidance. I am no less indebted to him for rendering all sorts of help to me in this research work.

I convey my sincere thanks to Mr. Buddhadev Basumatary and Mr. Dhananjay Brahma for offering their active help in data collection and support me in writing this particular Dissertation.

I am grateful to the University Grants Commission for giving me the financial aid to conduct the research by selecting me for the **Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship for SC/ST students**.

I am thankful to the honourable members of the faculty of the Head of the Departments of Political Science, History, Economic, Sociology, Tilak Maharashtra University for their encouragement and help during the course of the research work.

I would like to thank all of my friends (Ankush Suryamsi, Santosh Bhagwan, Pritam Powar, Mervin Joseph, Datta Mane, Rakesh Wagmare, Sitaram Markard, Premising Vasape) and my family members who have always been their help hand and great support while conducting the research. I am greatly indebted to if I do not mention my friend Dibyendu Karmakar who gave me encouragement and advice throughout my M. Phil. course. I also would like to thank Aarti Kamble for her support, particularly in typing and formatting the Dissertation.

My thanks are also to the staff of Tilak Maharashtra University, Library and Official members.

March , 2010
Place:Pune

(Ratanlal Brahma)

Chapter 1	1
1:1 Assam: a brief Introduction	2
1:2 Meaning of Tribe	5
1:3 Scheduled Tribes	5
1:4 Scheduled Tribes of Assam	6
1:5 Hills Tribes	7
1:6 Plains Tribes	7
1:7 Literacy	8
1:8 Sex Ratios	8
1:9 Constitutional Guarantees	9
1:10 Statement of the Research Problem	13
1:11 Objective of the Study	13
1:12 Hypothesis	14
1:13 Significance of the study	14
1:14 Importance	15
1:15 Research Methodology	15
1:16 Literature Review	16

Chapter II

2:1 Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma and socio-political consciousness.	19
2:2 Submission of Memorandum to Simon Commission	20
2:3 Formation of Tribal League	21
2:4 Role of Tribal League in Provincial Assembly	22

Chapter III

3:1 Bordoloi Sub-Committee	26
3:2 Arrangement of Sixth Schedule	27
3:3 Tribal Sangha	29

Chapter IV

4:1 Autonomy	32
4:2 Social Movement	33
4:3 Tribal Movement in Colonial Rule	34
4:4 Modern Tribal Movement	35
4:5 Hill Tribals' Autonomous Movement	36
4: 6 Plain Tribals' Autonomous Movement	38
4:7 Udayachal Movement	39
4:8 Birth of Plains Tribals of Council of Assam	41
4:9 Split into Various Ethnic Group	47
4:9:1 All Bodo Student's Union	47
4:9:2 All Assam Deori Students' Union	49
4:9:3 Takam Parin Kcbang	50
4:9:4 All Rabha Students' Union	51
4:9:5 All Assam Thengal Kachari Students' Union	52
4:10 Bodoland Autonomous Movement	53
4:11 Second Phase of Bodoland Movement	62
4:12 Mising Autonomous Movement	66
4:13 Tiwa Autonomous Movement	71
4:14 Rabha Autonomous Movement	74
4:15 Thengal Kachari Autonomous Movement	77

Chapter V

5:1 Bodoland Autonomous Council	87
5:2 Bodoland Territorial Council	92
5:3 Mising Autonomous Council	101
5:4 Lalung (Tiwa) Autonomous Council	107
5:5 Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council	113

Chapter VI

Conclusion	115
------------	-----

Glossary	121
Bibliography	123
Appendix	I-XIV

Chapter I

1:1 Assam: a brief Introduction

1:2 Meaning of Tribe

1:3 Scheduled Tribes

1:4 Scheduled Tribes of Assam

1:5 Hills Tribes

1:6 Plains Tribes

1:7 Literacy

1:8 Sex Ratios

1:9 Constitutional Guarantees

1:10 Statement of the Research Problem

1:11 Objective of the Study

1:12 Hypothesis

1:13 Significance of the study

1:14 Importance

1:15 Research Methodology

1:16

This Chapter is about the brief introduction of Assam, meaning of tribe, scheduled tribes, hills tribes, plains tribes, statement of the research problem and objective of the study, hypothesis, significance, importance and research methodology.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1:1 Assam: a brief Introduction

Assam is one of states of India and situated in the North Eastern region. The state has 78,438 square kilometers of coverage. The state is surrounded, in East, by Arunachal Pradesh, in West, by West Bengal, in North by Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh and in South, Meghalaya, Bangladesh, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland. (See map 1)

The state of Assam has demographic, economic and strategic significance. Demographically, Assam is the herb of diverse social groups. Economically, Assam is full with natural resources including oil, mineral and water resources. Strategically, three sides of the state is surrounded by foreign countries. In North Bhutan, Tibet and China, in South Bangladesh and in East by Burma, existence of all these foreign country has made Assam as strategically important one. Apart from these, the state of Assam contains its historical monuments, different species along with world famous one horned rhino, flora and fauna, mighty Brahmaputra and its tributies and also a large area of forest.¹

1:2 **Meaning of Tribe:**

A tribe, viewed historically or developmentally, consists of a social group existing before the development of, or outside of, states.

The term does not necessarily pertain to specific group or community as such. It rather denotes a particular stage in the historical evolution of human community marking the era of food processing economy².

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, the term 'tribe' is defined as a group of the same race, and with the same custom, language, religion, etc., living in a particular area, and often led by a chief.³

The underlying factor is the 'state' to which a particular human community belongs. Ideally speaking 'tribes' is a pre-class stage consisting of few classes. The relationship within the tribe is founded on kinship ties, which though characteristic of class is nevertheless reinforced at the higher level of tribe has got more numerical strength. As tribe is a pre-class stage, the property that is held by namely hunting grounds, pastures, and above all, land is the community property⁴.

1:3 **Scheduled Tribes:-**

"...The scheduled tribes themselves tend to refer to their ethnic grouping as adivasis, which means 'original inhabitant.' Hardiman continues to argue that the term adivasi is preferable in India as it evokes a shared history of relative freedom in precolonial times ..."⁵

The Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be the scheduled Tribes (STs) for the purposes of this Constitution". In Article 342, the procedure to be followed for specification of a scheduled tribe is prescribed. However, it does not contain the criterion for the specification of any community as scheduled tribe. An often used criterion is based on attributes such as:

- Geographical isolation - they live in cloistered, exclusive, remote and inhospitable areas such as hills and forests.
- Backwardness - their livelihood is based on primitive agriculture, a low-value closed economy with a low level of technology that leads to their poverty. They have low levels of literacy and health.
- Distinctive culture, language and religion - communities have developed their own distinctive culture, language and religion.
- Shyness of contact – they have a marginal degree of contact with other cultures and people.⁶

The essential characteristic laid down by the Lokur Committee to be identified as Scheduled Tribe should have the following characteristics:

a) Primitive Traits, b) Distinctive Culture, c) Shyness of contact with the public at large, d) Geographical isolation, and e) Backwardness social and economic.⁷

1:4 **Scheduled Tribes of Assam:-**

The tribals of Assam, particularly, the tribals in plains area of Brahmaputra valley are the aboriginal community of Assam. They are living in Assam since from the prehistoric period. Colonialisation of Assam included another list of Tribals, i.e, the Hills tribes. Although, all of them are regarded as 'Tribal' yet the Hills Tribes are not homogeneous categories. There is lot of difference among the tribal themselves. However, inspite of

having all these difference, the tribals of Assam can be divided into two categories, viz, Hills Tribes and Plains Tribes.⁸

1:5 Hills Tribes:-

The Hills Tribes are those tribes who are living in the hills areas of present North East region. Prior to the advent of the British, almost all hill tribes had their own separate independent Kingdoms and were not part of Ahom Assam. But colonial ruler invaded the Kingdoms of the Hill tribes (although it took a time) and for their administration convenience, made the Hills tribes as the part of colonial Assam.⁹

But, despite such amalgamation, the Britisher did not want the assimilation of the hill tribes with the plain people. This was the product of the Britishers understanding of the tribals as a 'primitive community' and also their policy "divide and rule". As a result, the Britishers created the Excluded and Partial Excluded Areas and Inner Line Permit system to keep the hills tribes aloof from the plains. British policy had prevented the tribal to participate in the freedom struggle.¹⁰

1:6 Plains Tribes:-

The plain tribes are those who are living in the plains area of Assam. As far as the politics of the plain tribes is concerned it is somewhat peculiar and it was basically a post independent development. It is peculiar in the sense that during the per-colonial period, the plains tribes did not develop any separatist identity. Rather, there was a trend of assimilation of the tribes.

The process of Sanskritization also greatly contributed towards such assimilation.¹¹

As per 2001 Census, the Scheduled tribe population of the country is 8.43 crores, which is 8.2 per cent of the total population of the country. More than half of the Scheduled tribe population is concentrated in the state of Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Maharashtra, Orrisa, Jharkand and Gujrat. Tribal communities live in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains, hills and forests and in different isolated inaccessible areas. They are different stages of social economic and educational development. Total population of Assam as per 2001 Census is 2,66,55,528 and the total Scheduled tribe population is 33,08,570. Percentage of Scheduled tribes to total population of the state is 12.41%.¹²

1:7 Literacy:-

The literacy rate for over all population, as per 1991 census and 2001 census was 52.2 per cent and 65.38 per cent respectively. Whereas literacy rate of Scheduled tribe as per 1991 census and 2001 census was 29.62 per cent and 47.10 per cent respectively. Female literacy rate among the tribal as per 1991 census and 2001 census was 18.19 per cent and 34.70 per cent respectively. As per 2001 census, total literacy rate of Assam is 63.3 per cent and Scheduled tribes are 62.5 per cent.

1:8 Sex Ratios:-

As per 2001 census, sex ratio of over all population was 933 females per 1000 males, the sex ratio of Scheduled tribes was somewhat

more favorable i.e. 977 female per 1000 males. Sex ratio of Assam, as per 2001 census is 935 and for Scheduled tribes of Assam is 972 females per 1000 males.

1:9 Constitutional Guarantee:-

Some of the provisions of Scheduled tribes laid down in the Constitution of India are:-

i) Social:

- a) Equality before law. (Article 14)
- b) The state to make special provision for advancement of Scheduled tribes. (Article 15 (4))
- c) Equal opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment for appointment under the state. (Article 16)
- d) The state to make provision for reservation and appointment, promotion to any class or classes of post in the services in favor of Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes.
- e) National Commission for Scheduled tribe to investigate, monitor and evaluate all matters relating to the Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled tribes. (Article 338-A)
- f) Appointment of a commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled tribes of the state. (Article 339 (1)).

ii) **Economic:**

- ❖ The state can promote the educational and economic interest of the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article 46).
- ❖ Grants-in-aid from the consolidated fund of India each year for promoting welfare of Scheduled tribes and Administration of Scheduled Areas. (Article 275 (1)).

iii) Political:

- Through the Fifth Schedule the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled tribes in any state other than the state of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram by submitting annual report by the Governors to the President of India regarding administration of the Scheduled Areas. (Article 244 (1)).
- Through Sixth Schedule, special provisions have been made for administration of the tribal areas in the state of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram by creating certain tribal areas as Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions and also by constituting District Councils, Autonomous Councils. (Article 244 (2)).
- Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes in the House of People. (Article 330).
- Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the states. (Article 332).
- Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes in every Panchayat. (Article 243D).
- Extension of 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Constitution to the Scheduled area through the extension of the provisions of the Panchayat.

Tribewise Population of Assam (As per 2001 Census)

HILL TRIBES

Name of the tribes	Total Population
1) Chakma	4187
2) Dimasa	65009
3) Garo	17998
4) Hajong	1638
5) Hmar	11189
6) Khasi, Jantia, etc.	11358
7) Any Kuki	21883
8) Lakher	36
9) Man (Tai Speaking)	2582
10) Any Mizo	1031
11) Mikir (Karbi)	285811
12) Any Naga tribes	15354
13) Pawai	777
14) Synteng	368
15) Lalung (Tiwa)	Not enumerated in 2001 Census as Hill Tribe.

PLAINS TRIBES

Name of the tribes	Total Population
1) Barman in Cachar	13378
2) Boro Kachari	1267015
3) Deori	35849
4) Hojai	4582
5) Sonowal Kachari	251725

6) Tiwa (Lalung)	143746
7) Mech	6738
8) Mishing (Miri)	477790
9) Rabha	236931
10) Dimasa	Not enumerated
11) Hajong	in 2001
12) Singpho	Census as
13) Khamti	Hill Tribe.
14) Garo	

Table below shows the Total Population, Scheduled tribes Population and Percentage of the Scheduled tribes to the total Population of Assam as per Census Year 1951-2001.

Census Year	Total Population in Assam	Total S/T population	% to total population	Total ST (P) population	% to total population	Total ST (H) population	% to total population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2001	26655528	3308570	12.41	2717179	10.23	581391	2.18
1991	22414322	2874441	12.82	2433889	10.85	4440552	1.96
1971	14957542	1919947	12.84	1464590	9.97	455357	3.04
1961	11872771	2068364	17.42	1185703	15.64	211331	1.77
1951	8029505	1867113	23.25	593095	7.38	127418	15.85

*Source: Election Department, Government of Assam

*Note: Because of the disruption caused by the Assam agitation, the 1981 census could not be held in Assam.

1:10 Statement of the Research Problem:-

The problem investigation is the identity of Bodo ethnic group. Because, in the history of Political developments in Assam, the name Bodo has found much prominence. The social and political problems leading to unrest and turmoil are the products of the socio-economic conditions during the post-independent days. Chauvinistic attitude of mainstream Assamese people towards tribal people is also responsible for the emergence of different ethnic assertion among them. Another problem to be studied is that the main reason for the demands of different separate autonomy among tribal people is the Government negligence towards them in the post-independent period.

1:11. Objective of the Study:-

1:11:1 the first objective is to analysis the feeling exploitation and injustice meted out to the tribal people by the non-tribal people.

1:11:2 to study the political assertion of different ethnic groups of Assam

1:11:3 to analyse 'Udayachal' Movement launched by Plain Tribals Councils of Assam (PTCA).

1:11:4 to discuss the Bodoland Movement of ABSU and how it inspired the other plain tribes of Assam demanding autonomous councils.

1:11:5 to study the status of various autonomous councils of tribal people existing in Assam.

1:11:6 to study the role of state Government in the formation of Autonomous Councils in Assam.

1:11:7 to observe the political awareness among different ethnic groups of Assam.

1:11:8 to study the role of State Government in creation of Autonomous Councils.

1:12. Hypothesis:

1:12:1 Tribal-educated elites play a significant role in interest articulation.

1:12:2 Ethnic assertions of Bodos and of other plain tribes of Assam correlates with their demand for autonomy.

1:12:3 The feeling of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among the tribal people is responsible for the emergence of different autonomy movement.

1:13. Significance of the Study:-

Independence and adoption of the Constitution in 1950 did not improve matter for the Bodos and other "plain tribes" of Assam. The feeling of exploitation and injustice meted out to the tribal people by the non-tribal people, who gave rise to the demand of separate state, autonomous status etc. The emerging assertions of different tribes in Assam are an important and sensitive dimension of the politics of Assam. Such ethnic assertions sometimes demands greater autonomy with the prescribed Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, sometimes demands for the creation of separate independent state. Such emerging ethnic assertions adopted both democratic and violent strategy.

1:14. Importance of the study

A. The study is very important as it brings to light the political awareness and aspiration of all Scheduled Tribes of Assam in general and Bodos in particular.

B. The tribal people became unhappy with the style of functioning of the power and everywhere there is demand for tribal autonomy.

1:15. Research Methodology

For the purpose of this present research work, an analytical method of study based on mostly Secondary data, has been adopted and made use of enquiring into and delineating the political development and awareness of the Bodo Community and of related to other Scheduled Tribes (Plains) of Assam. Here I have used facts or information already available and analyzed these in making critical evaluation of the material.

The data for this Dissertation has been gathered from both Primary and Secondary Sources. Under Primary Sources, Questionnaire has been filled up by the resource persons and have formal discussion with party leaders and scholars for the clarification of doubt which arises in researcher's mind.

Secondary data has been collected the sources of information like Books, Magazines, Newspapers, Journals, Documents, Party Constitutions, Reference Books, and of course M.Phil. Dissertation. Internet was also used for this research project.

1:16. Literature Review:

A considerable amount of work has been done in this field. Some of them are--

1. Dr. Samujjal Kumar Bhattacharjee's Role of Scheduled Tribes in the Assam Legislative Assembly since 1972. (Ph.D. Thesis submitted to North Bengal University, Siligury, 2000.)
2. Dr. K.C. Dutta's The Bodo Movement and its impact on the politics of Assam. (Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Gauhati University, Guwahati, 2001.)
3. Dr. P.S. Reddy's The working of the Sixth Schedule in North East India. (Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Gauhati University, Guwahati, 1976.)
4. Dr. Subungsa Mushahary's Bodoland Movement: A Study in the Ethnicity and Political Movement among the Bodos of Assam from 1967 to 1997. (Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Gauhati University, Guwahati, 2005.)
5. Madan Chandra Paul's Dimensions of Tribal Movements in India-A Study of Udayachal in Assam Valley (Inter-India Publications, New Delhi: 1989)

Reference

1. Konwar, Narayan.: Society and politics in Assam, (Book Land: Guwahati 2006) Page No--1.
2. Dattray, B.: Tribal Identity and Tension in North East India. (New Dehli: Omsons Publications) 1989 Page No--28.
3. Hornby, A.S.: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, (Oxford University Press) 2000 Page No--1383.
4. Dattray, B.: Page No--28.
5. Waite, Louise: Embodied Working Lives: Work and Life in Maharashtra, India, Lexington Books, (2006)
6. Report on Socio-Economic conditions of Scheduled Tribes...Labour at Vapi, Valsad, Navsari and Sachin (Gujrat) (2006-07), Page No-6.
7. Bulletin (2007-08) Page No--4.
8. Bordoloi, B.N., Sharma Thakur, G.C. and Saikia, M.C.: Tribes of Assam, Part I, Tribal Research Institute, Assam, Guwahati 1987 Page No-17.
9. Konwar, Narayan,: Page No--153.
10. The Bodo (2002) Page No-52.
11. Konwar, Narayan,: Page No--153.
12. Bulletin (2007-08) Page No-4.

Chapter II

2:1 Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma and socio-political consciousness.

2:2 Submission of Memorandum to Simon Commission

2:3 Formation of Tribal League

2:4 Role of Tribal League in Provincial Assembly

This chapter gives the pen picture of the condition of pre-independence period and socio-political consciousness.

Chapter II

Pre-Independence Period

Understanding of political development of plain tribes, however, need, at least a brief historical inquiry. As it is an amicable fact for all the historians that the Tribals of plains areas of Brahmaputra valley had settled during the pre-historic period. Before the advent of Aryans and the Ahom, the plains tribes had their own kingdom and administrative system. During the pre-colonial period, there was no such remarkable instances where the plain tribes had shown their separatist tendency. Rather a trend of assimilation was started. The vaishnavite movement of saint Sankardev greatly contributed towards such assimilation. This can be compared with the process of Sanskritization in other parts of the country. However, the process of Sanskritization could not be completed.¹

2:1 Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma and socio-political

consciousness:-

The 1920s is considered as the Renaissance period of the Bodo community as well as plain tribes during which many hectic and tumultuous activities took place among them.² The circumstances of those frequent changes within that decade had created the possibility of large scale encroachment of waste lands by the Muslim dwellers. The trouble in the demographic pattern was sensed by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma. He was thoughtful of protecting the tribal land and safeguarding Bodo ethnic identity, which faced a treat from the 'alien' people. He understood the need of immediate furtherance of socio-political developments in Bodos with due provisions from the governance and also the public awareness. He was

extremely right to identify the fundamentals of politics which refers to demographic pattern, sharing of powers by representation, special protection under reserved category both in land and services, separate measures for promoting tribal education with financial assistance, separate provision of electorates and delegation to the government and etc.³

So far it was concerned with the previously mentioned subjects, there was the every possibility of counter effects to the socio-political trend of the Bodos by the 'foreign' dwellers and the aboriginal non-tribals by overtly or covertly exploitations.

2:2 Submission of Memorandum to Simon Commission:-

Although, the observation on the political fate of the Bodo people was too late by them, he was well advanced in organizing a socio-political strategy with his active supporters as well as workers. He pioneered the political agenda of the Bodos, which started with the great 12-points memorandum to Simon Commission submitted at Shillong on 4th January, 1929, under the leadership of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma demanding the reserve seats for the tribal people.⁴ The six members delegation to that Commission included-- Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma (Chief), Sardar Bahadur Belbungram Kachari, Jadab Chandra Khakhlari, Gias Uddin Ahmed (Advocate), Karendra Narayan Mandal, Baburam Brahma.⁵

The important points of the memorandum are--

- 1) Creation of the separate category for the Boros in the census report.
- 2) Separate representative in the Council.
- 3) Not to create a second chamber in the Local Council.
- 4) Reserved seats for the Boros in the Central Legislature.

- 5) To retain Goalpara as the part of Assam.
- 6) Creation of a Sub-division either at Kokrajhar or at Haltugaon.
- 7) Compulsory pre-primary education and special scholarship for Higher Education to Bodo students.
- 8) Reservation of certain provincial and executive post for the Bodo educated youths.
- 9) Creation of separate seats for the Bodo people in the Dhubri Local Boards.⁶

The 12-points memorandum was as much important during that time as it was significant throughout the Bodo political Developments as well as to the other tribal in Assam. The memorandum was so positive in its political effects that the Lalung (Tiwa), Miris (Mising) the Rabhas, the Deuris, the Sonowal Kacharis and other become politically awakened and united. Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma advised them to be. The spirit of the memorandum was so high again that it led to the formation of a common political platform of all the plains tribals of Assam.⁷

2:3 Formation of Tribal Leages:-

That spirit encouraged the educated and energetic plains tribal youths who had strong love for their community and deserved an urge for self-assertion made them felt that in absence of a common political platform they were unable to project their burning problems and grievances to the government for solution. Therefore, they organized a convention of all the plains tribal communities at Roha in the district of Nowgaon on 17th April 1933 and in this historic convention a political party was formed under the name and style of Assam Plains Tribal Leagues.⁸ Shortly it is known as

Tribal Leagues. Jadhav Khakhlary was President and Bhimbar Deuri its Secretary and members were- Kark Chandra Doley, Dheersing Deuri, Khorsing Terang, Rupnath Brahma and Rabi Chandra Brahma.⁹ "The formation of the Tribal League was step towards bringing all the Mangoloid tribes and communities to a common political platform. Their leaders, like, Bhimbar Deuri, for instance, realized that to exert enough political pressure to convince the government as well as the national parties of their needs and aspirations. Their basic aim was to fight the socio-economic problems of the tribals."¹⁰

The Bodo politics found another lease of life when the British India passed India Act 1935, embodied in it the Provincial Assembly proportionate to their population.¹¹ Four (4) seats were reserved instead of 7 (seven) as demanded by that resolution. That effect was definitely from the root of the third condition of the 12-point memorandum to the Simon Commission.¹² Thus, the Bodos cast their votes on the basis of a separate electorate in the first general election held under the Government of India Act. 1935.¹³

2:4 Role of Tribal Legue in Provincial Assembly:-

In 1937 election, a few Bodo leaders were elected from the reserved seats to the Provincial Assembly of Assam as the candidates of their lone political party Tribal League. They extended supported to the Muslim League in forming a coalition Government.¹⁴ On 16th March, 1940 the Assam Muslim League and the Assam Plains Tribal League signed an agreement which M.

D. Chadullah was the Prime Minister of Assam United Party.¹⁵ Rupnath Brahma was given ministry.

All the major parts of the agreement were from the same memorandum as submitted to Simon Commission. Out of the 10 points conditions, 9 points were the same spirit, which had been oozed out from the memorandum as stated. Hence once, it was clear from the circumstances that the three paper had been the deciding factor of Tribal Politics in plain and the state politics in Assam.¹⁶

Reference:-

- 1) Konwar, Narayan,: Society and politics in Assam, (Book Land: Guwahati 2007), Page No--88.
- 2) Mugani Sakhi (2009), Daimari, Dersin,: Let us Live Like Proud Bodos in Mugani Sakhi, Page No--199.
- 3) Brahma, Manik Kr.: Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma His Life and Deeds, (Kokrajhar: N.L. Publications 2001) Page No--59-60.
- 4) The Bodo (2007) Page No--199.
- 5) Brahma, Manik Kr.: Page No--60.
- 6) The Bodo (2007) Page No--150.
- 7) Brahma, Manik Kr.: Page No--60.
- 8) The Bodo (2007) Page No--151.
- 9) Habraghat (2009) Page No--104.
- 10) Bhuyan, A, C. (Ed): Political History of Assam. Vol.III, Government of Assam 1980. Page No--302.
- 11) Mugani Sakhi Pp-199.
12. Brahma, Manik Kr.: Page No--61.
13. Pegu, Jadav: Reclaiming Identity A Discourse on Bodo History, (Jwngsar Narzary:Kokrajhar) 2004. Page No--86.
14. Mugani Sakhi: Page No--199.
15. Brahma, Manik Kr.: Page No--61.
16. Ibid: Page No--61.

Chapter III

3:1 Bordoloi Sub-Committee

3:2 Arrangement of Sixth Schedule

3:3 Tribal Sangha

This Chapter deals with the Bordoloi Sub-Committee recommended for the arrangement of Sixth Schedule to the Hills tribes, but excluded plains tribes from it.

Chapter III

Tribal Policy of Post Independent India and Plain Tribes of Assam

3:1 Bordoloi Sub-Committee:-

The 'North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded areas Sub-Committee', popularly known as the "Bordoloi Sub-Committee" consisting of Gopinath Bordoloi, as its Chairman, and J.J.M. Nichols Roy, Rupnath Brahma and A. V. Jhakkar, as its members, was formed on 27th February, 1947 in accordance with the statement of 16th May, 1946 of the Cabinet Mission; and the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Tribal Areas headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.¹ The Bordoloi Sub-Committee realizing the need of safeguard and preservation of the way of life of the tribal people of the North Eastern Region of India, in particular with regard to their customs and laws of inheritance, administration of justice, land, forest etc. examined carefully the constitutional position of these tribal areas.²

After taking into account all these demands, the Bordoloi Sub-Committee submitted its final report on 28th July 1947 about the future administration of the tribal and Excluded Areas of Assam and its North-East Frontier to its parent body "Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Tribal Areas" which was headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.³ On being approved by the Advisory Committee, the Drafting Committee incorporated the provision in 7th December 1947 on the basis of the recommendation of the Sub-Committee which resulted in incorporating the Sixth Scheduled to the Constitution of India.⁴

3:2 Arrangement of Sixth Schedule:--

When the Sixth Schedule was taken up for discussion by the Constituent Assembly, some of its members were opposed to the creation of the District Councils and Regional Council.

Members of the Constituent Assembly like Kuladhar Chaliha and Rohini Kumar Choudhuri criticised the special treatise as they feared that would perpetuate the colonial policy of isolation and 'tribalstan'.⁵

Rohini Kumar Choudhuri said:

"We want to assimilate the tribal people...of you want to educate the tribal people in the art of Self-Government, why not introduce the Municipal Act? If you want to keep them separate they will combine with Tibet, they will combine with Burma, and they will never combine with the rest of India."⁶

The Sub-Committee recommended tribal autonomy through District & Regional Council under Sixth Schedule.

In the Constituent Assembly Debate Bordoloi himself said--

"...There are three categories of tribals in Assam. They are plains tribes men who are original inhabitants and who have a culture and civilization of their own. They were gradually absorbed into the fields and the culture of other plains people, to put more appropriately the Aryan culture. Then there are the hills tribes proper. These again can be divided into two clear categories. On such class is hill tribes are administered by the Governor General of India and the other classes, coming under Sixth Schedule, is

proposed to be administered as autonomous group. We are not concerned with first category in Sixth Schedule..."⁷

From the above statement, there was no provision for plains tribes of Assam. The Sub-Committee thought that they would assimilate and integrate with other Higher Caste of Assam in the course of time. Other members of Sub Committee, including Rupnath Brahma agreed to the proposal.⁸

Dr. Ambedkar defended the creation of the District Council. He said that there is a difference between the tribals in Assam and the tribals of other places. The tribals in places other than Assam were more or less Hinduised and assimilated with the culture and civilization of the people among whom they lived. This was not the case with regard to the tribals of Assam. They had their roots in their own culture and civilization. They did not adopted the mode of life and manners of their neighbors. Their laws of inheritance and marriage and their customs were different from those of others.⁹

Thus, there was justification for the creation of the District Councils. The recommendation of an administrative set up, the Autonomous District Council by name, which was latter on incorporated in the Sixth Scheduled to the Constitution of India by the Constituent Assembly, constituted six Autonomous District Councils in the Six Hills Districts of Assam with the commencement of the Constitution on the January 26, 1950.¹⁰

3:3 Tribal Sangha:-

In the Post Independence period, another socio-cultural organization, that worked for common platform of plain tribes of Assam, viz., Assam Tribal Sangha was formed in 1954. The Assam Tribal Sangha also, on various occasions, demanded scheduling of the plains tribal areas. Its memorandum signed by Satish Chandra Basumatary and Pitsing Konwar, the President and the General Secretary respectively of the Tribal Sangha, submitted before the Dhebar Commission, 1960-61, started thus:

"For the amelioration of the conditions of the plains Scheduled tribes, we, the tribal people of the plains districts of Assam, feel that Scheduled Areas, as in other states of India, be declared in the areas inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes of plains in Assam by amending the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution Demand for Schedule Areas have been there since 1947." But the demand for the Schedule Areas never received sympathetic consideration.¹¹

Reference:

1. Machary, Premananda: Socio-Political Life of the Boros in Karbi Anglong District of Assam: Page No--206/207.
2. Rao, V.V. and N. Hazarika: A Century of Government and Politics in N.E. India. Vol. 1 Assam (New Delhi: S. Chand and Co.) 1989 Page No-195.
3. Machary, Premananda: Page No--211.
4. Barooah, Nirode Kumar: Gopinath Bordoloi: Indian Constitution and Centre-Assam Relations, 1940-50 (Publication Board, guwahati:Assam) Page No--54-55.
5. Machary, Premananda: Page No--210.
6. Rao, V.V.: A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India. (1874-1974) (New Delhi: S. Chand and Co.) 1975 Page No--182-183.
7. Constituent Assembly Debates, Book No. -4, Vol No.-IX. July 1949 to 18th September 1949, Lok Sabha, Secretariate Third Print 1999.
8. Informant -- Mr. Dhananjay Brahma.
9. Rao, V.V.: Page No-184.
10. Rao, V.V. and N. Hazarika: Page No-195.
11. The Bodo (2002): Page No--53.

Chapter IV

4:1 Autonomy

4:2 Social Movement

4:3 Tribal Movement in Colonial Rule

4:4 Modern Tribal Movement

4:5 Hill Tribals' Autonomous Movement:

4: 6 Plain Tribals' Autonomous Movement:

4:7 Udayachal Movement

4:8 Birth of Plains Tribals of Council of Assam

4:9 Split into Various Ethnic Group

4:9:1 All Bodo Student's Union

4:9:2 All Assam Deori Students' Union

4:9:3 Takam Parin Kcbang

4:9:4 All Rabha Students'

4:9:5 All Assam Thengal Kachari Students' Union

4:10 Bodoland Autonomous Movement

4:11 Second Phase of Bodoland Movement

4:12 Mising Autonomous Movement

4:13 Tiwa Autonomous Movement

4:14 Rabha Autonomous Movement

4:15 Thengal Kachari Autonomous Movement

This chapter is about the Udayachal Movement of Plains Tribals of Council of Assam (PTCA). Autonomy Movement of ABSU and Territorial Movement of BLT are also discussed in detailed. Other Autonomous Movements have been taken into account.

Chapter IV

Background of Autonomy Movement

4:1 Autonomy

Autonomy (in ancient Greek 'autonomia) is derived from *automos* where *auto* means "self" and *nomos* means "law" literary meaning "one who gives oneself his own law". It is a concept found in moral, political, and bioethical philosophy. Within these contexts, it refers to the capacity of a rational individual to make an informed, un-coerced decision. In moral and political philosophy, autonomy is often used as the basis for determining moral respectibility for one's actions. In Political, it is also used to refer to the self-governing of a people. One of the best known philosophical theories of autonomy was developed by Immanuel Kant.

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, the term **autonomy** is "the freedom for a country, a region or an organisation to govern itself independently"¹.

"The term may be applied both to the individual person and to a group or an institution. An autonomous person is fundamentally, one able to act according to his or her own direction -- the prerequisite for rational human action, according to Kant. An autonomous institution is one able to regulate its own affairs. The relation between the self-government of a group and individual autonomy is complicated by the need to distinguish between the collective self-government of a group and the self-direction of an individual member of that group, as Roussau's writings illustrate'.²

In the United States government, autonomy refers to one's own self-governance. In the past few decades, a large movement of autonomism has emerged in the form of anarchism.

One former example of an Autonomous jurisdiction into the United States government belong to the Philippine Islands; The *Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916* provide the framework for the creation of an autonomous government providing the Filipino people (Filipinos) broader domestic autonomy, though it reserved certain privileges to the United States to protect their sovereign rights and interests.

4:2 **social movement:**

Social Movements, regarded as epiphenomena, are by product of social and political development. The term 'Social Movement' is widely used but yet is one of the least precise and comprehended in social science literature. But Cameron's definition is perhaps more acceptable. He defined, "a social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people are bound together in order to alter or supplant some position of existing culture or social order or to redistribute the power of control within a society."³

The scholars who adhere to the theory of political development consider that the rising aspirations of the people are not adequately met by existing political institutions which are rigid or incompetent. As the gap widens between the two, 'political instability and disorder' leading to mass upsurge increase (Huntington 1968; Johnson 1966)⁴

A. R. Desai asserts that 'The parliamentary form of government, as a political institutional device, has proved to be inadequate to continue or expand concrete democratic rights of the people. Desai further says that the civil and democratic rights of the people are not protected by the Constitution. Consequently, the movements for their protection have increased.'⁵

In his recent writings, Rajni Kothari argues that 'democracy' in India has become a playground for growing corruption, criminalization, repression and intimidation of large masses of the people. The role of the state in 'social transformation' has been undermined. People have started asserting their rights through various struggles.'⁶

4:3 Tribal Movement in Colonial Rule:

There have been a series of ethnic (tribal) rebellions during the early days of the British rule in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Sardar Larai (1885) and Birsa Movement (1895-1900) among Munda of Chhotanagpur; Ganganarayan Hangama (1832) among the Bhumij; Kol rebellion (1883); Santal rebellion (1855-58); Rebellion of Kacha Nagas (1880s) etc.,⁷ which were of Socio-Political type.

The famous 'Santal Tribal Revolt' of 1855-58 involving a peasant army of between 30 and 50 thousands attacked the landlords and colonial agents or officials. This revolt was eventually crushed by the superior armed British troops of ten thousands. Troisi remarked that this event is not "a mere spasmodic outburst of the crude instincts of semi-savage Santals, but the outcome of a long course of oppression silently and patiently submitted to

by these unsophisticated people unaccustomed to fight for their own rights in the legitimate ways of their neighbours.⁸

The Munda tribals of Bihar (Chhotanagpur) organized a powerful Movement in 1895-1900, under a powerful charismatic leader, Birsa Munda, who claimed to be the 'Dharti Aba' (Father of the World). He also claimed to be the deliverer of 'Munda Raj' which would be free from exploitation and social oppression. Although started as a religious movement but politics and violence gradually took the movement over and thus, led to armed clashes on several occasions, with the colonial rulers, landlords and money-lenders in 1789, 17969 and 1832.⁹

The demand for a 'separate administrative unit' in the Chhotanagpur region was first placed before the Simon Commission in 1928. Chhotanagpur Unnati Samaj under the leadership of Bishop Van Hoeck and Juel Lakra submitted a memorandum to the Commission asking for special privileges for the tribals. Later under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Chhotanagpur and Santal Paragana region was declared as 'partially excluded areas' by the British government in order to keep the area within the exclusive preserves of the foreign administration. However, the demand for a separate province for the tribals in region was mooted for the first time by the Adivasi Mahasabha under Jaipal Singh, during its second session in 1939.¹⁰

4:4 Modern Tribal Movement:

The emergence of inter-tribal political associations and movements for recognition as 'tribal states within the Indian Union in the post

independence period led to the formation of the Jharkhand movement among the tribes of Chhotanagpur (central India); Hills states movements in Assam (eastern India); Adhistan movement among the Bhil of Rajasthan (western India) and so on. Again some violent secessionist movements among the tribes, located near the international border like the Nagaland movement, Mozo National movement, etc, also emerged after India's independence.¹¹

The modern tribal movements for regional autonomy or independence, is a phenomena of modern period. The nationalist movement for independence from the shackle of colonial rule encompassed the tribals too. The Independence movement provided the peasants a new awareness to be free and fight for their right. The notable of these tribal movements for an independent state are the Naga and Mozo tribals. The movements for regional autonomy was also launched by various tribals like the Santal movements for a separate Jharkhand State, the Bodo-Kacharis of the Brahma valley of Assam for autonomous state, etc.¹²

4:5 Hill Tribals' Autonomous Movement:

All the hill tribals were historically not the part of Assam. They became the part of Assam only after the colonialization of Assam. The consolidation of colonial rule in North East India took a long time and at different points of time different units came under the British rule, viz., Assam Plains in 1826, Cachar Plains in 1830, Jaintia Plains in 1835, Karbi Anglong (Mikir Hills) in 1838, North Cachar Hills in 1854, Naga Hills during 1866-1904, Garo Hills in 1872-73 and Mizoram (Lushai Hills) in 1890.¹³

Although, the tribals were brought under the control of colonial administration. Yet the Britishers followed the policy of segregation with the tribals since they understood the tribals as 'Primitive community'. As a result, the Britishers kept the Tribals in reservation like territories called 'backward' or 'excluded' tracts.¹⁴

Constituent Assembly considered with much seriousness the future to be bestowed upon these areas. Bordoloi Committee was appointed to report on the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas. This Committee submitted its report to the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas which was placed to the Constituent Assembly for consideration. The recommendations of the Bordoloi Sub-Committee were incorporated in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.¹⁵ However, the whole issue of Tribal; autonomy through District Council was being debated in the constituent Assembly Debate. Despite of many opposition, the sixth schedule of the constitution was accepted and tribal autonomy was ensured through the District Council.

Although, tribal autonomy was ensured through the Sixth Schedule of the constitution yet, the tribal movement for autonomy did not come to an end rather the tribals demanded for creation of separate states. Meanwhile, the Official Language Bill was passed in Assam Legislative Assembly in 1960. The declaration of Assamese as official language had provoked the hill tribes' leaders. The hill tribes' leaders like Capt. Williamson Sangma, Reverend B.M. Peu, A. Thonglura etc. expressed their grave concern over the declaration of Assamese as official Language.¹⁶

Thus, the declaration of Assamese as official Language widen to gap in relation to the tribals. They develop an apprehension that their cultural identity is going to be eliminate and submerged.¹⁷

Meanwhile, a commission known as Pattaskar Commission was appointed to investigate the tribal question. However, all the recommendations made by the commission were not implemented. The demand for separate state was gradually consolidating and therefore, it became axiomatic for the central and state government to bow under the demands of the hill people. It was 1960 that Nagaland was created as separate state, and then onwards Meghalaya was created in 1972, Mizoram was created in 1986 and in 1971 North-East frontier Tract was named as Arunachal Pradesh.¹⁸

4:6 Plains Tribals' Autonomous Movement:

The political assertion of the plains tribes in Assam is one of the significant developments in the politics of Assam. Although, at present, different plains tribes assert their demands almost separately, yet, the initial effort at political articulation was almost united with the formation of a common political forum by the plains tribes. The formation of Tribal League in 1933 was first effort towards such effort.¹⁹

After the extinction of Assam Tribal League in 1946, (1946-1967) the tribal people of the plains of Assam had no separate political platform of their own. Under the influence of the popularity of the Congress, most of the tribal (or Boros) took active membership of the Congress and became the firm supporter of the Congress. And most of the tribal people (Boros)

assimilated to the Assamese main stream. They used to consider themselves as one of the components of the Assamese ethnic group. They felt component to identify themselves as Assamese. However, a turning point had taken place in the political sky of Assam, when the then Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi says on 13th January, 1967, before the Mizo Students' Union Delegation, "Assam would be re-organised on the basis of federal structure". This statement of Mrs. Gandhi had a far-reaching consequences and significance in the politics of Assam.²⁰

4:7 Udayachal Movement:-

During the Independence Movement in India, the tribals co-operated with other non-tribal people in their common struggle to drive out the British from India. However, without amending the salient features of the colonial socio-economic system, the post-independence leaders under the grab of "welfare economy" accentuated deprivations and inequalities among the tribals. This system has, as a result, yielded a lot of contradictions and induced the tribals to "movements" of various types and dimensions.²¹ The Bodo movements in Assam are thus a product of the legacy of the contradictions of the colonial socio-economic system.²²

Independence and adoption of the constitution in 1950 did not improve matters for the Bodos and other "plains tribes" of Assam. Whereas the tribes in the hill areas of the North-East were given a large measure of administrative autonomy and protected from land alienation under the measures contained in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, the Bodos and other plain tribes were fobbed off with the so-called. 'Tribal Belts

and Blocks where the Assam Land Revenue Rules and Regulations in theory imposed restriction on possession and transfer of tribal lands.²³

In practice, the restrictions on possession and transfer in the tribal belts and blocks have been observed more in breach resulting in large-scale alienation of land owned by Bodos and other plains tribes.²⁴

After independence, a consciousness grew among the plains tribes of Assam. They compared their position relating to constitutional safeguard with that of the Scheduled Tribes living in the hills areas of Assam and in other states. They discovered that they enjoy minimum constitutional safeguard among the Scheduled Tribes in India. The Scheduled Tribes in other states enjoy the benefits of the Fifth Schedule, which meant to protect the interest and the tribal way of life. They also enjoy the provisions of the Sixth Schedule, the objective of which is to protect the customs, practices, and identity of the tribal people and afford them the opportunities of growth and progress in accordance with their genius and traditions. The Scheduled Tribes in Assam were deprived of such benefits and provisions. Moreover, agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of the plains tribes of Assam. The tribal land was not well protected. A large chunk of tribal land was occupied by a host of immigrants who entered from East Bengal and encroach upon the tribal areas, and settled therein.²⁵ Despite the constant reminders to the Government, their grievances were not given due attention. Thus, unabated encroachment on tribal belts and blocks, gradual deterioration of general economic condition of the plains tribals and increase of landless people among the tribals deeply perturbed the minds of the plains tribals. All these factors induced them to think of an organization of the plains tribals.²⁶

4:8 Birth of Plains Tribals Council of Assam:-

The movement was aimed at achieving an autonomous region within the existing political setup, through the redistribution of power and the system of differential allocation of resources, rights and privileges. Consequently, the movement attacked the monopoly of ruling non-tribal 'privileges classes and Hindu upper castes in different spheres of life.²⁷ On 27th February 1967, after the Fourth General Election, the tribal leaders and workers from all parts of Kokrajhar sub-division met under the Presidentship of Shri Modaram Brahma, a noted Bodo educationist and senior social worker. All the grievances of the plains tribals were highlighted and discussed. In the meeting, they arrived at the conclusion that full autonomy alone could provide the plains tribals with necessary condition to preserve their language and culture and help them develop according to their to their own choice and genius.²⁸ They thus decided to form an All Assam Organisation under the name--"Plains Tribals Council of Assam" (PTCA). In order to agitate for full autonomy, an Action Committee was formed. The members of the Action Committee traveled throughout the plains tribal areas of Assam to mobilize public opinion and formed the District Ad-hoc Plains Tribals' Councils of Assam. On 18 March 1967, the Action Committee convened a meeting of the All Ad-hoc District Councils at Kokrajhar. In this meeting, various members were elected for different portfolios, namely, Sri Biruchan Doley and Sri Samar Brahma Choudhury as its president and vice-president respectively, Prof. Charan Narzary as its joint secretary. Kokrajhar became the headquarter of the Organization.²⁹

At the same time of its birth, the Plains Tribals Council of Assam made it clear that the struggle of the Plains Tribals was not for any political party. Their main aim was to secure protection of the Plains tribals in all respects. It was an organization, which sought to cooperate with the Governments of both at the Centre and state for the solution of their problems.³⁰

The socio-economic structure and the developmental process, which we have been promoting, have sharpened the disparities. The feeling of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among the tribal people are goading them to find out the ways and means to liberate from oppression, exploitation and underdevelopment of their economy and society.³¹

In the beginning with Plains Tribals Council of Assam stood for the Barmans of Cachar, the Bodo Kochari, the Deoris, the Hojais, the Kacharis including the Sonowals, the Lalungs, the Meches and the Rabhas and submitted a memorandum to the President of India on May 20, 1967 demanding full autonomy in the predominantly Plains Tribals areas of the northern tract of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts including all the tribal Belts and Blocks of those areas so that tribals can a) adequately protect their land, b) give effective check to economic exploitation of tribals by non-tribal, c) conserve their language, culture, customs, d) prevent political domination by non-tribals and e) grow according to their own genius and traditions.³²

The PTCA stood firm as a political response to the socio-economic challenges thrown to the plain tribal people of Assam valley.³³

The PTCA gave a call for boycotting the by-elections to the Lok Sabha from Kokrajhar constituency during July 1967 and May 1968. Thousands of volunteers of the PTCA responded to the invitation. The important leaders of the party were arrested and detained for an indefinite time. When released from the jail, the leaders organized a conference of the PTCA at Tezpur from 12 to 14th January 1969.³⁴ In the conference, they reiterated their demand for full autonomy to ensure peace and more efficient administration in the northern tracts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Lakhimpur upto the foothills of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh. It was at this juncture (1969) that the Assam Re-organisation act for the formation of certain autonomous states within Assam was passed.³⁵

Thus a new movement for a separate autonomous 'Udayachal state came out from the womb of socio-economic and political contradiction in the society.³⁶

In 1972 when the Assam Assembly election was held, the PTCA sponsored one candidate in Kokrajhar West, the Scheduled Tribes constituency. Thus for the first time the PTCA emerged as an unrecognized political party to participate in the Fifth General Election to the Assam Legislative Assembly. The lone candidate Charan Narzary polled 1820 (49.12%) of the valid votes polled. The Congress candidate Ranendra Basumatary was defeated by 755 votes.³⁷

In October 1972, the PTCA again submitted a memorandum to the then Prime Minister, Srimati Indira Gandhi stating their grievances. In September, the two-member delegation met the Prime Minister and

reiterated their demand for the creation of an autonomous region to be called "Udayachal". This resulted due to the failure of the Government of Assam to seek suitable solution to the earlier demands of the plains tribals.³⁸

On 7th December 1972, the PTCA launched a movement demanding a separate Union Territory of Udayachal by bifurcating Assam in its second general session held on 25th April at Bognadi in North Lakhimpur. The PTCA delegates and representatives from all parts of the proposal Udayachal attended. They reiterated their earlier demand, opposed the Agricultural Farming Corporation of the Government of Assam and demanded red limitation of the Panchayat Constituencies. In September 1973, a PTCA delegation met the Prime Minister and submitted a memorandum in which they affirmed their earlier demand for a separate administrative set up of Udayachal.³⁹ The demand for Udayachal gained support from the mass because of the imposition of the Assamese language on the plains tribals.⁴⁰

Meanwhile the ABSU demand received an upliftment on 5 January 1973 from "Autonomous Region" to "Union Territory" viz, "Udayachal" covering all the plains tribals of Assam. It was followed by the Bodo Language Movement as regards use of the Roman script. In 1975 emergency was declared and during the emergency the leaders of PTCA remained silent regarding the Bodo Demand for "Udayachal".⁴¹ However, in 1977 the top most leadership of PTCA announced their withdrawal of the demand for Union Territory in favor of the earlier Autonomous Region demand. This announcement (by the PTCA leaders who were with Janata Dal after the National Emergency) shocked the diehards and within a span of about two

years they organized themselves under Plains Tribals Council of Assam (progressive Group) shortly known as PTCA(P). The demand of PTCA (P) was for a Union Territory called Missing Bodoland and they submitted a number of memorandums to the Prime Minister between 1980 & 1982.⁴²

In subsequent years, All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), which has been there all along since 1967, attempted to unite PTCA and PTCA(P). But PTCA leaders were reportedly not amenable and as such the unity efforts did not pay dividends and the move was abandoned. In 1984 PTCA(P) was dissolved and a new organization was floated with the name United Tribal Nationalist Liberation front (UTNLF) which too in support of its demands for a Union Territory name Tribal Land submitted a number of memoranda between 1984 and 1990.⁴³

The PTCA leaders completely stopped all political activities, and even suspended the demand of a separate state to escape arrest during the emergency period. After the end of the emergency, came the wave of the Janata Party. The PTCA leaders, made an electoral alliance with Janata Party in 1977-78. The PTCA leader Samar Brahma Chaudhury, the Vice President of the Party was returned to the Legislative Assembly and Charan Narzary, the Party General Secretary was also returned to Parliament. But suddenly, and most shocking to the mass tribal people the two PTCA leaders announced on the 4th April, 1977 that the PTCA had given up the demand for *Udayachal*, the Union Territory but wanted to experiment only on an Autonomous Region. At this, there was a strong reaction, the party hard-liners and the members of the ABSU badly resented this and pressurized the PTCA leaders not to give up the demand of *Udayachal* while the two PTCA

leaders were reluctant to accept. Thus, the two PTCA leaders belied the mass people's political aspirations of a separate State. The young PTCA was also dissolved undemocratically by these two bosses of PTCA.⁴⁴

The All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) had been taking interest for unification of PTCA and PTCA (P) since 1979. And called for a three-days convention of all tribal organization on 17th April 1984 at Harisinga in the former Darrang District. But due to the arrogant leaders of PTCA, unification could not be made. At last the PTCA (P) was dissolved.

Samar Brahma Chaudhury, according to ABSU was an opportunist and crooked (with evil master mind) PTCA leader who bartered *Udayachal* in lieu of Ministership in the Janata regime and he got the Cabinet Ministership for Forests in the State Assembly and thus completely gave up the demand for *Udayachal*. When the Janata Ministry stepped down, Samar Brahma Chaudhury again joined Keshap Gogoi's Congress (I) Ministry in the State Assembly which unfortunately lasted for only one day. On the other hand, Mr. Charan, the then M.P. denounced the demand for Udayachal in the floor of Parliament.⁴⁵

For the first time in the history of India all the Scheduled Tribes and ethnic minorities and regional political parties decided to form a common platform to work together for preservation of ethnic identities through the creation of a separate state directly under the Central Government. It was a historic threshold in the process of the Bodo Movement. It gave birth to a new political party i.e. United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF) on 19th April 1984 under the Chairmanship of Binoy Kr. Basumatary, MLA.

It submitted a memorandum to Indira Gandhi on 2 May 1984 for a "Tribal Land." The collective movement of the plains tribes got its set back when the ABSU, Bodo Sahitya Sabha etc. started their movement for separate Bodoland what they call as "Divide Assam 50-50".⁴⁶

4:9. Split into Various Ethnic Group:-

In the post independence period, many youth based ethnic groups emerged almost in every community of plain tribes of Assam in the name of Student Union, such as Bodos have All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), Deuris have All Assam Deuri Students' Union (AASDSU), All Mishing Students' Union (AMSU), All Rabha Students' Union (ARSU), etc. But, all plains tribes were under one Political platform (PTCA) up to 1988.

4:9:1 ALL BODO STUDENTS' UNION (ABSU)

Simultaneously with PTCA, ethnic based youth organization called All Bodo students' Union (ABSU) was formed on 27th February 1967, with Baneswar Basumatary as President and Kanakeswar Narzary as General Secretary. Kokrajhar is the Head Quarter of it. UNITY:

SURVIVAL:PROSPERITY is their motto. The main aims and objectives of the ABSU shall be to promote the language, literature and culture of Bodos. The Union shall try to achieve better mutual understanding among the Bodos students and public of different parts of India and abroad. The union shall make efforts particularly to find out way and means to:

(a) Propagate among the masses the need of imparting education through the mother tongue,

- (b) Improve the Bodo Language through magazines and other literary works,
- (c) Develop and safeguard the culture of Bodos by bringing reforms to it through various perspectives,
- (d) Develop the Bodo race economically by taking economic programmes from time to time.
- (e) Settle the issue relating to the political crisis that may arise the Plain Tribal Bodo people out of this selfish and political diplomacy of the so called politician threatening the national existence of their future generation though the ABSU is a non-political socio economic, literary cultural organization,
- (f) struggle to achieve the just and constitutional rights through democratic process,
- (g) fight for the security and if the above goals are denied and ignored, the Union further shall not refrain even from struggling for political self determination within the framework of Indian Constitution,
- (h) support to principles of socialism for economic emancipation,
- (i) raise the voice on Human Rights and Civil Liberties and to develop socio-cultural relations among the various groups of Bodo nationality living around the world.
- (j) struggle for the survival and all-round prosperity of the Bodos to the extent of advanced nationalities of the world.

Currently their demands are:

- a) Creation of a Separate state of Bodoland,
- b) Inclusion of Bodo-Kockaris living in Karbi-Along and North Cachar Hills districts in the ST (Hills) List.

c) Creation of two Autonomous District Councils on the Southern Bank of the river Brahmaputra, and

d) Amendment of Section 4 (b) of people's Representation Act 1951.

*(Constitution of All Bodo Students' Union)

4:9:2. **ALL ASSAM DEORI STUDENTS' UNION (AADSU):**

Another Ethnic based youth organization namely All Assam Deori Students' Union (AADSU) came into existence in 1959 with Sri Rajen Deori as President and Late Janak Deori as Secretary. North Lakhimpur is its Headquarter.

The aims and objectives of AADSU is that it stands for various burning problems of Assam, and to provide solution of their political, social, economic, educational and cultural aspects.

Latest grievances and demands are

- 1) To create a separate Greater Deori Autonomy in Assam,
- 2) To recognize the Deori language in the primary level of education in the state,
- 3) To create a second chamber in Assam
- 4) To renovate the ancient temples in Assam in particular and the North East India in general
- 5) To recognise the Arunachali Deori as ST (Hills) under the Constitution of India
- 6) Demand for immediate solution of the flood problem of Assam by Central Government
- 7) To declare the Deori Bohag Bihu and Deori Magh Bihu as state holidays.

The AADSU supports the views of AASU on various issue like the foreigners issue, ethnic problems etc.

According to AADSU, they are able to make the people of the Deori community conscious about various political, social, economical, educational and cultural aspects.

*(Constitution of All Assam Deori Students' Union)

4:9:3. ALL MISING STUDENTS' UNION (TMPK) (TAKAM MISING PORIM KCBANG):-

On 30th October 1972, All Mising Students' Union (the name in their own language Takam Mising Porim Kcbang (TMPK) was established with Sri Purusuttam Boley as President and Shri Bhuban Pegu as Secretary. Gogamukh, Dhemaji is its Headquarter.

The aims and objectives of the TMPK are based on the upliftment of the Mising nationality in respect of culture, language and literature, and social and political justice. The Kcbang shall try to achieve better mutual understanding among Mishing youths and the public of different parts of India. The Union shall make efforts particularly to finds out ways and means to --

1. Struggle to achieve the just and constitutional rights through the democratic process.
2. Settle the issues relating to political crisis that may arise among the Mising people.
3. Propagate among the masses the need of imparting education through the mother tongue.

4. Improve the Mising language through magazines and other literary works.
5. Develop and safeguard the culture of the Misings by bringing reforms to it through various perspectives.
6. Develop the Mising race economically by taking economic programmes from time to time.
7. Fight for all round security and if the above goals are denied and ignored, the Union further shall not refrain even from struggling for political self-determination.
8. Support the principle of socialism for economic emancipation.
9. Raise a voice for the Human Rights and Civil Liberties and develop socio-cultural relations among the Mising nationality of the country.
10. Struggle for the survival and all round prosperity of the Misings to the extent of advanced nationalities of the country.

Their achievements are the formulation of Mising Autonomous Council (MAC) and the introduction of Mising language as the medium of instruction at primary level and appointment of Mising language teachers.

*(Constitution of Takam Mising Porim Kcbang)

4:9:4. **ALL RABHA STUDENTS' UNION (ARSU)**

Rabha community also established their ethnic youth organization in the name of All Rabha Students' Union (ARSU) on 12th February, 1980, with President: Mr. K. Rabha and General Secretary: Mr. Sabyshari Rabha.

The aims and objectives of the organization are as follows -

1. To form and strengthen unity among the Rabha Students' in general
2. To promote cultural activities of the Rabhas,

3. To promote and bring progress in the educational environment among the people

4. To preserve the constitutional rights of the Rabhas in any situation and at any time.

Demands:-

Creation of a Rabha Hasong Autonomous State by recognizing the Goalpara and Kamrup districts boundary and by carving out the Rabha areas under Article 244(A) of the Constitution of India in the North bank of the river Brahmaputra.

*(Constitution of All Rabha Students' Union)

4:9:5. All Assam Thengal kachari Students' Union (AASTKSU):-

Like other ethnic group Thengal kachari also established ethnic based youth organization viz., All Assam Thengal Kachari Students' Union (AASTKSU) on 23rd November, 1997, with Sri Ajit Borah and Shri Mohendra Saikia as President and General Secretary respectively.

Aims and objectives:

1) To establish unity and amity by uniting all the students of Thengal Kachari of Assam for their progress in social, economic, educational and cultural spheres and to prepare plans for implementation of policies on these lines.

2) To take steps within the constitution of the Union for fulfillment of its demands.

3) To cooperate with other organization, with the approval of the Chief Executive body, for safeguarding the interest of the nation.

4) To build up the Union as a non-political and secular organization.

Grievances and Demands:

- 1) Inclusion of the Community in the list of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled tribes of the constitution of India as "Thengal kachari" instead of kachari.
- 2) All the backlog in the Roster System of 1978, in the case of appointments in the Government, semi-Government and private institutions should be cleared soon.
- 3) Titabor, Bihpuria and Daiyang regions should be declared as tribal dominated regions.
- 4) Provision for equal facilities to all the tribals of assam.
- 5) In the Government and Semi-Government and private schools, colleges, in the tribal dominated areas, tribal candidates should be appointed on a priority basis.
- 6) The Government should take the responsibility of safeguarding the history, culture, etc. of the Thengal Kacharis.
- 7) Tribal lands should be provided with Miadi Patta.

*(Constitution of All Assam Thengal Kachari Students' Union)

Autonomy Movement of Various ethnic Groups of

Plains Tribes of Assam:

4:10. Bodo Autonomous Movement:-

The Bodos are one of the earliest settlers in Assam. They migrated to Assam. They migrated to Assam say at about 5000 B.C. from central Asia such as China, Mangolia, Tibet & Siberia. Bodos are the branch of the Great Mangoloid stock.

Dr. N.N. Archaryya, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Reader in History, University of Gauhati, said, "The Kacharis (Bodos) are the earliest known indigeneous inhabitants of Assam. They are known under different names in different places and ages throughout the North-east corner of the Indian sub-continent. In Goalpara and North Bengal, they are called Mech and in North Cachar Hills, Dimasas. In the Brahmaputra valley, the Kacharis call themselves Bodo or Bodofisa (sons of the Bodos).⁴⁷

In addition to the Kacharis proper, Dr. Sidney Endle has classed the following tribes of Assam within the fold of the great Bodo race, Rabha, Mech, Dhimal, Koch, Solanimiyas, Mahaliyas, Phulgurias, Saraniyas, Dimasa, Hojais, Lalungs, Garos and Hajongs. "To these" says Mr. Endle, "may be added one or two smaller communities e.g. the Morans and Chutias in Upper Assam, whose language, not altogether extinction as yet, though apparently dying out rapidly, would seem to prove them to be closed akin to the Kachari (Bodos) race."⁴⁸

The idea for the separate state came to the Bodos out of the womb of socio-economic and political contradictions⁴⁹ and the negligence of the state administration. To receive their rights, as mentioned earlier, they launched a movement -- PTCA (1967 onwards). They were firm in their demand for an autonomous region for the plains tribals to be called Udayachal. The PTCA continued their movement for more than 23 years. But the political scenario among the Bodos underwent a radical change with the split in the PTCA on ideologies lines. This gave to the PTCA and the PTCA (Progressive). The latter was led by Binai Khungur Basumatary. It was later came to be known as the United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF).⁵⁰ The ABSU

sought ways and means to unify the two parties. They organized a convention at Harisinga in Darrang district on 19th April 1984, but unfortunately, failed to bring them to a common platform as they widely differed in their political ideologies.⁵¹

Sri Atul Kumar Bora, General Secretary, AASU said that the main reason for a demand of separate Bodoland is the Government negligence of the tribal people in the post-independent period. The All Assam Tribal Students' Union (AATSU), All Assam Mising Students' Union (AATSU) and ABSU also speak eloquently the feeling of exploitation and injustice meted out to them by the non-tribal people which gave rise to demand of separate state, autonomous status, etc.,

The Movement for a tribal homeland in India out of the present state Assam with a Union Territory status was first started by the UTNLF in 1984, beginning with poster and wall writing campaigns. In 1988, the UTNLF actively supported the programmes launched by the ABSU for a homeland. As a result, there was a number of instances of police repressions, arrests and house burnings.⁵² This action of the police infuriated the UTNLF. In order to internationalize the Bodo issue, Mr. Binai Khungur Basumatary, the leader of UTNLF, approached Amnesty International during a visit abroad. He urged Amnesty International to ascertain if the happenings in the state amounted to the violation of human rights.⁵³ On the other hand, the PTCA's demand for Udayachal did not result in violent demonstration. Instead, they continued their agitational programmes to prayers and petitions to the Centre.⁵⁴

When the PTCA failed to achieve Udayachal, the ABSU took up the movement for a separate state for the Bodos under the able leadership of late Upendra Nath Brahma, the "Father of Bodos".⁵⁵

Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, 1984, said- "**I am most unhappy that development project displace tribal people their habitate, especially the projects authorities do not always take care to properly rehabilitate the effected population.**

But sometime there is no alternation and we have to go ahead in the larger interest..."

Late Upendra Nath Brahma took up the initiative and responsibilities to reunited the divided Bodos and work towards a common goal. Though versatile in his academic performance, the sacrifice his personal interest and devoted himself to the common cause. Under his guidance and leadership, the mass movement for the creation of a separate state of Bodoland gained popular momentum. His charming personality mobilized the Bodo throughout the state to actively participate in the ABSU movement through public rallies, meeting and seminars etc. On 18th November 1988, under his initiative and able guidance the Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC) was formed. The basic purpose of this organization was to embrace all the people in the Bodoland Movement. Brahma had successfully led the mass rally at Guwahati and Delhi Demonstration. His last representation was at the tripartile talks in 1990.⁵⁶

A new phase of the movement emerged with the rupture of relationship between the PTCA and the ABSU. Consequently, the movement for

autonomy for the plains tribals slipped into the hands of the latter. They brought forth 92-point Charter of Demands, which included the creation of a separate Bodoland with the status of Union Territory, creation of an autonomous district council in compact tribal areas on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, creation of an autonomous regional council for the non-Karbi Tribals in the autonomous Karbi Along District, Central University at Kokrajhar, etc.⁵⁷

In Bashbari, the ABSU convened a students convention (19-23 December 1988) and scaled down on its original 92-points demands to three, that is a) Creation of Bodoland, a full-fledged state on the North bank of Brahmaputra, b) Creation of autonomous districts for the Bodos and Tribals on the south bank of the Brahmaputra river, and c) Inclusion of the non-Karbi tribal of the autonomous district of Karbi Anglong in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.⁵⁸

While the agitation was gaining momentum, the Central Government intervened and initiated the tripartite talks among the ABSU-BPAC combine, Assam Government and Government of India the first round of talks took place at New Delhi on 28 August 1989. (BCB) On the eve of the tripartite talks, there had erupted a riot at Gohpur village, in Sonitpur district, bordering Arunachal Pradesh.⁵⁹

Whatever was achieved at the tripartite talks between the representatives of the Centre, the Assam Government and the ABSU in Delhi on 28 August 1989, was nullified by the bloody fortnight. These developments endangered the following round of talks scheduled to be held in Delhi in the last week of

September 1982.⁶⁰ The center's role in resolving the Bodo problem became crucial. For the second tripartite talks in Delhi both the Assam Government and ABSU had a common agreement to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiation by withdrawing repressive laws and the students' abjuring violence. However, the second round of tripartite talks held in Delhi did not bear fruit. The centre represented by the Welfare Minister, Dr. Rajendra Kumar Bajpai, turned down the demand for further division of Assam to create a separate Bodoland comprising areas of North of the Brahmaputra.⁶¹

The then Assam Chief Minister, Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mahanta assured that his Government was prepared to examine the issues and work out appropriate legal, political and administrative solutions acceptable to all the sections of the people of the state. The AGP Government's stand was that there are nine plains tribal groups in the state - Bodo, Miri, Sonowal Kachari, Deori, Rabha, Barman, Tiwa, Mech and Hojai. Their population according to them is about 22 lakhs and they form 12 per cent of the total population of the state.⁶²

The fifth round of talks was significant, to which a 12-member team was led by Upendra Nath Brahma because it decided to constitute a Committee of Bodo Issue (COBI) to identify the genuine grievances of the Bodos and the Committee was asked to submit its report by 2 July 1990. (Meanwhile on 1 May 1990, Upendra Nath Brahma passed away and he was succeeded by Sansuma Khungur Bwismutiary. On 2nd May 1990, the COBI submitted its reported at New Delhi. In the sixth round of talks and the seventh round of the talks, the Assam Government offered Panchayati Raj as a solution but the Bodo team rejected it.⁶³

On serious consideration of the Bodo Problem, the government of India, at the end of the extended session of the eighth round of talks (11 Sep. 1989 and 13 Sep. 1990), proposed a Three-member Expert Committee to examine and demarcate the areas of the Bodo and other plains tribals to the north of the river Brahmaputra, and to submit its report within forty five days to make recommendations on autonomy.⁶⁴ The Committee was constituted by the Government of India on 25 February 1991. The Three-Member Expert Committee on Bodo issue consisted of Dr. Bhupendra Singh, IAS, (Retd.), Chairman, Dr. K. S. Singh, Director General, Anthropological Survey of India (Member) and Sri A.M. Gokhale, Joint Secretary, Department of Rural development, Government of India, New Delhi (Member Secretary). The Three-Member Expert Committee submitted began its work in April 1991, but had to suspend its work due to Guwahati High court's injunction. With the lifting of this court injunction after the Saikia Ministry had assumed power, the Bodo panel resumed its work in Assam.⁶⁵ The Three-Member Expert Committee submitted its report in March 1992 with a proposal to grant the Bodo maximum autonomy short of separate state within the Indian Union.⁶⁶ But the ABSU and the BPAC rejected the recommendation of the committee which offered formation, of the two Autonomous Councils on the banks of the river Brahmaputra -- Westerned Council for the Bodos and Eastern Council for the Misings.⁶⁷ They remain adamant to their demand for a separate state - Bodoland.⁶⁸

A five-member Co-ordination Committee of Tribal Organization of Assam (CCTOA), the Apex Body of all tribes of the state, met the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. They lodged complaints against the state

Government's disinterest in a political solution to the problems of the Plains Tribes of Assam. According to Mr. Giridhar Pator, the Convenor of the CCTOA, "the problems of the Plains Tribals would not be solved unless the genuine representatives of all the tribes were involved in the negotiation process".⁶⁹ The Organization strongly suggested that plains tribal areas to be given constitutional recognition and adequate machinery be provided to these area to give them the right of self-determination. "The arrangement will go a long way in protecting the lands and areas of the Plains Tribals to ensure their ethnic identity, and to give them a sense of identity," the organization affirmed.⁷⁰

On 29th June, the Assam Government advanced a proposal envisaging a two tier Autonomous Council -- Village Council at the bottom and an apex body at the top in the villages having 50% or more Bodo people. This also could not satisfy the ABSU and BPAC and was followed by a joint meeting of ABSU and ABSU at Gauhati University Campus in which they agree for a amicable solution to the demand for Bodoland.⁷¹

Despite a series of bipartite and tripartite talks held between the Central Government and the State Government with the ABSU-BPAC representatives and Expert Committee, there was utter failure to chalk out a satisfactory solution to the burning problems of the Bodos.⁷² There were instances of killings and bomb blasts taking many lives in every nook and corner of the state.⁷³

Following the submission of the report by the Bhupinder Singh Committee, a meeting held with the then state Chief Minister, Hiteswar

Saikia, the Bodo leaders insisted on the inclusion of as many as 4443 villages in the proposed territory of the Bodos. The State Government came forward with a rational proposal that any village, that comes within the compact areas of the Bodos, even though it may constitute only 1% of the tribal population, would be excluded. This proposal of the State Government was not acceptable to the ABSU-BPAC representatives. They held on to their demands for the inclusion of 1035 villages having no tribal population. The State Government had to refer the issue to the Centre Government for its consideration.⁷⁴

Compelled by the circumstance, the State Government and Bodo leaders (ABSU-BPAC) finally arrived at an agreement to end the pending dispute. A Memorandum of Settlement (MoS), popularly known as "Bodoland Accord" (Bodo Accord), was signed on 20th February 1993 in the presence of the representative from the Central Government, Rajesh Pilot, Union Minister creating a "Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC)". The BAC would comprise about 2000 villages and 25 tea estates stretching from Shankosh river to Mazbat Pansoi in the north bank of the Brahmaputra. The Bodo Accord was reached with the objective of providing maximum autonomy to the Bodos for social, economic, educational, ethnic and cultural advancement within the framework of the Indian Constitution. Furthermore, the BAC area would also include reserved forests as per the guidelines laid by the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India.⁷⁵

4:11 Second Phase of Bodoland Movement:

The ABSU/BPAC leadership of the movement ended the bipartite Bodo Accord of February 1993 and the election and the creation of the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC). The BAC has no constitutional guarantee and safeguard. It completely depended on the good will of the state government. Since it has no constitutional jurisdiction and arrangement the implementation provisions of the Accord depended on wills of the state government.⁷⁶

The Bodoland Accord and its creation the Bodoland Autonomous Council failed to satisfy the aspiration of the Bodos. There were many factors: the foremost being the failure to demarcate a clear-cut boundary. The Bodo leaders soon realized that they could not settle down with the BAC in its present dispensation.⁷⁷ Due to the lack of efficient leadership immediately after six months of the Bodo Accord, a political crisis was arisen. On the pretension of the failure to holding election within six months, Mr. Sansuma Khungur Bwisumithiary the chief of the BAC had resigned dramatically. From the critical study and information available from the nearest accompanies of the Bwisumithiary it was known that the resignation was just a drama as a part of pressurization on the government with a view to implement the Clauses of the Bodo Accord.⁷⁸

But Mr. Premsing Brahma who never prepares to accept the leadership of the S.K. Bwisumithiary immediately having exploited the situation assumed the power because already he got favor and sympathy of Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, the then Chief Minister of Assam. And the newly formed

political party Bodoland Peoples Party (BPP) was suffered from split into two BPP (Sansuma) and BPP (Premsing).⁷⁹

Now out of this mud a new political party was sprang up namely People Democratic Front (PDF). The PDF had got majority within the BAC in the election of state Assembly in 1996 on the bank of the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) (an extremist group of Bodos) making electioneering alliance with Asom Gana Parishad. In this Election of 1996 the AGP got majority and assumed the state power. On the basis of this election resulted of the BAC Premsing Brahma to resign and the PDF leaders were called to form the BAC government. Accordingly under the leadership of Mr. Kanakeswar Narzary the PDF party had formed the Government in BAC.⁸⁰

The ABSU which was in the back of the BPP party and had differences with the PDF and NDFB leadership in principle soon after kicked out from the helm of affairs.⁸¹ In its 28th Annual Conference held at Lonhim Tinali, Karbi Anglong from 3rd and 5th March 1996, the ABSU disowned the Bodo Accord and revived its demand and movement for separate state of Bodoland,⁸² under the leadership of Swmbla Basumatary.⁸³ The second Phase of the ABSU movement was also marked by violence both directly related and unrelated to the agitation. On July 30, 1996 the then ABSU President Swmbla Basumatary was shot dead by suspected National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) militant. The reason for the killing appears to have been ideological differences between the NDFB and ABSU.⁸⁴ In the meantime Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) was formed to spearhead the agitation⁸⁵ in 1996. The difference between the NDFB and

BLT was that the latter's political demand conformed to the ABSU aim of a separate state Bodoland within the country, the former stood for a sovereign state for the Bodos independent of India. The year 1996 was a particularly distressing one for the Bodo dominated Kokrajhar district because of a spurt of fratricidal killings executed by the NDFB and BLT cadres and the riots between Santhals and Bodos in the whole district including parts of Bangaigaon and Dhubri.⁸⁶

The creation of the Bodoland Autonomous Council could not put an end to the ethnic question of the Bodos. The problems like demarcation of boundaries economic development etc. remained unresolved. Within a decade of the creation, BAC there emerged the demand for creation of a Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC).⁸⁷

The ABSU movement for a separate state continued and they took the decision to revive the dissolved BPAC in its 30th Annual Conference held at Dudhnoi in Gaolpara district from April 1 to 3, 1998.⁸⁸

The Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) demanded a Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) under the sixth Scheduled to the Constitution of India.⁸⁹

The Governments of India and Assam initiated a series of talks with the BLT from the month of March 2000 onwards. The talks had the backing of ABSU and BPAC since the demands of the BLT and the latter were the same.⁹⁰

In February 2002 the Government of Assam under the leadership of Tarun Gogoi, Chief Minister of Assam held a Conference of all the political parties. The Conference agreed to inclusion of 126 more villages into the BTC area. A tripartite talk between the Central and state Governments and the Bodo leaders was held at New Delhi in July 2002 and it suggested constitution of an Expert Committee to prepare the draft for the amendment of the Sixth Schedule for establishment of the BTC and to provide safeguard to the non-Bodos in the BTC area. The Government of Assam agreed to the Constitution of BTC the covering around 3070 villages with the safeguard of the non-Bodos.⁹¹ The struggle for BTC led by the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) resulted... in the signing of the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) between the Government of India, Government of Assam and the BLT on February 10, 2003 for the creation of an autonomous self-governing body to be called Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) under the sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The ABSU in support of the MoS formally 'withdrew' its demand for a separate state.⁹² At Dewargaon, Kokrajhar in the presence of then Deputy Prime Minister L. K. Advani on 7th December a 12-member BTC areas council was formed under the Chairmanship of Hagrama Basumatary, ex-President of BLT, which an oath taking ceremony.⁹³

On 6th December 2003 about 2,7000 BLT members surrendered to Lt. General (Retd.) Ajay Singh, the then Governor of Assam which was followed by the formation of the BTC under the leadership of the Ex-President of BLT. This has ushered a new era in the history of the administration of Assam. However, the non-Bodo residents in the BTC area suffer from fear, suspicion etc. and started protesting in various ways. It has

also resulted demands from other plains tribal communities like the Tiwas, Rabhas, Misings etc. for inclusion of their Councils within the garb of the Sixth Schelude to the Constitution of India.⁹⁴

The area under the BTC jurisdiction is called the Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District (BTAD). The council enjoys autonomy and control the departments specified in the MoS, but it does not control the district administration.⁹⁵ On 14th May 2004 the Government of Assam declared the BTC districts and reorganized the existing sub-divisions.⁹⁶ The BTAD consists of 4 contiguous districts - Kokrajhar, Baska, Udalguri and Chirang - - carved out of eight existing districts -- Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup, Darrang and Sonitpur -- are area of the 27,100 Square Kilometers (35% of Assam).⁹⁷

4:12. Mising Autonomous Movement:-

The Miris, who known as misings, are the second largest group of schedule tribe (plains) of Assam. They belong to Tibeto-Burman family of the Mogoloid group.

The notable feature of the Mising community is the emergence of their students' organization with all kinds of social activities. The Takam Mising Porim Kcbang (TMPK) or All Mising Students' Union may be considered as a pioneer organization in the process of formulation of strategies to launch a movement for ethnic autonomy for the Misings in Assam.

In 1965 the Mising Chatra Sanmilan could organize four more decisions in different parts of the state of Assam. On 16 October 1971 at the initiative of Sonadhar Patir, Kunsong Panging, Madhuras Pegu and Medini Mohan Doley a meeting was held at Jonai Higher Secondary School in which Mising Chatra Sanmilan was renamed as Takam Mising Porim Kcbang (TMPK).⁹⁸

During the first regime of Assam Gana Parishad under the leadership of Prafulla Kumar Mahanta as Chief Minister of Assam the TMPK organized its first Mising National Convention in September 1989 at Jadhah of Dhemaji district. The main aim of the convention was to gear up the agitation for a Mising Autonomous State. Moreover, Mising Political Leaders attended the Convention in which a consensus was drawn to carry on the agitation for an Autonomous state. To accommodate all the people of the Mising Community the Mising Mimak Kcbang (MMK) (Mising Sangram Parishad) was formed in the convention. Thus the TMPK and the MMK have become the leading organizations for demanding the Mising Autonomous state.⁹⁹

The grievance of the Misings are also the grievances of other ethnic groups living in the plains and hill areas of Assam and on this basis different tribal organizations unite e.g. the Tribal Students' Federation (TSF) covers the Karbi Students' Association (KSA), Mising Students' Union (TMPK), Assam Deori Students' Union (ASDSU), Dimasa Students' Union (DSU), All Assam Tribal Students' Federation etc. The North-East Students' Union (NESU) also covers students or youths of all the states in the North-East.

The feeling of oneness among these youths generates from the strong feeling of deprivation.¹⁰⁰

The TMPK in its Memorandum to the Expert Committee on the Bodo and other tribal issues demanding creation of an Autonomous State stated that at the time of drafting the Constitution, on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee, under the Chairmanship of Gopinath Bordoloi all the tribal areas of Assam were placed under the sixth Schedule. The sixth Schedule areas become autonomous districts each with a District Council and this facility has not been provided to the plains tribes of Assam on the ground that they have mixed up with the non-tribals to a great extent and therefore the question of application of the sixth Schedule did not arise. So, they feel that the creation of an Autonomous state is the only solution.¹⁰¹

The Expert Committee constituted by the Government of India in its report submitted in January 1995 expressed its views as follows:

"The Constitution presently provides Fifth Schedule for the Scheduled Areas all over the country and the Sixth Schedule for some tribal areas of the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura in the North East region. The major features of the Fifth Schedule areas are Tribal Advisory Council, the Governor's power to adopt laws passed by Parliament and State Legislatures and making regulations for the Scheduled Areas having the force of law and the extension of the executive administration of the Schedule areas. In contradistinctions, the sixth Schedule deals with the constitution of Autonomous District Councils and autonomous regions specifying for them legislative, judicial and executive, developmental and financial powers and functions. On the whole, the Fifth Schedule provides

for scheduled areas of a state, an enabling frame for legislations in the form of regulations, a tribal consultative machinery in the form of a Tribal Advisory Council and paternalistic in its designs. It Contains the potential to become a potent instrument for prevention of exploitations and discrimination as well a as for governance of Scheduled areas in the tribal interest. On the other hand, the Sixth Schedule spells out in different spheres the concepts of self-management for Autonomous Councils and Regional Councils at the district and regional level respectively.¹⁰²

It is noteworthy that some tribal areas in the country are covered neither by the Fifth Schedule nor the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. For instance, the hills areas of Manipur state comprising about 90% of the total geographical area in predominantly tribal in demographic character. In Assam also, plains tribal areas have been left out of both the Fifth and Sixth Schedules to the Constitution. The tribes of North plains of Brahmaputra have been unable to take advantage of constitutional provisions as per both the Schedules. The process of scheduling as commenced in the nineteen fifties and was resumed in the seventies as a part of making the tribal sub-plan and scheduled areas conterminous.¹⁰³

A brief study of the Report of the Expert Committee on the Plains Tribals of Assam (ECOPTA): The Government of India had set up the three member ECOPTA with Dr. Bhupinder Singh, IAS (Retd.), Dr. K.S, Singh, IAS and Padmashri A.M. Gokhale, IAS in the wake of the Bodoland agitation. The terms of reference of the Committee were to (a) Determine the area of Bodos and other plains tribals to the North of river Brahmaputra and (b) Make

recommendations as to the autonomy and legislative, administrative and financial powers that may be given to them.¹⁰⁴

The Committee was the first of its kind in independent India. But the Government of India missed a missed a golden opportunity of making an in depth study of the tribals of Assam by restricting the terms of reference of the committee only to the north of the river Brahmaputra. The tribals living mostly to the South of river Brahmaputra such as the Tiwas and the Rabhas and the two hills districts were left out of the score of study by the ECOPTA. Second, Majuli, the biggest river island in the world, which is a districts were also left out, as it falls neither North nor South to the river Brahmaputra. These inherent defects in terms of reference of the ECOPTA made it far from a complete report on the plains tribals of Assam.¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, the Committee made sincere and committed efforts to study the tribal problem as a whole restricting their recommendations only to the plains tribes of North to river Brahmaputra.

The ECOPTA had made recommendations for three tiers Autonomy for the Bodos and the Misings along with a bicameral system of Government of Assam. The recommendations made by the Expert Committee, three stated specifically that the scheme for redressal of grievances of tribal communities should be through participative democracy, particularly at the grass hoot level and the autonomy should be non-manipulative. In the context of tribal grievance and aspirations, there have been insurgencies, agitations felt that the tribal aspirations could be satisfied only by granting sub- state status to them.¹⁰⁶

4:13. **Tiwa Autonomy Movement:-**

The Tiwa community is a prominent plain tribe of Assam. The Lalungs who are known as Tiwas (now for Government purposes the name Tiwa is also used is already necessary constitutional amendment in the STs (plains) list of Assam is yet to be made) are the major tribal community in both Marigaon and Nagaon Districts.¹⁰⁷ However a section of Tiwa community resides in the hills of Karbi Anglong district Kamrup. At present Tiwas are found in the districts of Kamrup, Morigaon, Nagaon, Karbi Anglong, Darrang, Dhemaji and Jorhat.¹⁰⁸

In 1960, the language policy of the Government of Assam inculcated a sense of insecurity in the minds of Tiwas. After seven years Indrasing Deuri, a Government servant resigned his job and started mobilizing the educated youths of the Tiwas and a conference was held at Umsui Karbi Anglong District and in this conference the Lalung Darbar was formed under Presidentship of A. Malang. The Lalung Darbar also demanded Autonomous Lalung Hill Sub-Division. They submitted memorandums on several occasions to the Prime Minister of India and Governor of Assam etc. During Assam Movement when Assam was in turmoil, the Darbar submitted a Memorandum along with their Youth Front to the Prime Minister of India identifying the boundaries of the proposed Lalung Aotonomous Hill District.¹⁰⁹

The Darbar mobilized public opinion by organizing public meetings at Nellie, Chaheri etc. in 1968. On 15 and 16 October, they held a convention at Makankuchi to review the states of the movement. Considering the

indifference of the Government about their demands the convention decided to send a 9-member delegation to the Governor of Assam. On 15th July the delegation, led by Raiman Patar and Indrasing Deuri met the then Governor of Assam. After one year, the Darber made a new proposal to recognize the people living in the proposed Hill District as Hill Tribes. Perhaps this demands a division between the plain Tiwas and Hills Tiwas. Giridhar Patar, a young educated plain tribal initiated the forming of a new organization and ultimately in 1971 at a convention the Tiwas Yuba Chatra Sanmilon was formed with Budhiram Bordoloi and Khirod Patar as its President and General Secretary respectively. In July 1972, they approached Sarat Chandra Singha, the Chief Minister of Assam with a demand for the preservation of socio-cultural identity of the Tiwas.¹¹⁰

In 1977, the Lalung Darbar youth Front was formed in a special convention under the Tiwa Darbar with Robotsing Deori and Mukunda Bordoloi as President and General Secretary respectively. This Youth Front also demanded the Lalung Hills Aotunomous District and decided to start agitational programmes, but a section of its members did not agree with this decision and left the Front.¹¹¹

Like al other tribal people, the Tiwas of Nagaon and Marigaon participated in the Assam Movement launched by All Assam Students' Union (AASU). However, with the signing of the Assam Accord the Tiwas became dissatisfied. Accordingly, they met on 30th October 1985 at Jagiroad at the initiative of the Lalung Youth Front. The All Assam Lalung Sanmilon and the Lalung Darbar also took active part in the meeting.¹¹²

The important achievement of the meeting was the formation of the Autonomous Lalung District Demand Committee (ALDDC). The ALDDC changed the demand from the Autonomous Hill District to an Autonomous Lalung District.

The ALDC, ATSU, ATWA, and Tiwa Sanmilan submitted several Memorandum of the state and Central Governments, but no response was received by them. Ultimately, on 13 September 1992, the ATSU organized a special convention at the Jagiroad College to discuss the autonomy issue. It appealed to all the intellectuals, social workers etc. to make their agitational programmes successful. Since then ATSU has organized several meetings and conventions in Marigaon, Nagaon and Sonitpur.¹¹³

In the early part 1993, the Government of Assam invited the ALDDC and ATSU for discussion an Autonomy Committee was constituted of which Mukund Sarma was the Chairman. The other members were Gomeswar Pegu, Minister of state for Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Jatin Hazarika, Adviser to Chief Minister, T.L. Baruah, Commissioner Home and Political Department. Simultaneously, three more Committees were also constituted for the Mising, Tiwas and Rabhas. The Committee for the Tiwas represented both ALDDC and ATSU.¹¹⁴

However, the discussions which took place among the committee could not satisfy the Tiwas. The ALDDC submitted a Memorandum in which it depicted a Model it demanded to include all TSP villages and tribal belts and blocks, but did not accept the Model Council prepared by the ALDDC. It proposed new principles of Autonomy.¹¹⁵

On 13 April 1995, the Government of Assam signed an Accord with the ALDDC. From the Government side Arunodoy Bhattacharjee, the Chief Secretary to the Government and all other members of the Committee signed the Accord and the ALDDC was represented by Sridam Deori, Narayan Radu Kakoti, Giridhar Patar, Nadiram Deuri and Kalpana Patar.¹¹⁶

The Tiwa Accord providing for a Lalung Autonomous Council consisting of Satellite areas of the Village Council. There would be no separate compact area or village Boundary. The Apex council would consist of 144 villages of Kamrup, Morigaon and Nagaon with 28 blocks. The ALDDC demanded 174 more villages to be included along with 144 villages. The Tiwas were not happy with the Accord on the ground that council without a boundary would be meaningless for them.¹¹⁷

4:14. RABHA HASONG AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENT:-

The Rabha is one on the nine Schedules Tribes in the plain districts of Assam. They are widely scattered but mostly concentrated in the undivided districts of Goalpara, Kamrup and Darrang. Besides their distribution spreads over Meghalaya, Bangladesh, Nepal, West Bengal, Manipur, etc.¹¹⁸ According to Handson, the Rabhas constitute a major segment of the Bodo Linguistic group who belongs to the Mongoloid racial group.¹¹⁹ According to Rev Endle, this tribe has seven major 'sub-tribes' such as 'Rangdaniya', 'Maitoriya', 'Pati', 'Koch', 'Bitliya', 'Dahuriya', and 'Sangha'. Out of these seven major sub-tribes, the Ranghaniya, the Pati and the Moitoriya are

described to be the dominant one.¹²⁰ Beside these there are also other sub-tribes of the Rabhas such as Madahl, Hana, Totla etc.¹²¹

Though the Rabhas is the aboriginal ethnic group, known as "the son of soil", unfortunately this son of soil falls to coherent its progressive walk with the dynamic moves of time. On contrary, it remains as poverty, landless and mostly deprived class, hence they are socio-economic and politically backward.¹²² So, like other ethnic groups in Assam they have also demanded ethnic autonomy in an organized way.

Mention may be made of All Rabha National Council which was coined in 1926 itself at Santipur of Krishnai in Goalpara district. In the beginning it was known as "Asom Rabha Sanmilan" and in 1948 in its third conference held at Boko of Kamrup district it was renamed as "All Asom Rabha Sangha". It received its present name only in 1971 in its 19th annual conference held at Dhanubhanga of Goalpara District and since then then it is known as All Rabha National Council. The main intention of renaming it as All Rabha National Council was to include all the Rabha spread over the country and other neighbouring counties.¹²³

The basic objectives of the Council were:

- a) To protect and maintain the age old identity, unity and integrity.
- b) To preserve and safeguard language and culture.
- c) To uplift and improve the standard of living.
- d) To spread education.
- e) To develop socio-economic condition.
- f) To remove the age-old superstitions prevailing in the Rabha Samaj.

In 1973, "Bebak Rabha Kowrang Ranchum" submitted a Memorandum to the then Chief Minister of Assam, Sarat Chandra Singha for the recognition of the Rabha language. The All Rabha Students' Union also submitted a Memorandum to Anowara Taimur and Keshab Chandra Gogoi then Chief Minister of Assam on this issue.¹²⁴

In December 1988, considering the situation in Assam the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) took initiative to organize a Convention at Jorhat to discuss the problems of different ethnic groups to which the Rabhas were also invited. In the convention, the representatives of the Rabhas felt neglected and walk out of the convention. On their way, back they met at Kaziranga, the world famous wildlife sanctuary. The meeting was presided over by Rajen Rabha and it decided to organize a district based conference of all the Rabha organization. Accordingly, at Salpara of Krishnai a convention was held on 18 December 1988 under the Chairmanship of Dhaneswar Rabha. The notable feature of the convention was the formation of the Goalpara Rabha National Council with Dhaneswar Rabha as its President. Suluchan Rabha became its General Secretary. It submitted a Memorandum demanding an Autonomous District Council.¹²⁵

On 22 July 1992, the Rabha Hasong Demand Committee was formed. It demanded of a four tier Autonomous Council as follows:

- I) Rabha Hasong Autonomous State
- II) Rabha Hasong Autonomous District Council
- III) Rabha Hasong Autonomous Regional Council
- IV) Rabha Hasong Autonomous Village Council.

In 1993, the Rabhas declared that they would boycott the Independence Day celebrations as a first phase of their agitation to realize the Rabha Hasong Autonomous state comprising the Rabha-dominated areas in Kamrup and Goalpara districts. They were encouraged by the statement of Hiteswar Saikia, Chief Minister of Assam that greater autonomy would be given to the tribals of Assam. The All Rabha Students' Union and Rabha Hasong Autonomous demand Committee demanded creation of a Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council.¹²⁶

4:15. Thengal Kachari Autonomous Movement:-

Thengal Kacharis are those communities who have never been separately enumerated in any of the five Census operations (1951, 1961, 1971, 1991 and 2001) conducted in Assam since Independence. (Because of the disruption caused by the Assam agitation, the 1981 census could not be held in Assam.) The published details about Assam's Scheduled Tribes (S.T.) population in the first four of these censuses make no reference to the Thengal Kachari.

No wonder, therefore, that the community does not even figure in any published records and government publications. Inquiries at the Assam Institute of Research for Tribals and SCs at Guwahati, a structure under the Government of Assam, which has published several monographs on the plains tribes of Assam, revealed that the institute had not published any material on the Thengal Kacharis not even the slightest of an article. Indeed, Tribes of Assam Plains (1980), published by the Director, Welfare of Plains tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, does not even consider

Thengal Kachari (Thengals of Upper Assam) as a tribal people. According to the peoples of India volume on Assam, "although they (Thengal Kachari) are a ST of Assam, nevertheless they have not been shown separately in the list of STs of Assam".¹²⁷

On the face of it, the Thengal Kachari, as the very denomination of Kachari indicates, should have been recognized as a tribal community, and enumerated in successive Censuses as Scheduled tribe. This has not been the case. According to the government and community but not enumerated so separately. They were instead included with the Sonowal Kachari, a people closely related and their numbers were subsumed in the total of the Sonowal Kachari.¹²⁸

Following the path charted in the creation of Autonomous Councils for the Mising, the Rabha and the Tiwa between July and October, 1995, and the more recent accord (of March 4) for the creation of similar councils for the Sonowal Kachari and Deori, all designated plains tribal communities and enumerated so in successive Censuses, the state now has a sixth autonomous council.

A community never enumerated separately and never finding even a mention in all the literature on the tribal people of the state, including literature published by the Government of Assam, about whose number or habitat little is known, has within a few weeks of the formation of a 'Demand Committee' for the formation of an autonomous council found this demand conceded. The alacrity, not to speak of democratic response to popular demand, is astounding, given the history of violent agitations that

have marked the grudging concession in respect of even the most legitimate of demands.¹²⁹

In March 2005, there came into existence in Titabor, near Jorhat in Upper Assam, an organization called Thengal (also spelt Thangal) Kachari Autonomous Council (TKAC) Demand Committee who stated objective is explicit in its very name - the creation of an Autonomous council for the Thengal Kachari, a community of people living mostly in some villages in Jorhat and Golaghat districts.

On August 10, 2005, barely five months later, the state government signed an accord with the TKAC Demand Committee; and two days later, the state Assembly passed the Thengal Kachari Autonomous Council Bill, 2005, providing for the formation of such a Council. Indeed, TKAC Bill as originally drafted clubbed the Sonowal Kachari and the Thengal Kachari and envisaged the creation of a Sonowal Kachari-Thengal Kachari Autonomous Council. However, such hyphenation was not acceptable to either of the communities. Thus came into being into separate autonomous councils for the Sonowal Kachari and Thengal Kachari, the Thengal Kachari Autonomous Council Act was passed in the 2005.¹³⁰

References

1. Hornby, A.S.: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, (Oxford University Press: 2000) Page No-70
2. Mclean, Iain and Alistair McMillan: The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics, (Oxford University Press: 2006) page No-31
3. Paul, Madan Chandra: Dimensions of the Tribal Movements in India: a study of Udayachal in Assam. (New Delhi: Inter India Publications: 1989) Page No-17/18.
4. Shah, Ghanshyam: Social Movements and the state, (New Delhi: Sage Publications: 2002) Page No-24.
5. Ibid: Page No-25.
6. Ibid: Page No-26.
7. Ibid: Page No-251.
8. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-42.
9. Ibid: Page No-47.
10. Ghosh, Anurabha: Ideology and Politics of Jharkhand in Economic and Political Weekly, (August 28, 1993)
11. Jha, Makhan: India and Nepal: Sacred Centre and anthropological researches (New Delhi: M.D. Publications: 1998) Page No-33.
12. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-52.
13. Datta, P.S.: Autonomy Movements in Assam (Documents) (New Delhi: Omsons Publications: 1993) Page No-5/6.
14. Konwar, Narayan,: Society and politics in Assam (Book Land: Guwahati, 2006) Page No-82.
15. Datta, P.S.: Page No-7
16. Konwar, Narayan,: Page No-86.
17. Barpujari, H.K.: Uttar Purbanchalor Samasya Aru Rajniti (Guwahati: G.L. Publication: 1999) Page No-15.

18. Konwar, Narayan,: Page No-87.
19. Ibid: Page No-193.
20. The Bodo (2007): Page No-152.
- 21 Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob(ed.): The Bodos: *Children of Bhullumbutter*. (Guwahati: Spectrum Publications) 1997: Page No-80.
22. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-15.
23. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob(ed.): Page No-80.
24. Singh, K.S. (ed.): The Scheduled Tribes, Vol. 3, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994): Page No-3.
25. Bhuyan, B.C.: Political Development of the North-East, Vol. 1 (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1989): Page no-106-107.
26. Ibid, Page No-56.
27. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-78.
28. Gassah, L.S. (ed.) Regional Political Parties on North-East India, (New Delhi : Omsons Publications, 1992): Page no--83.
29. Pulloppillil, Thomas and Jacob, Aluckal (ed.): Page No-82.
30. Hajarika, Niru: Ethnic Autonomy Question in N.E. India: Search for an Answer (Guwahati: Spectrum Publications 2005): Page No-61.
31. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-82.
32. Bulletin (2007-08): Page No-13.
33. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-78.
34. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob(ed.): Page No--82-83.
35. Gassah, L.S. (ed.): Page no--84.
36. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-78.
37. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-61.
38. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): Page No--83.
39. Singh, K.S. (ed.): Page No-3.

40. Mushahary, R.N.: A Seminar Paper on "The Plains Tribal Autonomy: The Bodo Experience," Page -- 1-11.
41. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-62.
42. Bulletin (2007-08): Page No-13.
43. Ibid: Page No-13.
44. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-182.
45. Ibid: Page No-183.
46. Konwar, Narayan,: Page No-90.
47. Dutta, P. S.: Autonomy Movements in Assam (Documents): Page-Page No-261.
48. Ibid: Page-Page No-262.
49. Gassah, L.S. (ed.): Page No-261.
50. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): Page No--88.
51. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement (case of Bodo-Kacharis of Assam) (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Private Limited.): Page No-106.
52. Gassah, L.S. (ed.): Page No-93.
53. "Amnesty learns of Bodo woes" in *The Times of India*, Kolkata 16th September 1989.
54. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): Page No--88-89.
55. Gupta, Vishwa Bandhu, "Bodoland Day, 20th February 1995" in *The North East Sun*. (25th February-3rd March 1995) Page No--19-24.
56. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): Page No-89.
57. Mushahary, R.N., A Seminar Paper on "The Plains Tribal Autonomy: The Bodo Experience," Page -- 1-11.
58. "Bodoland Demand Unlikely to be met" in *The Indian Express*, Kolkata, 28th August 1989.

59. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): Page No-90.
60. Sonwalkar, Prasun: "Rilts make Bodo takes a shame" in *The Times of India*, Kolkata, 14th September 1989.
61. "Panel to evolve Bodo Solution" in *The Indian Express*, Kolkata, 6th October 1989.
62. Singh, K.S. (ed.): Page No-63.
63. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-65.
64. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): Page No-90/91.
65. Mushahary, R.N., A Seminar Paper on "The Plains Tribal Autonomy: The Bodo Experience," Page -- 1-11.
66. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-133/134.
67. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-65.
68. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-139.
69. Singh, K.S. (ed.): Page No-70.
70. Ibid: Page No-63.
71. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-65.
72. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-139.
73. Singh, K.S. (ed.): Page No-67.
74. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-139/140.
75. Ibid: Page No-140.
76. Mugani Sakhi (2006-07): Page No-62.
77. Pegu, Jadav: Reclaiming Identity A Discourse on Bodo History, (Jwngsar Narzary:Kokrajhar 2004): Page No-92.
78. Mugani Sakhi (2009): Page No-201.
79. Mugani Sakhi (2006-07): Page No-29.
80. The Bodo (2009): Page No-149.
81. Mugani Sakhi (2006-07): Page No-62.
82. Pegu, Jadav: Page No-92.
83. Mugani Sakhi (2005)- Page No-191.
84. Pegu, Jadav: Page No-92.
85. Mugani Sakhi (2009): Page No-200.
86. Pegu, Jadav: Page No-92.

87. Mugani Sakhi (2006-07): Page No-62.
88. Pegu, Jadav: Page No-93.
89. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-76.
90. Pegu, Jadav: Page No-93.
91. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-76/77.
92. Pegu, Jadav: Page No-93.
93. Mugani Sakhi (2005)- Page No-192.
94. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-77.
95. Mugani Sakhi (2001): Page No-62.
96. Bhattacharjee, Chandana: Page No-77.
97. Mugani Sakhi (2001): Page No-62.
98. Bulletin (2000): Page No-17.

99. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-80.
100. Ibid: Page No-82.
101. Sharma Thakur, G.C., Selected Essays on Tribes and Castes of Assam (Part I) (Guwahati: Directorate of Assam Institute of Research for Tribals and Scheduled Castes) 2007: Page No-143.
102. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-83.
103. Ibid: Page No-84.
104. Ibid: Page No-245.
105. Bulletin (2000): Page No-19.
106. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-84.
107. Report on a study on socio-economic condition of tribal and non-tribal villages of Marigaon and Nagaon Districts of Assam: Page No-11
108. Bordoloi, B.N., Sharma Thakur, G.C., and Saikia M.C.: Tribes of Assam, Part-I, Tribal Research Institute, Assam, Guwahati, 1987. Page No-74.
109. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-91.
110. Bulletin (2005): page No-25.
111. Bordoloi, B.N., Sharma Thakur, G.C., and Saikia M.C.: PageNo-75.
112. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-98.
113. Report on a study on socio-economic condition of tribal and non-tribal villages of Marigaon and Nagaon Districts of Assam: Page No-23.
114. Bulletin (2005): page No-27.
115. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-99.
116. Ibid: Page No-100.
117. Report on a study on socio-economic condition of tribal and non-tribal villages of Marigaon and Nagaon Districts of Assam: Page No-27.
118. Bordoloi, B.N., Sharma Thakur, G.C., and Saikia M.C.: Page No-119.

119. Habraghat (2007): Page No-25.
120. Bordoloi, B.N., Sharma Thakur, G.C., and Saikia M.C.: Page No-120.
121. Habraghat (2007): Page No-25.
122. Ibid: Page No-26.
123. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-107.
124. Bordoloi, B.N., Sharma Thakur, G.C., and Saikia M.C.: Page No-121.
125. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-108.
126. Ibid. Hajarika, Niru: Page No-107.
127. Prabhakara, M.S.: Manufacturing Identities? in *Frontline*.
128. Sarmah, Jayanta Krishna: Friction to fusion: ARC on NE conflicts in *The Assam Tribune*.
129. Prabhakara, M.S.: The States in the name of Identity in *Frontline*.
130. Prabhakara, M.S.: Manufacturing Identities? in *Frontline*.

Chapter V

5:1 Bodoland Autonomous Council

5:2 Bodoland Territorial Council

5:3 Mising Autonomous Council

5:4 Lalung (Tiwa) Autonomous Council

5:5 Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council

This Chapter deals with the formation various autonomous councils of plains tribes of Assam.

Chapter V

FORMATION OF AUTONOMOUS COUNCILS

5:1 Bodoland Autonomous Council:-

Compelled by the circumstance, the State Government and Bodo leaders (ABSU-BPAC) finally arrived at an arrangement to end the pending dispute. A Memorandum of Settlement (MoS), popularly known as the "Bodoland Accord" (Bodo Accord) was signed on 20 February 1993 in the presence of the representative from the Centre, Rajesh Pilot, creating a 'Bodoland Autonomous Council' (BAC). The BAC would comprise about 2000 villages and 25 tea estates stretching from Shankosh river to Mazbat Pasnoi in the bank of Brahmaputra.¹ The objective of the Bodo Accord was to provide maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution of India to the Bodo for social, economic, educational, ethnic and cultural advancement through the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC). The Accord provide for the establishment of a Bodoland Autonomous Council by an Act of the Assam Legislative Assembly comprising contiguous geographical areas between the rivers Sankosh and Mazbat.² Furthermore, the BAC area would also include reserved forest, as per the guidelines laid by the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India.³ The State Government has been entrusted with the responsibility of including villages having a 50% tribal population into its jurisdiction. However, there was no bar for inclusion of any villages having less than tribal population.

The BAC will comprise of a General Council of 40 members - 35 elected and 5 nominated by the Governor of Assam from amongst the groups who have not been represented in the council.

The BAC will have power to make bye-laws, rules and orders on the subjects enumerated in Schedule A. The BEC being the executive authority will have power to implement the schemes prepared by the BAC and for this purpose it will have the power to appoint candidates to Class III and Class IV services.

The Government of Assam will consult the General Council for its views while making laws on (a) the religious or social practices of the Bodos, (b) the Bodo customary laws and procedures and (c) the ownership and transfer of the land within BAC. The BAC will also protect the demographic complexion of the areas falling within its jurisdiction. The General Council can lay down policy to use the Bodo language within the Bodoland area. For having correspondence with offices outside Bodoland would be in accordance with the Article 345 of the Constitution of India.

As regards the finance for the BAC, a specific amount will be earmarked under a separate sun-head under the guidelines laid down by the Government of India from time to time. The allocation of funds will be in the spirit of the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution of India.

The Accord empowered the Government of Assam to constitute an Interim Council from amongst the leaders who were the signatories to the Settlement during the transitional period. The then President of India, Shankar Dayal

Sharma gave his assent on 13th May 1993 to the Bodoland Autonomous Council Bill passed by the Assam Legislative Assembly on 8th April 1993 during the Budget session.

Thus, the Bodoland Autonomous Council Act provided for the establishment of a Bodoland Autonomous Council within the state of Assam with maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution. The term "Autonomy" however, does not mean that Bodoland may be something not within the state of Assam. The Bodoland contemplated in the Act will remain as a part of Assam but the people living within it, subject to the general control of the state Government shall enjoy autonomy in respect of taking actions for the development in the fields mentioned.

The Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) will have a General Council and an Executive Council and will be known as Bodoland Executive Council. The General Council shall consist of 40 (forty) elected members of which 30 (thirty) seats shall be reserved for Scheduled Tribes (plains) on the basis of adult suffrage from the territorial constituencies. The term of office is five years and these may be dissolved by the Governor in consultation with the Department of Law, Government of Assam before the expiry of the term.

The General Council shall meet for the conduct of business at least once in three months and shall conduct its business in such manner and in accordance with such procedures as may be determined by it by regulation. The quorum for the transaction of the business at the meeting of the General Council shall be 13 members and the decision of the General Council shall be by a single majority of votes of the members present.

The General Council shall have the executive powers in the areas of 38 subjects.

1. Cottage Industry
2. Animal Husbandry and Veterinary
3. Forests
4. Agriculture
5. PWD
6. Sericulture
7. Education
 - (a) Adult Education
 - (b) Primary Education
 - (c) Up to Higher Secondary including Vocational Training
8. Cultural Affairs
9. Soil Conservation
10. Co-operation
11. Fisheries
12. Panchayat and rural development
13. Handloom and Textiles
14. Health and Family Welfare
15. Public Health Engineering
16. Irrigation
17. Social Welfare
18. Flood Control Schemes for protection of villages (not of highly technical nature)
19. Sports and Youth Welfare
20. Weights and measures
21. Library Services

22. Museums and Archaeology
23. Urban Development - Town and Country Planning
24. Tribal Research Institute
25. College Education (General)
26. Land and Revenue
27. Publicity/Public relations
28. Printing and Stationery
29. Tourism
30. Transport
31. Any other matters connected with development
32. Municipal Corporation, Improvement Trusts, District Boards and Local authorities
33. Tribal Welfare
34. Markets and Fairs
35. Lotteries, Treaties, Dramatic performance and Cinemas
36. Vital Statistics including registration of births and deaths
37. Food and Civil supply
38. Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivations etc.

The General Council shall -

- 1) Formulate integrated development plans for the council area;
- 2) Implemented schemes and programmes for development of the Council areas:
- 3) Have power to appoint Class III and Class IV staff.
- 4) Have power to regulate trade and commerce within its jurisdiction in accordance with the existing law including issue of permits and licences to individuals.

- 5) Guide customs, traditions, and social justice of the Bodos according to the traditional law.
- 6) Organise special recruitment drive into army, paramilitary forces and police units for job in consultation with the Central Government.
- 7) Allot permits for trade and commerce to the people residing in to the Council area preference being given to Bodos.

As regards the power of levying taxes the General Council may--

-Levy tolls on person, vehicles or animals or any class of them at any toll bar established by it on any road other than a *Kutch* road or any bridges vested in it.

-Levy toll in respect of any ferry established by it or under its management.

-Levy the following fees and rates

5:2 Bodoland Territorial Council:-

The first Chief Executive Council Member (CEM) of the interim Executive Council Sansuma Khungur Bwismuthiary resigned only after Six months in office in protest non-fulfillment of various aspects of the Accord. The BAC did not have any constitutional guarantee and safeguard rather it depended on the goodwill of the state government. It is also realized that the BAC was failure due to the lack of political techniques and negligence of the local government under AGP Banner. In 1996, ABSU revived their movement for the separate state of Bodoland within the Sixth Scheduled of the Constitution of India under the leadership of Swmbla Basumatary. In the meantime the Bodoland Liberation Tiger was formed to spearhead the agitation and after a protracted bloodshed, the Bodos have been granted the

Bodoland Territorial Council. The Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) is the first experience of the plains tribes (Bodos) with the autonomy under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The BTC came into existence on the basis of Memorandum of Settlement (MoS), (See Appendix-B) which was signed, by Hagrama Mahilary, Chairman, BLT, on behalf of the BLT, P.K. Dutta, Chief Secretary, Government of Assam and R.C.A. Jain, Secretary (BM), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India in 2003. The MoS was signed towards the end of serious talks, which were held between the Government of India, Government of Assam and BLT since March 2000. Hagrama Mahilary, BLT Chief, was sworn in as the Chief Executive Member (CEM) of the interim BTC on December 7, 2003.

Objective of the BTC:- The basic objective behind the creation of the BTC was to create a self governing body for the Bodo people to fulfill their aspirations relating to their cultural identity, language, education and economic development under the Sixth Schedule of the constitution. It has been mentioned in the MoS that the objectives of the agreement are - to create an Autonomous self governing body to be known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the state of Assam and to provide constitutional protection under Sixth Schedule to the said Autonomous Body; to fulfill economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of right, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos; and to speed up the infrastructural development in BTC area.



POPULATION PATTERN OF BTAD

SLNO	NAME OF THE DISTRICT	ST	SC	GENERAL	TOTAL
1.	BAKSHA	338,630	45,967	333,045	717,642
2.	KOKRAJHAR	528,774	32,609	337,608	898,991
3.	CHIRANG	169,811	30,035	143,780	343,626
4.	UDALGURI	317,412	28,933	324,685	671,030
	TOTAL	1,354,627	1,37,544	1,139,118	2,631,289

Area of the BTC:-The area of the BTC comprises 3082 villages as it was mentioned in the MoS. The whole villages under the BTC are divided into districts - Kokrajhar, Baska, Chirang and Udalgur. These four districts are known as Bodoland Territorial Administrative Districts (BTAD). Thus, the area of the BTC comprises all the villages under the BTAD.

Composition of the BTC:-

The total strength of the BTC is 46. Out of them 30 reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, five for the non-tribal communities, five open for all communities and the remaining six shall be nominated by the Governor of Assam from the unrepresented communities from BTC area, of which, at least two should be women. The people of BTC area on the basis of adult franchise elect the 40 members for a period of 5 years.

Within the BTC there is an Executive Council, which comprises of not more than 12 members. Out them, one becomes the Chief and another one the Deputy Chief of the Executive Council. There is provision for representation of non-tribal members to the Executive Council. The Chief and the Deputy Chief the Executive Council enjoy the status equivalent to the Cabinet Minister of State of Assam.

Powers and Functions of the BTC

The BTC has legislative, executive, and administrative and financial powers over the subjects entrusted to it through the MoS. Some of the important powers and functions of the BTC are as follows:

i) **Legislative Powers:** The BTC has its legislative power over the subjects given to it. The BTC can make law on all the subjects, such a law, however, requires to the assent of the Governor to come into effect. The subjects entrusted to the BTC area --

1. Small, Cottage and Rural Industry.
2. Animal Husbandry & Veterinary.
3. Forests.
4. Agriculture.
5. PWD
6. Sericulture
7. Education
 - (a) Primary Education.
 - (b) Higher Secondary including Vocational Training.
 - (c) Adult Education
 - (d) College Education (General)
8. Cultural Affairs.
9. Soil Conservation.
10. Co-operation.
11. Fisheries.
12. Panchayat and rural development.
13. Handloom and Textiles.
14. Health and Family Welfare.
15. Public Health Engineering.
16. Irrigation.
17. Social Welfare.
18. Flood Control.
19. Sports and Youth Welfare.

20. Weights and measures.
21. Library Services.
22. Museum and Archaeology.
23. Urban Development -- Town and Country Planning.
24. Tribal Research Institute.
25. Land and Revenue.
26. Publicity/Public relations.
27. Printing and Stationery.
28. Tourism.
29. Transport.
30. Planning and Development.
31. Municipal Corporation, Improvement Trusts, District Boards and other local authorities.
32. Welfare of Plain Tribes and Backward Classes.
33. Markets and Fairs.
34. Lotteries, Theatres, Dramatic performance and Cinemas.
35. Statistics.
36. Foods and Civil supply.
37. Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivations etc.
38. Labour and Employment.
39. Relief and Rehabilitation, and
40. Registration of Births and Deaths.

2. Executive Power:

The executive powers of the BTC are exercised through its Principal Secretary who is an officer of the rank not below that of Commissioner/Secretary to Government of Assam. The sanctioning powers

of the Government of Assam are vested with the Principal Secretary of BTC and sanctioning powers of head(s) of the Department(s) including technical section are conferred on senior most officers of that Department who are designated as Director of BTC for the concerned department and who is preferably, not below the rank of Additional Director. However, the principal secretary and the officers have to exercise their powers under the overall guidance and supervision of the BTC which means the elected members of the BT, particularly the members of Executive Council.

3. Developmental Functions:

The BTC carries out certain developmental functions within the BTC area. In fact, except DRDA where the concurrence of Government of India persists, all developmental functions and bodies within the competence of the BTC are transferred to the BTC. Thus, the BTC authority can prepare a plan with its own discretion and can select the activities and choose the amount for the investment under the same in any year covering all groups of people in a fair and equitable manner. The plans prepared by the BTC are regarded as sub set of the state and become its integral part.

Along with preparing the plans, the BTC also looks after the projects, which are listed in the MoS. Total, fifteen projects are mentioned in the MoS and it is the responsibility of the BTC to take care of the implementation of the proposal projects. The list of projects includes --

1. To Establish a centre for development and research of Bodo language.
2. Up gradation of existing educational infrastructure by way of renovation/addition of buildings, providing modern facilities for teaching

such as computers, science laboratories etc., from primary level to college level in BTC area.

3. A cultural complex to be established at Kokrajhar to promote and develop Bodo tradition and cultural heritage.
4. To establish a super-special hospital with all modern facilities at Kokrajhar. Government hospitals shall be established in all district, sub-decisions and block headquarters.
5. To establish sports complexes in all the district headquarters.
6. Food processing plants and cold storage facilities at Kokrajhar, Kajolgaon, Udalguri and Tamulpur.
7. Construction of a bridge over river Aai to connect Koilamoila, Amguri etc. with the rest of the district.
8. To build a Bodoland Bhawan in Delhi.
9. To set up integration Agro-processing park and textile-cum-apparel park.
10. Revitalisation of Kokilabari Agricultural Farm.
11. To develop adequate infrastructure to promote Manas sanctuary as an International tourist spot.
12. To complete Champa, Sukhi and Dhansiri irrigation projects.
13. To construct a highway on the Indo-Bhutan border from Jamduar to Bhairubkunda to connect remote places located adjacent to the border.
14. To set set up model dairy, fishery, horticulture and poultry farms/training centres at different places in all the 4 districts to encourage youths for self-employment.
15. To enhance the existing facilities in veterinary hospitals in BTC area.

Thus, BTC has the responsibility to carry out a comprehensive programmes for the all round development within the BTC area.

3. Powers to make appointment:-

The BTC has the power to make appointment for all posts under its control. While appointing the personals of the BTC follows the rules of appointment followed by the Government of Assam. For the purpose of appointment, Council may constitute a Selection Board and may also make rules, to regulate appointments and to ensure adequate representation for all communities living in the BTC area. Such rules, however, require the approval of the Government of Assam. The BTC has full control over the officers and staff connected with the delegated subjects working in the BTC area and can transfer these officers and staff within BTC area. The appointment making powers of the BTC, however, does not include the posts, where appointment is made on the recommendation of the APSC.

Funds and Development Package of BTC

The BTC receives funds and development package both from the centre and state government. According to the MoS, the Centre Government provides a Financial assistance Rs. 100 crores per annum. The centre government will continue to provide this amount upto 5 years. The Central Government also provides one 'time financial assistance for the development of administrative infrastructure in the newly created headquarters, sub-divisional headquarters and block headquarters, besides the BTC Secretariat at Kokrajhar. The Government of Assam also provide possible and sustainable additional in initiatives for attracting private investment in the BTC area and also support projects for external funding.

Apart from all these financial assistance, it has been mentioned in the MoS that a Centrally funded Central Institute of Technology (CIT) will be set up to impart education in various technological/Vocational disciplines, such as Information Technology, Biotechnology, Food Processing, Rural Industries, Business Management etc. It has also been mentioned in the MoS that the CIT will be subsequently upgraded to a centrally funded state university with technical and non-technical disciplines to be run by the BTC. Thus the BTC has been entrusted with enormous powers and functions which includes - legislative, executive, administrative etc. All these powers are entrusted with the BTC to bring about all round development of the Bodo people and also other non-Bodo people in the BTC area. It is up to the Bodo leaders to what extent they can exercise the powers and perform the function so as to make the BTC as an instrument of socio-economic progress of the BTC area.

5:3. Mising Autonomous Council:-

After several rounds of discussions with the representatives of Comq'htecjakam Mising Porim Kebang, Mising Mimag Kebang, Mising Bane Kebang, the state Government led by Chief Minister Hiteswar Daikia entered into Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) with the parties accepting their demand for constitution of separate autonomous council for Mising on June 14, 1995.⁴ The main purpose of the Act was to provide for established of a Mising Autonomous Council within the state of Assam with maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution, comprising of the satellite areas of the Village Councils formed out of blocks of contiguous revenue villages, each having more than 50% population of Mising Community.⁵

The Mising Autonomous Council shall consist of a General Council and a Executive Council. There shall be a Village Council for each block of the village consisting of approximately 6000 to 8000 tribal population.

General Council:

The General Council shall consist of 40 (forty members of which 36 shall be directly elected and four shall be nominated by the Government with the concurrence of the Mising Autonomous Council from amongst the group of communities residing in the General Council. Out of the 40 seats, 20 seats shall be reserved for women of any community. The members of Parliament and Assam Legislative Assembly belonging to Scheduled Tribes Reserved Constituencies of the Council Area shall be ex-officio members of the General Council.

The term of office of the General Council shall be five years. The Council shall meet once in three months.

The General Council shall have executive powers over 34 subjects. These are --

1. Cottage Industry
2. Animal Husbandry and Veterinary
3. Forests, other than Reserved Forests,
4. Agriculture
5. Rural Roads and Bridges,
6. Sericulture
7. Education

- (a) Adult Education
- (b) Primary Education
- (c) Up to Higher Secondary Education
- 8. Cultural Affairs
- 9. Soil Conservation
- 10. Co-operation
- 11. Fisheries
- 12. Panchayat and rural development
- 13. Handloom and Textiles
- 14. Public Health Engineering and Drinking Water
- 15. Minor Irrigation
- 16. Social Welfare
- 17. Flood Control Schemes for protection of Villages
- 18. Sports and Youth Welfare
- 19. Weights and measures
- 20. Library Services
- 21. Museums and Archaeology
- 22. Urban Development Town and Country Planning
- 23. Tribal Research
- 24. Land and Land Revenue
- 25. Publicity and Public Relations
- 26. Tourism
- 27. Transport
- 28. Any matter relating to Development
- 29. Municipal Board, Improvement Trusts, District Boards and other Local self-Government
- 30. Tribal Welfare

- 31. Markets and Fairs
- 32. Lotteries, Theatres, Dramatic performances and Cinemas
- 33. Vital Statistics
- 34. Food and Civil supplies.

In addition to the above, the General Council shall,

- (a) Formulate integrated development plans;
- (b) Implement schemes and programmes;
- (c) Have powers to appoint class III and IV staff;
- (d) Have the powers to regulate trade and commerce;
- (e) Guide customs and traditions;
- (f) Organise special recruitment drive into army, navy and other para-military forces, police force and other Centre Government departments;
- (g) Allot permits for trade and commerce to the people.

In addition, the General Council shall have powers to:

- (a) Levy tolls on persons, vehicles or animals of any class, for the use of any bridge or road other than *Kutch* roads or a ferry constructed by the Council or managed by it;
- (b) Levy fees or rates, such as
 1. fees on the registration of boats and vehicles,
 2. fees for providing sanitary arrangement at such places of worship, pilgrimage, fairs, meals etc.,
 3. fees for licenses,
 4. water rates, and
 5. lighting rates.

Executive Council:

The Executive Council shall consist of the Chief Executive Councillor, Deputy Chief Executive Councillors and Executive Councillors. The Executive Council shall be responsible to the General Council which meets once in every three months. The quorum of the meeting of the Executive Council shall be one third of the total strength.

Village Council:-

The Village Council shall consist of 10 members of which 5 seats shall be reserved for the Mising community out of which one seat shall be reserved for a woman. The elected members of the Village Council at the first meeting after election elect from amongst themselves one member to be the President who shall be the Chief of the Village Council and one member to be the Vice President. The Village Council shall meet once in a month. The quorum of the meeting shall be a simple majority of members present.

The Village Council shall have executive powers on the subjects such as

--

1. Agriculture
2. Animal Husbandry, Dairy Development and Poultry
3. Fisheries
4. Social and Farm Forest/Minor Forest produce, fuel and fodder
5. Khadi, Village and Cottage Industries
6. Rural Housing
7. Drinking Water
8. Road Building, culverts bridges, waterways etc.
9. Rural Electrification

10. Non-Conventional energy sources
11. Poverty alleviation programme
12. Education including primary schools
13. Adult and non-formal education
14. Library
15. Cultural activities
16. Markets and Fairs
17. Rural Sanitation
18. Public Health and Family Welfare
19. Women and Child Development
20. Public Distribution system
21. Maintenance of Community assets
22. Construction and Maintenance of Dharamsalas and similar instructions
23. Construction and Maintenance of Cattle Sheds, Pounds and Cart stands
24. Maintenance of Public Parks and Public playgrounds
25. Construction and Maintenance of Slaughter Houses
26. Maintenance and Regulation of manure
27. Such other functions as entrusted by the Government.

Further, the Village Council shall have the power to:

- (a) Formulate integrated development plans.
- (b) Implement schemes and programmes for development.
- (c) Have powers to appoint Class III and IV staff.
- (d) Have powers to regulate trade and commerce.
- (e) Guide customs and traditions and social justice.
- (f) Allot permits for trade and commerce.

The Village Council shall

- (a) Levy tolls on persons, vehicles or animals of any class, for the use of any bridge or road other than *kutchra* road;
- (b) Levy the following fees and rates;
 - i) Fees on registration of boats and vehicles;
 - ii) fees for sanitary arrangements in public places;
 - iii) Fees for licences
 - iv) Water rates

5:4. The Lalung (Tiwa) Autonomous Council:-

The Lalung (Tiwa) Autonomous Council Act was passed and received the assent of the Governor on October 27, 1995, for the establishment of the Tiwa Autonomous Council.⁶ The main provisions of the Act are:

General Council:

The General Council shall consist of 30 members of which 26 shall be directly elected and four shall be nominated by the Government from amongst those communities residing in the jurisdiction of the Council and not otherwise represented in the General Council. Out of 30 seats, 15 seats shall be reserved for the Lalung community and out of 15 reserved seats; at least three seats shall be reserved for women.

The members of Parliament and members of the Assam Legislative Assembly, belonging to the Scheduled Tribes Reserved Constituencies of the Council area shall be the ex-officio members of the Council.

The term of the office of the members of the General Council shall be five years.

Powers and functions of the General Council:

The General Council shall have executive powers on matters such as --

1. Cottage Industry;
2. Animal Husbandry and Veterinary;
3. Forests, other than Reserved Forests;
4. Agriculture;
5. Rural Roads and Bridges,
6. Sericulture;
7. Education (Adult Education, Primary Education, Up to Higher Secondary including Vocational Training);
8. Cultural Affairs;
9. Soil Conservation;
10. Co-operation;
11. Fisheries;
12. Panchayat and Rural Development;
13. Handloom and Textiles;
14. Public Health Engineering and Drinking Water;
15. Minor Irrigation;
16. Social Welfare;
17. Flood Control Schemes for protection of Villages;
18. Sports and Youth Welfare;
19. Weights and measures;
20. Library Services;
21. Museums and Archaeology;

22. Urban Development Town and Country Planning;
23. Tribal Research;
24. Land and Land Revenue;
25. Publicity and Public Relations;
26. Tourism;
27. Transport;
28. Any other matter concerned with development;
29. Municipal Board, Improvement Trusts, District Boards and other Local self-Government of villages;
30. Tribal Welfare;
31. Markets and Fairs;
32. Lotteries, Theatres, etc.
33. Vital Statistics and
34. Food and Civil supplies.

Subject to the general policy of the Government, the General Council shall:

- (i) Integrate development plans;
- (ii) Implement schemes and programmes for development;
- (iii) Have the powers to appoint grade III and IV staff of the Council;
- (iv) Regulate trade and commerce;
- (v) Guide customs, traditions, and social justice of the Lalung community;
- (vi) Organise special recruitment drive into army, navy and other para-military forces, police forces etc.;
- (g) Allot permits for trade and commerce to the people residing within the jurisdiction of the Council.

The General Council shall have financial powers in the following areas:

- (a) Tolls on persons, vehicles or animals of any class, for the use of any bridge or road other than *Kutch* roads or a ferry constructed or managed by it;
- (b) Fees on the registration of boats or vehicles;
- (c) Fees for providing sanitation arrangements at such places of worship, pilgrimage, fairs, *melas* and other public places;
- (d) Fees for licences;
- (e) Water rates where arrangements for irrigation or drinking water is made by the Council;
- (f) Lighting rates;

Further the General Council may levy fee or taxes on any or all the subjects assigned to the Village Council.

The Executive Council may levy fee or taxes on any or all the subjects assigned to the Village Council.

The Executive Council:

The Executive Council shall consist of the Chief Executive Councillor and three other members. The Council will meet once in three months. The meetings will be convened by the Chief Executive Councillor. The quorum for the meeting will three including the Chief.

The Chief Executive Councillor will:

- (a) Be responsible for the maintenance of records of the General Council;
- (b) Have the general responsible for the financial and executive administration of the General Council;

(c) Exercise administrative supervision and control over the officers and employees of the general Council and the officers and employees whose services may be placed at the disposal of the General Council by the Governor;

Village Council:-

The Village Council shall consist of 10 members of which 5 seats shall be reserved for the Lalung community out of which at least one shall be reserved for a woman. The elected members of the Village Council shall at the first meeting after election elect from amongst themselves one member to be the President Village Council.

The Village Council shall meet once in every month. The quorum for the meeting shall be four members and decision of the Council shall be by a single majority of votes of the members present.

The Village Council shall have executive powers on the following subjects: --

1. Agriculture including agricultural extension;
2. Animal Husbandry, Dairy Development and Poultry;
3. Fisheries;
4. Social and Farm Forest/Minor Forest produce, fuel and fodder;
5. Khadi, Village and Cottage Industries;
6. Rural Housing;
7. Drinking Water;
8. Road Building, culverts, bridges, tunnels, waterways and other means of communication;

9. Rural Electrification;
10. Non-Conventional Energy Sources;
11. Poverty alleviation;
12. Education including primary schools;
13. Adult and non-formal education;
14. Libraries;
15. Cultural activities;
16. Markets and Fairs;
17. Rural Sanitation;
18. Public Health and Family Welfare;
19. Women and Child Development;
20. Social Welfare of handicapped and mentally retarded;
21. Welfare of weaker sections and in particular Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes;
22. Public Distribution system
23. Maintenance of Community assets;
24. Construction and Maintenance of *Dharamsalas* and similar institutions;
25. Construction and Maintenance of Cattle Sheds, Pounds and Cart stands;
26. Maintenance of Public Parks and Public playgrounds;
27. Construction and Maintenance of Slaughter Houses;
28. Such other functions as may be entrusted by the Government from time to time.

Subject to the general policy of the Government and control and supervision of the General Council the Village Council shall:

- (a) Formulate integrated development plans;
- (b) Implement schemes and programmes;

- (c) Have powers to appoint Class III and IV staff;
- (d) Have powers to regulate trade and commerce;
- (e) Guide customs and traditions;
- (f) Allot permits for trade and commerce to the people residing within the Village Council area;

Secretariat:-

There shall be a Secretariat for the Lalung Autonomous Council at the headquarter of the General Council headed by a Principal Secretary to be appointed by the Government in consultation with the Chief Executive Councillor. The Principal Secretary shall be the Principal Executive Officer of the General Council and all other officials will be his subordinates.

The **Principal Secretary** shall be present and take part in the discussion of all meetings of the General Council or the Executive or any Committee of the Council.

The term of office of the Principal Secretary shall be for a period three years but may be extended by the Government in consultation with the Chief Executive Councillor.

5:5 Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council:-

The Rabha-Hasong Autonomous Council Act was passed and received the assent of the Governor on July 1995⁷, providing for creation of a Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council. The provisions of the Act are similar to those of the Tiwa Autonomous Council Act.⁸

Reference

1. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob, (ed.): The Bodo: Children of Bhullumbutter, (Guwahati:Spectrum Publications) 1997: Page No-92.
2. Hazarika, Niru: Ethnic Autonomy Question in North East India Search for an Answer, (Guwahati:Spectrum Publications) 2005: Page No-66.
3. Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob, (ed.): Page No-92.
4. Barua T.L.: ASSAM: Autonomous council – a failed experiment in *The Assam Tribune*, November 22, 2008.
5. Hazarika, Niru: Page No-85.
6. Ibid: Page No-101.
7. Barua T.L.: ASSAM: Autonomous council – a failed experiment in *The Assam Tribune*, November 22, 2008.
8. Hazarika, Niru: Page No-109.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

An attempt was made in this work to bring out the political development or awareness among various plains tribes of Assam. Special emphasis was given to the Bodos who are the prominent plain tribes of Assam. They (Bodo leaders) along with other leaders started their ethnic movement in the last part of 60s.

The Political Development grew in the mind of the plains tribes (Bodos) in the 3rd decade of the Twentieth Century. From the above discussion it is shown that, it was a gradual process, not an immediate result caused to the emergence of this development.¹

The first hypothesis I have taken for this particular study seemed to be valid that without the tribal elite, public interest could not have been articulated. Ethnic assertion of plain tribes of Assam, particularly Bodos, occurred in 1970s and 1980s when they started movement for separate state for them within the Indian Union. The third hypothesis also appeared valid, that the emergence of various autonomous movement in Assam is the result of the feeling of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among the tribal people.

In the beginning of the Twentieth Century political development blossomed in the courtyard of Bodos much before the country gained independence and it also encouraged the other plains tribes of Assam.... It was Guru Kalicharan Brahma who led the Bodo awakening. Other pioneers

included persons like Rupnath Brahma and Modaram Brahma. **Dr Sivanath Barman has called Guru Kalicharan Brahma the Ram Mohan Roy of the Bodo society.** Educated people emerged from other backward tribes also who began to understand the importance of getting organised.² Under his leadership, a memorandum was submitted to the Simon Commission on 4th January 1929 demanding the reserve seats for the tribal people.³

In 'Udayachal Movement' the class conflict overlaps the ethnic conflict, and is articulated through the idiom of class conflict. And the movement is based on relative deprivation, protest ideology and ethnic class conflict.⁴

Thus when we make a critical study on the socio-political history of the Bodos of the post independence era it is seen that a turning point that had taken place in the different aspects of the Bodos mainly just after the strong political movement launched by the All Bodo Student's Union (ABSU). The political parties of the plains tribals no doubt had able to create the ground preparation of the political aspirations of the tribals. But it was political aspiration brought a new dimension in every aspects of the Bodos and in true sense of the term could able to ponder and bring the real revolution of the Bodos. It is a historic fact that as a result of the Bodoland Movement the plains of Assam once affected to bring a new political setup in the state after a long year disappearance from the political and geographical scence of Assam.⁵

The movement has passed through certain stages in its career. The 'ever-structure' of the movement with the sequences and consequences was not uniform. Sometimes it was very active like in 1974 when they shed blood

and agitated their separate identity. Afterwards, the leadership of movement became passive. Slow development of consciousness about the glaring socio-economic injustice and deprivation among the tribal youths⁶ continued. It may got activated once the militant leaders took it up. It was seen in case of Bodoland Movement of All Bodo Students' Union.

In the annals of the world History of 20th Century, the history of struggle by downtrodden communities and nationalities of the world for their assertion, the history of the Bodoland Movement launched by the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) is also remarkable. This movement not only opened the path of the reassertion of Bodos in different aspect but it also encouraged and opened the paths of all the backwards and neglected tribal communities of the Assam to move towards the new era of the modernisation and development.⁷ It was the Bodo Movement of ABSU and according to the decision of the three Partite Delhi Talk, between the ABSU and Central-State Government, the Bhupindar Singh led Three Member Expert Committee came to Assam to read the situation and made suggestions for the solution of the political problems of tribal of Assam permanently.⁸ And political setup was created which was known as Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC).

Accordingly, the other tribal of the Assam like Mising, Lalung (Tiwa) and Rabha were given the political autonomy in 1995. So, from the point of view the ABSU is the forerunner and the keynote to this achievements and developments.⁹

The Bodoland Autonomous Council and other Autonomous Councils could not fulfill the demands of the communities. That is why ABSU revived its demand for a separate state of Bodoland, under the leadership of

Swmbla Basumatary and ABSU being the backbone of the Bodo society continued to agitate for a separate state within Assam.

In the meantime, BLT was formed to spearhead the movement and after a protected bloodshed, the Bodos have been granted the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), an autonomous administrative body that will have within its jurisdiction the present district of Kokrajhar and adjoining areas.¹⁰ The Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India was created on 10th February 2003.

The three councils namely the Deuri, Sonowal Kachari and the Thengal-Kachari were formed in 2005 to placate the smaller tribes to satisfy their demand for separate identity without considering the feasibility of the councils.¹¹

As many as nine Development Councils for the ethnic groups of Morans, Motoks, Ahoms, Chutias, Koch Rajbangshis, Tea Tribes, Gorkhas, Sarania Kacharis and Amri Karbis are under the process of being set up.

On April 23, three activists of the All Rabha Students Union (the Rabhas are numerically the fourth largest of the plains tribes of Assam), part of and indeed the driving force and the striking arm of an organisation called the Rabha Hashong (Rabhaland) Sixth Schedule Demand Committee, were lynched by a mob of traders in Krishnai bazaar, about 100 kilometres west of Guwahati in Goalpara district, when they were trying to "peacefully enforce" a bandh. The demand for the creation of a Rabha homeland is related to the creation of the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), a territorial and political unit of the Bodos under the Sixth Schedule through an amendment of the Constitution in February 2003. (The provisions of the Sixth Schedule were, before the amendment, applicable only to hill tribes.)

Since then, there has been a revival and upsurge of autonomist assertion among other plains tribal communities; and three of these, the Mising, the Rabha and the Tiwa, who have 'Autonomous Councils', are carrying on various forms of agitation to secure their upgradation, with a clear political content, as 'Territorial Councils' under the Sixth Schedule.¹²

In Assam another Bodo militant group-NDFB which has agreed to a cease fire and talk with the Central Government probably would not be satisfied with the existing Bodo Territorial Council. It appears the Autonomous Councils have also failed to fulfil the aspirations of the ethnic groups for whom such council was created but prove the adage that power corrupts and whet the appetite for more powers. Now that the Autonomous Councils are no longer limited to look after the welfare of a particular group of tribals but Scheduled Tribes population as a whole, the need for six separate Councils for the same objective should be relooked. Plethora of organisations to look after the welfare of the ST such as Assam Plains Tribe Development Corporation, the Assam Tribal Development Authority and the six Autonomous Councils may adversely affect the delivery system and prove counter productive unless their respective areas of work and jurisdiction are clearly spelt out and demarcated.¹³

Reference

1. The Bodo (2007): Page No-149.
2. Goswami, Ranen Kumar - Identity politics of the wayward kind in *The Assam Tribune*.
3. The Bodo (2007): Page No-150.
4. Paul, Madan Chandra: Dimensions of the Tribal Movements in India: a study of Udayachal in Assam. (New Delhi: Inter India Publications): Page No-83.
5. Mugani Sakhi: Page No-154.
6. Paul, Madan Chandra: Page No-83.
7. The Bodo (2007): Page No-153.
8. Ibid.
9. Mugani Sakhi (2007): Page No-21
10. Mugani Sakhi (2009): Page No-200
11. Barua, T.L.: ASSAM: Autonomous council – a failed experiment in *The Assam Tribune*.
12. Prabhakara, M.S.: Reinventing identities in *Frontline*.
13. Barua, T.L.: ASSAM: Autonomous council – a failed experiment in *The Assam Tribune*.

Glossary

AADSU-All Assam Deori Students' Union

AASU-All Assam Students' Union

AATKSU-All Assam Thengal kachari Students' Union

AATSU-All Assam Tribal Students' Union

ABSU-All Bodo Students' Union

AGP-Asom Gana Parishad

ALDDC-Autonomous Lalung District Demand Committee

ARSU-All Rabha Students' Union

BAC-Bodoland Aotonomous Council

BLT-Bodo Liberation Tigers

BPAC-Bodo People's Action Committee

BPP-Bodoland Peoples Party

BTAD-Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District

BTC-Bodoland Territorial Council

CCTOA-Co-ordination Committee of Tribal Organization of Assam

CEM-Chief Executive Member

CIT-Central Institute of Technology

COBI-Committee of Bodo Issue

DRDA-District Rural Development Agency

ECOPTA-Report of the Expert Committee on the Plains Tribals of Assam

MMK-Mising Mimak Kcbang

MoS-Memorandum of Settlement

NDFB-National Democratic Front of Bodoland

PDF-People Democratic Front

PTCA (P)-Plains Tribals Council of Assam (progressive)

PTCA-Plains Tribals Council of Assam progressive

SC-Scheduled Castes

ST-Scheduled Tribes

TMPK-Takam Mising Porim Kcbang

TSF-Tribal Students' Federation

UTNLF-United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front

Bibliography:

Books

- 1) Hajarika, Niru: Ethnic Autonomy Question in N.E. India: Search for an Answer (Guwahati:Spectrum Publications) 2005.
- 2) Paul, Madan Chandra: Dimensions of the Tribal Movements in India: a study of Udayachal in Assam. (New Delhi: Inter India Publications) 1989.
- 3) Pulloppillil, Thomas & Aluckal, Jacob (ed.): The Bodos: *Children of Bhullumbutter*. (Guwahati: Spectrum Publications) 1997.
- 4) Endle, Sydney, The Kacharis (Bodos), (Delhi: Low Price Publication) 1990.
- 5) Rao, V.V. and N. Hazarika: A Century of Government and Politics in N.E. India. Vol 1 Assam. (New Delhi:S. Chand and Co.) 1989
- 6) Rao, V.V.: A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India. (1874-1974) (New Delhi:S. Chand and Co.) 1967
- 7) Pegu, Jadav: Reclaiming Identity A Discourse on Bodo History, (Jwngsar Narzary:Kokrajhar) 2004.
- 8) Dutta, P.S., Autonomy Movements in Assam (Documents) (Ed.) (New Delhi: Omsons Publications) 1993
- 9) Konwar, Narayan,: Society and politics in Assam (Book Land:Guwahati) 2006
- 10) Machahary, Premananda: Bodofwrni Jarimin (Bodo) 2003
- 11) Machahary, Premananda: Socio-Political Life of the Boros in Karbi Anglong District of Assam. 2004
- 12) Bakshi. P.M.: The Constituion of India, (New Delhi: Universal Law Publishing co. Pvt. Ltd.) 2008
- 13) Brahma, Manik Kr.: Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma His Life and Deeds, (Kokrajhar: N.L. Publications) 2001

- 14) Dattray, B.: Tribal Identity and Tension in North East India. (New Dehli: Omsons Publications) 1989
- 15) Bordoloi., B.N., G.C. Sharma Thakur and M.C. Saikia: Tribes of Assam (Part I) (Guwahati: Tribal Research Institute) 1987
- 16) Sharma Thakur, G.C., Selected Essays on Tribes and Castes of Assam (Part I) (Guwahati: Directorate of Assam Institute of Research for Tribals and Scheduled Castes) 2007.
- 17) Sharma Thakur, G.C., Selected Essays on Tribes and Castes of Assam (Part II) (Guwahati: Directorate of Assam Institute of Research for Tribals and Scheduled Castes) 2008
- 18) Sharma Thakur, Ganesh Chandra: Asomor Janagosthir Sandobaddha Parichoy.(Assamese) 2008
- 19) Brahma, Anjali: Bodo Sanskritir Kinchit Abhash (Assamese): Guwahati: Trilochan Press & Publications) 2004
- 20) Roy, Ajoy: The Bodo Imbrogio (Guwahati: Spectrum Publications) 1995.
- 21) Bhuyan, A, C. (Ed): Political History of Assam. Vol.III, Government of Assam 1980.
- 22) Report on A Study on Socio-Economic condition of Tribal and Non-Tribal Villages of Morigaon and Nagaon Districts of Assam, (Guwahati: Assam Institute of Research for Tribals & Scheduled Castes) 2008
- 23) Bhan, Susheela: Impact of Ethnic on Youth: A study of tribal-Non-Tribal violence in Kokrajhar, Assam (New Delhi: Shipra Publications) 1999
- 24) Barooh, Nirode Kumar: Gopinath Bordoloi: Indian Constitution and Centre-Assam Relations, 1940-50 (Publication Board, guwahati: Assam) 1990

- 25) Constituent Assembly Debates, Book No. -4, Vol No.-IX. July 1949 to 18th September 1949, Lok Sabha, Secretariate Third Print 1999.
- 26) Singh, K.S. (ed) The Scheduled Tribes, Vol. 3, (New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1994)
- 27) Bhuyan, B.C.: Political Development of the Nort-East, Vol. 1 (New Delhi : Omsons Publications, 1989) Page no-106-107
- 28) Gassah, L.S. (ed) Regoinal Political Parties on North-East India, (New Delhi : Omsons Publications, 1992
29. Shah, Ghanshyam: Social Movements and the state, (New Delhi: Sage Publications) 2002.
30. Mclean, Iain and Alistair McMillan: The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics, (Oxford University Press) 2006.
31. Jha, Makhan: India and Nepal: Sacred Centre and anthropological researches (New Delhi: M.D. Publications) 1998.
32. Hornby, A.S.: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, (Oxford University Press) 2000
33. Waite, Louise: Embodied Working Lives: Work and Life in Maharashtra, India, Lexington Books, 2006
34. Report on Socio-Economic conditions of Scheduled Tribes...Labour at Vapi, Valsad, Navsari and Sachin (Gujrat) 2006-07.

Newspapers

The Times of India

The Hindu

The Hindustan Times

The Indian Express

The Assam Tribune

The Sentinel

Mazazines

India Today

Frontline

Outlook

Economic and Political Weekly

Nena Oriental Times

Articles

- 1) Barua, T.L.: "Assam: Autonomous Council-a failed Experiment", The Assam Tribune. (22 November 2008)
- 2) Prabhakhara, M.S.: The States in the name of Tribal identities, Frontline (November 19 -December 02 2005)
- 3) Talukdar, Sushanta: Tribal Turmoil, Frontline (December 08-21, 2007)
- 4) Dasgupta, Barun: Bodoland Territorial Council into Being Tomorrow, The Hindu (December 06, 2003)
- 5) Prabhakara, M.S.: Reinvesting Identities, Frontline (May 22-June 04 2004)

- 6) Prabhakara, M.S.: Manufacturing Identities, Frontline (September 24-October 07 2005)
- 7) Prabhakara, M.S.: Identity and grievance, Frontline (July 30 -August 12 2005)
- 8) Prabhakara, M.S.: Identity Politics: Where it is leading?, The Hindu June 04, 2009.
- 9) Singh, Shailesh K.: Ethnic Cleansing and the Bodo Imbroglio, Nena Oriental Times (December 22-January 06, 1999)
- 10) Mukhim, Patricia.: When dream turn sour, *The Assam Tribune*, (November 12, 2009.
- 11) Goswami, Ranen Kumar: Identity Politics of the wayward kind, *The Assam Tribune*, (July 20, 2009)
- 12) Pegu, Deben: The Scheduled Tribes of Assam, in *The Assam Tribune*, (July 10, 2009)
- 13) Ethnic Cleansing in the areas of Bodo Concentration in Assam, India using GIS Technique.

Appendix A

Memorandum of Settlement (Bodo Accord)

(Signed on 20th February, 1993)

1. Preamble

(i) Both the Government of India and the Government of Assam have been making earnest efforts to bring about an amicable solution to the problems of the Bodos and other Plains Tribals living in the north bank of river Brahmaputra within Assam.

(ii) Towards this end, the Government of India held a series of meetings with the State Government as well as with leaders of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) and Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC). The State Government has also separately held discussions with the Bodo leaders. As a result, it has been considered necessary to set up an administrative authority within the State of Assam under a scheme, the details of which are outlined in the succeeding paragraphs:

2. Objective

The objective of this scheme is to provide maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution to the Bodos for social, economic, educational, ethnic and cultural advancement.

3. (a) Name: Bodoland, Autonomous Council (BAC)

There shall be formed, by an Act of Assam Legislative Assembly, a Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) within the State of Assam comprising contiguous geographical areas between river Sankosh and Mazbat/river Pasnoi. The land records authority of the State will scrutinize the list of villages furnished by ABSU/BPAC having 50 percent and more of tribal population, which shall be included in the BAC. For the purpose of providing a contiguous area, even the villages having less than 50 percent tribal population shall be included. BAC will also include Reserve Forests as per the guidelines laid by Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India, not otherwise required by the Government for meaning the international border and tea gardens located completely within the BAC contiguous area.

(b) Powers

The BAC will comprise of a General Council comprising 40 members, 35 elected on the basis of adult suffrage and having a life of five years. The Government will have powers to nominate 5 members to the Council, particularly from groups which could not otherwise be represented. This Council will have powers to make bye-laws, rules and orders for application within the BAC area on the subjects enumerated in Schedule 'A'.

(c) The Executive authority of the BAC would be exercised in its Executive Body to be known as Bodoland Executive Council (BEC). The BEC will be responsible for implementation within the BAC area of the laws on subjects enumerated in Schedule 'A'.

(d) The General Council and the BEC will hold office during the pleasure of the Governor of Assam. Consultation with the State Law Department of Government of Assam would be necessary if the Governor proposed to dissolve either the General Council or the BEC before the expiry of its term in accordance with the provisions of law. The executive authority of the BEC will be exercised by the party enjoying a simple majority in the General Council. On completion of elections, the Governor would invite the leader of the majority party to constitute the BEC.

4. Finances

(i) (a) The finances for the BAC will be earmarked under a separate sub-head within the State Budget, in keeping with the guidelines laid down by the Government of India from time to time. The Government on Assam would have no powers to divert this earmarked allocation to other heads/areas except in exigencies when there is unavoidable overall Budget cut.

(b) The provisions made in 4 (i) (a) regarding allocation of funds should be in line with spirit of the Constitution (seventy second) and (seventy third) amendment.

(ii) The BAC would also receive grant-in-aid from time to time within the principles and policies enunciated by the Government of India.

(iii) The General Council will have powers to raise finances from levies/feels/taxes etc on subjects mentioned in Schedule 'A' subjects to Constitutional amendment mentioned above.

(iv) The finances for the BAC will be managed exclusively by its General Council and the statement of its annual audited accounts will be laid on the table of the State Assembly.

5. Powers of Appointments

The Bodoland Executive Committee would have powers to appoint Class III and Class IV staff within its jurisdiction for implementation of schemes connected with the subjects enumerated in Schedule 'A'.

6. Reservation of Seats

The Election Commission of India will be requested by the BAC to consider seat reservation and delimitation of constituencies, both Lok Sabha and State Assembly, within the BAC area to the extent permitted by the constitution and the law.

7. Special provisions for the BAC area

The General Council shall be consulted and its views shall be given due regard before any law made on the following subjects, is implemented in the BAC area:

- i) the religious or social practice of the Bodos;
- ii) the Bodo customary laws and procedures; and
- iii) the ownership and transfer of land within the BAC area.

8. Special status for the Bodoland Autonomous Council

The BAC shall, within the laws of the land, take steps to protect the demographic complexion of the areas falling within its jurisdiction.

9. Special Courts

Action will be taken in consultation with the Gauhati High Court to set up within BAC area Special Courts as specified below to try suits and cases between parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribe or Tribes in accordance with the tribal customary law and procedure, if any.

- a) Village Courts.
- b) Subordinate District Customary Law Courts within a civil Sub-Divisional Territory, and
- c) District Customary Law Court

10. Appointments in the Central Bodies

The claims of the Bodos shall be considered for appointment to the North-Eastern Council.

11. Official Language

The General Council can lay down policy with regard to use of Bodo language as medium of official correspondence within the BAC area. However, while corresponding with offices outside the BAC area, correspondence will have to be in bilingual form in accordance with the Article 345 of the Constitution and the provision of law in this behalf.

12. Changes in Geographical Boundary

The geographical area of the Bodoland Autonomous Council as agreed upon can be changed with the mutual consent of the BAC and the Government of Assam.

13. Revision of List of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The scheduling and de-scheduling of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes residing within the Bodo areas will be done as per the Commission appointed by the Government of India under the Constitution.

14. Trade and Commerce

The General Council will have powers to regulate trade and commerce within its jurisdiction in accordance with the existing law. For this purpose, it can issue permits and licences to individuals within the BAC area. The Government of Assam and the Union Government while considering allotment of permits to people residing within the BAC area will give preference to the Bodos.

15. Employment opportunities

The BAC will have powers to reserve jobs for Scheduled Tribes within its jurisdiction. However, exercise of such powers shall be in accordance with the existing constitutional and legal provisions.

16. Civil and police Services

i) The Government of Assam may from time to time post officers of the rank of Class II and above to posts within the BAC in accordance with the exigencies. While making these posting due regard will be given to the views of BAC about officers being so posted.

ii) The officers posted to the BAC area will be accountable to the BAC for their performances and the assessment of their work recorded by the BEC authorities, will be incorporated to their ACRs by the State Government.

iii) The Central Government, while making recruitments from the State of Assam to the Army, para-military forces and police units, will hold special recruitment drives within the BAC area.

17. Appointment of Interim Bodoland Executive Council

The Government of Assam will take steps for the formation of an Interim Bodoland Executive Council for the BAC from amongst the leaders of the present Bodoland movement who are signatories to this settlement, during the transition period, i.e., prior to the holding of elections. Such Interim Council would be formed before a prescribed date mutually agreed between the Central and State Governments.

18. Relief and Rehabilitation

i) ABSU-BPAC leaders will take immediate steps to bring overground and deposit with the District Authorities all arms, ammunition and explosives in the possession of their own supporters and will co-operate with the administration in bringing overground all Bodo militants along with their arms and ammunition etc. within one month of the formation of the Interim BEC. In order to ensure the smooth return to civil life of the cadre and to assist in the quick restoration of peace and normalcy, such surrenders made voluntarily will not attract prosecution.

ii) The Government of Assam will consider sympathetically the withdrawal of all cases against persons connected with the Bodoland Movement excluding those relating to heinous crimes.

iii) The Government of India will initiate steps for review of action against the Bodo employees of Government of India and subordinate offices as well as in respect of Central Government Undertakings. Similar action would be taken by the Government of Assam.

iv) The Government of Assam will initiate immediate steps for suitable rehabilitation of the Bodo militants coming overground as a result of the settlement. Similarly, the Government will organize ex-gratia payments as per rules to next of the kins killed during the Bodo agitation.

19. Share in collections of excise duty on tea

The Government of Assam will deposit in the BAC Fund revenue collected from the tea gardens falling within the BAC area.

20. Protection of rights of non-tribals

The Government of Assam and the BAC will jointly ensure that all rights and interests of the non-tribals as on date living in BAC area in matters pertaining to land as well as their language are protected.

21. Ad-hoc Central grant for launching the BAC.

After the signing of this settlement, an Ad-hoc Budget on reasonable basis will be prepared by Interim BEC and discussed with the state and Central Governments for necessary financial support.

Signatories

- (i) K. S. Rao, Addl. Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam
- (ii) S. K. Bwiswamutiary, President, ABSU.
- (iii) Rabi Ram Brahma, General Secretary, ABSU
- (iv) Subhash Basumatari, Chairman, BPAC

In the presence of -

- (i) Rajesh Pilot, Minister of State (Internal Security), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- (ii) Hiteswar Saikia, Chief Minister of Assam, State Government of Assam.

Appendix B

Memorandum of Settlement on Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC)

On February 10, 2003, the Assam government, the Union government and the Bodo Liberation Tigers signed the Memorandum of Settlement on Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), in New Delhi. The jurisdiction of the BTC shall extend over 3082 villages and the BTC has been given legislative powers over 40 subjects. The accord provides for an Executive Council comprising of a maximum of 12 Executive Members, including a Chief and a Deputy Chief, with adequate representation to the non-tribal population.

Presented below is the full text of the accord.

1. The Government of India and the Government of Assam have been making concerted efforts to fulfil the aspirations of the Bodo people relating to their cultural identity, language, education and economic development. Towards this end, a series of talks were held between Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) since March, 2000. As a result, it is agreed to create a self-governing body for the Bodo Areas in the State of Assam as follows:

2. Objectives

The objectives of the agreement are: to create an Autonomous self governing body to be known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the State of Assam and to provide constitutional protection under Sixth Schedule to the said Autonomous Body; to fulfil economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of land-rights, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos; and speed up the infrastructure development in BTC area.

3. Area

3.1. The area of proposed BTC shall comprise all the 3082 villages and areas to be so notified by the State Government. The above mentioned villages and areas shall be divided into 4 contiguous districts after reorganisation of the existing districts of Assam within a period of 6 months of the signing of the agreement on the lines of the proposal given by BLT subject to clearance of the Delimitation Commission.

3.2 A committee comprising one representative each from Governments of India & Assam and BLT will decide by consensus on the inclusion of additional villages and areas in the BTC from out

of 95 villages and areas on the basis of the criteria of tribal population being not less than 50%, contiguity or any other agreed relevant criteria within a period of three months of signing of this MoS.

4. Status of Bodoland Territorial Council

The provision of the Sixth schedule and other relevant Articles of the Constitution of India will apply to BTC, mutatis mutandis in terms of this agreement. The safeguards/modifications for the non-tribals in BTC area, inter-alia, will include the following:

4.1. Provision of para 1(2) of Sixth Schedule regarding Autonomous Regions will not be applicable to BTC.

4.2. A provision will be made in para 2(1) of the Sixth Schedule for increasing the number of members for BTC up to 46 out of which 30 will be reserved for Scheduled Tribes, 5 for non-tribal communities, 5 open for all communities and 6 to be nominated by Governor of Assam from the unrepresented communities for BTC area of which at least two should be women. Nominated members will have the same rights and privileges as other members, including voting rights. Election from the 40 constituencies of BTC shall be on the basis of adult franchise. The term of the elected members of BTC shall be for 5 years.

4.3. Safeguards for the settlement rights, transfer and inheritance of property etc. of non-tribals will be suitably incorporated in para 3 of the Sixth Schedule. Any such law as may be made by the BTC in this regard will not, in particular:

(a) Extinguish the rights and privileges enjoyed by an citizen of India in respect of their land at the commencement of BTC, and

(b) Bar any citizen from acquiring land either by way of inheritance, allotment, settlement or by way of transfer if such citizens were eligible for such bonafide acquisition of land within the BTC area.

4.4. Provision will be added in para 6 of Sixth Schedule that in BTC area, language and medium of instruction in educational institutions will not be changed without approval of the State Government.

4.5. Provision of para 8 of Sixth Schedule regarding power to assess and collect land revenue and impose taxes shall be applicable to BTC.

4.6. Para 10 of the Sixth Schedule will not be applicable to BTC area.

4.7. Provision of Article 332(6) of the Constitution will be so modified that the existing status of representation of BTC area in the State Assembly is kept intact. After the creation of BTC, the Parliamentary & Assembly Constituencies shall be delimited by the Delimitation Commission in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

4.8. In the event, **Panchayati Raj** system ceases to be in force in the council area, the powers of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in such matters shall be vested with the Council.

The Amendments to the Sixth Schedule shall include provisions in such a manner that non-tribals are not disadvantaged in relation to the rights enjoyed by them at the commencement of BTC and their rights and privileges including land rights are fully protected.

5. Power and Functions

5.1. The Council shall have legislative powers in respect to subjects transferred to it as enumerated below. All laws made under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and until assented to by him, shall have no effect. The BTC shall have executive, administrative and financial powers in respect of subjects transferred to it.

Subjects to be entrusted to BTC by Assam Government

1. Small, Cottage and Rural Industry; 2. Animal Husbandry & Veterinary; 3. Forest; 4. Agriculture; 5. PWD; 6. Sericulture; 7. Education (Primary Education, Higher Secondary Including vocational training, Adult Education, College Education (General); 8. Cultural Affairs; 9. Soil Conservation; 10. Co-operation; 11. Fisheries; 12. Panchayat and Rural Development; 13. Handloom and Textile; 14. Health & Family Welfare; 15. Public Health Engineering; 16. Irrigation; 17. Social Welfare; 18. Flood Control; 19. Sports & Youth Welfare; 20. Weights and Measures; 21. Library Services; 22. Museum & Archaeology; 23. Urban Development – Town and Country Planning; 24. Tribal Research Institute; 25. Land & Revenue; 26. Publicity/Public Relations; 27. Printing & Stationery; 28. Tourism; 29. Transport; 30. Planning and Development; 31. Municipal Corporation, Improvement Trust, District Boards and other local authorities; 32. Welfare of Plan Tribes and Backward Classes; 33. Markets and fairs; 34. Lotteries, Theatres, Dramatic performance and cinema; 35. Statistics; 36. Food and Civil supply; 37. Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivatives etc.; 38. Labour and employment; 39. Relief and Rehabilitation; 40. Registration of Births and Deaths.

5.2. There shall be an Executive Council comprising of not more than 12 Executive Members, one of whom shall be the Chief and another one the Deputy Chief of the said Executive Council. There shall be adequate representation for the non-tribal members in the Executive Council. The Chief and the Deputy Chief of the Council shall have the status equivalent to the Cabinet Minister and the other Executive Members equivalent to the Minister of the State of Assam for protocol purposes in BTC area.

5.3. The BTC shall have the full control over the officers and staff connected with the delegated subjects working in the BTC area and shall be competent to transfer officers and staff within the BTC area. ACRs of these officers shall also be written by the appropriated BTC authority.

5.4. BTC shall also be competent to make appointments for all posts under its control in accordance with the rules of appointment followed by the Government of Assam. However, the posts, where recruitment is made on the recommendation of APSC, shall not be covered under this provision. The Council may constitute a Selection Board for appointments to be made by it and may also

make rules, with the approval of the Governor of Assam to regulate appointments and to ensure adequate representation for all communities living in the Council area.

5.5. No posts shall be created by BTC without concurrence of the Government of Assam and it shall also abide by the decision of the Government of Assam in respect of abolition of/temporarily keeping vacant any post.

5.6. Development functions and bodies within the competence of BTC shall be transferred to BTC. In respect of DRDA, concurrence of Government of India will be obtained.

5.7. The offices of the Dy. Commissioner and Superintendent of Police will be outside the superintendence and control of BTC.

5.8. The State Government would provide an amount, to be decided every year on population ratio basis, as grants-in-aid in two equal instalments to the BTC for executing development works. The proportionate share for the BTC shall be calculated on the basis of the plan funds available after setting aside the funds required for earmarked sectors and the salary. This amount may be reduced proportionately if the state plan allocation is reduced or there is plan cut due to resource problem. In addition, the Council will be paid a suitable amount of plan funds and non-plan funds to cover the office expenses and the salaries of the staff working under their control. The BTC shall disburse the salaries of the staff under their control and would ensure strict economy in the matter.

5.9. BTC authority shall prepare a plan with the amounts likely to be available for development works, both under State share and Central share, covering any or all the activities of the departments under their control. The Council shall have full discretion in selecting the activities and choosing the amount for the investment under the same in any year covering all groups of people in a fair and equitable manner. This plan will be a sub set of the State plan and would be treated as its integral part. Once the plan of the State, including BTC plan, gets the approval of the Planning Commission the BTC authority will start execution of their plan in the BTC area. Modifications, if any, made by the Planning Commission in the BTC proposal, shall be binding on the BTC authority. The State Government shall not divert the funds allocated to the BTC to other heads and also ensure its timely release. BTC may have Planning Department to prepare the plans for BTC area to be submitted to Planning Commission through the Government of Assam.

5.10. The executive functions of the BTC shall be exercised through its Principal Secretary who shall be an officer of the rank not below of Commissioner/Secretary to Government of Assam. The sanctioning powers of the Government of Assam shall be vested with the Principal Secretary of BTC and sanctioning powers of head(s) of the Department(s) including for technical sanction shall be conferred on the senior most officer of that Department preferably not below the rank of Additional Director, who may be designated as Director of BTC for that department. The Principal Secretary and other officers shall exercise their powers under the overall guidance and supervision of BTC.

6. Law and Order

To strengthen the Police Administration, Government of Assam shall appoint an IGP for 4 districts of BTC and the jurisdiction of the DIG Kokrajhar shall also be modified to cover these 4 districts.

7. Revision of list of ST

Consequent to the inclusion of BTC area into the Sixth Schedule, the list of ST for the State of Assam shall be so modified so as to ensure that the tribal status of Bodos and other tribals living outside the BTC are does not get affected adversely.

8. Grant of ST status of Bodo Kacharis of Karbi Anglong and NC Hills districts

The Government of India agrees to consider sympathetically the inclusion of the Bodo Kacharis living in Karbi Anglong and NC Hills Autonomous Council area in the ST (Hill) List of State of Assam.

9. Development of Bodo Language

9.1. The Government of India agrees to consider favourably the inclusion of Bodo Language in Devnagri Script in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

9.2. Bodo language shall be the official language of BTC subject to the condition that Assamese and English shall also continue to be used for official purpose.

10. Additional Development Package for BTC

10.1. The State Government, within the limitation of financial and other constraints, may offer or allow the Council to offer, possible and sustainable additional incentives for attracting private investment in the Council area and would also support projects for external funding.

10.2. In order to accelerate the development of the region and to meet the aspirations of the people, the Government of India will provide financial assistance of Rs 100 crores per annum for 5 years for projects to develop the socio-economic infrastructure in BTC areas over and above the normal plan assistance to the State of Assam. The size of the Corpus will be reviewed after a period of 5 years. Suitable mechanism will be built in the system to ensure that the funds are transferred to BTC in time and at regular intervals. An illustrative list of projects which may be considered to be taken up in BTC given below:

List of projects:

1. To establish a centre for development and research of Bodo language;
2. Upgradation of existing educational infrastructure by way of renovation/addition of buildings, providing modern facilities for teaching such as computers, science laboratories etc. from primary level to college level in BTC area;
3. A cultural complex to be established at Kokrajhar to promote and develop Bodo tradition and cultural heritage;
4. To establish a super-speciality hospital with all modern facilities at Kokrajhar Government Hospitals shall be established in all district, sub-divisional and block headquarter;
5. To establish sports complexes in all the district headquarters;
6. Food processing

plants and clod storage facilities at Kokrajhar, Kajolgaon, Udalguri and Tamulpur; 7. Construction of a bridge over river Aai to connect Koilamoila, Amguri etc. with the rest of the district; 8. To build a Bodoland Bhawan in Delhi; 9. To set up integrated agro-processing park and textile-cum-apparel park; 10. Revitalisation of Kokilabari Agricultural Farm; 11. To develop adequate infrastructure to promote Manas sanctuary as an international tourist spot; 12. To complete Champa, Suklai and Dhansiri irrigation projects; 13. To construct a highway on the Indo-Bhutan border from Jamduar to Bhairabkunda to connect remote places located adjacent to the border; 14. To set up model dairy, fishery, horticulture and poultry farms/training centres at different places in all the 4 districts to encourage youth for self-employment; 15. To enhance the existing facilities in veterinary hospitals in BTC area.

10.3. Government of India will provide necessary one time financial assistance required for development of administrative infrastructure in the newly created district headquarters, sub-divisional headquarters and book headquarters, besides the BTC Secretariat Complex at Kokrajhar

11. Centrally funded University

11.1. A centrally funded Central Institute of Technology (CIT) will be set up to impact education in various technological/vocational disciplines such as Information Technology, Bio-Technology, Food Processing, Rural Industries, Business Management, etc.

11.2. The CIT will be subsequently upgraded to a Centrally funded State University with technical and non-technical disciplines to be run by the BTC.

12. Relief & Rehabilitation

12.1. The BLT would join the national mainstream and shun the path of violence in the interest of peace and development. After the formation of the interim council of BTC, BLT will dissolve itself as an organisation and surrender with arms within a week of swearing-in of the interim council. The State Government would provide full support to relief and rehabilitation of the members of BLT who would surrender with arms in this process in accordance with the existing policy of the State. Financial support in such cases, however shall be limited to be provisions of the scheme prepared and funded by the Government of India. Withdrawal of cases against such persons and those related to overground Bodo movement since 1987 shall be considered according to the existing policy of the State of Assam.

12.2. The Government of India will initiate steps for review of action against the Bodo employees of Government of India and subordinate officers as well as in respect of Central Government Undertakings. Similar action would be taken by the Government of Assam.

12.3. Bodo youth will be considered for recruitment in Police, Army and Paramilitary forces to increase their representation in these forces.

13. Special Rehabilitation Programme for the people affected by ethnic disturbances:

The Special Rehabilitation Programme (SRP) for the people affected by ethnic disturbances in Assam, who are at present living at relief camps in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon etc. shall be completed by the Government of Assam with active support of BTC. Necessary funds for their rehabilitation shall be provided by the Government of India and lands which are free from all encumbrances required for such rehabilitation shall be made available by the BTC.

14. Interim Council

Immediately after signing of the agreement, Interim Executive Council for BTC shall be formed by Governor of Assam from amongst the leaders of the present Bodo movement, including the signatories to this settlement, and shall include adequate representation to the non-tribal communities in BTC area. The Interim Council shall not continue for a period beyond 6 months during which period election to the Council shall be held. Government of Assam shall dissolve the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) and repeal the BAC Act.

15. Government of Assam will consider inclusion of all tribals including Bodos in RHAC/MAC/LAC in consultation with leaders of these Councils.

16. The Implementation of the provision of the Memorandum of Settlement shall be periodically reviewed by a Committee comprising representatives of Government of India, Government of Assam and BTC.

Signed on 10th February, 2003 at New Delhi in the presence of Shri L.K. Advani, Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister of India and Shri Tarum Gogoi, Chief Minister of Assam.

(Hagrama Basumatary)
Chairman
Bodo Liberation Tigers

(P. K. Dutta)
Chief Secretary
Government of Assam

(R. C. A. Jain)
Secretary (BM)
Ministry of Home Affairs
Government of India

Appendix C

Tribewise Population of Assam (As per 2001 Census)

HILL TRIBES

Name of the tribes	Total Population
1) Chakma	4187
2) Dimasa	65009
3) Garo	17998
4) Hajong	1638
5) Hmar	11189
6) Khasi, Jantia, etc.	11358
7) Any Kuki	21883
8) Lakher	36
9) Man (Tai Speaking)	2582
10) Any Mizo	1031
11) Mikir (Karbi)	285811
12) Any Naga tribes	15354
13) Pawai	777
14) Synteng	368
15) Lalung (Tiwa)	Not enumerated in 2001 Census as Hill Tribe.

PLAINS TRIBES

Name of the tribes	Total Population
1) Barman in Cachar	13378
2) Boro Kachari	1267015
3) Deori	35849
4) Hojai	4582

5) Sonowal Kachari	251725
6) Tiwa (Lalung)	143746
7) Mech	6738
8) Mishing (Miri)	477790
9) Rabha	236931
10) Dimasa	Not enumerated
11) Hajong	in 2001
12) Singpho	Census as
13) Khamti	Hill Tribe.
14) Garo	