CHAPTER-V

ANALYSIS OF FIELD SURVEY BASED ON UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

5.1. Pro-talk ULFA:

Arabinda Rajkhowa: He disclosed that the impact of ULFA was on socio-political sides. According to him ULFA has been doing tremendous job for reforms of Assamese society and its upliftment. He regrets that despite Assam being a rich state in natural resources and being the largest producer of tea, oil, ply-wood and forest products remains one of the poorest and industrially backward state in the country. He said that the government killed innocent people by false encounter on the basis of suspicion. It victimized innocent people and violated human rights through Army operations like Bajrang, Rhino and the Unified Command Structure etc. Regarding peace talks he is optimistic.

Raju Baruah: When Raju Baruah, Deputy Commander in Chief of ULFA was asked regarding the causes for emergence of ULFA, he said that identity crisis was core issue and other issues such as infiltration, nationalist sentiment, demographic situation, internal and external immigration etc. come later. Regarding anti-terrorism laws, he said that it was natural on the part of the Central Government because Assam is considered as a colony and not as a part of the country.

It was natural that human rights from both sides were violated as there was a war. But from the govt side it could have been minimum through creation of a good environment or some alternative measures. Only military or anti-terrorist laws are not the options before a government. Manab Adhikar Sangram Samity is working for protection of human rights in Assam. Regarding the role of Judiciary and Assam Human Right Commission, he questioned how far they are successful.
Regarding socio-political impact of ULFA on Assam, he opined that in Assamese society the values have been changed. Regarding social reformation activities like ban on alcohol, prostitution etc. the awareness programme had some impact, but the cause should be identified. The work culture of Assamese society has been changed. Regarding political impact, he opined that the present political condition of Assam is the creation of governments. He says that there is no question of faith on Constitution of India; it will depend upon the government’s effort to solve the problem and creation of a good environment. Regarding the peace talks he said that after arrest of the top leaders of ULFA in Bangladesh, the Assamese society through Jatiya Abhibartan opted for peace talks and invited the leaders of ULFA to come forward and asked the central government to solve the problem by negotiation. That is why they came forward for peace talks and submitted the charter of demands to the central government and the peace process is running. He opines that if the basic problems of Assam can be solved then they will be living in mainstream. Otherwise there will be no alternative to an armed struggle.

**Chitrabon Hazarika, Finance secretary of ULFA:** Interviewed at Lakowa in Sivsagar district on the occasion of ULFA’s Martyr Day on 27th July, 2013.

Hazarika said the causes of emergence of ULFA should be visualized on specific line. It should be studied on the basis of Assam’s environment, conditions etc. Besides, he stressed on the cause of development and decline of ULFA. He disclosed about the support to AGP and Congress in elections. It benefited both the organization and the government. He also highlighted the incident of Bhutan operation and political situation of Bhutan. He also stressed on damage control measures from both sides and its effects on Assam.

**Hira Sarania:** Hira Sarania joined ULFA in 1989 and leader of 709 battalion and assistant in-charge of ULFA of Paschim Mandal. He was from Dighilipar of Tamulpur, P.O & P.S-Tamulpur, District- Baska (Assam). In 2010 he came out from ULFA as ceasefire member.
He expressed his experience in Bhutan operations which his colleagues and himself faced and regretted about the role of some ULFA leaders. Sarania opined that the successive arrest of top ULFA leaders affected the organization. He opined that the roles of Government and ULFA have immense impact on Assamese society, particularly in socio-political sides. He is optimistic of the peace process and it will depend upon the role of top ULFA leaders. People of Assam are always keen about the peace process and time will say the truth.

**Rupjyoti Boro**, organizational name Sapon Daimary, age about 36 years is of Kalitakuchi Bezpara of Hajo Block. He is of scheduled caste. At present he has 7 family members. His father is Bhugendra Nath Boro. His religion is Hindu. He passed the HS in science stream. While he joined ULFA, he was studying at B. Barooah College in Guwahati. He joined ULFA in 1993 and in 1995 actively took part in the organization. He joined the organization on the ideological and social environment. While in ULFA, he was arrested in 1998 and in 2007 and jailed for 1 year and 6 months under NSA. According to him the war is still running as unconventional. According to him violation of the rights of people was not unnatural. From 2011, he is living at his native village on medical ground. At present he is dependent on his parents and doing miscellaneous activities.

According to him the organizational structure of ULFA is as under-

**CHQ**: Central Head Quarter

**GHQ**: General Head Quarter

Zonal Offices: East, West, Middle and South

Central Head Quarter is the Supreme body and final authority. Paresh Baruah, Arabinda Rajkhowa and other executive members are its member. It has political and military activities.

GHQ – control the military activities. All the operations are done by GHQ. It has many battalions like- 7, 27, 28,109 and 709.
Sapon Daimary was a member of 709 battalion. Sapon Daimary was instructor in military training wing headed by Hira Sarania. He never compromised on sovereignty of Assam. He was active member of AJYSP, later joined ULFA. The war against India by ULFA was due to historical reason. The tortures done on him were not un-expectable. He has to go to the court once in a month. His relatives were also victims in secret killings. No organization helped him in this regard. According to him ULFA is still strong on ideological line and not divided and have public support. He wanted to go forward in future with national sentiment. He opined that the organization is doing decisive role in Assamese society and has indirect impact on politics. According to him the struggle against India is not illegal. The role of judiciary is not positive. He wanted permanent peace in Assam. He opined that Assam was historically independent and became part of British colony according to Yandaboo treaty in 1826 and Gomdhar Konwar revolted against Britishers. He still has relation with ULFA. At present he has 18 cases against him.

Anima Medhi, wife of Sapon Daimary, organizational name Rimli Baruah, age is about 26 years of village Kalitakuchi Bodo Para. She was a member of ULFA. She is married and her religion is Hindu. At present there are 7 members of her family. She passed HSLC examination. She was originally from Sialmari of Tihu area. Being a house-wife, she has two weaving instruments and doing weaving activities. Before joining the ULFA, she faced torture in search of ULFA militants in her house. Infact, her family members had given shelter to ULFA members and thereafter interacting with the ULFA members she got motivated to the ideology of ULFA. Her uncle Ranjit Medhi was a ULFA leader and army raided the house frequently. Later she joined ULFA to avoid being tortured of Army, economic constraints and feeling of insecurity. She was a member of the Enigma B group ULFA. She was an informer and involved in operations. She was a trained ULFA militant. While she was in the ULFA, relations of ULFA members were good. There was no physical
and mental harassment on her. She was in a designated camp of ULFA at New Baniakuchi of Nakhra area, Tihu, Nalbari. She receives Rs. 3000 per month but infrequently. SULFA tortured their family and human rights were violated. No organization came to help them. She has sympathy for ULFA. She wanted to live peacefully and hope peace will come in Assam.

Pratikha Sarma: Wife of Pankaj Choudhury, organizational name Sri Gitanjali Chakrabarti age about 32 years was an active member of ULFA organization. She has passed B.A. She joined ULFA in 1998 and was arrested on 15 December, 2003. She has to go to the court every month. She was jailed on 13 January, 2006 at Nalbari jail. On 12 July, 2007 she was abducted by SULFA men from Hajo-Nalbari bus station, kept in Nalbari PS and released on 22nd July. According to her anti-social activities like alcohol, gambling, women trafficking have been increasing. She does not believe in the India constitution. She wants to live peacefully in future. She felt violation of human rights through the state actor. She did service as teacher and at present doing service in health department under NRHM. Her present address is Arengi Dal (Choudhury Supa), P.O. Bhadra, P.S. Nalbari.

Rupalim Thakuria: Wife of Ramani Kalita, a missing Lieutenant in political department of ULFA. She joined ULFA on marriage link. She did organizational activities. At present she has one daughter studying in class III. She felt that she lost human rights through the activities of police. MAAS did help her but she did not go to HRC. Police searched her while she was in organization. She has no comment on social impact on society. She believes that peace will come to Assam and want to live peacefully.

Most of the Assam Naba Nirman Kendra’s were visited by me and took interview of Pro-talks ULFA members.

Assam Naba Nirman Kendra situated at Natun Baniakuchi Village in Nakhra area, P.O. Nakhra, P.S. Tihu District Nalbari was visited by me and interviewed about 35 Pro-talks ULFA in the camp. In this camp Benudhar Sarma is Commander, Parimal Barman is Deputy
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Commander. They received financial benefits from govt. They received 3000 rupees per month. The money is received intermittently. They disclosed that they have got more or less adequate facilities at this camp. They are waiting for successful solution of ULFA-Govt. conflict. They believed that peace will come in Assam. They said that disputes of local people were solved by them. In the camp, most of the cadres were undergraduate or lower level. In the camp there were lady cadres of ULFA who came from different community.

Saulmari of Banekuchi Designated camp: This designated camp is situated at Saulmari of Banekuchi area, P.O. Susundi, P.S. & District Nalbari. There are all total 25 ceasefire ULFA cadres under the supervision of Hemanta Rajbangsi. In the camp there were 12 HS passed and 1(one) H.S.L.C. passed and others are under metric cadres. In the camp the cadres were from different sections of people. According to most of the ULFA cadres, they joined into ULFA for ideological reasons. ULFA leaders opined that socio-political impact of ULFA on Assam is very deep and hopeful of peace talks. In the designated camp there are 93 bighas of land for agricultural farm. They are engaged in agricultural activities including three fisheries and pig farms.

Ghorabandha, P.O. and P.S. Sipajhar: While I visited and interacted with 30 members of the camp, it was felt that the camp is doing excellent job for social reforms and cultural upliftment under the supervision of Hiren Deka. The camp has been solving public complain against any person and gave punishment to the guilty person. The camp is giving financial help to the poor students every year. Besides the members of the ULFA organized cultural functions against alcohol and performing Folk Dance, Garakhiya Songs, Deodhani Nritya of Darrang etc.

5.2. Ex-ULFA:

Sunil Nath: Sunil Nath was a ULFA member from 1984 to 1992. After he joined ULFA in 1984 he became Secretary of Noonmati Unit. According to Nath, after 1983 when Central
Government imposed illegal election on Assam, ULFA leaders felt that there was no other option except taking arms against Government of India and took the path of violence actively for separation of Assam from India. On 11th May, 1987 he was arrested in Bank robbery case at Fancy Bazar and released in June, 1988. In July, 1988 he was arrested on TADA and released next day on demands of AASU leaders.

According to Sunil Nath during 1987-88 ULFA’s aims, objectives and ideology were coined as under:

Aims: Socialistic Sovereign Assam

Objectives: National Liberation Struggle.

Ideology: Scientific Socialism on the basis of Mao Tse Tung’s ideology.

In December, 1988 he became Chief Organising Secretary of Kamrup District and after one Month in January, 1989 he became District Secretary. There were two units in Kamrup District, at Manahkuchi and at Goreswar, though Goreswar unit was in name only. In 1989 there were only 10-15 members of ULFA in Kamrup District. In 1989, Narayan Das alias Sudarsan of Sonapur became Chief Organising Secretary and Sunil Nath became the Central Publicity Secretary of ULFA. He was also involved in the District unit which had been increasing its strength to 25-30 members. In 1990, its strength increased to 250 members.

On 11 January, 1992 Anup Chetia, Pradip Gogoi, Kalpajyoti Neog and Sunil Nath met Prime Minister of India, P V Narasimha Rao and offered for peace-talks. Between 11th January to 31st January, 1992 there were three rounds of meetings of General Council of ULFA on the issue of peace talks and others. But on 27th March 1992, Anup Chetia and Pradip Gogoi visited Bangladesh and went underground. In 31 March, 1992, 7 district units out of 12 districts of ULFA led by Sunil Nath, Munin Nobis and others met Hiteswar Saikia, surrendered and offered for peace–talks. According to Sunil Nath they were known as Former ULFA, in later time they were known as Surrendered ULFA and Ex-ULFA, particularly from
2004. According to Nath on historical background of ULFA, the Assamese nationality emerged from between 1826-1836 in Assam.

**Bijoy Hazarika:** He is the Secretary of All Assam Ex-ULFA Co-ordination Committee of Assam. He was in the Central Cultural department. He joined ULFA in 1988. Regarding the question of positive impact of ULFA he said that due to emergence of ULFA the Caste system in Assamese Society is declining and the mutual co-operation has been increasing among the different communities of Assamese Society. The anti-social elements of society had declining and it protects and preserving the tradition and culture of Assamese society.

Regarding the political impact of ULFA, he said that after emergence of ULFA, the people of Assam became politically conscious regarding the Freedom, Full autonomy, Rights, Protests against injustice etc. Regarding the relevance of demand of Sovereignty in the present Global world – he said that still 25% to 30% people have sympathy to the demands of organisation and wanted for change for united of Assam. Regarding the relevance of Sovereignty – he cited the example of Cuba. He also quoted that there is a question that how much Assam will be secure in future.

But it is not yet possible because there is no common national platform for the cause. At present there is culture of easy money and no work culture in Assamese Society. He also cited that the Armed Powers special Acts (1958) is imposed in Assam and Manipur only though Maoist and terrorist activities are continuing in central and in other parts of India. The main cause of emergence of ULFA was long exploitation over Assam in economic and other sides.

According to him there is a difference between ULFA and Ex –ULFA that they follow the non-violence and other group follows violence way.

The image of ULFA has been deteriorating because of unable to implement of order from central command by central committee. According to him though they are not involved
in peace process but they are optimistic on peace process for the interest of Assam. According to him during the time of 1994 which was crisis period for the ULFA organisation after killings of top most ULFA leaders including Hirak Jyoti Mahanta and surrender by some top most ULFA leaders. There was debate on the inter-structure, Ideology. Some of the ULFA leaders in Burma including Bijoy Hazarika discussed the situations and initiated the reorganisation of ULFA in 1994 and the district committees were dissolved and zonal committees were constituted.

According to him the Ex–ULFA cadres joined the mainstream for four reasons:

1. Ideological conflict
2. Inter-conflict among ULFA
3. Self-interest, and
4. Pressure from police, army and the wish of the general public.

Most of the Ex-ULFA cadres including Bijoy Hazarika left ULFA due to first two reasons. According to him the secret killings started from 1994 during the Hiteswar Saikia Government when Javed Bora went missing while he travelled to foreign country. According to him, India only got political power but not independence from Britishers. Though he has faith on the Indian Constitution he feels that the authority of the Constitution is not maintained and a recall system for politicians is not there. The present education system should also be changed and practical education should be introduced.

**Golap Medhi:** Golap Medhi is the President of Kamrup district Ex-ULFA Coordination Committee. Age: 46 years, Father: Chakradhar Medhi, Village & P.O.: Bamunigaon, P.S.: Boko, Block: Bangaon, District: Kamrup, Assam. He was leader of AASU during his student life. He joined ULFA willingly in 1987-88 on ideological ground. He joined ULFA on the issues of exploitation of wealth, Government’s attitude and identity crisis. Assam has been socially, politically and economically exploited since independence. According to him
foreign infiltration, nationality question, demography and internal migration were the causes for emergence of ULFA. He opined that ULFA’s struggle was for self-determination of the indigenous people of Assam and for social reforms. ULFA’s emergence affected Assam on social and political sides. The anti-social activities like drugs, trafficking of women, prostitution, corruption etc. in Assamese society have been decreasing. At present the Ex-ULFA are doing constructive work in Assam.

Dilip Sarma, Secretary of All Assam Ex-ULFA Co-ordination Committee, Kamrup district: Village Baregaon, Age 40 yrs., son of late Gopi Kanta Sarma, P.O.Karara, P.S. Baihata Chariali, Kamrup. He joined ULFA willingly in 1992 against the exploitation of wealth of Assam. He was a leader of AASU. He thought ULFA’s struggle was a separatist struggle for Assam. He opposed to be called as SULFA. About 90% members were against it. According to him they have still not surrendered and always wanted to do for Assam and their role was positive. He surrendered in 2007. According to him most of its members are not opportunists. He got training and financial help from Govt. He supported for more financial assistance from govt. His opinion was that about 90% SULFA members were doing positive role regarding socio-cultural side of Assam. They are also not silent on the issue of corruption, lottery, gambling, trafficking of women and children. He thought that ULFA’s struggle was for indigenous people of Assam.

According to him the sovereignty issue is still relevant and wants plebiscite without army activities. He also wanted withdrawal of the Arms Forces Special Powers Act of 1958 and other laws. According to him the positive impact of ULFA was that its presence provided development to Assam, particularly from 2000. Without ULFA, development of Assam would have been static as was since independence. He says that 90% SULFA members still doing activities for betterment of society. They do not want to be known as SULFA. He also criticised leadership of ULFA on organisational matters particularly Arabinda Rajkhowa.
They were victim of state machinery and did not receive any assistance from Govt. He now runs a fabrication shop and running his life from this income source. At present he has no relation with ULFA. He believes in the Indian Constitution. He faced torture from army but did not go to judiciary or the Assam Human Rights Commission.

**Pabin Deka**, organizational name, Atul Das, actively joined ULFA in 1988 and surrendered in 1992. He was studying in class VIII while he joined. He got financial assistance of Rs. 2 lakhs from Govt. His village is Palara, P.O. Sudra Dimu, under Kamalpur P.S. in Kamrup district. He joined ULFA on insistence of his wife’s brother late Ratul Kakati of Sundaraisal, who was commandant of Kamrup district and killed by secret killers. He was earlier a member of AJYSP. He was loved by neighbours for his helping attitudes. His elder brother is an active member of the Congress Party and is Secretary of Kamalpur Block Congress. Though army and police personnel raided his home, he was never tortured and the behaviour of army was not bad. According to him peace will come and although he earlier supported the sovereignty stand, he does not support it now. There was a positive impact of ULFA upon Assamese Society.

**Pradip Das** was a ULFA member from Baihata, organizational name Rajesh Bora and Prabin Konwar. He was a member of military wing and a member of the Central committee. He was a second Lieutenant in the organization. He was commander of Kamrup district of ULFA. He joined ULFA organization in 1986. Pradip was arrested three times. He was arrested in 1997 at Bhutan by Indian Army but shown as in Riman forest of Dhubri district. There were nine cases under TADA, NSA against him. He was released in May, 1999 from jail. The army personnel tortured the family and their father’s hand was broken. His brother Dimbeswar was arrested and sent to jail for nine month and his sister was also remanded in police custody. He married a Muslim girl. He is doing contract now. He felt that the state authority extremely violated the human rights through torturing them. The village people feared to be in touch
with them in view of state machinery. The entire economy of the family badly affected till now. He does not believe in the judiciary system of India. Vested interest group filed a case against him that he was involved in a clash between two groups on a land dispute. He strongly believes that peace in Assam will come if people feel secured by themselves. He disclosed that the central leaders had an intension to form a political party in future. According to him there are only 30% actual ULFA members of whom only 10% are matured and 20% are immature. Among the 10%, only 6% members are able to take right decision. He does not believe on the recent peace process.

**Kamrup District Ex-ULFA Co-ordination Committee:** On 27.08.2004 the Kamrup District Ex–ULFA Co-ordination Committee was formed. It has six committees as under the organisation. They are:

1. South Kamrup Anchalik Committee.
3. Hajo Anchalik Committee.
4. Rangiya Anchalik Committee.
5. Kamalpur Anchalik Committee.

The organisation was renamed as Ex–ULFA instead of SULFA on 27.08.2008 after renamed as All Assam Ex–ULFA Co-ordination Committee in 2004 in Morigaon meeting. On 14\(^{th}\) & 15\(^{th}\) June, 2014, a first biennial meeting was held of Kamrup District Co-ordination committee at Boko in the Bishnu- Prashad Rabha Auditorium. In the opening session of the meeting on 15\(^{th}\) June, 2014, in which top most leaders of the central leaders of Ex–ULFA like noted writer cum intellectual Sunil Nath, Bhaskar Kalita, Bijoy Hazarika, Moni Bora, Karna Ray, Golap Medhi, Dilip Sarma were present, I also attended the meeting and shared my views. In the meeting, Sunil Nath said the Assamese nationalism has grown during the period
between 1826 and 1836. It has 1500 members of the Kamrup district Ex-ULFA Co-ordination Committee.\textsuperscript{119}

\section*{5.3. Members of victim families:}

\textbf{Ananta Kalita:} Ananta Kalita is the living secret killing victim of Assam. He is about 43 years of age. His father was late Bhupendra Kalita. He is inhabitant of Kalitakuchi Bezpara, P.O Kalitakuchi under P.S. & Block of Hajo in Kamrup district of Assam. He is an Arts graduate and at present working as Assistant teacher at C. D. Boro Para ME School. While studying he was a student leader and got the position of Vice President of Guwahati Zila Parishad of AYJCP and President of AYJCP, Hajo Anchalik Parishad. His religion is Hindu. Former MLA of Hajo Dr. Haren Das welcomed him to join politics in 2006. He opined that ULFA is at present silent on the issues of corruption, child and women trafficking. He got financial assistance of about 5 lakhs from Govt. He does not support mass killings of Assamese people and believes in the Indian constitution. He doesn’t believe on peace talks and lasting peace in Assam.

He considered ULFA as an organization of extreme nationalism and the conflict between ULFA and Government as illegal. According to him, due to foreigner’s problem, nationality question, demographic changes, internal migration among the people of India into Assam and other causes, the situation became grim that contributed to the emergence of ULFA. He considered that after the incident his human rights have been violated. He said that the activities of ULFA have social and political impact on Assam.

He was in jailed under TADA and NSA in January, 1999 for three months. He believed in Indian Constitution. In the interview he narrated the incident that on 7th March, 1999 at about 1.30 am the OC of Hajo P.S. along with police personnel called him to go to police station on

\textsuperscript{119} Mukuti, the mouthpiece of the Kamrup District Ex-ULFA Co-ordination Committee, Kalahi Offset Press, Chaygaon, 15\textsuperscript{th} June, 2014
charges of assault to an old man and cow at his agriculture farm at Singimari. The police personnel raided and destroyed the all documents and materials at the house. Though he did not want to go to the police, the police personnel threatened and told that unnecessary thing should be stopped and get up on the police car. When they reached the police station, the OC entrusted a police man to take him in custody. The driver of tractor who worked in the farm was also arrested. In the police station the police personnel tortured him. The next day, the owner of the rented house, Sri Krishna Kanta Das was also arrested. On the basis of FIR lodged against the agricultural farm by some people, the President, Secretary and other activists who came to the police station were arrested, kept in police custody for the day and released in the evening. Besides, the Secretary, Guwahati Zila Parishad of AJYSP and other members also came to the station to take stock the situation. After consultation by Secretary with OC, the OC assured him of release after taking statement of the accused. At about 1 pm the OC brought him from the lock up and took his signature on blank paper by force and said that your life is finished now and no need to live. After that he was again sent to the lockup. But in the next day he knew from the attendants that in the newspapers he was made as ULFA member. At 11 am in the Court of Hajo, the Police Officer produced him before a judge and exhibited a pistol packed in a polythene bag and said that it was found with him. After that he was kept in police custody for three days. That was a very bad experience for him because he was tortured. On twelve days he was produced before the court at Hajo and sent to the Central Jail of Guwahati. He was suffering from illness while he was in jail. He was released after three months in jail.

One day the police officer at Kalitakuchi met him and asked him about his decision that what he want to do. The police officer said that see that the secret killers are moving around but in later time you should not blame me.
On 16 September, 1999 Ananta heard some voices at his elder brother’s door, who knocked
the door and asked about him. Ananta saw through the roof and found that some unknown
people, about 12 youths were there with carbine, Stengun etc. When his elder brother Kailash
Kalita opened the door, they flashed torches on his eyes and asked where abouts of Ananta
Kalita by slapping on his face. Ananta was bound to open the door and four youths assaulted
him and asked to give the key of tables and boxes. When he refused, they tortured him. They
took his educational documents with them. They took Ananta Kalita with them through
Ramdia road and someone mentioned about Sualkuchi P.S. Aftersome time the car was
stopped at Singimari check gate and one person laughingly told that the cook has been met.
At Usha court in Guwahati, the car stopped and someone got down and went up at the place.
From there, he was brought to the SB branch at Kahilipara. When he reached the destination,
he met one tortured youth later known as Prabin Boro. At the place he was physically and
mentally tortured by police personnel. In conversation with the police personnel they said that
they expected documents of AJYSP but there was nothing with him. In reply to a question he
said that he was only involved in the AJYSP activities. Before that in the Asom Sahitya
Sabha session held at Hajo, he took active role but not to politicize the Sabha. He was kept in
no. 4 Battalion camp at Kahilipara that consisted of specially trained youths of 4, 10 and 13
no. battalions. On 18th September, the secret killers shot on him at Jorabat, but he was saved.
At that time the OC of local P.S. was Ajmal Ali.

In this incident, there were SULFA men involved from Ramdia, Halo Gaon, Sualkuchi and
Hajo.

**Sarya Kalita**: Mother of Sri Raju Baruah, Deputy Commandant of ULFA. In the interview
Sarya Kalita disclosed that in the early stage she was opposed to Raju Baruah joining ULFA
while he was studying B.Sc. in Nalbari College. But later, many people admired before her
about son’s top most position in ULFA. While his son was in jungle army raided their house,
but the behaviour of army was not so bad except in minor cases. According to her peace of Assam is uncertain because the division of ULFA.

**Malati Das:** Wife of Late Parameswar Das of Kulhati in Hajo Block of Kamrup district. She was of scheduled caste Hindus, had sympathy to the ULFA and at the initial stage the organization did some activities for the interest of the people of Assam. According to her ULFA is struggling for the interest of Assamese people. She was directly or indirectly involved in ULFA activities because her husband Parameswar was a member of ULFA who surrendered later. Her husband was killed by secret killers. She at present resides at Borka village of Kamalpur Block and has a 16 yearold girl who studies in class IX. She had been doing weaving activities and her monthly income is about Rs. 3000. She passed HS examination.

She confessed that some of the known ULFA members came to her house. She gave shelter to the ULFA members by giving food and other kinds of help. At the time of raid of her family, the behaviour of army was not so bad. She was mentally tortured and the attitudes of peoples were not good. No organization came to help her. Though she knows about Human Rights Commission but could not get the positive help from them. But she got 5 lakhs from Govt. as ordered by K.N.Saikia Commission. It helped her financially. She went to the court many times. Though there is a provision of 2% reservation of job in governmental services, yet she did not get the opportunity. She heard about TADA and other laws and her brother and husband were arrested on TADA Act. Though Human Rights Commission came to her help but it was not fruitful. According to her the support of ULFA is deteorating because of ideological changes. She is positive for her life, wanted to live peacefully and to make her daughter a good citizen in future.

**Nilim Barman** father of Khagen Barman of Village Singimari (Majar Supa), P.O. Rowmari, P.S. Hajo, Dist. Kamrup. He is Hindu, having a monthly family income about Rs. 1500 with
5 family members. His son was reading at Pub Bongsar College in Pacharia. Unknown ULFA members came to their house and took food and shelter. During his study Khagen Barman was arrested and jailed in Nalbari jail for four months under NSA. Nilim Barman spent about 80,000 rupees for releasing his son. Army and police personnel misbehaved with girls of the family. On 17 March, 2000 the OC and SP along with about 24 people came to their house wearing black cloth in their faces. His family suspected that some SULFA members might have come with the police. The police personnel gharaoed the house and asked about Khagen Barman. When he introduced himself to the police, Khagen was tortured along with his parents and other family members. He was shot dead in front of his house and his body was taken away with the killers. Next day at 7 PM his body was found abandoned near a school. At the homage, the ADC and late Bhrigu Kumar Phukan came to their house in which local people assisted. MAAS came forward to their help and Human Rights Commission also came to his house. Advocates Baharul Islam and Madan Deka pleaded on their behalf and Justice K.N. Saikia Commission awarded financial assistance to the family. According to him, the Judiciary system is good and there is no need of ULFA.

Jagadish Choudhury and Dipali Kalita, elder brother and wife of Dhiraj Choudhury, suspected as having link with ULFA of Village Halogaon, P.S. Sualkuchi, Block Hajo and District- Kamrup. He was involved in student organizations. On 31st December, 1990 Dhiraj Choudhury was arrested by police at Maligaon in a timber mill. In the next day on 1st January, 1991 he was brought to his house by the army with about 13 police and unknown persons at about 4.30 am in the morning. He was brought wearing black cloths on his face and assumed that his physical condition was not good because of torture on him. Initially, he was asked to reveal the secret amount in his custody and ordered to dig a hole for searching the said amount near the well. Later he was thrown into the well and the army waited for about 45 minutes near the well until his death. The incident was seen by the family members
through the window and the army officer guarded the door with arms, not allowing them to come outside. The entire incident was also seen by Rajani Choudhury, a neighbour. The behaviour of the army personnel was not good. The family members were surprised about the incident because no ULFA members came to their house for shelter before the incident. The authority suspected him of being involved as link man of ULFA. At present there are 4 family members including his widow. His daughter Dipali Kalita is studying in class IX. According to them ULFA has lost its support base in Assamese society. This kind of killings, the killings of cadre of ULFA, and torture on innocent people on suspicion also violated the human rights. The Human Rights Commissions, Manab Adhikar Sangram Samiti or any other NGO did not come forward for help. They also did not go to the Human Rights Commission for justice. The family members lodged a case against army authority at Guwahati High Court by the advocate Kuntala Deka. But positive result was not received though went to the court for many times. Before the incident no member of the family was arrested for anti-national activities. The attitudes of the local people are not bad because of that the family has a good image before the society. They are optimistic of lasting peace in Assam and go forward with peaceful living. Sri Jagadish Choudhury is working in National Highway Authority at Boko.

Tamizuddin Ahmed, a teacher of Govt M.V. School, wife Paduma Begum, age about 50 years at the village of Deharkuria, P.O. Saniadi, P.S. Hajo, District Kamrup. In 2002, Tamizuddin received a letter in which rupees 50,000 was demanded from him in ULFA pad and asked to pay the amount at Adhiaarpara chowk near a shop. The letter also asked not to disclose the matter before police or any person. But he consulted the case with his close relatives and well-wishers. He was confirmed that the letter pad was of ULFA. On the date, time and place where the money was to be given, people noticed some suspected person’s movement. On 1st December, at 12 noon one local youth named Mohammad Ali came to the
house of Tamizuddin Ahmed, to give demand about 50,000 of rupees. At that time his son was planning to go to Russia for study of medical course after passing HS (Sc) examination. Mohammad Ali of Saniadi village had indirect link with 4 boys of the Deharkuria village and these four boys were suspected to be involved in giving information to Mohammad Ali about his son going to Russia. An argument occurred between Mohammad Ali and family members regarding the demands. At the last moment Tamizuddin agreed to give 10,000 rupees to Mohammad Ali and on that day he gave 300 rupees to him. The local people knew of the incident and assured Tamizuddin of help if such situation happened again. In the next Friday Mohammad Ali along with six army personnel and a driver from Bartala Army camp came to the house of Tamizuddin Ahmed while he was away praying Namaz. The army personnel entered the house with arms and asked about Tamizuddin and threatened the family members for dire consequence. Meanwhile, the local people gharaoed the area. At that time Mohammad Ali was seen trying to hide a weapon near the house. Paduma Begum, wife of Tamizuddin questioned him of such kind of activities and shouted against it. When the situation became worse, Mohammad Ali opened fired at the people and tried to escape from the place. The local people threw stones at the army personnel and they tried to flee from the back by firing indiscriminately. Md. Farmod Ali, Md. Ali Akbar, Md. Mahimuddin Ahmed, Md Meser Ali and Md. Tafiqur Rahman were injured in the firing. The family filed a FIR against Mohammad Ali at the Hajo Police station. While searching for Mohammad Ali, one Mohammad Piar of Asura village informed the hiding place of Ali at Japia village. Police arrested him next day and sent to jail for three months. For one month the army personnel tortured the village people of Deharkuria. But police personnel give protection the village people. The army slapped the principal, the brother of Tamizuddin. For one week the family was given security at the initiatives of Absar Ali Hazarika. Nurul Hussain, then cooperative minister visited the victim family and gave help. They received 80,000 rupees from the
government as ex-gratia. Mrs. Bijoya Chakrabarti also visited the victim family. At that time the local police officer Sri Debeswar Das also did commendable job in this case. They did not go to court for justice. Though the MASS came to the family, positive results did not come. Journalists also came to the victim family to take the situation.

**Gobinda Deka:** On 10th, July 2007 three unknown boys suspected to be ULFA members came to their house at about 8.30 with an aged man and forcefully entered into their house. Next day the family members went to their agricultural field and other destinations. At the night one ULFA member left their house before army men came who surrounded their house and fired anywhere. They ran fearing threat to their lives. At 11 pm the Army men brought them back to their house and were made to show the house sheltering ULFA and the unknown person. The army then brought them to the Kamalpur P.S. and remanded 6 days custody. They were sent to jail for 20 days. They got bail after spending 70,000 rupees in court for release. At the time of incident Chitra Deka was hit by a bullet and was unconscious for 15 days. The Army gave security to their house for one month. Sri Gobinda Deka was a popular cultivator in the area. He is doing cultivation of about 600 bighas mustard oil seeds on cooperative basis.

He disclosed that he was an innocent person and the ULFA forcefully entered their house. He felt that the incident violated human right. No organization or govt. gave help in this matter. They were arrested on charges of arms dealings. Besides, the CBI authority also questioned them. But he also confessed that the behaviour of Army personnel were not so bad. Medical treatment was provided to them while required. The attitudes of the people on them were not bad, even the general people of the locality went to Kamalpur police station in support of them. Only later the family members came to know that the unknown person with ULFA was PC Ram, who was killed in the encounter.
**Rampati Kalita:** Father of Sri Tapan Kalita, a member of ULFA while he was studying graduation in Saraighat College. On 19<sup>th</sup> January, 1999 the Punjab regiment army launched search operation to nab Tapan Kalita. Tapan Kalita was shot dead when he was returning to his home in presence of his brother. He was the member of ULFA in political wing. On charges of helping ULFA specially providing food and shelter, his brother Dipak Kalita was arrested and sent to jail. On 31 January 2001 Dipak Kalita was taken away from his house and killed at the army camp. Sometimes the police and army personnel tortured family members on charges of giving food and shelter. ULFA members Parameswar Das and Mukut Ali approached the family for food and when it was refused they threatened to kill them also. The house of Dipak Kalita was burnt by army personnel. Tapan Kalita was finance secretary and collected money for ULFA. According to the family members the influence of ULFA has decreased in recent times.

On 21 March, 2000 on the occasion of Holi the local people arranged a party at the house of late Tapan Kalita. On that day some ULFA members took shelter at their house and took food. Army men from the Punjab regiment along with some youths wearing black masks raided the place and 6 people were killed on the spot. The killed ULFA members were Tarik Ali of Muktapur, Mukut Deka of Muktapur (Phehbari), Mihir Deka of Salmari, Lakhi Kanta Rabha of Darrang and Gobinda Deka of Borka. Rebati Deka of Bonmaja was killed in firing basically from the bullet of Lakhi Kanta Rabha. On that day army and police personnel led by Kanteswar Gogoi then OC of Kamalpur P.S. tortured the old father and mother and other family members. The police and army personnel took away a Bike, all mark sheets and certificates from them.

Rebati Deka’s two minor children, a boy and girl were helped financially by government authority and a job in forest department was given to the boy.
The family members felt human rights were violated. They did not receive any financial help or any help from MASS or Human Right Commission. The attitudes of local people were not good on them. The family members disclosed that they want to live a normal life. According to them the social evils like theft, drugs and women trafficking, lottery, gambling etc. Which decreased during the peak time of ULFA has now increased.

**Ramen Rajbangsi** and **Munindra Rajbangsi**, brother of Girindra Rajbangsi alias Ojan Deka was killed at Suburbari under Kaya P.S. of Kamrup district on 12 April 1997. He was a member of ULFA in political wing and became Publicity secretary of Saraighat Anchalik Parishad. Sometimes his colleagues Mukut Sarma and Pradip Das came to their house to take food and shelter. He was arrested at Pingleswar by Kamalpur P.S. led by Birendra Buragohain, Uddhab Deka and Raghu Das. He was remanded to 7 days custody at Kamalpur P.S. A case was lodged against him under TADA and sent to jail for one year. There were seven cases against him under Kamalpur P.S. In early 1996, he was released from jail, but after staying six months at home, he again went to the organization and became the chief of Saraighat Anchalik Parishad.

According to family members ULFA lost their support base by killing of Sanjoy Ghosh and Dhemaji bomb blast and there was no support of people because of division of ULFA and misguided ideology. They felt that violation of human rights occurred and at present they have no sympathy to the ULFA. They are against the demand of sovereignty of Assam and believe in non-violence. They did not go to the Human Rights Commission for help and any organizations like MASS did not come for help.

**Md. Kutubuddin Ahmed**, adviser of Manab Adhikar Sangram Samiti (MASS), Nalbari gave an interview and said that the MASS was formed in 1991 and its founder President was late Khagendra Nath Talukdar, a lecturer of English in Pub-Nalbari College. In 1998, Md. Kutubuddin Ahmed became President of it and at present he is an advisor. He was arrested
two times. On 23 January, 1998 he was arrested on charges of giving help to ULFA. Again on 1st January, 2013 he was arrested for giving new recruits to ULFA.

**Bimala Kalita:** A house-wife, have two sons and two daughters. Her elder son and the two girls are married now. Her husband was involved in agricultural activities and business. Of the two sons, the young son Khagen Kalita was an ULFA member. He joined the organization while he was studying HS. Other organization members came to their house and took food and shelter. One day, while Khagen Kalita came to his house for taking food, the army came to their house searching him. From that day he never came to his house till 2001. The army came to their house sometimes in search of Khagen Kalita. In that time her elder son was staying at a rented house for study purpose. In January 2001, SDPO Binod Kumar came to their house with three vehicles and they took away Pratap Kalita with them not finding his son Khagen Kalita. In the next day, the family members informed the Rangia Police station about the case, but could not get any information about Pratap Kalita. His body was found at Maranjan of Rangia and at the evening he was brought back to his house after postmortem. From K.N.Saikia Commission, they got five lakhs of rupees, but no Government agencies and Human Rights Commission come to their house to help them. They faced torture from army and felt violation of human rights. According to her there is uncertainty of peace in Assam. But she loves Tarun Gogoi and K.N Saikia. Though at present the attitudes of neighbours are good, but at that time it was not good. After one year of the incident in 2001, Khagen Kalita was arrested by Maligaon Police station at Adabari. The family members sold one Bigha of land for releasing him. At present his age is about 30 years and is a Pro-talk ULFA leader.

**Ranjana Patowari,** wife of Late Birendra Patowari, a victim of insurgent activities is a teacher in Rangia Senior Basic Govt School. Earlier she was an OBB teacher. Her age is 42 years. She now resides at Jayontipur, P.O & P.S Rangia. Her husband was serving as lecturer
in Rangia College and was shot dead by insurgents. He was supporter of AGP Government. According to her, ULFA lost its support base from Assamese people and they are going for self-interests. According to her ULFA was not doing good work for Assamese society. She is suffering from heart ailments after facing mental pressure. No organizations like MAAS, NGO and Human Rights Commission came to help them and they also did not go to these. But AAWAS gave financial help by giving 1 lakh rupees and 10,000 rupees from college fund. She got pension 9000 rupees per month. While the incident occurred her husband’s age was 39 year and son age was 4-5 years. Local police officer helped her to get financial help. According to her the peace will not last in Assam and the situation will further deteriorate in future.

Sankar Kalita aged about 36 years. On 13 January, 1998 at 8:30 pm about 20 extremists came to three families and opened fired on them at the Uruka night of Magh Bihu. In the incident, 17 persons were killed.

Family of Sankar Kalita: Joymoti Kalita, Hemkanta Kalita, Dipen Kalita, Pratima Kalita, Hiran Kalita, Nabajit Kalita

Family members of Gunaram Kalita: Kunjalata Kalita, Gitarani Kalita, Babita Kalita, Pramod Kalita

Family members of Prabhat Bhuyan: Pheleni Bhuyan, Gajen Bhuyan, Bina Bhuyan

Family member of Sri Sukra Haloi: Maheswar Haloi

Family member of Sri Kaliram Haloi: Dhaneswar Haloi

Lipika Kalita, relative sister of Sankar Kalita and Gitanjali Kalita of Tarini village who came on the occasion of Uruka of Magh Bihu was also killed.

All the victim families received 1 lakh of rupees as assistance from Government. MAAS and Human Rights Commission also came to the victim families. Along with the victim members, two servicemen were also killed in the incident. When they approached the police station, the
behaviour of police personnel was cooperative. From the incident the socio-economic side was badly affected. At present they have no sympathy to the ULFA. Sankar Kalita is at present doing cultivation and business.

**Arun Kalita:** I visited the house of Anjan Kalita and interviewed the elder Brother Arun Kalita. Anjan Kalita joined in police service in 1991. In 1997, while his wife was pregnant, some unknown youths called him at 8 am and fired upon him at Batahkushi and killed him. At that time his elder brother was in Guwahati. By the incident the family was badly affected socio-economically especially in education sides. At present there are 5 family members. Arun Kalita is doing cultivation. He is optimistic on peace talks and peace may come to Assam in near future.

**Beharu Boro:** On 13th January, 1997 his son Dilip Boro was killed by secret killers at the night of Uruka. His village was Deulguri, P.O & P.S Khetri, and Block Sonapur. They had three sons of which one is handicapped. All the family members were brought outside of houses by about 13 police and army personnel and made to sit at the one place and they fired upon Dilip Boro. While the incident occurred his little child was in his hand. They took away the body and it was recovered after two days at Morigaon Civil Hospital. Atul Bora, AGP ex-Minister visited their house after the incident. Smti Puheswari Boro got service in the medical department from AGP govt. At present they have no faith and sympathy to ULFA. They do not believe that the peace will come to Assam in future.

5.4. Civil Society:

**Assam Public Works:** Met the President Abhijit Sarma and the Secretary Bitu Talukdar. According to them Assam Public Works is a civil organization. It has 36,000 members in Assam. At the initial stage they were facing trouble for their activities in Nalbari and Sivsagar districts. They consider ULFA as an extremist organization. There are ideological differences
between ULFA and APW. ULFA believes in arms struggle and APW believes in democracy. They considered Pro-talk ULFA as opportunists. They are not optimistic about the peace process. On 6 June, 2002, the organization lodged a case of 202 victim family members of ULFA against Paresh Baruah.

They conducted an opinion survey on ULFA’s demand for sovereignty, from 6 April, 2005 to 5 June, 2007 in Dhemaji, Lakhimpur, Sonitpur, Kamrup (Metro), Barpeta, Bongaigaon, Goalpara and Dhubri districts, which showed that about 90% people opposed the demand for sovereignty while 4% were supporting it.

On 25 June, 2009 they filed a case in Guwahati High Court regarding the foreigners’ issue. They burnt the effigy of Paresh Baruah on 24 November, 2004 at Dighalipukhuri-par.

At the initial stage, 24 ULFA members were persuaded to surrender by him personally and all total 200 members of ULFA surrendered. In 2005 many people protested against the organization. According to Sarma, in the period 1985-1990, there was a parallel government in Assam and mass killings were done during 1985-1996. They were dissatisfied about the role of intellectuals and they wanted reform of the Assamese society, solution of the foreigner problem and killing of innocent people.

**Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust:** I also visited Kasturba Gandhi memorial Trust, Assam branch, Sarania Ashram, Guwahati. This trust basically believes in non-violence. I met Sakuntala Choudhury, Sarna Devi and Sirma Saikia about their activities. The trusts have branches at Boko and Kumrikata run under Biju Baruah in the name of Santi Sena. In 1988, about 16 people visited Lakhipathar for peace in Assam.

I visited the central **MAAS office** of Assam situated at Bamunimaidam in Guwahati. While visiting the MAAS office got information that Seniram Nath, an active member of Hatisung Anchalik unit of MAAS in Nagaon district, was caught from his native village of Jamuguri by Army and killed brutally on 10th May, 1997.
**Bubumoni Goswami:** President of Manab Adhikar Sangram Samiti, Assam was an established member of the organisation. The organisation’s aim was against State sponsored terrorist activities which violates the human rights of people of Assam. Its aim for protection of human rights and therefore the organisation also condemned the unlawful activities i.e. bomb blast at Dhemaji, killing of Sanjoy Ghose, killings of Police personnel particularly killing of Police personal at Kamakhya temple. But these were instigated by the autocratic characters of Government for doing by ULFA. He does not believe ULFA as terrorist organisation. Though the organisation has not been successful for protection of human rights in Assam, but the organisation is to some extent successful in increasing public awareness regarding human rights. For this purpose the organisation organised seminar, publication of books, visiting the incident areas and take stock of the situation, published the incidents, filed petitioned case at court through victim members etc.

Regarding the social impact of ULFA he opined that it affects only indigenous people of Assam. In social side, the intelligent youth went into the organisation and their education was badly affected. In political side, due to increase of political consciousness, International pressure, discussion at national and international level, the atrocities of state are becoming low. On the issue of nexus between ULFA and Political parties, he disclosed that in 1996 ULFA did help AGP government in election. On peace process he is not optimistic. If the peace talks do not satisfy the aspirations of people to a satisfactory level, then the Paresh Baruah faction’s stand will be strong. Regarding the question of the organisation as over ground wing of ULFA, he denied the allegations saying that it is mispropaganda. The organisation is against any atrocities on people and most of the victim were ULFA members and the relatives of ULFA.
5.5. Statutory bodies:

**Assam Human Rights Commission:** Met the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Justice Aftab Hussain Saikia and Tarun Phukan, a member of the commission. The commission takes Suo-moto cases, cases field by victims etc. According to them, it is a recommending authority and can’t take any action against Police, Doctors, Nurses etc. While asking about the socio-political impact of ULFA on Assam, the Chairperson said that it had immense impact on Assamese society and violation of human rights. He opined that the present peace talks of ULFA and Government will not be successful.

5.6. Impact on the social system:

The social life of the people of Assam was greatly affected by the emergence and activities of ULFA. The organization, which was started in 1979, gradually became large. Coming at the juncture when the anti-foreigners movement was in full swing, they created a strong impression on the students, who were already primed by the movement against illegal Bangladeshi. Although this movement was primarily non-violent, the pent up anger at the step motherly attitude of the Center and police highhandedness resulted in the AASU and AJYSP members joining ULFA. That the organization was a violent offspring of the AASU led movement can be debated, but the manner in which it was created, particularly the timing, strongly suggests that ULFA was the creation of the governments, both at the centre and at state, of inept handling at mitigating aspirations of the people of Assam.

The interview schedule aimed at the different sections of the society, e.g., police, public, victims, politicians, Ex-ULFA and Pro-talk ULFA cadres shows a cross-sectional view on the social change being affected. The police personnel’s view the ULFA more as a rebel group and not as terrorists or extremists, ignoring the secessionist demands of the ULFA. The police admit that the common people of Assam always cooperated in anti-
insurgency activities of the police. The creation of the surrendered group, which was always seen as a problem, both by the public and the government, generated resentment among the police personal and they were not happy either with the patronage the ex-cadres received nor at the way the peace talks are progressing.

On creation of public awareness to the negative impact of ULFA activities, the police were more or less successful. Majority of the police feel that there is both a positive and negative political impact of ULFA on the Assamese society, while one third opined that there is only a negative impact. Nearly the same view is expressed on the role played by ULFA in the process of socio-cultural integration, both constructive and destructive.

On the positive impact of ULFA on Assamese society, the police feel that ULFA were successful in curbing anti-social activities to some extent, showing there were some positive impact of the ULFA on the Assamese society. Being an insurgent organization, there were negative impacts also like increase in suspicion, hinder in elections, and increase in brain drain from Assam etc.

The response of the general public to the questions posed by the interviewer also elicited that a majority of the people regarded the ULFA more as a rebel group than terrorists. A minority of the population still supports the causes on which the organization was formed. The impact of ULFA was felt both positively and negatively, more positively than negatively. The Ex-ULFA or the Pro-talk ULFA are viewed with suspicion by the common people due to their activities and the rehabilitation package of the government to them as well as the outcome of the talks were not supported by most of the people surveyed.

The views expressed by the people on the effect on social life of the people by the ULFA movement shows that it had more bad than good affect. Although the positive steps taken by ULFA succeeded at the beginning, the negative side surpassed the good works. Public punishment was seen as a major effect on the social reformation effort by ULFA
followed by indigenous issues. The issue of control of natural resources by the local people was still seen as valid.

Politicians view the organization as a rebel group and they were against the abduction, bomb explosion, and extortion activities of ULFA. Public support for ULFA is seen as decreasing, attributed to foreign links of ULFA. The ULFA problem is seen as a political one. The socio-political impact of Ex-ULFA activities is seen more on the negative and the ULFA were not successful in protecting the socio-political integration in society, but everybody feels that there were some positive social impacts of ULFA.

The sad chapter in the ULFA regime is evident in the victims, who got burnt on both ends. Most of the victims were general people, cultivators and businessman, who, willingly or unwillingly were involved in the fight. Half of the victims were victimized by secret killers. A combination of ULFA, Ex-ULFA, police, secret killers etc. terrorized the people, most of the victims killed in fake encounters and on suspicion of giving shelter to insurgents. They faced harassment from police, violating human rights. Regarding the social impact of ULFA, majority sees the positive along with negative social impacts.

The Pro-talk ULFA cadres think that they played a constructive role of social and cultural life of Assam and were not silent on evil social issues. ULFA, according to them, was successful in sensitising about indigenous issues, cultural awareness, eradicating social evils with public punishment for social reformation. They consider the society as good, the police as bad.

The roles played by Ex-ULFA were constructive and they were vocal on social issues like corruption, lottery, gambling etc. All of them feel the activities of ULFA as well as the Pro-talk and Ex-ULFA was affecting socio-political life in Assam. On the social impact of ULFA, there were positive social impacts like abolition of anti-social activities. The negative social impacts were seen as less.
5.7. Impact on the political system:

Majority of the police opined that the activities of the Pro-talk ULFA affect politics in Assam. Regarding a permanent solution to the ULFA problem, stringent anti-terrorism laws under a strong political regime would bring lasting peace. Porous international border is a hindrance to the solution of the ULFA problem. ULFA created problems in elections.

The general public did not think that there was a positive role of ULFA in the socio-political integration of Assamese society. The activities of ULFA and Ex-ULFA had an effect on the socio-political life. Nearly two-third of the people sees the ULFA problem as a political one. There was both positive and negative political impact of ULFA, but the negative impacts were more than the positive ones. Almost all people do not favour ULFA/Ex-ULFA leaders joining politics.

The views of the politicians reveal that there was a strong politician-ultra nexus. Some portions of the politicians surveyed had sympathy for ULFA and other extremist groups. Although they do not support the anti-government stand of the ULFA like bandh calls on Republic Day, Independence Day, demand for sovereignty etc. most think that the ULFA problem is a political one. The socio-political impact of Ex-ULFA activities were viewed mostly in the negative. ULFA offered threats to opposition party, threat to life, money extortion and opposition to holding political rally and ULFA was directly involved in the outcome of 1985, 1991 and 2001 elections. Most of the respondents do not support ULFA joining parliamentary politics.

Both positive and negative political impacts were felt by the victims of violence, more negative than positive.

Almost all Pro-talk ULFA think that ULFA still have political impact and that their activities will also have an impact on the politics of Assam. They have positive opinion on major political issues like infiltration, nationality, identity, demographic change and control
over the natural resources. Unlike the other groups surveyed, they do not believe that the ULFA problem is a political problem. They do not want to join active politics; favour an amendment of the constitution to make the government responsible to public sentiment and hope that the charter of demands to the central government would solve the ULFA problem.

The ex-ULFA cadres believe that ULFA revolution was reformist, not a civil war with the government but was a class struggle in favour of indigenous people of Assam. Thus the emergence of ULFA on the issues of infiltration, nationality, demographic change and inter-state migration, is seen more of a social one than a political one. All of them feel that activity of ULFA as well as the Pro-talk and Ex-ULFA was affecting socio-political life in Assam and solution to the ULFA problem can be obtained by political means. They campaigned for political parties, both Congress and AGP in the elections, but do not favour to join active politics.