The tribals have become very conscious of their position and gradually built up their movement based on their tribal identity. The tendency of the general tribesmen in the sense of promoting social, political and economic modernisation is absent among them. The increasing political mobilisation is mainly aimed at overcoming their socio-economic oppression and cultural backwardness and attaining more political power and autonomy within the present system.¹

After 1960, the Tiwa people becoming gradually conscious of their ethnic identity. They started articulating their identity to gain political power and overcome their socio-economic backwardness and oppression. After the Assam accord in 1985, further sharpened the identity consciousness among the Tiwas (Lalungs).

ORGANISATION OF DIFFERENT FRONTS:

After formation of 'Lalung Darbar' in 1967, the Tiwa people trying to organise themselves in different fronts, and to grow the political consciousness for their upliftment. In this case there is political similarity with

¹ (Understanding Society and Politics, edited by, Hussain, Manirul, G.U., 1992 - page - 77.)
other National and Regional political parties. Like all other political parties, Tiwa peoples also organised different fronts in the name of non-political organisations after 1970. The 'Lalung Darbar' was the first political organisation which was organised in 1967. The leaders of Tiwas and Lalung Darbar realised that without cooperation of different sections of Lalung people, it would not be possible to run their movements. They felt that under the leadership of Mr. Indrashing Deuri as he was the hill man, then on 25th October 1971, the Lalung Darbar submitted another memorandum to the Chief Minister of Assam to create Lalung autonomous Hill District and recognition of Lalung people as hills tribe. That was the second memorandum of Lalung Darbar. But in that time, 1971, a difference of opinion arose between the hills Tiwas and the plains Tiwas. In that time Mr. Giridhar Patar, a young educated Tiwa, an LLB degree holder, with his friends Mr. Budhi Ram Bordomi and Mr. Khiroed Patar organised a convention to form Tiwa (Lalung) Yuba Chatra Sanmilan. After discussing the matter they convened a public meeting at Barpujia in 1971.

**TIWA (LALUNG) YUBA CHATRA SANMILAN**: 

In 1971, the Tiwa Yuba Sanmilan was formed at Barpujia by the leaders of plains Tiwas. It was the
non-political organisation and its aims was to protect the socio-culture and for self identity of Tiwas. Sri Budhi Ram Bordoloi was elected President, Mr. Khirod Patar was Secretary and Giridhar Patar Joint Secretary. The first conference was held in 20th February 1972 at Kathiatoli, Numbar Lalung village. Mr. Budhi Ram Bordoloi and Mr. Giridhar Patar was elected as president and Secretary respectively. On July 10th 1972, they submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Assam and to the Minister of Tribal development. In that memorandum they demanded to preserve the socio-cultural identity of Tiwas and to develop education, communication and create the Autonomous Lalung Hill District.

**ALL ASSAM TIWA SANMILAN:**

In the year 1971, it was clear that Tiwas were divided into two groups Hills Tiwas and Plains Tiwas. Mr. Budhi Ram Bordoloi and Mr. Giridhar Patar both president and secretary of Lalung Yuba Chatra Sanmilan tried to bring unification of the Tiwa people both of hills and plains. They tried to make the people understand that the split between the hills Tiwas and plains Tiwas was only due to misunderstanding. So, for the unification of hills and plains, they convened a public meeting at Shaheri village, near in 1977. In that meeting the Tiwa people changed the name of
Tiwa Yuba Chatra Sanmilan and renamed as 'All Assam Tiwa Sanmilan' with the aim to bring cultural revivalism among the Tiwas. But the All Assam Tiwa Sanmilan did not support the demand for Lalung Autonomous Hill District. Because it was the non political organisation. Its aim was the unification of both hills and plains Tiwas and only the revive the lost Tiwa culture.

LALUNG DARBAR YOUTH FRONT:

In 1977, the 'Lalung Darbar Youth Front' was formed in a special convention which was held under the banner of Lalung Darbar. This LDYF was the Youth wing of the Lalung Darbar. The president was Rabotsingh Deuri and Secretary was Mukunda Bordoloi. This Youth front also demanded for the creation of Lalung Hill Autonomous District. So, it might be called a political organisation and helped the Lalung Darbar for the fulfilment of political aspiration. At the 9th general conference of Lalung Darbar held at Umsui, 1978, there was great debate regarding the agitational programme. Majority members of the Lalung Darbar did not agree for agitation but the Youth wing was infavour of agitation. Due to this controversy, it came out from Darbar for the purpose of establishing its own identity. In 1980, it was re-organised and changed its name as 'Lalung Youth
Fronts'. The president was Mr. Tulsi Bordoloi and Secretary was Akan Amsie. Then again both the organisation united and on 24th June 1983, the Lalung Darbar and Lalung Youth Front jointly submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi for the creation of the 'Lalung Autonomous Hill District'.

When the Assam movement was started in 1979 majority of the Tribals and the Tribal students actively participated in the movement against deporting the foreigners, and a few were against the movement.

During the Assam movement particularly in the earlier phases, the leadership of the movement did not specify their role and position of the autochthon tribes. As one stage, the All Assam Student Union demanded the abolition of constitutional safeguard provided to the tribals. On the other hand, innumerable journalists and even some social scientists, because of inadequate understanding of Assam's specific history and society, have directly and indirectly bracketed the tribals, even of the Brahmaputra valley in the non Asamiya category. Needless to say, the tribals are the first native and indigenous people of Assam. Those who supported the Assam movement and its goal failed to understand the plight of Assam's native the tribals with the exception of few political leaders and a very small elite.
section. The Tribals have perpetually experienced not only an identity crisis in Assam but also economic exploitation, and social, cultural and political oppression. They also suffered heavily along with others in the anti election violence in 1983. Some of the plains tribals had to pay heavily for their participation in 1983 elections to the state legislature.

Like the other tribals of Assam the Tiwa people of Nawgaon and Marigaon actively participated in the Assam movement though some of the tribals were against the movement. The minority section of Neilly alleged that the Lalungs of West part of Nawgaon district played the active role of Neilly's violence. In the election of 1983, some of the Lalung people tried to caste their vote, but as they were the partners of Assam movement, at last they decided to boycott the election.

After Assam Accord on 15th August 1983. The Tiwa people dissatisfied for the Art. no. 10, of the Assam Accords. Under the Art. 10th, the signatory group signed for the eviction of tribal people from the forest land and from the other govt. land. From that time they have been becoming more conscious for their self determination. In that time some of the Lalung people thought that as they were the followers of Assam movement they should be given the autonomy.

2. (Understanding Society and politics, edited by Dr. Hussain, Manirul, G.U. - 1992 - page - 76)
AUTONOMOUS LALUNG DISTRICT DEMAND COMMITTEE (ALDDC):

On 30th October, 1985, the Lalung Youth Front tried to co-ordinate all Tiwa people and all Tiwa organisation in to one common platform and held a public meeting at Jagoroad. In that meeting the Tiwa people formed the 'Autonomous Lalung District Demand Committee', as president Mr. Giridhar Patar and Secretary Mr. Narayan Kokoti comprising the organisations - Lalung Darbar, All Assam Tiwa Sanmillan, and Lalung Youth Fronts. The main aim of the ALDDC was to gain the autonomy. In that time the leaders of the organisation decided that as majority of the Tiwa people were living in plains, so, they would change their views and decided to demand the 'Autonomous Lalung District' instead of 'Autonomous Lalung Hill District'. From that time the ALDDC has been submitting several memoranda to the Central Govt. as well as to the State Govt. to create autonomous Lalung district by curving out a part of the Karbi-Anglong, a part of Kamrup and Western part of undivided Nawgaon district. Significantly the ALDDC did not include any part of East and Jaintia hills of Meghalaya which was formerly demanded by Darbar. The ALDDC was the main political organisation.

TIWA VASHA UNNAYAN SAMITEE:

During the Assam movement a few educated youths
convened a meeting on 15th November of 1980 at Makankuchi L.P. School and formed 'Tiwa Vash Unnayan Samitee' to preserve and develop the language and culture of Tiwa people. Next year, on 25th July, 1981 a convention was held at Shilshang with the help of the Shilshang area's people. In that convention they formed the 'Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra' (Tiwa Sahitya Sabha) instead of 'Tiwa Vasha Unnayan Samitee. They elected Mr. Ganesh Ch. Senapati, the teacher of Harpujia Higher Secondary School, as president. After that convention they organised branches and units in all Tiwa dominated areas. Then on 20th February 1985 the first conference of 'Mathonlai Tokhra' was held at Azarbari High School and discussed in details about the development of Tiwa language, literature and culture. The president was Mr. Udhab Ch. Senapati. From 1986, the Mishing language has been introduced at the primary level in the Mishing dominated areas. Up to that time Tiwas, Rabhas and Deuris had no any language problem. The Tiwas, Rabhas and Deuris adopted the Assamese script for developing their own languages though the aged people spoke their own dialect. These plains tribals becoming very conscious about their distinct identity and language. All of them have been contributing very significantly to enrich the composite Assomiya culture, language literature, arts and nationality. After introducing the Mishing language the Tiwas also demanded to introduce the
Tiwa language in primary level in Tiwas dominated areas.

After 1986, the Tiwa people observed that the Lalung district demand committee became inactive. So, the Lalung Darbar, Lalung Youth Front and Tiwa Samitian met together on 23 March, 1986 at Morigaon Tribal Sangha's office and decided to revive the 'Lalung District Demand Committee' again. On 30th October, 1988 a special convention was held at Palahguri High School and made the ALDDC a struggling front of the Tiwa people. But due to lack of hearty initiative and only for some of the opportunist Tiwa leaders could not take any agitational programme because of their compromising character. So, again it became gradually inactive.

ALL TIWA STUDENT UNION:

When the students and the young people observed that the main struggling front of Tiwa people became inactive, they wanted new blood. So, on 25th Feb. 1989, the 'All Tiwa Student Union' was formed with broad outlook at the Tribal Rest House Nawgaon. The aim and object of All Tiwa Student Union' was to establish the political and cultural identity of the Tiwa community. The 1st conference of the ATSU was held on 16th and 17th March 1990, at Pinau. In that conference, there was serious debate and discussion regarding 'Autonomy' for Tiwas. The conference resolved that...
the Tiwa autonomous district must be formed to protect the socio-economy and political rights and autonomy must be given to Tiwa people of Assam. In the conference, adopted the resolution to launch a democratic mass movement to attain Tiwa autonomy, by the formation of autonomous district council under the sixth schedule of the Indian constitution. The ATSU opined that the sixth schedule of the constitution be upgraded granting more legislative, administrative and financial powers by the amendment of the constitution. Then they submitted memorandum to the State Govt. and Central Govt. demanding the creation of a separate Tiwa autonomous district under the provision of the 6th schedule of the Indian constitution. But due to lack of response from the Government ATSU announced several agitational programmes to pressurise the Govt. so that may be forced to recognise its demands. The democratic movement launched by ATSU got tremendous response from the mass of the Tiwa people. They submitted memorandum to the President of India on 23rd Sept. 1991 and Prime Minister of India New Delhi on that same day. Since then they have launched several agitational programmes.

ALL TIWA WOMAN ASSOCIATION (ATWA) :

On 22nd July 1990, with the initiative of ATSU leaders, organised 'All Tiwa Woman Association' at Navgarn.
The aim and object of that organisation was to emancipate Tiwa women from the darkness of illiteracy, ignorance, exploitation and to preserve their culture. The ATWA played a pivotal role in the mass movement launched by ATSU.

**TIWA CULTURAL SOCIETY:**

Without cultural preservation identity of an ethnic group is not possible. So, to preserve their cultural identity on 15th May 1991 they formed the Tiwa Cultural Society at Ghiloni of Karbi-Anglong. The Tiwa cultural society believes the triple sense of culture should be reflected in the reality of life. Cultural movement is indispensable part of political movements. Thus Tiwa cultural society involved in the political movement led by ATSU and ATWA.

The Tiwa people felt that without assistance of women and without having cultural sense of the Tiwa people the main goal can't be achieved. They realised that the autonomy was only a means to reach the goal of salvation of the Tiwa people. The autonomy must be the primary condition to achieve its salvation. ATSU is also able to support the Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra to its side. The second general conference of Tiwa mathonlai Tokhra was held at Jagir and on
31st March and 1, 2nd April, 1995. In that session the Mathonlai Tokhra offered full support the movement launched by ATSU for the autonomy. The president of that session of Mathonlai Tokhra Mr. Tulsi Bordoloi gave a press release with announcing on 13th April 1995 that "the Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra has the full support of the movement led by ATSU and ATWA regarding autonomy. The autonomy for the self determination of Tiwa is the constitutional right. The Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra will oppose any kind of agreement by the Govt if it goes against the greater interests of the Tiwa Community".

Up to last part of 1993 there were no any rival organisations. As a strong organisation at grass root level, ATSU started various agitational programmes. Regarding autonomy ATSU tried to co-ordinate with various agitational organisations like Mishing Mimak Kebang, Takam Mishing Potin Kebang, Rabha Hasong Demand committee, Rabha Student Union, and Amri Karbi National Council - in the name of 'Autonomy Demand Co-ordination Committee'. They demanded early solution of autonomy problem and other problems of the tribals in Assam.

RIVAL ORGANISATIONS:

But the Govt. tried to bring some leaders of the Tiwa movements in to their own hand for their political
benefit. The Government brought the leaders of Tiwa sanmilan and ALDDC into their hands. Thus in the part of 1993 Government created the rival organisations among the Tiwas. Mr. Giridhar Patar the leader and the founder of the Tiwa sanmilan, and Mr. Narayan Radu Kakati the Secretary, Mr. Sridam Deui the president of ALDDC joined the ruling Cong. with their followers. They tried to compromise with the Government and tried to motivate the Tiwa people in favour of them. They created the parallel organisation of Lalung youth front and ATWA named 'Lalung Yuba Samittee' and 'Tiwa Mahila Samittee' with the help of Government. But they represented small section of the Tiwas.

On the other hand the other organisations like ATSU, ATWA, Lalung youth front and Tiwa cultural society felt the need to create a strong common political platform to achieve the goal of Autonomy. Its aimed also to included any demotivated minded persons belonging in all sections of the
of the society irrespective of caste, creed etc. The ADSF urged the govt. to solve the Tiwas problems by granting autonomy for greater interest.

**LEADERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURE :**

The ATSU, ATWA, TCS and ADSF believe in Democracy. The election procedure is on the basis of people's mandate every branch, regional and district committee themselves elect their representatives to the regional district and central committee respectively at their respective conference, at least one month before the conference of the Higher committees. The portfolios are distributed at the executive committee. Thus they elect their leaders of all organisations. The central committee at their top level and branches are at the bottom level. The leaders of the central committee are the policy makers.

**CO-ORDINATION WITH THE ALDDC :**

The ALDDC was created by the initiative of Lalung Darbar, Lalung Youth Front, Tiwa Sanmillan as a common political platform of Tiwas. The ATSU also insisted the ALDDC on many occasions for mass democratic movement to achieve the goal of autonomy for the greater interest of the Tiwas
with this view the ATSU, ATWA, and Lalung Youth Front participated at the palahguri convention of 1993. But the secret effort of the ATSU and ATWA to bring the ALDC on the line of mass movement was not successful. The ALDDC had also the same interest to bring the ATSU and ATWA to its own side. At first all organisations sent their representatives to the ALDDC as it was the common platform. So, the ALDDC was against the ruling party and took some agitational programme. But it could not function long. Gradually it was found that some leaders of ALDDC acting as the agents of the ruling party even some of the leaders joined the ruling Cong.-I. So, naturally they were going against the movement. Then the organisations like ATSU, ATWA and Lalung Youth Front cut off their link and decided not to collaborate with ALDDC, as they were interested only for self-interest.

Later the ALDDC became the main rival organisation of ATSU, ATWA and Lalung Youth Front, and tried to stand against the democratic movement launched by ATSU and its associated partners. The govt. also helped the ALDDC to sabotage the movement launched by ATSU with other associations. Then on 30th July 1994, the ATSU and its supporting organisations formed the 'Autonomy Demand Struggle Forum' as their struggling front instead of ALDDC as parallel organisation. They have close link with ADSM.
the supporting organisations have sent their representatives to the ADSF.

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