CHAPTER- 4

CONSCIOUSNESS, DISCONTENTMENT AND POLITICAL UNREST AMONG TRIBALS

Ethnic tension in the northeastern part of India which is not a new problem may be traced back to the beginning of the British rule in India. The region is a homeland of various tribal societies with distinct cultural diversities. These communities, though originating from the Mongoloid racial stock, are culturally and linguistically different from one another. Some of the communities of this region belong also to the Austo-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman races.

Political consciousness refers to the knowledge about the political phenomena. It constitutes the knowledge about political institutions and process and is a key concept in the understanding of the political system.

The 'divide and rule' policy adopted by the British did a lot of damage to the tribal community of India. The British has superimposed their own administrative pattern in tribal areas and deprived the tribals of their traditional methods of interacting with people. The 'Criminal Tribes Act,' which the British had introduced gave an impression that the tribals were either 'criminals' or 'anti-social beings.' Relations between tribals and non-tribals have started worsening. In States like Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Bihar, Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh demand for separate State for tribals took
the shape of isurgency, revolt, terrorism and so on. Neighbouring Countries which are unfriendly to India, have instigated the tribals to rebel against the establishment. They have exploited the anti-Indian sentiments of tribals to their advantage.

The society in the northeastern region of India comprises an amazing mosaic of multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious communities. In the mother-State of Assam, eight different streams in the mosaic flow are identifiable; (i) the plains tribes, who may be considered as the indigenous and whose origins are but faintly traceable through the mists of history, (ii) the hill tribes, some of whose immigration tracks seem traceable, the origin of some others appears indeterminate, (iii) the Ahoms, the invaders from the southeast appearing in the thirteenth century and ruling Assam nearly five to six hundred years following, (iv) the caste Hindus who migrated two or three centuries later from the present day Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, etc., (v) the rump of Muslim contingents of Moghul army who were to undergo acculturation in the course of subsequent decades; (vi) migrants from east Bengal attached by economic opportunities particularly in the agrarian sector, (vii) the tea-garden tribal labour with roots in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, to name the bigger sources, and (viii) migrants Nepalese and others from as far afield as Rajasthan, also lured by vast occupational and commercial vistas.

Through a quirk of history, the scheduled tribe people living in the northern plain areas of Assam have been covered neither by the Fifth Schedule nor the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution. Hence, though in common with the other tribal people in the Country, they have also been
experiencing socio-economic exploitations and discrimination, they have been deprived of the protective and promotive provisions of the two schedules.

The genesis of exclusion lies, perhaps, in the report of the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee (headed by Gopinath Bordoloi) of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas, relating mainly to hill and Excluded Areas inhabited mostly by tribals. According to the report, its terms of reference did not permit consideration of the plains tribes whose case was to be considered by the Minorities Sub-Committee, as the plains tribes were to be treated as a minority for all practical purposes. It also appears that another Sub-Committee, i.e., the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than those in Assam) Sub-Committee (of the same Advisory Committee), headed by Shri A.V. Thakkar, also omitted its consideration. To all intents and purposes, it would transpire that the case of plains tribes was not considered further. The view expressed by the former sub-committee that the plains tribes would, in any case, be assimilated with the rest of the plain population perhaps discouraged further deliberation.

1. Root points of Discontentment and Unrest

Prior to advent of the British, tribals of India in general led a comparatively peaceful life. The social changes occurred during the British regime affected tribal life with the generation of modern civilisation. Exposure, exploitation in the hands of non-tribals and conversion of religion culminated into strong reaction amidst the tribals. Since then, the tribals have been revolting against the establishment for various reasons. Some of the noted
19th century tribal revolts are—Mizo (1810), Kols (1795 and 1831), Mundas (1889), Daflas (1875), Khasi and Garo (1829), Kacharis (1839), Santhals (1853), Maria Gands (1886), Nagas (1844 and 1979), Bhaiyas (1868), and Kandhs (1817). Some of the contemporary movements are—Jharkhand movements, Gand movement, Naga movement, Mizo movement, Bodoland movement etc.

The major types of tribal movements are—religious and social reform movements, statehood within Indian Union or for autonomy for tribal areas, independent movement from Indian Union and movements for asserting cultural rights. It is significant to note that there are lot of variations in tribal movements from region to region. In the tribal majority States of the northeast, namely, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland are political in nature.

The study of the tribal movement is relatively recent in the field of social anthropology. The policy of the colonial administration regarding forest and land, alienation of tribal land, immigration and settlement of non-tribals, slow pace of industrialization and modern development etc. are the main reasons of emergence of various tribal movements in the northeastern States of Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam.

2. Some major causes of tribal unrest

Tribal unrest and discontentment are a commutative effect of a number of factors. Some of the vital factors are as follows;

2.1. Government Failures

The failure of the government to take appropriate measures to rehabilitate the tribal population both before and after independence had
disappointed the tribals. Independent India's Constitution envisages a comprehensive and well designed scheme of action for the tribal protection and development. The state governments are vested with the responsibility of implementing the constitutional provisions. Unfortunately, these constitutional provisions have remained non-operational. Land continues to pass out of the tribals to non-tribals. Money lenders continue to exploit them. There has been a heavy influx of outsiders into the tribal areas and they have grabbed most of the opportunities.

**2.2. Irresponsibility and Lack of Accountability of the Agencies of Tribal Development**

Indifference, irresponsibility, lethargy and lack of sympathy on the part of the administrators and bureaucrats in dealing with the tribal problems and grievances have been obvious. There are a number of agencies to look after and supervise the implementation of the tribal welfare programmes and schemes. At the level of the central government, for example, there are five major agencies namely;

(i) the Welfare Ministry,
(ii) Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes,
(iii) National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
(iv) Secretary in Cabinet Secretariat, and
(v) the Planning Commission. alongwith the development and administration of the tribal affairs is spread over a number of ministries and departments. Such multiplicity of agencies divides the responsibility and leads to irresponsibility and unaccountability.
2.3. Unjust Forest Policy

Inconsiderate and unsympathetic forest laws and regulations damaged the tribal emotionality. Lands traditionally owned and cultivated by the tribals have been branded as "forest lands" under the earlier forest policy. As a result, the tribals have become strangers and encroachers in their own land.

2.4. Alienation of Tribal Land to the Non-Tribals

Lack of legislation to prevent the passing of the tribal land into the hands of non-tribals has added to tribal unrest. Due to some loopholes in the existing system of law the tribal land continues to be alienated to non-tribals for their own exclusive uses. The state governments have also acquired tribal land for industrial, irrigation, power, mining, and other projects. As a result, the tribals have been deprived of their rights over the land. To-day, the so-called Tribal Belts & Blocks reserved solely for the purpose of their separate identity and survival are almost reduced alarmingly and about to extinct.

2.5. Political Indifference

Lack of interest and dynamism among the political elite to solve the tribal problems made them to become disgusted. National level political parties have not paid due attention to the genuine problems of the tribals. They have been speaking of the tribal development and the tribal welfare only for the name sake. Tribals are remembered only at the time of elections. The political indifference has made the tribals to organise their own political parties at local level. Because of their groupsim they have not been able to forge a unity to fight for their own cause.
2.6. Absence of Efficient Tribal Leadership

Tribals should be able to develop their own leadership to fight against exploitation and to secure justice. But unfortunately, various vested interests have prevented the emergence of powerful tribal leadership. There is virtually a vacuum of tribal leadership. This has very badly affected their development.

2.7. Forceful Cultural Impositions

Tribals are trying to come in touch with civilised people, Leaders of various religious communities such as the Hindu, Christian and the Muslim are trying to approach them and influence their way of life. Tribals who want to retain their original culture are bewildered at this. The Hindunisation, Christianisation and also the Islamisation of the tribals have caused lot of anxiety and a sense of insecurity for them.

It is clear from the above, that various social, political, economic and legal factors have contributed to the problem of tribal unrest.

The approach to tribal development was first laid down by Jawahar Lal Nehru in the form of Tribal Panchasheel, which, besides other things, advocated that the tribals should be allowed to develop according to their own genius, that they should be free to posses and promote their own cultural ethos and objects; that they should be integrated into the national mainstream without the loss of their identity etc. etc.

3. The Bodos Movement – A Test Case of Satellite Autonomy

Let us now discuss the Bodos, the major plains tribes of Assam, which constitutes almost 5 percent of the total population the State.

In 1929, for the first time in the history, the different tribal leaders in
Assam articulated their demands before the British statutory commission on constitutional reforms (popularly known as the Simon Commission). Their chief demand was for reservation of seats in various elected bodies. Four different organisations of 'Primitive and Backward Tribes' submitted four different memoranda.20

The Bodo Committee of Goalpara district has emphasised on the following points:

1. Since the Bodos have a distinct civilisation of their own, there should be a separate category 'The Bodos' in the census report,
2. The Bodos should have separate representation in the state council,
3. The Bodos should receive special treatment at the lands of the government in matters of education and employment, and
4. the Bodos can, by no means, be called 'other than Assamese.'

Subsequently, four seats were reserved for tribals in the Assam Provincial Assembly under the Government of India Act, 1935. For the first time, the plains tribes entered electoral politics. Shri Rup Nath Brahma, a Bodo and a member of the All Assam Tribal League, became a minister in September 1939 in the Bordoloi Ministry. In 1946, the Indian National Congress choose Shri Dhārāni Dhar Basumatary, another Bodo, for the Constituent Assembly.21

Political consciousness follows social consciousness. Assam Bodo Chatra Sanmilan, (Assam Bodo Students Conference) took lead in this direction to bring about a social consciousness among the Bodo as well as other plains tribals living in Assam. After passing about a century in complete
oblivion a new batch of educated tribal youths came forward to organise themselves under the banner of "Assam Bodo Chatra Sanmilan." This sanmilan was quite successful in bringing about a general awakening of the tribal masses. Various factors prevailing in the society also contributed for the general awakening.

Guru Kalicharan Brahma himself took the lead to meet Sir Simon, the leader of the 'Simon Commission' at Shillong in 1928 who came to study about the public grievances and of the British administrative structure.

3.1. All Assam Plains Tribal League

The All Assam Plains Tribal League (AAPTL) was formed in 1933 as a political party under the leadership of late Rupnath Brahma. The main purpose of this political party was to protect the interest and identities of the tribal people of Assam. It was the first step for the tribal people of Assam to demand something for themselves. It has demanded from the British government to keep provision for separate electorate system for the tribals in Assam Assembly. Accordingly, an Act was passed to keep reserved five Assembly seats for the plains tribals in Assam. Later, in view of the assurance given by the congress belt the Tribal League merged with the Assam Congress and sacrificed their political identity. Prior to AAPTL, other Bodos' social organisations were the Habraghat Bodo Sanmiloni (1912), Dakshin Kul Bodo Sahitya Sanmiloni (1918), Kachari Youth Association, and Goalpara District Bodo Association.

3.2 Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA)

In due course of time, it was found that the assurance given by the congress party though codified were not implemented properly. They began
to feel insecure. They found it necessary to revive their own political identity. As a result, another political organisation for the tribal people was formed called Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTAC) on 27th February 1967 at the initiative of the All Bodo Students’ Union leaders at Kokrajhar. Its objective was to demand a Union Territory as ‘Udayachal’ in the Bodo dominated areas. Their demand was placed before the State and Central government for many times.24

The PTCA alongwith the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) and the Bodo have Sahitya Sabha also jointly launched a peaceful non-violent movement from 28th February to 11th March 1968 demanding recognition of Bodo language as a medium of instruction in the secondary stage of education. As a result, Bodo-language was introduced and now it is extended up to the University level.25

The Bodo Sahitya Sabha and the All Bodo Students’ Union (ABSU) had also launched again another movement from 1974-75 onward for Roman script in lieu of Assamese script for Bodo language. This was accepted by the government. Then came the national emergency in 1975-76. During Janata regime Mr. Samar Brahma Choudhury became the minister of forest in Assam Cabinet while Mr. Charan Narzari returned to the Parliament. When both these Vice-President and the General Secretary of PTCA got power, they announced on 4th April 1977, that the PTCA had given up the demand for ‘Udayachal’.26

There was strong resentment among the supporters of a separate land. The youths and students were not happy with PTCA leaders and they formed another progressive Plain Tribal Council of Assam on 22nd May 1979. They
have submitted memorandum to the government of India for several times demanding a separate State. In 1984, under the initiative of ABSU, a convention of all the tribal organisations were organised from 17th to 19th April at Harisingha Darrang, and here PTCA(P) was dissolved and a new political party under the name and style as 'United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF)' was formed under the charimanship of Mr. Binoy Khungur Basumatary. Since then they are demanding for a separate "HOME LAND."  

It is, in this connection, it can be noted that after 1985 during the reign of Asom Gana Parishad, the different ethnic groups of Assam mainly the Bodos, used to demand statehood and self government separately for their own tribes instead of a common State as Udayachal. Other ethnic groups like the Mising, the Rabha, and the Tiwa (Lalung) following the Sonowal, the Deoris, the Thangal and some others have also started their movement for autonomy, demanding the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. There is no denying the fact that the Bodo students community played a conspicuous role, since the formation of the 'Assam Bodo Chatra Sanmilan' in 1918, which rebuilt the long neglected mighty Bodo nationality. The present 'All Bodo Students' Union' was formed on 15th February 1967 at a time when the former Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi proposed to reorganise the State of Assam on 13th January 1967. Since then, the All Bodo Students' Union has been very active and vigil on any matter connected with the Bodos as well as the tribal community. They have submitted a series of Memorandums from time to time, to the State and Union government highlighting the genuine grievances of the Bodos and the other plains tribals communities of Assam.
3.3. All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU)

All Bodo Students' Union under the leadership of late Upendra Nath Brahma had been launching a vigorous mass movement since 2nd March 1987 on three main political demands. These agendas were;

1. Creation of a separate State of Bodoland on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra,
2. Creation of two Autonomous Districts i.e. Nilachal and Lalung on the Southern bank of the river Brahmaputra, and
3. Inclusion of Bodo Kacharis living in Karbi Anglong into the scheduled tribes (Hills) and alongwith the demand for immediate fulfillment of other genuine grievances.

Several organisations like Bodo People's Action Committee (November 8, 1988), All Bodo Employees' Federation (1989), All Bodo Samaj and All Assam Tribal Women Welfare Federation (1986) etc. actively co-operated to make the movement a success.

Initially, government did not respond properly to their demands, rather they wanted to crush the movement by enforcing a number of draconian laws such as Disturbed Areas Act. 1955, Armed Forces Special Powers Act. 1958, the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act. 1987, and also by promulgating section 144 of the Cr. P.C. But the movement continued.

At last, talks were arranged by the government with a view to expedite their demands which have been submitted in the form of Memorandum.

3.4. Divide Assam Fifty- Fifty

The All Bodo Students' Union even claimed to divide Assam fifty-fifty in between tribals and non-tribals at the peak wave of their agitational emotion. In replying to a questionnaire, the All Bodo Students' Union says that...
want separate State for political, economic and all round security and development of plains tribals of Assam. They replied that separate State is required to protect ethnic identities, to avoid anti-tribal attitude of the so called Assamese people, for rapid progress and development of tribals, for better administration, more employment, self-rule to have constitutional privileges, to preserve the culture and language of Bodo, to free from the exploitations of non-tribals, for peace and communal harmony, and for a distinct Bodo nationality. The factors and basis for having a separate State are historical, linguistic, ethnical, geographical, constitutional principle for right to self-determination and political philosophy and of smaller States. They claim district council in the south bank of the river Brahmaputra and Union Territory in the north bank.

Regarding the tribals residing outside the proposed State would like the Bengalis living outside Bengal. Justifying the concept of a separate State they argued that there are 70% tribal population in north bank of the river Brahmaputra out of which 40 lakh Bodos alone are living there. Regarding natural boundary, they said, that natural boundary is not the criteria for creating a separate State. For example, there is no natural boundary between Assam and Bengal, between Bihar and UP etc. The geographical factor or contiguity is not an essential factor for a State. The area of the proposed Union Territory as they demand is 25,478 sq. Km. When it is asked, whether there is any justification of further division of Assam? The All Bodo Students’ Union replied that the area of present Assam is 78,523 sq. km. They are demanding only 25,478 sq. km. and the remaining 53,044. sq. km will constitute Assam still the second largest state of northeastern region. The boundaries for the
Union Territory include the whole of Kokrajhar, Lakhimpur district, Majuli and Sadiya sub-division. Northern parts will be covered by Dhubri, Goalpara, Barpeta, Nalbari, kamrup, Darrang and Sonitpur districts. The southern boundary will lie near Rupshi, neighbouring parts to the north of Bilasipara, Jogighop, Barpeta, Howly, Pathsala, Nalbari, Rangia, Baihata Chariali, Mongaldoi, Tezpur, Biswanath Chariali while these town will remain in Assam. The ABSU could realised that creating a separate State will not solve all the tribal problems completely, yet tribal will be developed at the patronage of their own government. They claim that their demands have legitimacy under Articles 2 and 3 of the Indian Constitution. The ABSU has been demanding the separate State since 1967. Avoiding all the 91 demands, the ABSU has currently stressing the issue of a separate State. The popular slogans of ABSU are:

"DO OR DIE FOR SEPARATE HOME LAND.
WE WANT JUSTICE.
WE WANT DEMOCRACY.
WE WANT CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.
WE WANT HUMAN RIGHTS.
WE WANT SEPARATE HOME LAND.
WE WANT SEPARATE TERRITORY.
NO HOME LAND NO REST.
JAI BORO HARINI JAI.
BODOS OF THE WORLD UNITE.
BHUMAN BORO FWR KHOUSEJA.
BOROSA DERHSAT."
3.5. Memorandum of Settlement (Bodo Accord)

After several rounds of talks, an Accord (Memorandum of Settlement) was signed between the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), the Bodo Peoples Action Committee (BPAC), and the government (Assam and central government) on 20th February 199345.


The Bodoland Autonomous Council Act. 199346 was enacted by the Assam Legislative Assembly which came into force with effect from 19.05.1993 after receiving Governor's assent.

The government of Assam has issued a notification dated 10.12.1993 comprising total 2570 villages covering 28 different Legislative Assembly constituencies, including some parts of the administrative districts of Bongaigaon, Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup and Darrang for the purpose of forming BAC.

3.7. The Salient Features of the BAC Act. 1993 are as follows47

Section 3(2) states that the council shall have maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution. Section 3(3) states that the council shall have a General Council as well as an Executive Council. Section 5 provides for the General Council to be formed by 40 elected members from the territorial constituencies referred to in section 6 of the Act. 30 seats are to be reserved for ST (P). Section 6 to 22 deal with the constitution of the General Council. Section 24 enlists 38 subjects and vests executive power
upon the General Council over the subjects. Section 25 to 30 deals with the powers and functions of the General Council all of which are subject to the general policy of the government of Assam or subject to the provision of any other laws in force or subject to previous approval of the government. A careful study of these sections will show that there is excessive control of the state legislature over the General Council of BAC. Section 31 to 41 deal with the constitution, powers and functions of the Executive Committee and the Chief Executive of the Bodoland Autonomous Council. Section 42 to 45 deal with the secretariat for the BAC. Section 46 deal with the council fund which states that there will be separate sub-head within the state budget under which there shall be a fund called ‘Council Fund’.

There is no specific terms regarding amount and sources of this fund. There is no restriction on diversion of this fund. Section 49 stipulates that all laws and regulations made by the General Council and orders and notification issued shall be subject to the security and safety of Assam. Section 52 states provisions for dissolution of the General Council and the Executive. Section 51 states that all rights of the non-tribals citizens on the date of constitution of the BAC within the council areas shall be protected. Section 54 holds that laws made by the General Council shall be in-operative in case of repugnancy laws made by the state legislature. The Bodoland Autonomous Council (Amendment) Act, 1999 has provided the boundary area by including 2941 villages in place of earlier 2682 villages covering 10 km. belt on the Indo-Bhutan border. The reserved constituencies for the plains scheduled tribes within the Bodoland Autonomous Council has also included within the Bodoland Autonomous Council.
A sizeable section of the Bodo peoples, specially the youths, were not satisfied with such sort of satellite autonomy provisions. The deviated groups reiterated their earlier Statehood demand in fresh and they have adopted the violence means of agitation under the banner of a newly formed organisation called ‘Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT)’ by restructuring the former militant wings namely the ‘Bodo Volunteer Force (BVF)’.

The first Chief Executive Member (CEM) of the interim Executive Council Samsuma Khunggur Bwisumary resigned only after three months in office in protest against non-fulfillment of various aspects of the Accord. In its 28th Annual Conference held at Langhin Tinali, Karbi Anglong from 3 to 5 March 1996, the ABSU disowned the Bodo Accord and revived its earlier demand and resumed their movement for a separate State of ‘Bodoland’. This second phase of the ABSU movement was marked by violence.

On October 3, 1986 the Bodo Security Force (BrSF) was formed under the leadership of Ranjan Daimary because of the perception by some hardliners that the moderate political and social leaders were ineffective in realising the Bodo causes. The BrSF was re-christened (25 Nov. 1994) as National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and simultaneously, some former members of the BVF were also to resurrect themselves in 1996 as the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) by adopting armed struggled method.

The difference between the NDFB and the BLT was that while the later’s political demand conformed to the ABSU aim of a separate State of Bodoland within the Country, the former stood for a sovereign State for the Bodos
independent of India. The year 1996 was 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 Bongaigaon. Nearly, two lakh Santhals were became displaced and a major portion of it is still in the relief camp.

The dissolved BPAC was revived in the 30th Annual Conference of ABSU held at Dudhnoi in Goalpara district from April 1 to 3, 1998. The government of India and Assam initiated a series of talks with the BLT from the month of March 2000 onwards. The talks had a backing of ABSU and BPAC since the demands of the BLT and the later were the same.

3.8. Memorandum of Settlement

The movement was come to an end after signing of a Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) between the government of India, government of Assam and the BLT for the creation of an autonomous self-governing body to be called as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The ABSU in support of the MoS formally ‘withdraw’ its demand for a separate State. The BLT activists has formed a new regional political party under the name and style as Bodoland People’s Front (BPF).

Currently, they have been administering the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) for the second consecutive tenure over 40 subjects with legislative, executive, administrative and financial powers under the umbrella of Bodoland Territorial Areas District (BTAD). A group of NDFB’s activists has declared truce on 3 October 2004 and also reconstituted its organisational set-up in
2008 by ousting its founder supremo Ranjan Daimary. Several rounds of peace dialogues were concluded till date in between the government and the NDFB as a development peace process, but no solution is being achieved so far. Of late, the Bodoland People’s Front (BPF) and the ABSU have once again reiterated their original demand of separate Statehood and on the other hand the underground founder supremo of the NDFB, Ranjan Daimary was captured, by the security personnel and at present he is under the judicial custody60 of the State of Assam.

REFERENCES


3. Supra note, 5, at chp. 3. pp. 358-359


5. Ibid., p. 87

6. Ibid., pp. 7–8

7. Supra note, 5, at chp. 3. p. 358

8. Id.

9. Id.
10. Ibid., p. 360
11. Id.
12. Ibid, p. 361
13. Id.
14. Id.
15. Id.
16. Id.
17. Id.
18. Id.
19. Ibid., p. 384
20. Supra note, 4. pp. 94-95
21. Ibid., p. 95
22. Supra note, 30, at chp. 2. p. 55
23. Ibid., p. 56. Also, see Jadav Pegu, Reclaiming Identity : A Discourse on Bodo History, Kokrajhar, 2004, pp. 84–85
24. Ibid., p. 84
25. Id.
26. Ibid., p. 85
27. Ibid., p. 57
28. Ibid., p. 59
29. Ibid., pp. 60–61
30. Ibid., p. 60
31. Ibid., p 61
32. The main demands of the Bodoland movement is being discussed here in a brief way;
1. Creation of a separate State with the status of Union Territory for the plains tribals of Assam under the provision of articles 2 and 3 of Indian Constitution in the northern valley of the river Brahmaputra alongwith the foothills of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh.

2. Extension of the provision of Sixth Schedule of Indian constitution in the tribal compact areas of the southern valley of Brahmaputra of Assam.

3. Creation of Regional Council for the Bodo tribes in Karbi Anglong Autonomous District.

4. Preservation of tribal Belts and Blocks and creation of new ones.

5. Central University at Kokrajhar.

6. Indian Institute of Technology at Kokrajhar.

7. Retention of English as the medium of instruction in the colleges of Guwahati and Dibrugarh University.

8. Central museum at Kokrajhar.

9. Installation of air station at Kokrajhar.

10. Doordarshan Kendra at Kokrajhar and Udalguri.

11. Increase of scheduled tribes reservation quota in government services and fulfillment of the backlog.

12. Revival of Balajan airport at Kokrajhar.

13. Recognition of and implementation of Bodo as one of the regional language subjects in UPSC and other civil service examination.

15. Extension of special provision for tribals in Indian Constitution from 1990 to indefinite period.


17. Free and compulsory education for children upto fourteen years of age.

18. Opposition to clause no 10 of Assam Accord and eviction operation from the forests of Assam

20. Opposition to four language formulae.

21. Revocation of Assamese from the pre-condition in state services.

22. Extension of Bodo as Associate Official language in other districts of Assam.

23. Opposition to AASU's demand for constitutional amendment.

24. Stoppage of political assassination and extension in Assam.

25. Stoppage of brutal police atrocities upon the Bodo students.

33. A Memorandum to Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, submitted by All Bodo Students’ Union (ABSU), HQ. Kokrajhar, on 22.1.1987, at New Delhi.


35. Ibid., p. 241

36. Id.

37. Supra note, 34, p.242

38. Id.

39. Ibid, p. 243

40. Id.
43. Article 2 of the Indian Constitution states—‘Parliament may by law admit into the Union, or establish, new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit.’

[2A. Sikkim to be associated with the Union—[Rep. by the Constitution (Thirty sixth Amendment) Act, 1975, sec. 5 (w.e.f. 26-4-1975)].]

Article 3, Formation of new States and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing States—‘Parliament may by law;

(a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State;

(b) increase the area of any State;

(c) diminish the area of any State;

(d) alter the boundaries of any State;

(e) alter the name of any State.

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the area, boundaries or name of any of the States the Bill has been referred by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon within such period as may be specified in the reference or within such further period as the President may allow and the period so specified or allowed has expired.’

Explanation I— In this article, in clauses (a) to (e), "State" includes a
Union Territory, but in the proviso, "State" does not include a Union Territory

Explanation II—The power conferred on Parliament by clause (a) includes the power to form a new State or Union Territory by uniting a part of any State or Union Territory to any other State or Union Territory.

44. Supra note, 34, p. 253

45. Memorandum of Settlement (Bodo Accord), signed on 20 February 1993 between the ABSU, BPAC and Government of Assam in presence of the Ministries of Home Affairs (Internal Security), Govt. of India and the Chief Minister of Assam. Also, see infra Appendix No. II, p. 244


47. Dr. Ronoj Pegu, the then General Secretary of the Mising Mimag Kebang (MMK), 'Some Notes on the Problems of Granting Autonomy to the Mising, Tiwa and Rabha inhabited Areas of Assam' A seminar paper presented at Guwahati, 1993, pp. 2–3. Also, see infra note, 4, at chp. 10 p. 228

48. Id.

49. Ibid. p. 4

50. The Bodoland Autonomous Council (Amendment) Act, 1999

51. Supra note, 5, at chp. 1. p. 91

52. Ibid., p. 92

53. Id.

54. Id.

55. Id.
56. Id.

57. Ibid., p. 93

58. Id.

59. Memorandum of Settlement signed on 10th February 2003

60. Dainik Asam, Guwahati, 11 May 2011.