APPENDIX - D

QUESTIONNAIRE TO SURRENDERED MILITANTS

(Refers to Chapter I, page 32 - Methodology, Chapters III & IV, page Nos 98 to 195 of the thesis)

This was done to have a correct understanding of the problems from the militants point of view. A total of 12 militants were interacted with, out of which 8 belonged to ULFA two from NDFB, one from BLT and one from Human Liberation Front (HLF). The names of the persons of BLT and HLF are not disclosed due to security reasons. Eight militants were interviewed in Guwahati and four in Bongaigaon. Out of the four interviewed in Bongaigaon two were from ULFA and two from NDFB. The ULFA militants with whom I have interacted involved six militants who were actually interviewed with questionnaire and opinions of four others were sought verbally. The questionnaire covered their background, factors which motivated them to join the militant organization, their training and type of job they were doing during their stay in the militant organization, reasons which motivated their surrender and future plan. The answers given by the militants were interpreted with the help of Lt Col S P Sharma who is an expert on the subject. He had worked with Military Intelligence Directorate, Army Headquarters for four years. The inferences, which emerged, were more or less common to all of them.

The questionnaire covered their background, educational level and motivational factors. The questions are as under:

Q.1. what is your name?

Q.2. What is your address?
Q.3. What is your family background?

Q.4. Why did you join the militant group?

Q.5. How you have been operating when you were in the militant group?

Q.6. What was the reason which motivated you to surrender?

Q.7. What is your future plan?

Q.8. What is the solution which you think is necessary for ending militancy in Assam?

The answers given by them duly interpreted are as under:

1. **Prafulla Deka.** A graduate in Political Science from Gauhati University belonged to village Paikena, District Kamrup. He hailed from a well to do family owning 25 bighas of cultivated land but was lured by the militant outfit to its fold in 1988 with the ideology to achieve sovereign Assam through armed struggle on the pattern of Cuban revolution. In spite of his long association with the outfit, he could not gain any prominence in political or military wing of ULFA but remained as a mere informer and acted as a messenger. However, his commitment and motivation began to dwindle when he realised the futility of his aimless contribution while working with ULFA. Feared with the strong threat to himself and aimless life in front of him forced him to reconsider his decision of serving with ULFA or join the mainstream. Social pleasures, changing economic growth, favourable Government rehabilitation packages and disillusionment from ULFA, lavish life style of senior cadres abroad vis-à-vis the difficult life at the grass root level cadres forced him to quit ULFA and surrender.
Now, with unforeseen future, shattered hopes and socially outcast he finds no reprieve from friends and the family. Moreover, he is under direct threat from ULFA, which he served for so many years. His sense of a prosperous future is more or less on retardation.

**Inference:** He is an educated individual from a good family background who joined ULFA thinking that he would be able to achieve something. But on realisation that it was an exercise in futility he surrendered. He has no planned future and is gloomy about the whole situation. A person who could have been very useful to the society is wasted as a rejected man because of insurgency.

2. **Rakivul Islam.** He joined ULFA after passing his matriculation as a political worker in 1993. He belonged to village Nosorikot of Kamrup district. He was son of a petty businessman Late Mafiz Ali. Rakivul Islam underwent motivational training of ULFA for one month and returned to his village to work for the outfit. He claimed to have worked as an informer, ferrying weapons, explosives, organising food and relief for the action groups of ULFA. In fact, he was a true link between the intention and the action of ULFA. Contrary to the ULFA constitution, individual claims that ULFA made no payment for his job. However, he received paltry payment for his medical treatment whenever he fell sick.

In spite of his commitment to ULFA, he graduated in Political Science in 1997 from Saraighat College. He was a willing worker of ULFA. He was disillusioned and decided to join the mainstream in 1999. He claims that six years work with ULFA was the darkest period of his life which brought only miseries to his family by way of frequent Police raids, social outcast and threat to his personal life.

**Inference:** Contrary to the normal cadre, this individual continued with his studies and still served the cadre without any monetary benefits. However, he had realised that he has to
enter the mainstream to lead a peaceful life. Without achieving anything, he has wasted his formative years by running in jungles.

3. **Hitesh Rabha.** He was son of a farmer who could not continue his studies beyond tenth standard. He belonged to village Meskapukhuri of district Darrang which is closer to Kamrup district. He was carried away by the ULFA propaganda against the Union Government, which is believed to be the step motherly treatment against Assam in distributing funds for the development and the progress of the State. He joined ULFA in 1988.

He was part of the political wing and worked as a postman. Disgruntled with the functioning of ULFA, dissension and dissatisfaction level rose against ULFA. He decided to join the mainstream in 1998. Highly vocal and critical against the lavish style of his senior cadres living abroad and the hard, tough and uncaring life of the grass root cadre forced him to realise the futility of his association with ULFA.

A dissatisfied and dejected cadre finds himself out of society, only depending on the Government job. He sees his future bleak and has nothing to look forward. In absence of Government job, he meekly submits to do business to earn his livelihood. He strongly believes that insurgency can be eradicated with economic development of the area. **Inference:** Individual is intelligent and has analysed the insurgency problem of Assam and also strongly believes that the economic uplift can only eradicate this social stigma.

4. **Pareshchand Deka.** A graduate in Economics and Education belongs to village Barhata of Kamrup district. He is son of a farmer who lost his father in his early life and joined ULFA in 1989 with a single dedicated cause to achieve sovereign Assam. He worked both in political and military wing of ULFA but was totally disillusioned with the aimless cause/ideology of ULFA. He feels that the public opinion is against ULFA. SFs pressure is
mounting on the rank and file of ULFA. He decided to surrender and join the mainstream in 1999. He considers himself totally ruined with no advancement of further education and also feels the isolation in society. He fears that though the people in the area are afraid of him due to his links with ULFA but feels that after sometime they will take revenge. But he is still ready to face the problem in the society and live with the mainstream. Unsure of his future, he intends to seek Government employment as promised in the rehabilitation policy. But if he fails, he wants to earn his livelihood by doing small petty business.

Inference: An educated individual who was misguided to join ULFA in the absence of proper supervision and guidance from his parent. He worked with ULFA for 7 to 8 years but he was never satisfied. The fear of social segregation and mounting SFs pressure forced him to leave ULFA and join the mainstream. A failed militant, seems to be once again struggling to commence his life afresh without any proper guidance and directions.

Personal Comments: In my opinion I feel that all such individuals who join the mainstream must be protected by the State and groomed to be good citizens rather than leaving them to the mercy of their former comrades and again digressing to misguided path.

5. Arun Kumar Deori. He was son of a Government Official. His father was a Supply Inspector in co-operative market. He passed tenth class in 1994. After the death of his father, he left his studies. The charm of pm culture, ULFAs influence in running the administration of Assam Government fascinated him to join ULFA. However, he too found his role dissatisfying. After working for a prolonged period in the political wing of the militant outfit he surrendered in 1997 with the basic aim of getting a job.
**Inference:** A militant cadre with poor family background who was easily lured by ULFA gun culture. Subsequently was fascinated by the rehabilitation policy of the Government for a greener future. We can only presume that he gets a good job and live as an honourable citizen.

5. **Tarahi Kanta Deka.** He is a resident of village Barogaon, of district Kamrup. His father is a farmer. He was fascinated by the role of ULFA cadres in the daily interference of the Assam Government and strong ideology of achieving sovereign Assam through arms revolution. Therefore, he joined ULFA in 1994 as an illiterate. However, while working with ULFA he was not satisfied with the functioning within the outfit and decided to quit. While working with the outfit he also passed tenth class and decided to continue further education. He surrendered in 1997 to lead a respectable life. However, he feels disillusioned about his future.

**Inference:** A committed boy, who, in spite of being on run continued his studies and surrendered with the hope of earning a respectable livelihood. The State machinery must ensure that all such citizens who has desire to excel should be protected and rehabilitated according to their education and inclination towards a particular job.

**Additional Six Militants:** These are as under:-

(a) Dhajen Ray @ Bibhash Rajbongshi son of Chamin Ch Ray of village Chokapara of district Bongaigaon.

(b) Prabir Das @ Raju Chakraborty son of Late Kripa Nath Das of village Bijoy Gaon of district Bongaigaon.
(c) Prabir Das Chomen Basumatary @ Kancha son of Late Nimai Basumatary of village Soto symthai Bari of district Bongaigaon.

(d) Suruna Muchahary @ Siong son of Muzaram Mushahary of village Doligaon of district Bongaigaon.

(e) (Individual name is not disclosed due to security reasons - member belongs to action group of Bodo Security Force) - He belongs to village Jarpukhuri of Darrang District.

(f) (Individual name is not disclosed due to security reasons - member belongs to Human Liberation Front) - He hails from village Ahmed Nagar of Goalpara district.

The above six militants were interacted in an informal way to gain maximum information. During the discussion it was revealed that in spite of their desire to continue education they joined the militant outfits to sustain their families. Subsequently they disclosed that when their comrades were killed for petty offences and executed by their own cadres they decided to surrender and join the mainstream.

**Deductions**

(a) The surrendered cadre generally belonged to the political wing of ULFA. Still the hardcore who are involved in the action group are not voluntarily surrendering. The insurgency is not likely to end unless the hardcore militants surrender.

(b) The ideology of sovereign Assam, gun culture, the influence of militants in the administration of the Government machinery and poverty lured them to join the militant organization.
(c) Many of them were keen to continue their studies. However, the economic condition did not permit them to do so. They also did not get suitable employment. This is the stage when they got a chance to join the militant outfit.

(d) Those who were working in the political wing of the militant organization were not satisfied with their job. They also did not get regular salary. However, they were paid for a specific job like handing over a message, arranging administration of an action group like accommodation, food etc. They did get some money for their medical treatment.

(e) Quite a number of the surrendered are dissatisfied with the lavish lifestyle of the senior leaders of their outfit. At the same time they expressed their pity for the lower cadre who are undergoing a difficult life.

(f) The dissatisfaction about their job, senior leaders and heinous acts like killing their own comrades for petty reasons had made them to change their mind of being a militant. Rehabilitation package announced by the Government further motivated them to surrender.

(g) Quite a few of them have expressed that they are not getting the stipend money of Rs. 2,000/- per month as promised by the Government.

(h) All of them have expressed that there is always a threat to their life from their parent militant outfit. Because of this, some of them do not want to go back to their hometown.
(i) The militant of action group whose name is not disclosed due to security reason has revealed the presence of training camps in Bhutan. Killings, extortions, kidnapping and raids on Police Force are part of the job of the action group. He also admits to have killed six innocent people. He also confirms that purchased weapons are coming from Nepal, Nagaland, and Bangladesh. He further says that the persons joining the military wing have to render 10 years compulsory service. He also revealed the important hideouts in Nalbari district.

(j) All of them are of the opinion that economic solution is an important factor and if they get a good job they are happy and are prepared to live as part of the mainstream.

*Militants Interview Schedule Partially Support some of the Hypotheses*

The interview schedule, inferences and deductions support the following hypotheses :-

(a) Improved relations with neighbouring countries of India like Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh will help the SFs in fighting insurgency and in turn in maintaining law and order.

(b) Improved economy and creating gainful employment would bring a lot of militants to the mainstream.

(c) Rehabilitation of the militants will help to end militancy in Assam (Provided the rehabilitation packages are implemented as promised by the Government).
Recommendations

From this field work conducted with the militants, I recommend the following :-

(a) Economic. As brought out by the militants economic improvement of the State is a must to end insurgency in the State. Long term planning is required on this issue.

(b) Management of Surrendered Militants. Rehabilitation schemes are definitely motivating factors for the militants to surrender. There are lacunas in the implementation policy. This was also brought out by the Governor of Assam in his interview schedule. This should be immediately rectified.

(c) Camps in Bhutan. This should be immediately destroyed by the SFs in consultation with Bhutan Government.

(d) Arms smuggling from Bhutan, Nagaland and Bangladesh. Improved relations with neighbouring countries and workable inter-State policy amongst the North-Eastern States can solve this problem.

(e) Surrender of hardcore militants. They should be motivated to surrender. If not, must be ruthlessly eliminated with an 'iron hand'.

(f) Political Solution. Our politicians must put in genuine concerted efforts to end militancy. The actions of our politicians must match their words.