Chapter V

Parting of Ways:

Autonomy Movement of the Bodos

The years following the conversion of the All Assam Tribal League to the Tribal Sangha in 1953 and the formation of the Plains Tribal's Council of Assam in 1967 were the worst in the history of tribal politics of Assam. After the Tribal League had merged its political objectives with those of the Congress, the League leaders participated in the Tribes Advisory Council formed by the Government with an open mind so as to redress the grievances and difficulties faced by the plains tribes of Assam. In the redressal of these grievances the tribal leaders very often besought the help of the Government. They expressed their full support and confidence in the Assam Government and thus became very much dependent on it.

The Assamese middle class who has been in power since 1937 neither did seriously think of sharing political power with the tribes nor evolve any mechanism to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the plains tribals. Moreover, the Assamese nationalism that grew in stages through the freedom struggle of the country assumed a hegemonistic character after independence. They remained wedded to the 'theory of complete assimilation' of all ethnic groups and tribal elements with the greater Assamese nationality. This did not fit in with the wishes and aspirations of
the plains tribes of Assam. With regard to the nature of Assamese nationalism, Prof. Gohain observes thus,

"For one thing the development of freedom struggle brought two concepts of Assamese nationalism to the fore, at odds with each other. In view of the large numbers of tribal groups who shared the territory of Assam along with those known as Assamese, not to speak of such later additions as the Nepalies and the immigrant Muslims, it was considered vital to have an idea and a plan for the settlement of the nationality question. There was first the chauvinistic model pushed by the Assamese middle class elite, who took for all and called for an eventual assimilation of all ethnic and tribal elements into the dominant caste Hindu Assamese pattern. But there had also been a democratic model advocated by the great radical author Jyoti Prasad and Bishnu Rabha and characterised by emphasis on co-existence, co-operation and solidarity through mutual respect and interaction. The latter never had a real chance as the left forces who could have been expected to implement it never acquired cultural and political hegemony over society. Though the Assamese ruling elite shows now and then a more liberal face it dares not retreat far from the chauvinistic model with predictable consequences."  

The plains tribals, mainly the Bodos, were disappointed as their hopes and aspirations remained unredeemed despite their wholehearted co-operation with the Assamese ruling elite. Their co-operation was taken for granted for the furtherance of the Assamese middle class interests. Charan Narzary, the General Secretary of the PTCA, writes, "But in the long course of their co-operation with the state Government they have, to their utter disappointment,
realised that all their hopes and expectations have been totally belied. They have had the most unpalatable experiences which have revealed that underneath the loudly proclaimed policy there is something else in the minds of the custodians of their land and law, which is solely responsible for their miserable plight.³

It is to be mentioned here that after the conversion of the Tribal League into the Tribal Sangha, the tribal leaders mainly remained engaged in the regeneration and rehabilitation of their language and literature. In the meantime the Bodo Sahitya Sabha had been formed in November 1952 at Basugaon in Kokrajhar district. Immediately after its inception the Bodo Sahitya Sabha engaged itself in making Bodo language the medium of instruction in the schools in the primary level in the Bodo dominated areas. In this regard they received encouragement from the constitutional provision under Article 350(A) of the Indian Constitution. The Article runs as follows,

"It shall be the endeavour of every state and of every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the Primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups and the president may issue such directions to any state as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities."

The Bodo Sahitya Sabha submitted its first memorandum to Bishnu Ram Medhi, the Chief Minister of Assam, in January 1953 demanding him to introduce Bodo language as the medium of instruction in the schools of primary level for the Bodo students. The Government of Assam took some initiative in 1956, but no concrete measures were taken to concede their demand. The demand was repeated during the Chief Ministership of Bimala Prasad Chaliha, but to no avail. Failing to get any response from the Government of Assam, the Bodo Sahitya
Sabha launched a mass movement in support of their demand. A massive demonstration was held at Kokrajhar on 16 November 1962. By this time the whole country was passing through the trying times of India-China war, 1962. Being faced with this external problem the Government of Assam appointed an one- man enquiry committee with Rupnath Brahma to report on the feasibility of introducing the Bodo language in the primary level. Rupnath Brahma in turn submitted the report in time in favour of introducing the Bodo language and accordingly the Bodo was made the medium of instruction at the primary level in May 1963. Thereafter the demand was made for the extension of the same benefit to the Bodo students in secondary level in 1968. The extension would have been a logical consequence of the earlier decision. But as the Government did not do it the Kokrajhar District Bodo Sahitya Sabha launched a vigorous movement from February 1968. Under the pressure of this movement the benefit of Bodo language as medium of instruction was extended to the students of Class VI in 1968 itself and then to the secondary stage in 1973.

This is first case in India that a tribal language was made the medium of instruction in the secondary stage of education although it was not included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

In the next stage, the Bodo Sahitya Sabha took the issue of the script for the Bodo language. The Sabha had been using the Assamese script for the Bodo language since the introduction of the same as the medium of instruction in 1963. Though the Sabha had been demanding Bodo language as the medium of instruction in schools it had yet to discover the original script of the Bodo language from the womb of history. Later, as it becomes impossible to discover the original script of the Bodo language the Sabha accepted the Roman Script
for their language. The suggestion for accepting the Roman script was made by a group of Bodo students studying at Shillong.\(^7\)

The Bodo Sahitya Sabha in turn appointed an Expert Committee in 1966 to examine the feasibility of the acceptance of the Roman Script for the Bodo language. The Committee did not submit the report in time. The Sabha, therefore, in its Dudhnoi session, 1968, appointed another sub-committee on the subject with Saisengra Machahari as the Convenor. The report being submitted by this sub-committee was discussed in the 11\(^{th}\) session of the Sabha held in February 1970 at Mahakalguri in West Bengal and decided in favour of accepting the Roman Script for the Bodo language.\(^8\)

A sub-committee for the implementation of the Roman Script was also appointed in the same session of the Sabha. The sub-committee gave its report suggesting the introduction of Bodo Text Books in Roman Script from Class 'A' (‘ka-man’, i.e., with the prevailing Assamese equivalent) from the academic year 1971 onwards. But when the Bodo Primer, entitled 'Bithora' in Roman script was ready, the necessary Government approval was not forthcoming. The Bodo Sahitya Sabha, therefore, took the decision of voluntary implementation of the Roman script for the Bodo language from the beginning of 1974.\(^9\)

The Sabha declared Roman script on 22 April 1974 as the common script of the Bodo language throughout Assam and outside and made an appeal to the teachers of the Bodo medium primary schools to introduce the Bodo primer 'Bithora' in class-I.\(^10\)

This action of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha invited the wrath of the Government and the latter issued an order withholding the payment of salaries to the teachers as well as grants to those schools involved in introducing the
Roman script. The Sabha then launched a mass movement against the Government. The movement has been peaceful in the initial two stages but turned violent subsequently. The All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) played a major role in organising the Bodo people against the Government.

The Bodo Sahitya Sabha, supported by the ABSU, launched an indefinite picketing beginning from 27 April 1974. The Bodo volunteers came out in their thousands for holding demonstrations in the administrative offices of the Government, such as in the Block Development Offices, the Sub-divisional Offices and the Deputy Commissioner's Offices. During this phase of the movement it turned violent in some places forcing the government to resort to firing resulting in the killing of as many as 15 Bodos. The State government took initiative for talk with the leaders and the movement was suspended with effect from November 28, 1974. Failing to arrive at a solution through discussion with the leaders of the movement the State government referred the matter to the Central government. This time after a series of discussion with the Central government, the leaders of the movement discarding their earlier stance accepted, on the advice of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, the Devanagari script for the Bodo language. The acceptance of the Devanagari script for the Bodo language by the 16th Annual session of Bodo Sahitya Sabha held at Dhing in April 1975 ultimately placed at rest the movement for (Roman) script for the Bodo language.

The violation of the Tribal Belts and Blocks by the settlement of non-tribal people, particularly the immigrants from across the Bengal borders and with the Nepalis, was another cause as has been mentioned earlier, of the ethnic movement of the Bodos. The Tribal Sangha and other local ethnic organisations...
drew the attention of the State government from time to time to this sort of violation in matters of land settlement causing anxiety to the survival of the tribal people of Assam. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission of India 1960-61, under chairmanship of U.N. Dhebar, observed that the constitution of the Tribal Belts and Blocks did not provide adequate protection to the tribals from the pressure for land from the non-tribals.  

The Commission made recommendations to take effective measures against alienation of tribal lands to the non-tribals in the following terms,

"We further recommend that the deputy Commissioner or collector should have power suo moto or at the instance of the aggrieved tribal landholder within a period of 12 years to institute enquiries and restore possession of the land with or without payment of any compensation to the transferee. This provision should be made applicable to all transfers of land by tribals to non-tribals with retrospective effect from 26th January, 1950, adequate machinery should be created to implement this law or regulation."  

The State government did not implement the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission and as a result the land alienation from the tribal to the non-tribal continued as usual. Apart from land alienation the deprivation of the tribal of jobs in the government departments and establishment also came to be resented by the conscious elements within the tribal communities. Added to this was the rampant misuse of funds allocated for the development and welfare of the tribal people of the state.  

Because of these various factors the tribal people gradually lost their confidence on the state government. Their dissatisfaction found reflection in the
memorandum submitted by the PTCA to the President of India on 20 May 1967.

"There is a gulf difference between the proclaimed policy and practice. The State Government of Assam did never give weightage to the grievances of the plains tribals. The experience of the last 20 years of independence has given birth to a firm conviction in the minds of the plains tribals that the Assam Government does not have necessary goodwill towards the plains tribals to help them to protect their land, their way of life and grow according to their own genius and tradition. On the contrary it wants to convert them into political baggaries (sic) to perpetuate their political domination by all means."18

In the meantime, the Government of Assam, being pressurised by the Assam Sahitya Sabha19 and the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee20, took the extra-ordinary step of passing the Assam Official Language Act in 1960.21

In the wake of the passing of the Official Language Bill, Assam lapsed into a fierce Assamese-Bengali communal riot as the Bengalis living in the state did not view with favour the Official Language Act.22 On the other hand, Captain Williamson Sangma, a Minister of the Bimala Prasad Chaliha cabinet, took the extra-ordinary step of organising a convention of the Hills leaders leading to the formation of the ‘All Party Hill Leaders Conference’.23 The plains tribals also felt alarmed at the new emerging situation. The Bodo Sahitya Sabha expressed its concern thus,

"It can not be denied that Assam is multi-lingual State. Every linguistic group desires to keep alive their literature and get education in their own mother tongue. The biggest linguistic group in the state is that of Assamese which can claim only 54 percent. According to the opinion of the S.R.C., a
language should be spoken by seventy percent or more to be recognised as an official language of a state. Looked at from this point of view the declaration of Assamese as official language of Assam will mean imposition on the people of other linguistic groups.24

In view of the growing demand for a separate hill state curved out of Assam, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, made a declaration on 13 January 1967 for the reorganisation of Assam on the federal basis. In the wake of this declaration, a section of the Bodo leaders met at Kokrajhar on 27 February 1967. The meeting, while welcoming the announcement, expressed its opinion in favour of Assam's reorganisation on the federal basis giving each ethnic minority group a federal unit with equal status.25

Besides, the meeting also formed a new political party exclusively for the preservation of the rights of the plains tribes of Assam called the "Plains tribal Council of Assam" (PTCA). The Executive Committee of the PTCA was formed with Biruchan Doley as President, Samar Brahma Chaudhury as Vice-President, Charan Narzary as General Secretary, Pratula Kumar Bhabara and Ajit Kumar Basumatary as Joint Secretaries.

Kokrajhar was made the headquarters of the Party. The formation of the PTCA marked a definite step forward for the autonomy of the plains tribes in general and the Bodos in particular in Assam. In the third session held at Berbhang near Baginadi in Lakhimpur district on 18 April 1967, the PTCA adopted a memorandum for submission to the President of India. The memorandum, which was submitted to the President of India on 20 May, 1967, included the following principal demands of the plains tribes of Assam.
1. Full autonomy to the tribal dominated areas situating in the northern bank of the Brahmaputra in Lakhimpur, Darrang, Kamrup and Goalpara districts and in the Sibsagar district on the south bank including all tribal belts and blocks.

2. The year 1947 should be made the base year, while determining the areas where the plains tribes were predominant.

3. The plains tribal areas outside those units should be declared Scheduled Areas and be brought under the provision of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

4. The alienation of land should be stopped as per recommendation of the Dhebar Commission in para 45 of chapter 11.

The PTCA came into limelight when it boycotted the parliamentary bye-elections of Kokrajhar constituency held in 1967 and 1968. Their purpose was mainly to register their protest against the crafty delimitations of the Parliamentary and Assembly constituencies reserved for the plains tribals and to raise demand for an autonomous region comprising the tribal inhabited areas on the north bank and scheduled areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra.

The Government of Assam started a repressive measure even leading to the arrest of some leaders under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA). The leaders organised mass rallies and demonstrations against this sort of repressive policy of the Government. After the creation of the autonomous Hill state of meghalaya with effect from 2 April 1970, the PTCA changed its strategy. It participated in the general elections to the Assam Legislative Assembly in 1972 and was successful to return its General Secretary, Charan Narzary, to the Assembly from the Kokrajhar constituency. It also upgraded its
demand of 'Autonomous Region' to 'Union Territory' under the nomenclature of "Udayachal" in January 1973. The series of propaganda measures by the PTCA in favour of "Udayachal" captivated the imagination of the plains tribes for a homeland of their own. The movement for Udaychal had its ups and downs both because of inter organisational problems and extra-organisational difficulties.

In the general elections to the Assam Assembly in February 1978 the PTCA participated as an electoral ally of the Janata Party and won four seats out of nine seats contested. Samar Brahma Chaudhury, the Vice-President of the PTCA, joined the Janata coalition Ministry headed by Golap Borbora. Earlier the PTCA bade farewell to the demand for Udaychal in the floor of the House in April 1977.27 Before being inducted its Vice-President to the ministry, the PTCA had made an agreement with the Janata Party on the following terms,

1. The protection of various interests of the tribal people including land and their promotion in different fields like social, economic, and educational, at par with other population of the state,

2. The demarcation of the tribal areas on the north bank.

3. The application of the provision of Chapter X of the "Assam Land and Revenue Regulation", 1886, in the process of demarcation of areas in the south bank, and,

4. The establishment of a separate administrative apparatus of autonomous type for the above.28

There again followed a period of interregnum in the movement of the plains tribes for Udayachal due to the Assam Movement (1979-85) launched by the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) on the foreign national issue. In the wake of the termination of this
movement as a result of the Tripartite Assam Accord 14/15 August 1985, the AASU and the AAGSP participated in the general elections to the Assam Assembly in December 1985. The PTCA also participated in the election with the demand for 'Udayachal' as their main election plank. It was successful in the Kokrajhar Parliamentary seat and three other Assembly seats. Those of them who were returned included its Vice-president Samar Brahma Chaudhury to the Parliament and its General Secretary, Charan Narzary, to the Assam Legislative Assembly.

In the meantime the PTCA had suffered a split in May 1979 weakening the party from within. The both factions vied with one another for the consumation of the Udayachal demand. The breakway section of the PTCA met Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and then the Central Home Minister, Giani Zail Singh, on July 8 and 9 1980 respectively.

On the suggestion of the Central Home Minister, another talk was held immediately at Shillong on 20 August 1980 on the identity question of the plains tribes of Assam. The representatives of various political and non-political organisations of the plains tribes of Assam participated in this talk. From the Government side it was attended by Yogendra Makwana, the Union Minister of Home Affairs and L.P. Singh, Governor of Assam and H.C. Sarin, the Principal Advisor to the Governor.

The discussion was concentrated on the matters such as the implementation of the Dhebar Commission, the creation of a tribal homeland for the plains tribes of Assam comprising the Bodo and Mishing inhabited areas on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. The discussion on the second issue was based on the map provided by the famous linguist, Grierson in his celebrated
work the *Linguistic Survey of India* In the course of the discussion, L P Singh, Governor of Assam, suggested for a change of the name of the proposed homeland of the plains tribes of Assam from 'Udayachal' to 'Bodoland'. L P Singh remarked, "Udayachal is misnomer, Bodoland is the most appropriate linguistically." The suggestion made by the Governor was so captivating to the minds of the participants that they soon changed the name of the proposed homeland from Udayachal to Bodoland.

Thereafter both the factions of the PTCA underwent certain organisational changes. In the process of reorganisation, a new party with a radical programme for the proposed homeland emerged under the denomination of 'United Tribal Nationalists' Liberation Front' (UTNLF) at Kokrajhar on 13 June 1984. Binoy Khungur Basumatary was made the chairman of the new party. The UTNLF continued the demand for separate homeland for the plains tribes under the name of "Tribal Land" with Union Territory status comprising the same areas as demanded earlier in the north bank and schedule territory status under Sixth Schedule in the south bank of the Brahmaputra.

The UTNLF did not take the Government of Assam into confidence and directly established contact with the Central Government and continued to submit memoranda demanding the separate union territory for the tribes. This phase of the movement remained confined to the submission of memoranda and sending of delegations to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, Giani Zail Singh, President of India in 1984 and 1985. In the wake of the assassination of Indira Gandhi on October 31 1984, they met Rajib Gandhi, Prime Minister of India in July 1985 and strongly demanded the homeland for the tribal people of Assam.
In the meantime the Bodo nationalist group became dominant in the party as well as in the movement. The domination by the Bodos over the party was not tolerated by other constituent groups of the tribes and the party suffered a split with the Bodo nationalist group separating itself from the UTNLF. They formed a separate party in February 1988 under the name of the United Bodo Nationalists' Liberation Front (UBNLF). In league with the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), this party started a movement for the creation of a separate homeland for the Bodo Tribe alone. Thus the movement for the creation of separate homeland for all the plains tribes of Assam suffered a great setback with the parting of ways by the dominant element in the movement and demanding a separate homeland only for the Bodos.

It may be mentioned that the ABSU had supported the Assam Movement jointly launched by the AASU and the AAGSP against the foreign nationals during 1979-85 as they were equally interested in the issue. But due to the chauvinistic attitude shown by the AASU and the AAGSP, the ABSU gradually disassociated itself from these organisations towards the fag end of the said movement.35

It finally parted company with the AASU and the AAGSP when they signed the tripartite Assam Accord in the midnight of 14/15 August 1985 with the Central Government and the State Government of Assam. The Accord did not contain a single provision protecting the interests of the tribal people of Assam. Rather the Clause no.6 and Clause no. 10 of the Accord directly went against the interests of the plains tribes in general and the Bodos in particular.

The Accord provided for the measures to be taken for the protection of the Assamese, their language and culture. That was self-defeating in a province like
Assam, where the population pattern has been multi-national and cultural has been in a poly-cultural state. Clause No. 6 of the Accord reads as follows, "Constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards, as may be appropriate, shall be provided to protect, preserve and promote the cultural, social, linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people."

Clause No. 10 of the Accord reads thus, "It will be ensured that relevant laws for prevention of encroachment of Government lands and lands in Tribal Belts and Blocks are strictly enforced and unauthorised encroachers evicted as laid down under such laws." This Clause mainly alarmed the ABSU and they naturally feared that by the application of this clause the Government would evict the tribals, who, having lost their lands and landed property, took shelter in the Government lands and forest areas. They accused the AASU for the inclusion of anti-tribal clause in the Assam Accord. They argued, "The Accord which was originally arrived at for detection and deportation of real foreigners had been diverted with an ulterior motive against the tribals of Assam."36

The fear of the ABSU was confirmed when the AGP Government issued eviction notices to the tribal families living in the forest and government khas lands of Assam. ABSU strongly opposed the Government action taken to evict the tribal people from the forest and government khas lands and they demanded the scrapping of the anti-tribal part in the clause no. 10 of the Accord.37

At the same time, the ABSU urged upon the Government to execute the other part of the clause which meant the eviction of non-tribals from the tribal Belts and Blocks. But the AGP Government did not do it, and, therefore, the ABSU became hostile to it. The hostility of the ABSU to the AGP Government began to increase with the holding of its 18th session at Routa, May 29-31, 1986.
In this session Upendra Nath Brahma was elected the President of the ABSU. Under his leadership ABSU got a new strength and direction for the autonomy movement.

This session also took two important decisions, first, it decided to continue the autonomy movement for the plains tribes, and, second, it opposed to accept Assamese as compulsory fourth elective language by the Bodo students. The second decision split the ABSU into two, one group remaining with Upendra Nath Brahma and other went over to the side of Gangadhar Ramchiary.

Upendra Nath Brahma had his initiation to student politics while he was executive member of the AASU during the Assam Movement. He reorganised the ABSU on the model of the AASU. Like the AASU Volunteer Force he raised a Bodo Volunteer Force in the 19th Annual session held at Dudhnoi in 1987 with Phukan Chandra Boro as Chairman and Anchula Gwra Bodosa as Convenor respectively. Ostensibly the Bodo Volunteer Force was meant to organise the autonomy movement in a peaceful, non-violent and democratic way. It was said, "the Bodo volunteer force is not for violent movement but rather to control any sort of violence." However, the role played by the Bodo Volunteer Force showed distinct signs of involvement in extremism like those of the AASU Volunteer Force.

In pursuance of the political resolution adopted at Routa session of the ABSU, it submitted memoranda to the Chief Minister of Assam on 1 January 1987 and to the Governor of Assam and Meghalaya on 10 January 1987 containing 92 charter of demands. Of all the demands, only three were political.

1. The demand to create a separate state with the status of Union
Territory for the plains tribes of Assam on the north bank of the Brahmaputra under Articles 2 and 3 of the Indian Constitution,

2. The demand to create District Councils in the south bank under the provision of the sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution,

3. The demand to create Regional Council for the non-Karbi tribes under the provision of paragraph (2) of the sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution within the Karbi-Anglong Autonomous District Council.

They gave an ultimatum to the Government to fulfil these demands before 2nd March 1987, otherwise they would launch a mass movement for the realisation of their demands. They write, “The problems of the Bodos will not end if we go and go to elaborate further but we cease here temporarily expecting solutions of this much demands only. The ABSU hopes (sic) that New Government of Assam fulfill those long standing demands of the Plains tribals with immediate effect.

“Otherwise, the All Bodo Students’ Union will have to declare the starting of a Democratic Mass revolution from 2nd March, 1987 for the fulfilment of all those demands through Gandhiji’s Non-violent Method.”

The ABSU also submitted memoranda to the Prime Minister of India and the President of India on 22 January 1987 and 30 January 1987 respectively containing a list of 25 demands. But the ABSU did not get timely response from either side at least for a discussion. By not responding to their demands, the AGP Government particularly committed a political mistake of Himalayan magnitude. Prof. Barpujari writes, “The AGP leadership missed a golden opportunity to arrive at a rapprochment in 1986 when its erstwhile member Upen Brahma was elected the President of ABSU. Non-implementation of Assam
Accord apart, the shabby treatment said to be meted out to ABSU leadership and irresponsible statement made by the Chief Minister- 'We shall shed every drop of blood to prevent fragmentation of Assam' - made the 'firebrand Youth' to take the path of violence."

Before they started the movement they had organised a broadbased organisation so as to enable them to effectively launch the movement for the realisation of their own homeland. This organisation, formed on 8 November 1998, came to be known as the Bodo Peoples' Action Committee (BPAC). Thus the Bodo Autonomy movement became the joint venture of the ABSU-BPAC since November 1998.

Notes and References

1 Datta, P.S., 1993, p.125
2 Gohain, Hiren, Frontier, Vol.22, no.13, November 11,1989
3 Souvenir of the 17th Annual Session of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Barama, 1976, p.5
4 Vide Letter from S.M.Rahman, Secretary Education Department, Government of Assam, Shillong, EMI/167/66/pt.2, dtd. Shillong the 2nd April, 1968
5 Vide Letter from B.Das, Under Secretary to the D.P.I., Assam, Shillong EMI/16/267, dtd. Dtd. Dispur, the 26th June 1973
6 Souvenir, op.cit., p.7
7 Daimari, B.K., Proceedings of the NEIHA, 5th Session, Aizawl, 1984, p.206
8 Vide Resolution no. 10 of the 11th Annual session of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, 24-26th February 1970, Mahakalguri, West Bengal.

9 Vide Resolution no.7 of the 14th Annual session of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, held at Salbari, March 1974, ratified by its 15th Annual session held at Khelmati, near Tezpur in March 1974

10 Circular issued by the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, dtd. 1 May 1974

11 Daimary, B.K., 1984, p.212

12 Narzary, K., 1993, p.20

13 Ibid., pp.19-20

14 Datta, P.S., 1993, pp.152-62

15 Dhebar Commission Report, New Delhi, Chapter 11, Para 56, p.118

16 Ibid., Chapter 11, Para 45

17 Datta, P.S., 1993, pp.131-33

18 Ibid., p.137

19 The Assam Sahitya Sabha submitted memoranda to the Government of Assam and to the Prime Minister of India on 19 July 1960 demanding the Official Language status to the Assamese language in Assam.

20 The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee adopted a resolution in its meeting held on 21-22 April 1960 at Guwahati demanding the official language status to the Assamese language in Assam.

21 The Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill on 18 October 1960 and it received the Governor's assent on 17
December 1960 and was published in the Assam Gazette on 19 December 1960.


23 Deuri, I., 2001, p.16


25 Ibid.,p.168

26 Deuri, I., 2001,p.18

27 News- item, Dainik Asom, 4 April 1977

28 Bhuyan, B.C., ed.,1989,p.116

29 Memorandum to Prakash Mehrotra, Governor of Assam, dtd 16 January 1982, pp.3-4 by the PTCA (P)

30 Ibid.,p.4


32 Memorandum to Prakash Mehrotra, Governor of Assam, dtd 16 January 1982, p. 5

33 Khungkhra, New Delhi, 8 June 1985; also see Resolution no 3 of the All Tribal Organisations' Convention held at Harisinga (Darrang) 17-19 April, 1984, Datta,P.S., 1993,p.180

34 Datta, P.S., 1993,p.178

35 Ibid.,pp.287- 88

36 Ibid.,pp.233-34

37 Ibid.

38 Pathak, S.,1995,p.99

39 Roy, A., 1995,p.65
Memorandum submitted to the Chief Minister of Assam, dtd 1 January 1987.

Barpujari, H.K., 1998, p.95

The Bodo Peoples' Action Committee was formed at Suryakhata under Dotma Anchalik Panchayat on 8 November 1998. The first chairman and the convenor were Karendra Basumatary and Sûnsumã Khungur Basumatary respectively.