Appendix-I Interview Schedule on

Autonomy Movement of the Bodos with special reference to the district of Baksa and Udalguri of BTAD, Assam (1987-2019)

Part-I

Personal Details of Respondent:

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	Name of the Address- Vill Po. MCLA Constit Legislative Corpolice Station Sub-Division: District: Gender:	ituency: onstituency: :		nale (2)	
	Gender.	(a)Maic (1)	(0)1 CII	iaic (2)	
•	Age:	(a)18-30 (1)	(b)3	1—40 ((2)	
	(5)	(c) 41-50(3)	(d) 51-60(4)	(e) 61 and above	•
•	Occupation:	(a)Cultivator (1)	(b) V	Vage earner (2)	
		(c) Unemployed (3)	(d) S	erviceman (4)	
		(e))Businessman (5)	(f) S	tudent (6)	
		(g) Housewife (7)	(h) (other profession(8)	
•	Educational Q	ualification:			
		(a) Illiterate (1)	(b) Under HSLC (2)	(c) HSLC	(3)
	Degree (6)	(d)Graduate (4)	(e) Post Graduate ((f) any	other
•	Religion:	(a)Hindu (1)	(b) Christian (2)		
		(c) Bathou (3)	(d) Any other	(4)	
		(e) Other	(4)		

Part-II

2.1 What is your idea about the autonomy movement of the Bodos ?			
(a	(a) It is a movement of Identity assertion (1)		
(b	(b) Political safeguard (2)		
(c) Pulling us in the line of b	packwardness (3)	
(d)Make distances with othe	r communities (4)	
2.2Are You r	nember of following politic	cal party or organization (s)	?
	(a)ABSU (1)	(b) BPF (2)	(c) UPP (L) (3)
	(d)NDFB (P) (4)	(e) NDFB (R) (5)	(f) None (6)
2.3. Do you feel the need of sister/brother or allied organization for the main organization?			the main organization?
(a) It help(s) in more repres	entation in the organization	(1)
(b) Later it creates the chaot	ic situation (2)	
(c) Help(s) to show the stren	gth (3)	
(d) It loses the weight of the	main organization (4)	
2.4.What are	the political causes of the	e Movement ?	
(a) Political opportunism (1)	
((b) Political deprivation (2)		
(0	(c) Political appeasement (3)		
(0	d) Political domination (4)		
2.5. What are economic causes of the Movement?			
(a)Poverty (1)			
(b) I	Poor economic infrastructur	re (2)	
(c) I	and alienation and encroad	chment of Tribal Belt and B	clocks (3)
(d) U	nemployment (4)		
2.6. What are social-Cultural Causes?			
(a) S	Social negligence (1)		
(b) A	Assimilation (2)		
(c) I	dentity crises for Assamese	e Chauvinism (3)	
(d)	Cultural impatience (4)		

2.7 What are the educational causes?		
(a) Indifferent towards Bodo language (1)		
(b)Non provincialisation of Bodo medium school (2)		
(c) Lack of appointment of Bodo teachers (3)		
(d) Non proper implementation of Bodo language by the government (4)		
2.8. What do you feel about the role of political leaders or organisational leaders in raising the political demand separate state?		
(a) Poor (1)		
(b) Average (2)		
(c) Satisfied (3)		
(d) Influential (4)		
2.9.Are you satisfied with the function of the present BTC Government- (a)Yes (1)(b) No (2)		
If yes Please sate the reason -		
(a)(1)		
(b) (2)		
(c)		
(d)(4)		
If No State the reason-		
(a) (1)		
(b)(2)		
(c)(3)		
(d) (4)		
2.10 What kind of autonomy do you want?		
(a) Autonomous District Council with more powers (1)		
(b) Union Territorial Council (2)		
(c) Autonomous State (3)		
(d) Separate State (4)		

2.11. Do you feel that creation of separate state will fulfill the aspiration – (a)Yes (1) (b) No.(2)
If Yes State the reason-
(a)(1)
(b)(2)
(c)(3)
(d)(4)
If No, Please state the reason-
(a)(1)
(b)(2)
(c)(3)
(d)(4)
2.12. What type of movement do you support?
(a)Violent (1)
(b)Peaceful (2)
(c)Legal (3)
(d) Electing representatives (4)
2.13. How to popularize the movement?
(a) Through mass media (1)
(b) Involvement of the mass people (2)
(c) Through educating the heritage of the Bodo people (3)
(d) Creating awareness of the people (4)
2.14 Are you participated in any programme of the movement launched by –
(a) ABSU (1) (b) BPF (2)
(c)NDFB (P) ((3) (d) PJACBM (4) (e) any other organization (5)
2.15 Have you faced any kind of atrocities?
(a)Security personnel atrocities (1)
(b)Fratricidal attack (2)
(c) From other communities (3) (d) No (4)

2.16. Have you or your family affected from the movement?			
(a) Died (1) (b) Crippled (2) (c) Raped (3) (d) Ablaze the house (4) (e) others (5)			
2.17. What kind of support you want to give to the vicitmised people or his family			
(a) Ex-gratia (i	1) (b) Financial support (2)		
(b) Employmen	nt (3) (d) All kind of help (4)		
2.18. Why one common platform is needed to raise the voice of demand?			
(a) Common issue (1) (b) Bring unity (2) (c) Helpful for the government to discuss the issue (3) (d) To exert pressure to the government (4)			
2.19. Are you supporter of the movement?			
(a) Active supporter (1)	(b) Silent supporter (2)		
(c) Occasional supporter (3)	(d) Not supporter (4)		
2.20. Do you feel that the name of proposed Bodoland / Boroland is acceptable to all tribal groups?			
(a) Yes (1)	(b) No (2)		
(c) Need to be discussed (3)	(d) No need to discuss (4)		
2.21. Do you feel the need of support of other communities also to create the separate state or other mode of autonomy?			
(a) Need support (1)	(b) No need of support (2)		
(c) Need only moral support (3)	(d) All possible support (4)		
2.22. Demand of proposed separate state area is very vast. Is it pragmatic?			
(a) Pragmatic (1)	(b) Not pragmatic (2)		
(c) Negotiable (3)	(d) Do not Know (4)		
2.23 What is the merit (s) of the movement?			
(a) Able to create political awareness of the people (1)			
(b) Identity consciousness (2)			
(c) Unity amongst the Bodos (3)			
(d) Able to create healthy politica environment (4)			

2.24. What is the	weakness of the m	ovement?		
(a)	Discord (1)		(b) Financ	tial problem (2)
(c)	Lack of mass supp	port (3)	(d) emerg	ence of rival groups (4)
2.25. Are you Optimistic of the outcome or solution of the problem?				
(a) Yes (1)		(1	o) No. (2)	
(c) Will take ti	me (3)	(0	l) Will be s	olved recently (4)
2.26. Do you thin	k that government	is sincere t	o solve the	problem permanently?
(a) Since	re (1) (b) Lingering	g the probl	em in the n	ame of discussion (2)
(c) Only t	uses it for political	benefit (3)	(d) Try to	subside the movement (4)
2.27. What will be	e happened if the p	roblem/ de	mand are n	ot solved?
(a) The law and order situation (1) (b) Suspicion and hatred will increase (2)			nd hatred will increase (2)	
(c) Auton	natically lost its im	portance (3	3) (d) Will	go on as it is (4)
2.28. Which organization will be able to compel the government create separate state?				
(8	a)ABSU (1)	(b) NDF	B (P) (2)	(c) NDFB(R) (3)
(d) PJACBM (4)	(e) Others	(5)
2.29. Will the creation of separate state be viable?				
(a)Yes	(1) (b) No (2)			
If yes men	ntion your argumen	ıt-		
(a)				(1)
(b)				(2)
(c)				(3)
(1)				(4)

If No, why?
(a)(1)
(b)(2)
(c)(3)
(d)(4)
What do you want to say about the agitation/ protest against the Bodo movement hed by the some non- Bodo organisations?
(a) It will hamper the creation of separate state (1)
(b) It is politically motivated (2)
(c) They have no right to go against the Bodos (3)
(d) They afraid of that Bodos will subjugate them (4)

Appendix-II

MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT (BODO ACCORD) (Signed on 20th February, 1993)

1. Preamble

- (i) Both Government of India and the Government of Assam have been making earnest efforts to bring about an amicable solution on to the problems of the Bodos and other Plains Tribals living in the north bank of river Brahmaputra within Assam.
- (ii) Toward this end, the Government of India held a series of meetings with the state Government of Assam well as with the leaders of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU)AND Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC). The State Government also separately held discussion with the Bodo leaders. As a result, it has been considered necessary to set up an administrative authority within the state of Assam under a scheme, the details of which are outlined in the succeeding paragraph.

2. Objective

(i) The objective of this scheme is to provide maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution to the Bodos for social economic, educational ethnic and cultural advancement.

3. (a) Name: Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC)

There shall be formed, by an Act of Assam Legislative Assembly, a Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) within the State of Assam comprising contiguous geographical area between river Sonkosh and Majbat/river Pasnoi. The land records authority of the state will scrutinize the list of villages furnished by ABSU/BPA having 50percent and more of tribal population shall be imcluded. BAC also include Reserve Forests as per the guidelines laid by Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India, not otherwise required by the Government for manning the international border and tea gardens located completely within the BAC contiguous area.

(b)Powers

The BAC will comprise of a General Council comprising 40 members.35 elected on the basis of adult suffrage and having a life of 5 years. The Government will have powers to nominate 5 members to the Council, particularly from groups which could not otherwise be represented. This Council have power to make bye - law and orders for application thin the BAC area on the subjects enumerated in Schedule 'A'.

- (c) The executive authority of BAC would be exercised in its Executive Body to be known as Bodoland Executive Council (BEC). The BEC will be responsible for implementation within the BAC area of the laws on subjects enumerated in Schedule 'A'.
- (d) The General Council and BEC will hold office during the pleasure of the Governor of Assam. Consultation with the State Law Department of Government of Assam would be necessary if the Governor proposed to dissolve either the General Council or the BEC before the expiry of its term in accordance with the provisions of law. The executive authority of BEC will be exercised by the party enjoying a simple majority in the General Council. On completion of elections, the Governor would invite the leader of the majority party to constitute the BEC.

4. Finances

- (i) (a) The finances of the BAC will be earmarked under a separate sub-head within the state Budget, in keeping with the guidelines laid diown by the Government of India from time to time. The Government of Assam would have no to divert the earmarked allocations to other heads/areas except in exigencies when there is unavailable overall Budget cut.
- (b)The provision made in 4(i) (a) regarding allocations of funds should be in line with the spirit of the Constitution (seventy second and seventy third amendments).
- (i) The BAC also would receive grant- in- aid from time to time within the principles and policies enunciated by the Government of India.
- (iii) The General Council will have powers to raise finances from levies /fees/taxes etc. on subjects mentioned in Schedule 'A' subject to Constitutional amendment mentioned above.

(iv) The finances for the BAC will be managed exclusively by its General Council and the the statement of its annual audited accounts will be laid on the table of the State Assembly.

5. Powers of Appointments

The Bodoland Executive Committee would have powers to appoint Class III and Class IV staff within its jurisdiction for implementation of schemes connected with the subjects enumerated in Schedule 'A'.

6. Reservation of Seats

The Election Commission of India will be requested by the BAC to consider seat reservation and delimitation of constituencies, both Lok Sabha and State Assembly, within the BAC area to the extent permitted by the constitution and the law.

7. Special Provision for the BAC Area

The General Council shall be consulted and its view shall be given due regard any law made on the following subjects, its implemented in the BAC area;

- i) the religion and social practice of the Bodos;
- ii) the Bodo customary laws and procedures, and
- iii) the ownership and transfer of land within the BAC area.

8. Special Status for the Bodoland Autonomous Council

The BAC shall, within the laws of the land, take steps to protect the demographic complexion of the area's falling within its jurisdiction.

9. Special Courts

Action will be taken in consultation with the Gauhati High Court to set up within BAC area Special Court as specified below to try suits and cases between parties all of whom belong to Schedule Tribes in accordance with the tribal customary law and procedures, if any.

- (a) Village Courts
- (b) Subordinate District Customary Law Court within a Civil Sub Divisional Territory, and
- (c) District Customary Law Court

10. Appointments in the Central Bodies

The claims of the Bodos shall be considered for appointment the North Eastern Council.

11. Official Language

The General Council may lay down policy with regard to use of Bodo language as medium of official correspondence within the BAC area. However, while corresponding with offices outside the BAC area, correspondence will have to be in bilingual form in accordance with the Article345 of the Constitution and the provision of law in his behalf.

12. Change in Geographical Boundary

The geographical area of the Bodoland Autonomous Council as agreed upon can be changed with the mutual consent of the BAC AND THE Government of Assam.

13. Revision of List of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The scheduling and de-scheduling of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes residing within the Bodo areas will be done as per the Commission appointed by the Government of India under the Constitution.

14. Trade and Commerce

The General Council will have to power to regulate trade and commerce within its jurisdiction in accordance with the existing law. For this purpose, it can issue permits and licenses to individuals within the BAC area. The Government of ASSAM and Union Government while considering allotments of permits to people residing within the BAC area will give preference to the Bodos.

15 Employment opportunities

The BAC will have powers to reserves jobs for Scheduled Tribes within its jurisdiction, However, exercise of such powers shall be in accordance with the existing constitutional and legal provisions.

16. Civil and Police Services

- The Government of Assam may from time to time post officers of the rank of Class II and above to posts within the BAC in accordance with the exigencies. While making these postings due regard will be given to the view of BAC about officers being so posted.
- ii) The officers posted to the BAC area will be accountable to the BAC for the performance and the assessment of their work recorded by the BEC authorities, will be incorporated to their ACRs by the State Government.

iii) The Central Government, while making recruitment from the State of Assam to the Army, para-military forces and police units, will hold special recruitment drives within BAC area.

17. Appointment of the Interim Bodoland Executive Council

The Government of Assam will take steps for the formation of an interim Bodoland Executive Council for the BAC from amongst the leaders of the present Bodoland movement who are signatories to this settlement, during the transition period, i.e, prior to the holding of elections .Such Interim Council would be formed before a prescribed date mutually agreed between the Central and State Government.

18. Relief and Rehabilitation

- i) ABSU-BPAC leaders take immediate steps to bring over ground and deposit with the District authorities all arms, ammunitions and explosives in the possession of their own supporters and will co-operate with the administration in bringing over ground all Bodo militants along with their arms and ammunition etc.within one month of the formation of the Interim BEC. In order to ensure the smooth return to civil life of the cadre and to assist to quick restoration of peace and normalcy, such surrenders made voluntarily will not attract prosecution.
- The Government of Assam will consider sympathetically the withdrawal of all cases against persons connected with the Bodoland Movement excluding those relating to heinous crimes
- iii) The Government of India will initiate steps for review of action against the Bodo employees of Government of India and subordinate offices as well as in respect of Central Government Undertakings. Similar action would be taken by the Government of Assam.
- iv) The Government of Assam will initiate immediate steps for suitable rehabilitation of the Bodo militants coming over ground as a result of this settlement. Similarly, the Government will organize ex-gratia payments as per rules to next of the kins killed during Bodo agitation.

19. Share in Collections of Excise duty on Tea

The Government of Assam will deposit in the BAC Funds revenue collected from the tea gardens falling within the BAC area.

20. Protection of Rights of Non- Tribals

The Government of Assam and BAC will jointly ensure that all rights and interests of the non-tribals as on date living in BAC area in matters pertaining to land as well as their language are protected.

21. Ad-hoc Central grant for launching the BAC

After the signing of this settlement an Ad-hoc Budget on reasonable basis will be prepared by Interim BEC and discussed with the State and Central Government for necessary financial support.

Signatories

- i) K.S. Rao, Addl. Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam
- ii) S.K. Bwiswmuthiary, President, ABSU
- iii) Rabi Ram Brahma, General Secretary, ABSU
- iv) Subhash Basumatari, Chairman, BPAC

In the presence of –

- (i) Rajesh Pilot, Minister of State (Internal Security), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- (ii) Hiteswar Saikia, Chief Minister of Assam, State Government of Assam.

List of Subjects and Departments over which BAC will have control within the BAC area

- 1. Cottage Industry
- 2. Animal Husbandry and Veterinary
- 3. Forests
- 4. Agriculture
- 5. P.W.D.
- 6. Sericulture
- 7. Education a)Adult Education, b)Primary Education, c) Up to Higher Secondary including Vocational Training
- 8. Cultural Affairs
- 9. Soil Conservation
- 10. Co-operation
- 11. Fisheries
- 12. Panchayat and Rural Development

- 13. Handloom and Textiles
- 14. Health and Family Welfare
- 15. Public Health Engineering
- 16. Irrigation
- 17. Social Welfare
- 18. Flood Control Scheme for protection villages (not of highly technical nature)
- 19. Sports and Youth Welfare
- 20. Weights and Measures
- 21. Library Services
- 22. Museum and Archeology
- 23. Urban Development Town and Country Planning
- 24. Tribal Research Institute
- 25. College Education (General)
- 26. Land and Revenue
- 27. Publicity / Public Relations
- 28. Printing and Stationary
- 29. Tourism
- 30. Transport
- 31. Any other matter connected with development
- 32. Municipal Corporation , Improvement of Trusts , District Boards and other Local Authorities
- 33. Tribal Welfare
- 34. Markets and Fairs
- 35. Lotteries and Theaters, Dramatic performances and Cinemas
- 36. Vital Statistics including registration of births and deaths
- 37. Food and Civil Supply
- 38. Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivative etc.

Appendix-III

(Copy of the MoS leading to the formation of the Bodoland Territorial Council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India)

MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT

(Signed on 10th February 2003)

The Government of India and the Government of Assam have been making concerted efforts to fulfill the aspirations of the Bodo people relating to their cultural identity, language, education and economic development. Towards this end, a series of talks were held between Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) since March 2000. As a result, it is agreed to create a self-governing body for the Bodo areas in the State of Assam as follows:

2. Objectives

The objectives of the agreement are: to create an Autonomous self governing body to be known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the State of Assam and to provide Constitutional protection under Sixth Schedule to the said Autonomous Body; to fulfill economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of land-rights, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos; and to speed up the infrastructure development in BTC area.

3. Area

- 3.1 The area of the proposed BTC shall comprise all the villages and areas as per Annexure I to be so notified by the State Government. The above mentioned villages and areas shall be divided into 4 contiguous districts after reorganization of the existing district of Assam within a period of 6 months of the agreement on the lines of the proposal given by BLT subjects to clearance of the Delimitation commission.
- 3.2 A committee comprising one representative each from Governments of India & Assam and BLT will decide by consensus of the inclusion of additional villages and areas in the BTC from out of villages and areas given in Annexure II on the basis of the criteria of tribal population being not less than 50% contiguity or any other agreed relevant criteria within a period of three months of signing of this MoS.

4. Status of Bodoland Territorial Council

The provision of the Sixth Schedule and other relevant Articles of the Constitution of India will apply to BTC, mutates mutandis in terms of this agreement.

The safeguards/modifications for the non-tribals in BTC area, inter-alia, will include the following:

- 4.1 Provisions of para 1 (2) of Sixth Schedule regarding Autonomous Regions will not be applicable to BTC.
- 4.2 A provision will be made in para 2 (1) of the Sixth schedule for increasing the number of members for BTC up to 46 out of which 30 will be reserved for Schedule Tribes, 5 for non-tribal communities, 5 open for all communities and 6 to be nominated by Governor of Assam from the unrepresented communities from BTC area of which at least two should be women. Nominated members will have the same rights and privileges as other members, including voting rights. Election from the 40 constituencies of BTC shall be on the basis of adult franchise. The term of the elected members of BTC shall be for 5 years.
- 4.3 Safeguards for the settlement rights, transfer and inheritance of property etc. of non-tribals will be suitably incorporated in para 3 of the Sixth Schedule. Any such law as may be made by the BTC in this regard will not, in particular:
 - a) Extinguish the rights and privileges enjoyed by any citizen of India in respect of his land at the commencement of BTC, and
 - b) Bar any citizen from acquiring land either by way of inheritance, allotment, settlement or by way of transfer if such citizens were eligible for such bonafide acquisition of land within the BTC area.
- 4.4 Provision will be added in para 6 of Sixth Schedule that in BTC area, language and medium of instruction in educational institutions will no be changed without approval of the State Government.
- 4.5 Provisions of para 8 of Sixth Schedule regarding power to assess and collect land revenue and impose taxes shall be applicable to BTC.
- 4.6 Para 10 of the Sixth Schedule will not be applicable to BTC area.
- 4.7 Provisions of Article 332 (6) of the Constitution will be so modified that the existing status of representation of BTC area in the State Assembly is kept intact. After the creation of BTC, the Parliamentary & Assembly Constituencies shall be delimited by the Delimitation Commission in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.
- 4.8 In the event, Panchyati Raj system ceases to be in force in the Council area, the powers of the Panchyati Raj Institutions in such matters shall be vested with the council.

5. Powers and Functions

- 5.1 The Council shall have legislative powers in respect to subjects transferred to it as enumerated at Annexure III. All laws under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and until assented to by him, shall have no effect. The BTC shall have executive administrative and financial powers in respect of subjects transferred to it.
- 5.2 There shall be an Executive Council comprising of not more than 12 Executive Members, one of whom shall be the Chief and another one the Deputy Chief of the said Executive Council. There shall be adequate representation for the non-tribal members in the Executive Council. The Chief and the Deputy Chief of the Council shall have the status equivalent to the Cabinet Minister and the other

- Executive Members equivalent to the Ministers of the State of Assam for protocol purposes in BTC area.
- 5.3 The BTC shall have the full control over the officers and staff connected with the delegated subjects working in the BTC area and shall be competent to transfer these officers and staff within the BTC area. ACRs of these officers shall also be written by the appropriate BTC authority.
- 5.4 BTC shall also be competent to make appointments for all posts under its control in accordance with the rules of appointment followed by the Government of Assam. However, the posts, where recruitment is made on the recommendation of APSC, shall not be covered under this provision. The Council may constitute a Selection Board for appointment to be made by it and may also make rules, with approval of the Governor of Assam, to regulate appointments and to ensure adequate representation for all communities living in the Council area.
- 5.5 No posts shall be created by BTC without concurrence of the Government of Assam and it shall also abide by the decision of the Government of Assam in respect of abolition of/temporarily keeping vacant any post.
- 5.6 Development functions and bodies within the competence of BTC shall be transferred to BTC in respect of DRDA, concurrence of Government of India will be obtained.
- 5.7 The offices of the Dy. Commissioners and Superintendent of Police will be outside the superintendent of Police will be outside the superintendence and control of BTC.
- 5.8 The State Government would provide and amount, to be decided every year on population ratio basis, as grants-in-aid in two equal installments to the BTC for executing development words. The proportionate share for the BTC shall be calculated on the basis to the plan funds available after setting aside the funds required for earmarked sectors and the salary. This amount may be reduced proportionately if the state plan allocation or reduced or there is plan cut due to resource problem. In addition, the Council will be paid a suitable amount of plan funds and non-plan funds to cover the office expenses and the salaries of the staff under control and would ensure strict economy in the matter.
- 5.9 BTC authority shall prepare a plan with the amounts likely to be available for development works, both under State share and Central Share, covering any or all activities of the departments under their control. The Council shall have full discretion in selecting the activities and choosing the amount for the investment under the same in any year covering all groups of people in a fair and equitable manner. This plan will be a sub set of the State plan and would be treated as its integral part. Once the plan of the State, including BTC plan, gets the approval of the Planning Commission, the BTC authority shall start execution of their plan in the BTC area. Modifications, if any, made by the Planning Commission in the BTC proposal, shall be binding on the BTC authority. The State Government shall not divert the funds allocated to the BTC to other heads and also ensure its timely release. BTC may have Planning Department to prepare the plans for BTC area to be submitted to Planning Commission through the Government of Assam.
- 5.10 The executive functions of the BTC shall be exercised through its Principal Secretary who shall be an officer of the rank not below that of Commissioner/Secretary to Government of Assam. The sanctioning powers of

the Government of Assam shall be vested with the Principal Secretary of BTC and sanctioning powers of head(s) of the Department(s) including for technical sanction shall be conferred on the senior most officer of the Department preferable not below the rank of Additional Director, who may be designated as Director of BTC for that department. The Principal Secretary and other officer shall exercise their power under the overall guidance and supervision of BTC.

6. Law and Order

To strengthen the Police Administration, Government of Assam shall appoint an IGP for the 4 districts of BTC and the jurisdiction of the DIG Kokrajhar shall also be modified to cover these 4 districts.

7. Revision of list of ST

Consequent to the inclusion of BTC area into the Sixth Schedule the list of ST for the State of Assam shall be so modified so as to ensure that the tribal status of Bodos and other tribals living outside the BTC area does not get affected adversely.

8. Grant of ST status to Bodo Kacharis of Karbi Anglong and NC Hills districts

The Government of India agrees to consider sympathetically the inclusion of the Bodo Kacharis living in Karbi Anglong and NC Hills Autonomous Council area in the (Hill) List of State of Assam.

9. Development of Bodo Language

- 9.1 The Government of India agrees to consider favourable the inclusion of Bodo Language in Devnagri script in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution.
- 9.2 Bodo language shall be the official language of BTC subject to the condition that Assamese and English shall also continue to be used for official purpose.

10. Additional development package for BTC

- 10.1 The state Government, within the limitation of financial and other constraints, may offer or allow the council to offer, possible and sustainable additional incentives for attracting private investment in the council area and would also support projects for external founding.
- 10.2 In order to accelerate the development of the region and to meet the aspiration of the people, the government of India will provide financial assistance of Rs. 100 crores per annum for five years for project to develop the socio-economic infrastructure in BTC areas over and above the normal plan assistance to the state of Assam. The size of the Corpus will be reviewed after a period of 5 years. Suitable mechanism will be built in the system to ensure that the funds are transferred to BTC in time and at regular

intervals. An illustrative list of projects, which may be considered to be taken up in BTC area, is at *Annexure iv*

10.3 Government of India will provide necessary one time financial assistance required for development of administrative infrastructure in the newly created district headquarters, sub-divisional headquarters, besides the BTC Secretariat Complex at Kokrajhar.

11. Centrally funded University

- 1.1.1. A centrally funded Central Institute of Technology (CIT) will be setup to impart education in various technological/vocational disciplines such as information Technology, Bio-Technology, Food Processing, Rural Industries, Business Management, etc.
- 1.1.2. The CIT will be subsequently upgrade to a centrally funded state University with technical and non-technical disciplines to be run by the BTC.

12 Reliefs and Rehabilitation

- 12.1 The BLT would join the national mainstream and sun the path of violence in the interest of peace and development. After the formation of the interim council of BTC, BLT will dissolve itself as an organization and surrender with arms within a week of swearing- in of the interim council. The state government would provide full support to relief and rehabilitation of the members of BLT who would surrender with arms in this process in accordance with the exiting policy of the state. Financial support in such cases, however, shall be limited to the provisions of the scheme prepared and funded by the government of India. Withdrawal of cases against such persons and those related to over ground Bodo movement since 1987 shall be considered according to the exiting policy of the state of Assam.
- 12.2 The government of India will initiate steps for review of action against the Bodo employees of Government of India and subordinate offices as well as in respect of Central Government Undertakings. Similar action would be taken by the government of Assam.
- 12.3 Bodo youth will be considered for requirement in police, Army and paramilitary forces to increase their representation in this force.

13. Special Rehabilitation Programme for the people affected by ethnic disturbances.

The special rehabilitation Programme (SRP) for the people affected by ethnic disturbance in Assam, who are at present living at relief camps in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon etc. shall be completed by the Government of Assam with active support of BTC Necessary funds for their rehabilitation shall be provided by the Government of India and lands which are free from all encumbrance required for such rehabilitation shall be made available by the BTC.

14.Interim Council

Immediately after singing of the agreement, Interim executive council for BTC shall be formed by governor of Assam from amongst the leaders of the present Bodo movement, including the signatories to this settlement, and shall include adequate representation to the non-tribal communities in BTC area. The Interim Council shall not continue for a period beyond 6 months during which period election to the council shall be held. Government of Assam shall dissolve the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) and repeal the BAC Act.

- 15. Government of Assam will consider inclusion of all tribals including Bodos in RHAC/MAC/LAC in consolation with leaders of these Councils.
- 16. The implementation of the provision of the Memorandum of settlement shall be periodically reviewed by a committee comprising representatives of Government of India, Government of Assam and BTC.

Signed on 10th February, 2003 at new Delhi in the presence of Shri L.K. Advani, Hon'ble Deputy prime Minister of India and Shri Tarun Gogoi, Chief Minister of Assam.

Signatories

- 1. Hagrama Basumatary, Chairman, Bodo Liberation Tigers.
- 2.P.K. Dutta, Chief Secretary, Government of Assam.
- 3. R.C.A. Jain, Secretary (BM), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT

Signatoreis

- 1. Simang Brahma @ Chandan, Vice Chairman, BLT.
- 2. Kampa Borgayari @ Mainao, Publicity Secretary, BLT.
- 3. Tikendra Basumatary @ Derhachat, Secretary General, BLT.
- 4. Hitesh Kumer Basumatery, Military Secretary, BLT.
- 5. Dokenndra Nath Brahma, Secretary, Intelligence, BLT.
- 6. Sabha Ram Basumatary, @ song raja, Secretary, Finance, BLT.
- 7. Mitha Ram Basumatary, Home Secretary, BLT
- 8. Mihiniswar Basumatary, Organizing Secretary. BLT.
- 9. Binod Narzary, Secretary, Arms & Ammunition, BLT.

[Note: Annexure I and Annexure II of the MoS have not been included in this appendix as they are exhaustive lists of villages proposed to be included in the BTC and additional lists of village to be decide on consensus between the governments of India and Assam and the BLT for inclusion in the BTC.]

Annexure III

List of the subjects to be entrusted by the Govt. of Assam to the proposed BTC.

- 1. Small, Cottage and Rural Industry
- 2. Animal Husbandry & Veterinary
- 3. Forests
- 4. Agriculture
- 5. P.W.D.
- 6. Sericulture

- 7. Education
 - a. Primary Education
 - b. Higher secondary including vocational training
 - c. Adult Education
 - d. College Education
- 8. Culture Affairs
- 9. Soil Conservation
- 10. Co-Operation
- 11. Fisheries
- 12. Panchayat and Rural Development
- 13. Handlooms and Textile
- 14. Healths and Family Welfare
- 15. Public Health Engineering
- 16. Irrigation
- 17. Social Welfare
- 18. Flood Control
- 19. Sports and Youth welfare
- 20. Weights and Measures
- 21. Library Service
- 22. Museum & Archaeology
- 23. Urban Development Town and country Planning
- 24. Tribal Research Institute
- 25. Land & Revenue
- 26. Publicity/Public relations
- 27. Printing & stationary
- 28. Tourism
- 29. Transport
- 30. Planning and Development
- 31. Municipal Corporation, Improvement Trust, District Boards and other local authorities.
 - 32. Welfare of Plain Tribes and Backward Classes
 - 33. Market and Fairs
 - 34. Lotteries, Theatre, Dramatic performance and Cinemas
 - 35. Statistics
 - 36. Food and Civil supply
 - 37. Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivatives etc.
 - 38. Labour and employment
 - 39. Reliefs and Rehabilitation
 - 40. Registration of Births and Deaths.

Annexure

- 1. To establish a center for development and research of Bodo language.
- 2. Up gradation of exiting educational infrastructure by way of renovation/addition of buildings, providing modern facilities for teaching such as computer, science laboratories etc. from primary level in BTC area.
- 3. A cultural complex to be established at Kokrajhar to promote and develop Bodo tradition and cultural heritage.
- 4. To establish a super-specialty hospital with all modern facilities at Kokrajhar. Government hospitals shall be established in all district, sub-division and block headquarters.

- 5. To establish sports complexes in all the district headquarters.
- 6. Food processing plants and cold storage facilities at Kokrajhar, Kajolgaon, Udalguri and Tamulpur.
- 7. Construction of a bridge over river Aai to connect Koilamoila, Amguri etc. with the rest of the district.
- 8. To build a Bodoland Bhawan in Delhi.
- 9. To set up integrated agro-processing perk and textile-cum-apparel park.
- 10. Revitalization of Kokilabari Agricultural Farm.
- 11. To develop adequate infrastructure to promote Manas sanctuary as an international tourist spot.
- 12. To complete Champa, Suklai and Dhansiri irrigation project. To construct a highway on the Indo-Bhutan border from Jamduar to Bhairabkunda to connect remote please located adjacent to the border.
- 13. To set up model dairy, fishery horticulture and poultry farms/training centers at different places in all the 4 districts to encourage youths for self-employment.
- 14. To enhance the existing facilities in veterinary hospitals in BTC area.

**** Ended

Appendix D

(Copy of the amendment Act of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India in pursuance of the Memorandum of Settlement signed on 10th February 2003)

Appendix-IV

MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT (PEACE ACCORD)

(Signed on 27 th January 2020)

1. The Government of India and Government of Assam have been making concerted efforts to fulfill the political, economic, social, and cultural and identity related aspirations of Bodo people. Tripartite agreement in 1993 and 2003 were signed leading to creation of Bodoland Autonomous and Bodoland Territorial Council under Sixth Schedule to the Constitution for Bodo inhabited areas in Assam. ABSU and its associated organizations as well as various factions of NDFB continued with demand for separate statehood. Negotiations were held wit Bodo organizations for a comprehensive and final solution to their demands while keeping intact the territorial integrity of the State of Assam.

2. Objectives of the MoS

- (i) to augment area and powers of BTC and streamline its functioning
- (ii) to address issues relating to Bodos residing outside BTAD
- (iii) to promote and protect social, cultural, linguistic and ethnic identities of Bodos
- (iv) to provide legislative safeguards for land righs of tribals
- (v) to ensure accelerated development of tribal areas and
- (vi) to rehabilitate members of NDFB factions
 - 3. Alteration of Area of BTAD
- 3.1 a Commission will be appointed under Paragraph 14 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution soon after signing of the MoS to examine and recommend on the following –
- (i) Inclusion of villages contiguous to BTAD and having majority tribal population as demanded by Bodo organizations
- (ii)Exclusion of villages currently under BTAD which are contiguous to non Sixth Scheduled areas and have majority non tribal population
- (iii) Increase in constitutencies of BTC up to maximum 60 seats after alteration in the area without adversely affecting the existing percentage of reservation of tribals

- 3.2 The Commission will include representatives of the State Government as well as other stakeholders including ABSU AND btc as its members. It will submit its recommendation within sixth months from the date of notification
- 3.3 The existing Bodoland Territorial Areas District (BTAD)shall be renamed as Bodoland Territorial Region comprising areas covered under BTAD
- 3.4 Government of Assam may consider recognizing the districts consequent to alteration of area of BTAD on administrative considerations
- 4 Review of Power and Functions of BTC
- 4.1 The process of BTC t have more legislative, executive , administrative and financial powers in respect of additional subjects as enumerated at Annexure-I will be initiated within 90 days
- 4.2Principal Secretary ,BTC will have monitoring powers of Registration Depertment within BTAD area
- 4.3 Ammendments of Article 280 and Sixth Schedule to the Constitution as per the Constitution (One hundred and Twenty –Fifth Ammendment Bill,2019 to improve the financial resources and administrative powers of BTC has been initiated . The Constitution Ammendment Bill was introduced in January ,2019
- 4.4Executive functions of BTC shall be exercised through its Chief Executive Officer not below the rank of Principal Secretary to Government of Assam. Senior most officers of various departments of BTC shall not below the rank of Additional Secretary to overnment of Assam
- 4.5 Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police of the districts within BTAD will be psted normally in consultation with Chief Executive Member of BTC
- 4.6 Deputy Commissioner in BTAD will report to the Chief Executive Member of BTC through Chief Executive Officer in respect of all developmental activities in their districts with regard to the responsibilities assigned to them by BTC
- 4.7 A tripartite mechanism,headed by the Cabinet Minister of Government of Assam looking after BTC affairs , and with Chief Executive Member of BTC and a representative of MHA as a members ,shall be set up to periodically review (not less than once in six months) status of all laws /regulations passed by BTC and sent to the State Government for assent of Governor of Assam
- 4.8 A tripartite mechanism headed by Chief Secretary of Government of Assamand having Chief Executive Officer of BTC and a representative of MHA as members shall be set up to periodically review (not less than once in six months) staus of all proposals of BTC pending with the State Government relating to creation of new posts and posting of officers to the vacant posts.

- 5. Provisions for Bodos outside BTAD
- 5.1 Government of Assam shall set up a Bodo Kachari Wefare Council for focused development of Bodo villages outside BTAD in the line of other existing Councils for Plains Tribes . State Government will consult Bodo organizations and existing Councils before notifying areas to be included in the proposed Bodo Kachari Council.
- 5.2 An Advisory Committee comprising representatives of Government of Assam, BTC and Bodo Kachari Wlfare Council shall be set up to identify specific developmental needs of Bodo villagesd outside BTAD and advise the State Government.
- 5.3 Government of Assam shall take effective measures to confer rights under the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 on tribals living in the forest areas outside BTAD in accordance with prescribed procedure under the Act.
- 6. Issues relating to identity, language, education, etc
- 5.1 Government of India will implement the commitment made in the earlier agreement in 2003 to include Bodo Kacharis living in Karbi Anglong and Dima Haso Districts in the ST(Hill) list of Assam in a time bound manner.
- 6.2 Government of Assam will notify Bodo language in Devanagri script as an associate official language in the state.
- 6.3Government of Assam will initiate measures to provincialise (i) schools and colleges established in BTAD, and (ii) Bodo medium schools outside BTAD, as per special need and requirement . The State Government will also take measures to appoint lecturer in Bodo Departments in colleges ouside BTADas special consideration
- 6.4 Government of Assam will establish a separate Directorate for Bodo medium schools in the state.
- 6.5 A Cultural Complex cum Centre of Excellence in the name of Bodofa Upendranath Brahma will be established at Tjhulunghapuri (Kokrajhar District). The Centre will study and recommend measures for protection and promotion of language, culture, identity ,etc of Bodos residing in Assam as well as other States of India. The Centre will be managed by BTC with financial assistance of from both Central and the State Governments.

7 Issues relating to Land Rights

- 7.1 Government of Assam may consider enacting a special legislation to provide adequate safeguards to land rights of STs living outside Tribal Belts and Blocks in areas outside BTAD.
- 7.2 Government of Assam will take effective measures to protect khas land and grazing land and water bodies from illegal encroachment.
- 8 Special steps to be taken by Government of Assam
- 8.1 Government of Assam will create a separate Department to deal with matters relating to Councils under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution including BTC
- 8.2 Government of Assam will reate one post of DIG in BTAD in addition to the existing post of IG.
- 8.3 An Administrative Staff College will be established under BTC administration.
- 8.4 Government of Assam will provide financial compensation of Rs5 lakhs to each of next of kin of persons who lost their lives in agitation for separate state.
- 9. Settlement with NDFB factions
- 9.1 All NDFB factions under SoO shall abjure path of violence ,surrender their weapons and disband their armed organizations within one month of signing of the MoS.
- 9.2 Government of India and Government of Assamwill take necessary measures to rehabilitate the cadres in consultation with NDFB factions. Such measures may inter alia include (i) lump sum payment of ex gratia (ii) funding economic activities through existing Government schemes relating to fisheries, piggery, organic farming poultry farming etc.(iii) trade/vocational training based on locally available resources and (iv) recruitment in appropriate Govt. jobs as per eligibility.
- 9.3A Committee headed by IGP,Special Branch, Assam with representatives of other Departments as members will make an assessment of rehabilitation needs of the cadres based on age profile, educational qualification, generalarea residence etc. The Committee may also involve successful entrepreneurs/NGO lin this effort
- 9.4 Criminal cases registered against embers of NDFB factions for non-henious crimes shall be withdrawn by Gvernment of Assam as per procedure established by law. Criminal cases registered in connection with heinous crimes shall be reviewed case by case according to the existing policy on the subject.
- 10. Speial Developmental Package
- 10.1 Government of Assam may earmark a sum of Rs 250 Crores per annum for a period of three years for development of area under BTC.GOI may contribute an

additional amount of Rs 250 Crores per annum for the same period illustrative lsts of specific projects t be taken up on priority under the Special Developmental Package are appended at Annexure-I ,II and III.

10.2 Bodo youth will be considered for recruitment in Army, Paramilitary forces and Police to increase their representation in the forces. Pre recruitment training rallies will be organised by the agencies to facilitate the process.

11. Joint Monitoring Committee

A Joint Monitoring Committee shall be constituted with the representatives from MHA , Government of Assam, BTC and Bodo organizations to monitor implementation of this MoS

The above Agreement is signed on January 27, 2020 at New Delhi in the presence of Hon'ble Union Home Mnister of India, Shri Amit Shah

Lawrence Islary (General Secretary, ABSU)

(President, ABSU)

Pramod Boro

Ranjan Daimary (NDFB)

Gobinda Basumatary (NDFB)

B. Saoraigra (NDFB)

Dhirendra Boro (NDFB)

Mihineswar Basumatary (President, UBPO)

Satyendra Garg Joint Secretary (NE) MHA

Kumar Sanjay Krishna Chief Secretary, Govt. of Assam

Signing of the Agreement is witnessed by-

Hagrama Mohilary (CEM, BTC)

Himanta Biswa Sarma (Cabinet Minister, Assam)

Sarbananda Sonowal (CM, Assam)

Appendix-V

INTERVIEW

DEMAND FOR SEPARATE STATE IS A LONG STANDING DEMAND OF THE BODOS. TO KNOW THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES, CAUSES OF THE DEMAND FOR SEPARATE STATE, STRATEGY AND METHOD OF THE MOVEMENT. INVESTIGATOR TOOK AN INTERVIEW WITH PRAMOD BORO, PRESIDENT ABSU. THE INTERVIEW IS FORWARDED.

1. Investigator: What are the aims and objectives of the foundation of ABSU?

Pramod Boro: The first and foremost objectives of the organization is to promote the Language, Literature and Culture, land rights and establishment of the distinct identity of the of the Bodos.

2.Investigator: Investigator: Will we say the brief history of the present phase of the movement?

Pramod Boro: The present or the third phase of the movement has started at Kajolgaon, district of Chirang from 2nd March, 2010. The movement is totally democratic, peaceful and non-violent.

3. Do you feel the need of one platform to raise the voice of demand?

Pramod Baro: Yes I definitely feel the need of one umbrella organization under which the organizations come together to raise the voice of autonomy. The ABSU has been trying the best to unite the agitation group. We have been fighting together with the NDFB(P), PJACMB and few other organizations.

4. Investigator: What are the Political causes of the autonomy movement?

There are number of causes of the movement. Bodos have been politically subjugated and dominated. Political right of the Bodos in the form of territorial autonomy is constitutional right. This right was not given to the Bodos.

5. Investigator: What are the economic causes?

Poverty, unemployment; alienation of land are the causes of the movement. Encroachment is going on in Tribal Belts and Blocks by the non tribal, They have not been evicted and we the tribal become the minority and demographic scenario have been changed.

6. Investigator: What are the Socio- Cultural Causes?

P Boro: Bodo are socially neglected. Their position in the so called Assamese society is always lower. Inter caste social marriage is not allowed with the Bodos. So called Assamese society always try to assimilate the Bodo society. They have no respect to the Bodo culture and identity.

7. What are the educational Causes?

Teachers are not appointed in the Bodo medium schools which deteriorated the condition of the Bodo Medium. Most of the Bodo Medium schools are not provincialised. Demand of separate Directorate also not fulfilled. Bodo language has not been properly implemented in different government institution though the language is in the Eight Schedule of the constitution of India.

8. Investigator: Do you feel the need of support of other communities to create the separate state or other mode of autonomy?

Pramod Boro: Support of other communities is always welcome because proposed Bodoland is not only for the Bodos but for other communities also. They have the constitutional rights. We respect the constitution.

9. Investigator: Mass support is must for the success of any movement. What are the steps taken by your organization to get the mass support?

Pramod Boro: ABSU is well structured and coordinated organization. The organization is based on hierarchical order. The apex body is Central Body followed by District level Body then Anchalik level and in the Unit level. ABSU organizes awareness camp, seminar, mass gathering and other activities to get the mass support.

10. Investigator: Do you feel that the name of proposed Bodoland/ Boroland is acceptable to all tribal communities?

Pramod Baro: the term Bodo> Bodoland is used in greater sense. It includes Bodo origin tribal communities. I believe that the name will be acceptable to all tribal communities.

11. Investigator: Why your organization has rejected the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC)?

Pramod Boro: BTC has been rejected because of the following main reasons:

- i) BTC has not given full fledged political autonomy and financial power and Bill passed by the BTC cannot become a law without the approaval of the State Cabinet
- ii)Land rights to all the people of BTC area which legitimized migrants and encroachers to permanently settle here.
- 12. Investigator: Whether ABSU is also part of NFNS. What is the demand of NFNS?

Pramod Boro: NFNS is a conglomeration of separate state aspirant's organization. ABSU is also a part of the NFNS and has been demanding to constitute the Second State Reorganisation Commission and creation of separate state like Bidarbha, Gorkhaland, Garoland, Tipraland Kukiland, Bodoland etc.

13. Investigator: What is the weakness of the movement?

Pramod Baro: Our organization is very strong and well coordinated and blessings of the Bodo people are always with us. But, we are financially not sound.

14. Investigator: If demand of autonomy/separate state is not solved?

PramodBaro: We will continue our movement until the solution of the demand. One day government will hear our genuine and legitimate demand.

15. Investigator: Since shouldering the president post, method of movement is peaceful. Do you think that it is the right way to go ahead?

Pramod Boro: I believe in Gandhian principles, Non-violent peaceful method of struggle. No loss of lives our brother and sisters or kith and kins. I feel very proud that during my long tenure no single live has been lost in the name of movement, no loss of school days or any kind of destruction.

16. Investigator: It is seen that since few parliamentary/ State Legislative Assembly elections ABSU supported candidates not able to win. What will you say?

Pramod Boro: There may have some ups and downs in electoral politics but it does not mean that our demand has no legitimacy. We are very active in our demand.

17. Investigator: Do you feel that the name of proposed Bodoland/ Boroland is acceptable to all tribal communities?

Pramod Baro: the term Bodo> Bodoland is used in greater sense. It includes Bodo origin tribal communities. I believe that the name will be acceptable to all tribal communities.

18. Investigator: Are you satisfied with the progress of talks?

Pramod Boro: No, no our organization is not satisfied with the progress of talks with the government of India.

19. Investigator: Demand area of proposed state of Bodoland is very vast (Sonkosh in the west and Sadiya in the east and Bhutan, Arunachal in the north and Brahmaputra river in the south). Is it pragmatic?

Pramod Boro: It is very pragmatic. Demand of proposed Bodoland is very pragmatic though it covers vast area. The proposed boundary is river Sonkosh in the west, Sadiya in the east, Bhutan and Arunachal in the north and the river Brahmaputra in the south. We only

demand the Tribal Belts and Blocks and Tribal Sub Plan area only. It is correct to say that our demand is legitimate and pragmatic. The answer of next question is that demographic profile will not allow the Bodoas to play dominant role in electoral politics but it will protect our identity, culture, history and other rights constitutionally. The Bodos will get their homeland and own identity as stated by Pramod Boro.

20. Investigator: Whether proposed state will be viable or not?

Pramod Baro: Proposed separate state Bodoland would be 100% viable. Bodoland would have plenty of natural resources, just need a well planning.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. RITA BARO, SAHITYA AKADEMY AWARDEE, ASISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF BODO, TANGLA COLLEGE, TANGLA, WRITER AND SOCIAL WORKER

1. We all of us aware that the separate state movement of the Bodos is a long standing demand. What will you say about the demand?

RB: Yes, we all of us aware the demand. Bodos have been demanding the separate state since 1967. The demand was under the banner of Plains Tribal Council of Assam with active support of ABSU, then under the banner of ABSU, BLT etc. BAC was formed and it is rejected by the Bodos, then BTC comes into existence. But still a section of the Bodos demanding the separate state. They are not satisfied with the present BTC. They feel that they have been depriving, facing political, social, economic, educational and economic deprivation still today. So, the government and the civil society must understand the grievances of the tribal in general and the Bodos in particular.

2. Do you think that presence of number of orgnisations will hamper the autonomy movement of the Bodos?

RB: Everybody has the right to form the association, organization according to the constitution of India. In numerable organizations are welcome but there must have coordination, unity, understanding and co-operation and should have one common issue and must have on common platform or the organizations must guided by the one umbrella. But sometime it creates the situation of disintegration or conflict. Bodos were united till the BTC agreement. But after that a politics of disintegration emerges which affects the Bodo politics. It will definitely affect the ultimate goal of the Bodos. Unity is the call of time.

3. Investigator: What are the political causes of the autonomy movement of the Bodos.

RB: Bodo people feel that they have been depriving politically. They are subjugated and not getting the due share. Their voice is not heard.

4. What are the economic causes?

Bodos are economically poor and depressed. They have been economically exploited.

Encroachment in Tribal Belts and Blocks are going on by the non tribal, They have not been evicted and the tribal become the minority and demographic scenario has been changed.

5. Investigator: What are the Socio- Cultural Causes?

R Baro: Bodos possess the lower position in social strata. So they are socially neglected. The Bodos cannot uplift their social position even after the Sanskritisation and instead of the keeping separate identity of the Bodos, the so called Assamese society try to assimilate the Bodo culture, language, tradition in the name of greater Assamese society or in the name of mainstream of Assamese society.

6. Investigator: What are the Educational Causes?

RB: Lnaguage is the vehicle of communication. To enrich the language government support is must. But the government of Assam has no interest to develop the Bodo language. Most of the Bodo Medium Schools are not provincialised. Condition of the venture school teachers are very pathetic. Bodos have been demanding separate Directorate for the Bodo Medium, but the government is still not fulfilling the assurance. It is observed MG is more conscious about the medium of instruction. They have been demanding separate Directorate for Bodo Medium School, provincialisation of Bodo Medium Schools.

7.Investigator: Do you feel the need of support of other communities to create the separate state or other mode of autonomy?

Rita Baro: Support of other communities is must because India is a land of composite culture and Assam is not exception from it. The agitator group must guarantee and show the sincerity to protect the rights of other communities also. Their life and property, land right, cultural, language and other rights must not be hampered in the name of Bodoland/ Boroland. Constitutional rights must not be violated.

8. Investigator: Do you feel the need of support of other communities also to fulfill the demand of separate state?

R. Baro: Support of other communities is always welcome. Bodoland is not only for the Bodos but for all. We believe the all round development of each and every community.

9. Investigator: What is the weakness of the movement?

RB: There are number of organizations amongst the Bodos who demand the separate state. But there are some discords also and the Bodos cannot alone bring separate state or territorial autonomy. Agitation group must able to create the healthy environment of co-operation, understanding and trust amongst the people of proposed Bodoland area but this is not seen. They must try to get the support of other communities also.

10.Investigator: What will be happened if the issue is not solved by the government?

RB: We always want amicable solution of the problem. Government and the agitation group must be sincere for it. If the issue is not solved, suspicion will arise about the sincerity of the government and it will multiply the problem.

11. Do you think that the autonomy movement of the Bodos is going on in the right direction?

RB: Since the revival of the movement of separate state, the movement is running on peaceful mode. No single person is died in the name of separate state movement and without losing the valuable time academic calendar of the students, no fratricidal attack, and conflict with other communities. So these are some of the positive aspects of the movement. Number of rounds of talks has been concluded with the union and state

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government at official and political level. But the leadership quality of the organizations needs to be improved more for unity, integrity sincerity among the Bodos.

12. The proposed Bodoland /Boroland area is very vast. Do you think that it is pragmatic or Bodos will be able to control the electoral politics?

RB: Demographic profile of proposed Bodoland will not allow the Bodos to play dominant role in politics. It will not serve the interest of the Bodos. Majority of the people will be non tribal. Bodos will not be benefited. So, I do not think that demand of proposed Bodoland area is pragmatic. Demand of proposed Bodoland is very vast, from Sonkosh to Sadiya and Bhutan to Brahmaputra in the west, east, north and south respectively. There may have some historical, political and economic arguments in support of demand but government will not accept their demand.

13.Are you hopeful of solution of long standing demand of Bodoland/ Boroland?

RB: Issue is real but solution is uncertain. Yet, I hope there will be give and take on the issue, government will show sincerity to solve the problem and peaceful situation will come back. There will be socio-economic development and last but not least identity of the Bodos will survive.

PHOTOS OF BODOLAND MOVEMENT





An Agitator of Bodoland Movement











