

**AUTONOMY MOVEMENT OF THE BODOS WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DISTRICT OF BAKSA
AND UDALGURI OF BTAD, ASSAM (1987-2019)**

**A Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science of Bodoland
University in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Political Science**

Submitted by

SAMARJIT BARO

Ph D Registration No. FINAL/10POL/0009 of 2015-16

BU Registration No.003578 of 2015-16

Under the Supervision of

Professor Jyotiraj Pathak

Department of Political Science

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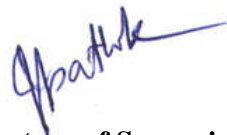
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Signature of Supervisor



Signature of Scholar

CHAPTER-VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study is divided in six chapters. The first chapter deals with the identity of the Bodos and their migration and settlement in Assam. Their place in mythological period has different name according to the places they settled. The origin of the word Bodo, language and its family and its present status, culture, beliefs, practices, dresses, religion etc, also deal with the meaning of the movement and meaning of the social movement, its characteristics, mechanism of social movement, ideology behind the movement and stages of social movement. It also discusses the Relative Deprivation Theory of Ted Robert Gurr and WC Runciman in theoretical perspectives. This chapter also discusses the research problems, objectives of the study, hypotheses and methodology and limitations of the study.

The second chapter deals Review of Literature, deals with number of related literature and find out gaps of literature of present study.

The third chapter focuses the historical background, socio-political consciousness and the causes of the movement, awakening of socio-political consciousness and contribution of prominent social workers, organizations and political parties. It also deals with the socio-political, educational, economic causes of the movement.

The fourth chapter discusses the role of different political parties and organizations in the emergence of autonomy movement of the Bodos. It focuses the role of Assam Tribal League, Plains Tribal Council of Assam, ABSU, BLT., Special role of ABSU is focused. The stages of the movements are also discussed.

The fifth chapter is the analysis of the autonomy movement of the Bodos with special reference to the district of Baksa and Udalguri. An Interview Schedule is prepared with 30 (thirty) questions to know the opinion and attitude regarding the autonomy movement of the Bodos and interview with prominent personalities, observation are analysed.

The sixth and last chapter presents the impact of the movement, major findings of the study and presents suggestions for amicable solution of vexed problem of the Bodos.

6.1.0 Major Findings

The study of autonomy movement of the Bodos with special reference to the district of Baksa and Udalguri, BTAD, Assam (1987-2019) reveals some important and interesting points which reflect the scenario of movement. Some of the major findings of the study are as follows-

6.1.1 Role of organizations

A number of organizations played active role on demand of separate state or autonomy of the Bodos. The name of prominent organizations are PTCA for Udayachal, ABSU and BLT for separate state Bodoland, UTNLF for Tribal Land and NDFB for Boroland..

6.1.2 Creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) and Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC)

The outcome of the Bodoland movement is the creation of BAC on 10 February, 1993. A Memorandum of settlement was signed between the Government of Assam and Bodo organizations ABSU and BPAC. Due to shortfalls of BAC, as alleged by ABSU, revived the separate state movement again and BLT played the leading role of the separate state movement from 1996 and ultimately after six years arms struggle came to an end of following the Memorandum of Settlement between Government of India, Assam Government and BLT on 10 February, 2003.

Again ABSU and NDFB(P) revived the Bodoland movement to fulfill the aspiration of separate state . Because BTAD could not satisfy them

6.1.3 Historical Background of the movement

Movement not occurs just in overnight. Each and every movement has some historical background. One of the causes of Bodo movement is to establish Bodo identity. The movement created the environment of identity consciousness among the Bodos. The Bodos, before and early part of colonial rule were not socially conscious. They were socially neglected, look down upon, not dine with them and socially separated by the so called upper caste Hindus. So, to rescue from this kind of

situation, Kalicharan Brahma and few other social reformer relentlessly worked for social upliftment of the society. He tried to spread education, religion amongst the Bodos. Gradually people became conscious about their social status. During the later part of colonial period, they urged for separate electorate before the Simon Commission or Indian Statutory Commission in 1928 and tried to establish the separate identity of the Bodos. The Bodos thought themselves as part and parcel of Assamese society and vehemently opposed the annexation of Assam with the Bengal. So “Social consciousness follows the political consciousness.”¹ The Tribal of Assam, to safeguard or to protect their interest, floated a political party in the name and style of Assam Tribal League and the party became the alliance partner of the government during the regime of Sadullah and Gopinath Bordoloi. Rabi Chandra Kachari MLA of Assam Tribal League, from the district of Kamrup and Darrang, was vocal for the greater interest of the tribal. The Assam Tribal League was able to convince the Bordoloi Ministry to create Tribal Belt and Blocks for the safeguard of the land of the tribal people from the illegal encroacher of the non tribal. Now, it becomes the basis of the autonomy movement of the Bodos. After independence ATL was disbanded. A new political era started in plains tribal politics from 1967.

The present movement of the Bodos under the district of Baksa and Udalguri for separate state also have some causes- historical, social, economic, educational backwardness, regional disparity, unemployment, identity assertion, political awakening for self identity and lack of proper administrative set up etc.

6.1.3.1 Socio political causes

All the organizations or party alleged the social injustice to them. There is always neglected attitude towards the low caste Hindus by the so called upper caste Hindus. Even today also it is not exception. There are always feelings of purity and impurity amongst the Brahmins. Brahmins are never allowed the inter-caste marriage. Darrang Udalguri Brahmin Sabha adopted resolution against the inter caste marriage on 31 July '2016 that no Brahmin would be allowed to inter caste marriage and violation of the resolution would lead the expulsion from the Brahmin society. One Jit Kumar Sarma from Nayakpara village of Sipajhar under the district of Darrang was

1 Brahmachoudhury, Bijay Lakshmi, Bodos At A Glance, Tribal Research Insdtitute, Bongaigaon, 1993p4.

expelled from the Brahmin society following the allegation of inter caste marriage. But the *Munsif* court of Darrang district declared the verdict in favour of Jit Kumar Sarma². It is applicable to the Bodos also.

The Bodos feel that they have been depriving their political aspirations by hook or crook crushing or subside it. Though they have been demanding separate state yet demand is not fulfilled.

6.1.3.2 Economic causes

These two districts are always economically backward. Infrastructural development of the both districts is very poor, No major industries except few tea gardens in both the district to generate the employment. The people of these two districts are basically dependent on agriculture. Encroachment in Tribal Belts and Blocks by the non-tribal is still a great concern. No concrete step has been taken by the district authority to evict the encroachers. SDC office of Goreswar and Tamulpur reported that out of 2, 01028 Bighas of land under the Goreswar Circle Office 46,181 Bighas of land have been encroached. Likewise, out of 287395 B.00 K and 4 Lecha land under the Tamulpur Circle office 20,000 Bighas of land have been encroached. It is just an official record. Actual encroachment is more than government record. The Pagladia Dam Project (2001) situated at Thalkuchi (Baksa) would help the farmers and change the economic condition which is still under construction. Like that, Dhansri Irrigation Project (1975) situated at Bhairabkunda under the district of Udalguri has not been completed till today.

6.2.0 Attitude about autonomy

People from the both districts believe that autonomy should come in the form of separate state. BAC and BTC couldn't fulfill the aspiration of separate state. The separate state movement is again revived in 2010. The people of Baksa and Udalguri districts supported whole heartedly under the direction and guidance of ABSU later on PJACMB and NDFB (P). 86% (150) and 72 % (150) people from the district of Baksa and Udalguri want the separate state. Only 1% and 12% seeks autonomous district council, 7% and 7% believe in Union Territorial Council and 10% and 9% believe in autonomous state.

² Asomiya Pratitidin, Guwahati (Assam), 9 July, 2018

6.3.0 Fulfillment of the autonomy aspiration

Majority of the people 97% and 91% (approximately) feel that creation of separate state will fulfill the aspiration. Only 3% and 8% people out of 150 respondents believe that creation of separate state will not fulfill the aspiration.

6.4.0 Method of the movement

The ABSU has been adopting the non violent peaceful democratic method since the revival of the movement from 2010. The first phase (1987-1993) and the second phase (1996-2003) movement was non violent as well as violent also. The first was ended with the outcome of BAC. The BAC Accord entrusted little administrative and political power. 164 from the district of Udalguri and 183 people from the district of Baska died during the first phase of Bodoland movement. 23 people died after BTC Accord in Baksa district. The BLT started violent movement on demand for separate state "Bodoland". The BLT movement ended with the outcome of BTC Accord. BTC is constitutionally recognized administrative set up under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution (Amended) of India. Out of 150 respondents 3% (4) and 1% (2) believe in violent method, 77% (115) and 64% (67) is the opinion on the peaceful method, 35% (53) and 45% (67) believe in legal action and 9% (14) and 7% (10) support the electoral politics from the district of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

6.5.0 Family affected

A mass movement affects most of the people directly or indirectly. The Bodo people faced atrocities of security personnel, fratricidal attack, attack from other communities, death, crippled, ablaze the houses, raped etc. 16% and 23% faced the atrocities from the security personnel attack, 9% and 1% faced the fratricidal attack 32% and 34% from other communities died 13% and 7% crippled 20% and 4% ablaze the house 28% and 38% and others 45% and 30% but 47% and 33% not affected following the movement.

During the Bodoland movement 183 (one eighty three) people have been killed, 413 people physically handicapped and jailed, 1712 households property either damaged or looted in the district of Baksa and 165 people have been killed in the district of Udalguri.

6.6.0 Supporter of the movement

It is found that 63% and 40% respondents is direct supporter of the movement, 21% and 39% are silent supporter, 23% and 16 % are occasional supporter and not supporter are only 1% and 3%. Most of the Bodo people support the autonomy movement.

6.7.0 Movement for Identity establishment and Political Safeguard

Most of the people under the district of Baksa and Udalguri believe that the autonomy movement is a movement of identity assertion. They also believe that movement is needed for political safeguard.

The Bodos of Assam prior to independence felt themselves as part and parcel of greater Assamese society. Gradually the Bodos of Assam became more conscious about their political rights and self identity. PTCA, the first plains tribes political party of Assam followed the path of separatism like APHLC. PTCA played a significant role in creating the political awareness amongst the plains tribal in general and Bodos in particular, (1967-93). But the party was rejected by the people because of the lack of clear vision of the issue of separate state "Udayachal". The aspirations of political autonomy were not extinguished among the Bodos. The ABSU came forward to carry the political aspirations of the Bodos. The movement of separate state launched by ABSU was not so strong till 1984. The ABSU was more or less supported the PTCA. Later on the ABSU decided to support UTNLF, a newly formed political party in 1984. Later on, ABSU itself, resolved to launch a vigorous mass movement from 2nd March 1987 and both the districts were also part of it. As a result, BAC was formed for development of the Bodos and other tribal people within the BAC. The PDF raised the voice of separate state "Boro Hadot" within the territory of India by bifurcating Assam. Later on, BAC was rejected and a fresh movement was launched by ABSU and BLT and following the MoS with the Government of India, Government of Assam and BLT, a new political set up BTC came into existence. The new set up is popularly known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). BPF became the alliance partner of Congress led coalition government and now the partner of BJP led government. So the outcome of BAC, BTC is the direct impact of the Bodo mass movement for separate state Bodoland.

Later on, BTC also rejected by ABSU and revived the separate state movement from 2nd March, 2010.

6.8.0 Electoral Politics

The PTCA participated in electoral politics and could not win few seats in Assembly election and lone parliamentary Kokrajhar Lok Sabha constituency seat. ABSU did not directly take active role in electoral politics till 1984. Directly or indirectly they supported the PTCA. Later on ABSU decided to support UTNLF, a newly formed political party in the year 1985. ABSU decided to support BSMC in the election of 1991 and was able to manage few seats in the Assembly election. But the political scenario has changed, PDF, a new political party floated in the Bodo politics and was able to win Kumud Das from 64 Panery, Deba Kanta Ramchary from 69 Udalguri, Derhagra Mwsahary from 58 Tamulpur Constituency, Jagmohan Barkachary from 63 Chapaguri Constituency in the election of 1996. Karendra Basumatary was able to win from 70 Majbat Constituency as BSMC candidate. The ABSU played very significant role in 2001 Assembly election. The candidates supported by ABSU were able to win all the four seats of Udalguri districts (now). Kamali Basumatary from Panery, Nathu Ram Boro from Kalaigaon, Rihan Daimary from Udalguri and Karendra Basumatary from Majbat Constituency and two candidates viz- Biswajit Daimary from 58 Tamulpur Constituency and Tijen Basumatary from 63 Chapaguri Constituency. But from 2006 to 2016 election all the 7(seven) seats of Baksa and Udalguri district have been occupied by BPF and the party became the alliance partner of the ruling government led by the BJP.

6.9.0 Loyalty to party or organisation

Most of the people from the both districts is supporter of ABSU. They love ABSU for its activities and ideology, ABSU is closely associated with the feelings of the Bodo people. The ABSU has emotional attachment with the Bodo people. ABSU works as torch bearer of the Bodo society in the field of politics, education, social reform, and work as voluntary court. Other organizations are not so influential in the day today life of the Bodos.

6.10.0 Able to create Socio- Cultural and Educational Consciousness

The Bodos became socially more conscious after the movement. They revive the customary laws of the Bodos. One of the great impacts of the separate state movement is the cultural impact. Bodos became more and more culturally conscious.

Dances, wearing of Bodo dress, like, *Dakhana*, *Gamocho* (loin cloth) and *Aronai* become the common scenario amongst the Bodos. The Bodos become more and more conscious of their own Bodo language, establishes number of Bodo medium schools, Bodo language is now included in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India. It is one of the great merits of the movement.

6.11.0 Weakness of the movement

6.11.1 Why only the Bodos? No faith on other communities, including the other tribal communities

Only the Bodos have been demanding the separate state for the whole tribal community. They should exert pressure to the authority with concerted efforts with the other tribal communities. The other communities have been ignored by the Bodo organizations who have been demanding for separate state. The other communalities are psychologically isolated with the demand for separate state.

6.11.2 Weak position in the electoral politics

Political parties and organizations convicted to electoral politics in BTAD, state Assembly and Parliamentary elections to exert pressure to the government. They were successful to some extent prior to the Memorandum of Settlement with the BLT in 2003. But after the emergence of BPF, the organizations including ABSU lost its hold in the electoral politics. The BPF is playing tactful politics on the issue of separate state.

6.11.3 Bargaining with the issue of separate state

The agitators group bargained with the issue of separate state. Their demand is separate state but output was in the form of BAC and halted the movement. But realising the shortcomings revived the movement again. BLT started the fresh movement and stopped the movement following the BTC Accord on 10 February, 2003. ABSU and new other organizations revived the movement for separate state again from 2 March, 2010. So aspiration of autonomy is still not fulfilled.

6.11.4 No unity amongst the organization though the ultimate goal is same – separate state

The presence of number of organization on the same demand but there is no unity amongst them. ABSU, NDFB(P), NDFB (R), NDFB (Dhiren Boro Group), BPF, UPDF, UPPL etc, and many more organizations but they have no unity. It is a demerit of the autonomy movement of the Bodos.

6.11.5 Bodo society is divided

Fratricidal attack during the autonomy movement of the Bodos became the common scenario amongst the Bodos. The scenario of fratricidal attack was not seen before 1985. But after the emergence of ABSU (U), allegations of attack and counter attack with followers and workers of PTCA and ABSU (U) and with the ABSU (U) and ABSU (Sainary Group) became the day today scenario amongst the Bodos. There is a clash between ABSU and BPF also. Bodo society is divided on the basis of politics. There is feeling of hatred and suspicion amongst the Bodos. The common Bodo people make allegations that the BTC government allocates the welfare scheme on the basis of party lines. Those who are neutral or ABSU supporter, they are not entitled to get the welfare scheme of the government.

6.12.6 Demand is not pragmatic

The demand for autonomy raised by the different Bodo organizations is not pragmatic. The demand area of proposed separate state confined to Sadia in the east, Sonkosh in the west, Bhutan and Arunachal in the north and Brahmaputra River on the south. The proposed demand area of separate state of ABSU falls 2500 square kilometer. The Bodos or tribal people have no majority in the proposed demand area.. The Bodos have no influence or hold in the proposed demand area. The other communities will not believe the will of the Bodos. They will not support the Bodos. It will not be convenient politically for the Bodos.

6.11.7 Rise of non Bodo organizations against the Bodos

Some non Bodo organizations always allege that they have been depriving by the Bodos from their land rights, political rights, living like second class citizen in BTAD. Aboro Surkhsa Samiti, Janagosthiya Sangram Samiti etc, are very vocal against the BTC and separate state.

6.11.8 Merged with the mainstream of Assam

Separate state demand is subsided or downgraded after agreement or Memorandum of Understanding. PTCA also kept abeyance the Udayachal demand in support of Autonomous Region and became the partner of Janata Party led coalition government. ABSU also denounced the movement for separate state after BAC in 1993. BLT also followed the same line and denounced the separate state Bodoland following the MoS and BTAD.

6.12.0 Attitude towards BTC Government

Only 29% people from the district of Baksa and 21 % from the district of Udalguri are satisfied with the functioning of present BTC Government. The study reveals that 70% and 79% from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri are not satisfied with the functioning of the present BTC Government. Those who have opinion in favour of the present BPF led BTC Government say that the government has been working successfully, is able to create harmony amongst the different communities of BTAD, good governance, fulfills aspirations of the people, able to create peaceful atmosphere, Bodos are getting security and identity, economic development of the people of BTAD, infrastructure development, generated employment but those who are not satisfied with functioning of the present BTC Government opine that rampant corruption, no infrastructure development, failure to fulfill the aspirations of the Bodos, dependent on the government of Assam and Union Government, no financial power, nepotism, appeasement policy towards non Bodos, failure to execute land laws effectively, Tribal Belts and Blocks are still encroached by the non tribal, step mother attitude towards the districts of Baksa and Udalguri, development concentrated only in Kokrajhar. Some of the dissatisfaction or allegations leveled against the BTC government cannot be ignored, rampant corruption, district of Baksa and Udalguri is backward in all fronts in comparison to the district of Kokrajhar . Development is concentrated only in Kokrajhar.

6.13.0 Suggestions

For the amicable solution of the long pending problem of the Bodos, following suggestions are forwarded-

- **Need Unity not discord-** Bodo society is divided on the basis of party or organizational affiliations. Besides, Bodo society has been facing intra and inter group conflict. The demand of autonomy becomes tough and indefinable. It also invites the security personnel's atrocities, fratricidal attack and killings. So disunity means much to lose than gain. It is also true that with the initiative of BSS (Bodo Sahitya Sabha) an effort was made to unite the two Bodo organizations viz- Bodo Liberation Tigers and NDFB through the Bodo National Convention on the 17 and 18 August, 1996 and formed a Bodo National Peace and Co-ordination Committee. But this initiative ended without desired outcome. Again another effort of unification of Bodo society was made on 10 September, 2010. A meeting of All Party, Organisation and Intellectual Meet of the Bodos was convened and 20 Bodo organizations were invited in this meeting .and the prominent organizations like BPF, NDFB(P) ,Bodo Women Justice Forum, Boro Baptist Convention,Sodou Brahma Dharma Parichalana Samiti All Bathou Mahasabha etc attended in the said meeting. Leaders of the organization realized the need of mutual understanding and cooperation to fight for the separate state Bodoland. The meeting resolved to hold a Bodo National Convention with a view to attain the following objectives-³
 - i) For mutual commitment to stop all kinds of hatreds and killings among the Bodos
 - ii) To bridge among the different parties and organization to work united for the cause of the Bodo people.
 - iii) To do away with mistrust and misunderstanding.
 - iv) To bring peace and understanding.
 - v) To fight united for the long drawn problem of separate state.

³ Swmkhwr, B, The Bodo National Convention and Nostalgic Retrospection of the Past in Gopinath Borgayari (ed)Khouseeni Guthal,Sovenir , Bodo National Convention,18 and 19 November, 2010, p.97

The meeting of Bodo National Convention was held in Kokrajhar on 18 and 19 November, 2010. Most of the Bodo organizations attended in the meeting. The meeting resolved to form Bodo National Conference. The Convention also resolves⁴-

- i) To freeze up the hatred, enmity, misunderstanding and violence and henceforth to work in unison for peace, unity and integrity.
- ii) To urge upon the Government of India to expedite the ongoing political dialogue with NDFB(P) to resolve to long standing political problem. We are concerned about the lingering of the talk between NDFB (P) and the Government to negotiation.
- iii) To appeal the Government of India bring anti talk faction of the NDFB to find solution.

The conveners Committee of decided to convene meeting of BNC at Kokrajhar on 11 and 12 November, 2010.

The Bodo National Conference submitted memorandum to GK Pillai, Home Secretary on the problems of Bodos in New Delhi on 30th November, 2010, to Sri PC Halder, Interlocutor for Peace Process, Government of India on the Bodo Problem in New Delhi on 1st December,2010, to Shri Tarun Gogoi, Chief Minister of Assam on the problem of Bodos in Guwahati on 21 December, 2010 , Memorandum submitted to Manmohan Singh , Prime Minister of India,in New Delhi on demand of resolving the political, socio-economic problems of the Bodos on 15th January,2011.

Efforts of Barama Conference and Bodo National Convention of Kokrajhar and Bodo National Conference bore no fruit, because the major organization ABSU was not a part of it and later on NDFB(P) also withdrawn the membership from the Bodo National Conference.

It clearly shows that there is no unity amongst the Bodo Organisation. But there must have unity amongst the organization, the demand of all the agitating organizations are same, the separate state, leaders of the organization must surrender their ego, should not be parochial minded. Bodo people want unity, not discord. So a

⁴ Basumatary, Biseswar, NDFB(P) aaa BNC JWNG Thanaya Gaham Jagwmwn in DinaNath Basumatary (ed) Khouseni Gathwn, Souvenir, Bodo National Convention, 18 and 19 September, 2011, Udalguri Bodoland (Assam), p.p.9 and 10

co-ordination committee or an umbrella organization may be formed to accelerate the movement and dialogue with the authority.

- **Demand of proposed area is not pragmatic** -The ABSU and the NDFB has been demanding a very vast area. The ABSU has been demanding the area of 2500 sq kilometer. The proposed area is from Sokosh River in the west to Sadiya in the east, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh in the north and Brahmaputra River in the south. But the Bodos are mainly concentrated in the district of Udalguri, Baksa , Chirang and Kokrajhar or BTAD area only. There are few Bodo pocket areas in Sonitpur, Biswanath, Lakhimpur and Dhemaji district. But it is not contiguous, scattered. So, Government or the common people of these area will not agree to include in the proposed demand area. If the Government also agree to the proposed area of demand, there will be is no strong hold of any agitator groups or organization on those areas. It will be boomerang for the organizations or for the Bodo people. Interest of the Bodos will not serve. Bodos will be politically dominated by others. Agitator must realize the practical situation. Emotion must be guided by reason. Long movement may hamper the progress of the Bodo society. So, the organizations should not be adamant in sticking the demand of proposed area.
- **Proper ideology acceptable for all**- There must have proper ideology to accelerate the movement. The agitator groups must have clear vision for it. Bodo political parties or organization raise the voice of separate state, but they have no single political strategy to achieve the aspirates goal. There is always contradiction amongst the parties and organizations. Bodo politics is divided. But the common people believe in unity, they are ready to sacrifice for the separate state. The common people have the emotional tie with the name of separate state.
- **Must think for the other non Bodo communities also.** Their interests and rights also should get due weight. They must be taken in faith. The agitator group or organization must clarify with example that the movement is not against any community. But this sincerity was not seen amongst the Bodo organization. There is number of non Bodo organizations vehemently opposing the bifurcation of Assam. The non Bodo organization alleges that the non Bodos have been treating as second class citizen, they have been deprived their constitutional

rights, only 27 % Bodos dominating them. They goes to the High Court for review of BTC Accord and urged for exclusion of less than 50% Bodo dominated area from the Bodoland. Their demand got the highest peak in the 2014 MP election. Naba Sarania (634428 votes) was elected as a Member of Parliament from the Kokrajhar (ST) Parliamentary election defeating his nearest ABSU supported rival Urkhao Gwra Brahma (278649 votes) and Chandan Brahma of BPF (243759 votes). Naba Sarania securing 482556 votes consecutively elected for the second time also from the same Lok Sabha Seat defeating his nearest rival Pramila Rani Brahma of BPF (446774 votes) and ABSU supported candidate Urkhao Gwra Brahma (312435 votes) in 2019.⁵So, Bodos are politically not safe even in the Kokrajhar MP Constituency also. Besides the political struggle, the non Bodo organizations have been adopting other means to show their grievances against the separate state Bodoland also.

6.14.0 Recent development

The scenario of autonomy movement of the Bodos has changed with the passage of time. The leadership of agitators realized the practical situation that separate state Bodoland would not be possible. So, they come forward for negotiation and amicable solution of the problem for enduring peace of the area. Most of the Bodo organizations show willingness to solve the problem. ABSU and all the four factions of NDFB viz- NDFB (P), NDFB(R), NDFB (Dhiren Boro Group) and NDFB(S) agreed to denounce the main demand of separate state.“Negotiations were held with Bodo organizations for comprehensive and final solution to their demands while keeping the territorial integrity of the State of Assam.”⁶ in New Delhi on 27 January, 2020. The negotiations were signed by on behalf of ABSU ,Lawrence Islary and Pramod Boro as General Secretary and President, ABSU, Ranjan Daimary, NDFB (R), Gobinda Bsumatary, NDFB(P), B. Saoraigra, NDFB(S) Dhire Boro ,NDFB (Dhiren Boro Group), Mihineswar Basumatary, President,UBPO, Kumar Sanjay Krishna, Chief Secretary, Govt. of Assam, Satyendra Garg , Joint Secreatry, NE, MHA and Hagrama Mahilary CEM, BTC, Himanta Biswa Sarma , Cabinet

⁵ www.election commission of India, .visited on 18.06.2018.

⁶ Memorandum of Settlement with ABSU, NDFB factions and UBPO, New Delhi, 27 January, 2020, p.1

Minister, Assam, Sarbananda Sonowal, CM, Assam as witness. The name of the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) is replaced by Bodoland Territorial Region (BTR) by this Memorandum of Settlement (MoS). Thus, the 53 (fifty three) years of separate state movement came to an end. It is the 3rd (third) negotiations for the Bodos. The agreement is also known as Peace Accord. Because the entire factions of Bodo arms group shun violence and came together in negotiation table. The 3rd Bodo Peace Accord (**Appendix-IV**) BTR will be working within the frame work of Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. It is just little up gradation of BTC.

6.15.0 BTC Election of December 7 and 10, 2020

After the settlement or Peace Accord, election was held in BTC. Out of 40 seats, no party is able to get majority to form the government In BTAD. BPF, seventeen years consecutive ruling party could not manage to get the magic number. The party has got only 17 seats. Three parties viz UPPL(12) GSP (1) and BJP (11) come forward for coalition government and accordingly a coalition government was formed on 15 December, 2020. Pramod Boro led UPPL has sworn as CEM, Gobinda Basumatary as Deputy Chief, Ghanashyam Das, Diganta Barua and Dharma Narayan Das as Executive Member.⁷

6.16.0 Conclusion

The autonomy movement of the Bodos is one of the vexed, dormant and unresolved long pending problems. The most of the issues raised by the Bodo organizations are real and legal but the solution is uncertain. The autonomy movement of the Bodo started under the banner of PTCA in 1967. The party raised the voice of separate state Udayachal and it got immense support from the tribal in general and Bodos in particular. But they could not hold it long because of down gradation of demand into Autonomous Region and opportunist attitude. ABSU launched the vigorous mass movement from 1987 to fulfil the dream for separate state Bodoland. ABSU halted the movement following the BAC Accord on 10 February, 1993. But BAC Accord also could not pacify the Bodo people and the Bodoland movement emerged again in the form of violent shape under the banner of BLT from

⁷ Asomiya Pratidin, Guwahati, (Assam), 16 December, 2020

1996. The BLT movement also ended BTC Agreement on 10 February 2003. ABSU revived the Bodoland movement again alleging the shortcomings of BTC from 2nd March 2010. The movement was both violent and non-violent. The emotional aspect of the Bodos with the issue of autonomy sometime made harm the Bodos. The movement had both positive and negative impact. The agitators denounced the demand for separate state and satisfied with the Peace Accord of 2020. Besides, ABSU and UBPO all the factions of NDFB come together in table for negotiations and hope that the accord will bring lasting peace, security, identity, communal harmony, development and progress in the region. The success of third negotiations will depend on the sincerity and goodwill of the authority.

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