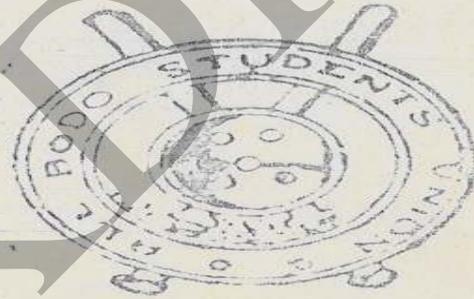


WHY
SEPARATE STATE?

Submitted TO

THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA,
THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA,
&
THE HOME MINISTER OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI.



by
ALL BODO STUDENTS' UNION
H.Q. KOKRAJHAR

Date 14-2-93

To

New Delhi
(India)

The President of India,
The Prime Minister of India
&
The Home Minister of India.
NEW DELHI

The Most Respected Sirs,

We, the undersigned, for and on behalf of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) would like to thank and congratulate you for giving us this privilege to submit this book "WHY SEPARATE STATE" for your kind perusal and critical study.

All of you know that the ABSU has been demanding a Separate State with the Status of Union Territory under the Provisions of Articles 2, 3 and 4 of Indian Constitution in the north bank of the Brahmaputra for the Plains Tribals of Assam, District Councils in the tribal compact areas in the south bank of the Brahmaputra, inclusion of Boro-Kocharis of Karbi-Anglong into the sixth schedule of Indian Constitution and other 89 demands and has been launching a democratic, peaceful and non-violent mass movement since the 2nd March, 1987 for those demands.

We submit this book for your critical study as regards the historical background, reasons, legitimacy, feasibility, genuineness, geographic, ethnic, linguistic, political factors etc. for the creation of a Separate Union Territory as demanded and the necessity or importance thereof. Hope, this book or memorandum will enable you to have a right judgement on the matter and thus a Separate Union Territory would be created.

Contd.

(2)
You are earnestly urged to create the Union Territory with immediate effect and thus satisfy the long-standing Political Aspiration of the Plains Tribal People of Assam for which whole of tribal people would be thankful and grateful to you all.
Praying the Providence for all of your longevity and well-being.

GWJWNTHWNG.

NEW Delhi

Date

Sincerely Yours,
For and on behalf of
All Bodo Students' Union

1. Sri Upendra Nath Brahma,
President, ABSU
2. Sri Rabi Ram Brahma
General Secretary, ABSU
- 3.
- 4.

WHY SEPARATE STATE

INTRODUCTION OF ABSU

The All Bodo Students' Union is the organisation of all Bodo Students' and youths covering the jurisdiction wherever the Bodos are found around the world and as such it has been nomenclated as the All Bodo Students' Union (A.B.S.U.). That is why the organisation is not called All Assam Bodo Students' Union (AABSU) which should have comprised only Assam. Presently, the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) comprises the Bodo Students' Community of Assam, Meghalaya, West Bengal, Nepal, Nagaland and have representatives from those states.

The ABSU was formed before twenty years i.e. on the 15th February, 1967 at Kokrajhar Tribal Rest House. Before the formation of ABSU in present form, many Bodo Students' Clubs, Sonmilons or Conference, Unions existed in many places, areas and districts independently i.e. without having co-ordination to each other. Those were only District Bodo Students' Unions or Anchalik Bodo Students' Unions independently. Among such District Bodo Students' Unions the undivided Goalpara District Bodo Students' Union (G.D.B.S.U.) formed in 1965 was one of the strongest District Unions. It was only in 1967 that all the District and Anchalik Bodo Students' Unions came under the same banner of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) in the present form.

While Srimati Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India announced the policy of reorganisation of Assam on Federal basis before the delegation team of Mizo Union in New Delhi on the 13th January, 1967 the

Onekpara District Bodo Students' Union warmly welcomed the policy and since then demanded a Separate State for the Plains Tribal people of Assam. In this way the ABSU, since its inception till to day has been demanding and fighting for a Separate State with the status of Union Territory for the Plains Tribals of Assam.

Presently, the All Bodo Students' Union has about ten lakhs (10,00,000) Bodo Student and youth followers though the Union does not maintain registration of its members and followers. In general, all the Bodo Students and Youths (those ABSU activists who have recently completed their normal degree education) besides the active activists are taken to be the general members of the ABSU.

SOME MAJOR ROLES OF ABSU :

Movement in 1960 :- While the Assamese people launched a vigorous movement in 1960 for making Assamese language as the sole official language of Assam the Bodo Students and people along with other linguistic minority communities launched movement for retention of English as the official language of Assam along with Assamese.

Introduction of Bodo medium in Primary level in 1963 :- The Bodo Students took the pioneering role and initiative along with the Bodo Sahitya Sabha in introducing Bodo medium of instruction in Primary level in 1963. A Ministerial one man commission recommended for the introduction of Bodo medium in Primary level during the Ministry of Bimala Prasad Chaliha and thus it was recognised and implemented in 1963.

Movement in 1968 for Bodo medium of instruction in Secondary stage :- In 1968 the Kokrajhar District Bodo Sahitya Sabha and All Bodo Students' Union jointly launched a vigorous movement for recognition of Bodo as medium of instruction in Secondary Stage and got the demand fulfilled.

Why Separate State

Participation in political renaissance of Bodo since 1967 :- As stated earlier, with the declaration of policy of reorganization of Assam on federal structure on the 13th January, 1967 by the then Prime Minister Shri Indira Gandhi a political renaissance arose among the Bodos and the Bodo Students took the initiative to form a Political Party and thus the Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) got birth on the 27th February, 1967 at Kokrajhar Ronejsahall. Since then the ABSU supported the PTCA in demand of a separate state and had been working together for the same cause. The ABSU withdrew its support to PTCA only in 1973 while the PTCA leaderships held the innocent tribal people for their opportunistic interest. The Period of 1967-73 was a political renaissance period among the Bodos and the ABSU took the major role for political awakening in that period too.

Awakening linguistic, socio-cultural movement :- The All Bodo Students' Union had been and still awakening a linguistic, literary and socio-cultural movement among the plains tribals and Bodos in particular.

ABSU movement in 1972 :- The All Bodo Students' Union launched a vigorous movement for retention of English as medium of instruction in colleges while the All Assam Students' Union launched movement for making Assamese as the sole medium of instruction in the colleges of Assam and thus the ABSU could retain English as medium of instruction along with Assamese through the verdict of the Supreme Court of India.

Participation in Roman Script movement in 1974-75 :- The Bodo Sahitya Sabha launched a vigorous mass movement in 1974-75 for adoption of Roman Script for Bodo language. The ABSU actively participated in the movement and thousands of ABSU activists had to undergo rigorous misery, arrest and torture during the period of movement. But, unfortunately, the demand was not conceded; instead, Devanagari Script was imposed to Bodo language.

Why Separate State

Role of ABSU for Political Unification : The ABSU tried its best to unify the split political parties of plains-tribals such as the PTCA and PTCA (Progressive) for launching a concerted movement for separate state but failed due to the adamant and arrogant attitude of the PTCA leaders.

Bodo as Associate Official Language : The ABSU has tremendous contribution in struggling for recognition of Bodo as Associate Official Language of Assam in Kokrajhar District and Udalguri Sub-Division in 1984. But, unfortunately, that has not been implemented yet.

Movement for 92-point charter of demands : By the latest the ABSU has been launching movement for the fulfilment of its 92 point charter of demands since the 2nd March, 1987.

Previous Sessions of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU)

Sl. No.	Sessions	Name of President	Name of General Secretary
1st	1967-72	Mr. Baneswar Basumatary.	Mr. Kanakeswar Narzary.
2nd	1972-74	Mr. Danbarudhar Brahma.	Mr. Rajendra Nath Brahma.
3rd	1974-76	Mr. Abhiram Boro.	Mr. Gobiinda Basumatary.
4th	1976-79	Mr. Gobiinda Basumatary.	Mr. Premising Brahma.
5th	1979-81	Mr. Santola Basumatary.	Mr. Parmeswar Brahma.
6th	1981-83	Mr. Dipak Kr. Basumatary.	Mr. Rajen Khakhlary.
7th	1983-86	Mr. Karendra Basumatary.	Mr. Sasuma Khungur Bwiswuthiary.
8th	1986- running	Mr. Upendra Nath Brahma.	Mr. Rabiram Brahma.

Why Separate State

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BODOS

The Bodos are the one of the earliest settlers in Assam. They migrated to Assam say at about 5,000 B.C. from Central Asia such as China, Mongolia, Tibet and Siberia. Bodos are the branch of the Great Mongoloid Stock.

To summarise the ideas of the history of Bodos some important parts from the History of Medieval Assam written by Dr. N. N. Acharyya, M.A. PH.D. (LOND.) Reader in History, University of Gauhati are reproduced herein below :

"The Kacharis are the earliest known indigenous inhabitants of Assam. They are known under different names in different places and ages throughout the North-Eastern corner of the Indian sub-continent. In Goalpara and North Bengal, they are called Mech and in North Cachar Hills, Dimasa. In the Brahmaputra Valley, the Kacharis call themselves Bodo or Bodo-fiss (sons of the Bodo). They were known to the Ahoms as Timisa, clearly a corruption of Dimasa, and, therefore, this name must have applied to them when they were ruling the Dhaansiri Valley".

"In addition to the Kacharis proper, Dr. Endle has classed the following tribes of Assam within the fold of the great Bodo race, Rabha, Mech, Dhimal, Koch, Solanimiyas, Mahaliyas, Phulgurias, Saraniyas, Dimas, Hojais, Lalungs, Garos and Hajonga. "To these" says Mr. Endle, "may be added one or two smaller communities e.g. the Morans and the Chutias in upper Assam, whose language, not altogether extinct as yet though apparently dying out rapidly, would seem to prove them to be closely akin to the Kochari (Bodo) race".

Why Separate State

"Captain Fisher, the first Superintendent of Cachar, was of the opinion that the Kacharis gradually acquired an empire over Assam, Sylhet, Mymensingh, and the Valleys to the east of the Brahmaputra, their original seat being at Kamrupa; and that their rule ultimately embraced everything from Kamrupa down to the sea. They built brick cities and it is supposed that the Tipperah Raja was a younger son of the house the original empire being divided into a northern and southern part. Sir Edward Galt was of the opinion that the Kacharis are very closely allied to the Koches and also, so far as the language is concerned, to the Chutias, Lalungs, and Morans of the Brahmaputra Valley, and to the Garos and the Tipperahs of the southern hills. Sir E. Galt, in his 'A History of Assam' has written—Having regard to their wide distribution, and to the extent of country over which Bodo languages of a very uniform type are still current it seems not improbable that at one time the major part of Assam and north-east Bengal formed a great Bodo kingdom, and that some, at least, of the Mlechchha kings mentioned in the old copper-plate inscriptions belonged to the Kachari or some closely allied tribe. Mr. C. A. Soper says that the Kachari race originally inhabited the hills and slopes to the north of the Brahmaputra, and then gradually extended through Central Assam to the Mymensingh district, the head-quarters of the Raja being established at Gaubati."

"Rev. S. Endle says that the Kachari race were the original autochthones of Assam, and form a large, perhaps the main constituent element in the permanent population of the province. He is of the opinion that there were two great immigrations from the north and north east into the rich valley of the Brahmaputra—one entering north-east Bengal and Western Assam through the valley of the Tista, Dharta, Sankosh and founding there what was formerly the powerful kingdom of Kamrupa; and the other making its way through the Subansiri, Dibong and Dibong

Why Separate State

valleys into Eastern Assam, where a branch of the widespread Kachari race, known as Chutias, undoubtedly held sway for a long period."

"According to B. C. Allen, the Kacharis are a section of the Indo-Chinese race, whose original habitat was somewhere between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Hoang-ho, and who gradually spread in successive waves of immigration over the greater part of what is now the province of Assam, entering by way of Burma."

"But whatever that might be, the Kachari or Bedo race, it is evident, is a very widely distributed one and exercised their sovereignty throughout Assam in different ages, with different names and in different places. They are undoubtedly found well outside the limits of the modern Assam, i.e. in the districts of North-East Bengal—Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Rangpur, Mymensing and also in Hill Tipperah, where the language of the people gives decisive evidence that they are of the Bodo stock. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan is of the opinion that a strain of Kachari blood may be traced in classes which have passed off as pure "Aryan". According to him, "the kingdom of Cachar, of which Tamradhwaj Narayan was the ruler in the reign of Swargadeo Rudra Singha, and Govinda Chandra at the time of British occupation is only one of the numerous states brought to existence by the political genius of the Kachari people. But, because the name 'Cachar' was attached to the specific kingdom of that name, after which the district is called at the present time, the superficial observer is led to suppose that the habitat of the Kacharis is Cachar, and that is only in Cachar that the Kacharis experimented in the arduous task of state-building; whereas in fact the Kacharis are scattered all over the Brahmaputra valley in addition to the so-called district of Cachar, and even beyond their limits."

"Although previous to the establishment of the Kachari Raj at Dimapur on the river Subansiri, a portion of their history is, to a certain extent, wrapped in oblivion, it is very certain that the race was ruling for many years throughout Assam. This fact is established not only

Why Separate State

The large number of the people now found, but by the traces of their domination which are left in the nomenclature of some of the physical features of the country, especially in the names of all, or nearly all, the principal rivers, that Dibru signifies in Kachari, the river of rapids (dibru means breaking broken); Disai means the small river, and the word diti, a Kachari synonym for water, is traceable in the names of numberless other rivers and streams throughout the Assam valley, such as Dibing, Dijo, Disang, Dipata, Dikrang, Diju, Dihong, Dibong, Dimu, Diku, Diphu and Digaru etc. Dimapur signifies "the town on the big or head water", i.e. river town and was doubtless so named by the Kacharis on the Raj being established."

To-day, Bodos are widely spread in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Nepal and Bangladesh. Of course, the Bodos are mainly concentrated in the northern tracts of the Brahmaputra valley under the foothills of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh.

On the other hand, the Ahoms entered Assam only in 1228 A. D. Frequent clashes took place between the Ahoms and Kacharis. After the advent of Ahoms, the Brahmins—the ancestors of so-called Assamese were brought to Assam from Konouj by the then Kings of Assam only in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Since then the engulfment and silent aggression of the artificial Assamese started in Assam and ultimately they snatched away the rule and administration from the hands of the Kacharis. But since the Kachari kingdom lasted till 1854 A. D.

To-day, the Kacharis of the Bodos have no kings and kingdoms. That is why we have to regain our lost Kingdom.

ASSAM AND THE ASSAMESE

In the modern period of history only this province has been known as Assam. It is not exactly known since when this land has been called Assam. But the name Assam must not have come prior to the advent of Ahoms in Assam i.e. 1228 A.D. As per historical records, the sixteenth century map of this land shows that in the north bank of the Brahmaputra comprising Cooch Behar, Mymensingh, Syhlet, Pragjyotishpur it was a great Koch-Kachari empire of Kamrupa with Head-quarters at Gauhati the easternmost Dibrugarh District and Sadilya formed a Chutia Kachari kingdom, the Sibsagar District and neighbouring parts formed Ahom kingdom, parts of Nagaon District and Dimapur, North Cachar Hills, Cachar District areas formed Southern Kachari kingdom. The Jayantia, Khasis, Garos, Nagas, Manipuris and Mizos had their own geographical areas. So, where did Assam exist? On the other hand, only several Kachari kingdoms and Ahom kingdom could be noticed. As such it is obvious that the name and state of Assam did not exist earlier. Then, during that period or before that the so-called Assamese Community did not exist. Because, the so-called Assamese Community came only after the name Assam. So, earlier, as Assam did not exist, Assamese also did not exist. Then, wherefrom the so-called Assamese Community has sprung up? The immigration, spread and growth of the Assamese started only since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries during the period of Ahoms only. They migrated from Konouj. Now, who are those Assamese? The Brahmins, the Kayasthas, Keots, Ganaks, Fisherman classes constitute the Assamese. But Bodos are not Assamese, Rajbangshis are not Assamese, the Ahoms, the Bengalis, the Muslims and the like are not Assamese.

Why Separate State

What is the definition of Assamese? The Assamese people may define that those indigenous people who live in Assam are Assamese. So, the Bodos, the Mishings, the Karbis all are Assamese (?). If that be so, it is great that there assume Sub-Communities among the Assamese such as the Bodo-Assamese, Mishing-Assamese etc. Then, what will be the Sub-Community of the Assamese Proper? Will it be Assamese-Assamese or Brahmin-Assamese or Kachha-Assamese and the like which are never felt in practice? Then what will be the exact definition of Assamese? Will it be those who speak Assamese. Then Bodo speaking people cannot be the Assamese.

On the other hand, a concrete Assamese language also did not exist in the past. It may not be improper, if we say that Assamese language started in written form only from the time of Saikardeva only in Brajball form and not even in the present form. The present Assamese language has been derived only from Sanskrit, Urdu, Bengali, Persian and Bodo languages. As such neither the Assamese language nor the Assamese Community did exist in reality in the past. That is why the Assamese language and community are nothing but only artificially defined language and community.

But, Surprisingly and cleverly, this artificial Assamese community has captured Assam and its administration and now dominating the once master-ruler of Assam—the Kacharis—the Bodos. The outsider Assamese has unjustifiably overthrown the original master Kacharis!

THE POPULATION PATTERN OF ASSAM

The population census of 1971 in Assam is very much vague and far from truth. Particularly the correct figures of various tribes in Assam cannot be determined on the basis of 1971 Census. As a whole, those tribes or some sections of them who used to speak Assamese or told Assamese as their mother tongue were included as the Assamese speaking people. Further, lakhs of tribals had been dropped out from their respective tribes with intentional administrative manoeuvring but included as the general Assamese people.

On the basis of Linguistic Survey of India and comparative study of 1971 Census and also from the local studies in various Districts and Sub-Divisions of Assam the distribution of population in Assam can be estimated as follows as on 1986. Of course, the correctness can not be claimed as exact but amounts to approximation.

POPULATION OF ASSAM, As on 1986 (Estimated)	
TOTAL...	2,25,00,000
MUSLIM...	40,00,000 $\frac{1}{5}$
BENGALIS...	33,00,000 $\frac{1}{4}$
TRIBALS...	64,00,000 $\frac{2}{5}$
OTHERS...	88,00,000
AMONG OTHERS:	
Tea Garden workers and Family members (Santals/Mondas, Orons etc. Adibasis):	25,00,000
NEPALIS	6,00,000
RAIBANGSIS:	5,00,000
OTHER GENERALS:	52,00,000
Total non-tribal population:	1,61,00,000
Percentage of tribal population:	28.5%

BREAK-UP OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN ASSAM:

Boro	40,00,000
Miri (Mising)	6,00,000
Rabha (A)	4,00,000
Mitri (Karbi)	6,00,000
Sonai Kochari	2,00,000
Lalung Kochari	2,00,000
Deori Kochari	1,50,000
Dimasa Kochari	1,50,000
Kuki	15,000
Boroman (Kochari)	15,000
Garo	15,000
Naga Tribe	10,000
Khasi Jayantia	10,000
Hmar-man, Hajong and other	35,000
Total Tribal Population in Assam	64,00,000

DISTRICTWISE BREAK-UP OF BORO POPULATION IN ASSAM:

Kokrajhar	6,00,000
Dhubri	3,00,000
Goalpara	3,35,000
Barpeta	4,00,000
Nalbari	4,50,000
Kamrup	3,50,000
Pragjyotishpur	10,000
Darrang	5,00,000
Sanitpur	4,00,000
Lakhimpur	4,00,000
Nagaon	1,00,000
Karbi-anglong	1,00,000
Jorhat	50,000
Sibsagar & Dibrugarh	5,000
Total Boro Population in Assam	40,00,000 (Forty Lakhs)

POPULATION OF LINGUISTICALLY BODO GROUP OF PEOPLE OF ASSAM:

Boro Kochari	40,00,000
Rabha	4,00,000
Sonowal	2,00,000
Lalung	2,00,000
Deori	1,50,000
Dimasa	1,50,000
Barman	15,000
Garo	15,000
Hajong & Hojai Kochari	20,000
Chutia and Moran Kochari
(Completely Assamised and as such their figures could not be known)	

Total Bodo Group's Population in Assam 51,50,000

Here the difference between the terms Boro and Bodo is obvious. Boro includes only the purely Boro speaking people although some sections of them might have forgotten their Boro language. But the terms Bodo refers to all Kochari or Bodo groups of people such as Boro, Rabha, Koch, Garo, Sonowal, Lalung, Deori, Dimasa, Saraniya, Barman, Hojai, Hajong, Tripuri (Tipperah), Chutiya and Moran whose language are very much close to Boro or Bara. That is why languages of those Kochari clans are known as Bodo group language and those tribes are known as Bodos as a whole.

Rajbanshis are also of the same stock of Bodo but after adoption of Hinduism i.e. Vaishnavism they have totally forgotten Bodo language and now they use to speak in between Assamese, Bengali and Oriya languages. As such Rajbanshis have not been included in the above table. Unfor-

DEMAND FOR SEPARATE STATE

As already stated, the demand for a separate state for the Plains Tribal people of Assam got birth with the then Prime Minister of India late Indira Gandhi's announcement on the 13th January, 1967 that Assam would be re-organised on the basis of Federal structure. With such view, at the enthusiasm and initiative of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) the political party of Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) was formed on the 27th February, 1967 at Rangiasali Hall, Kokrajhar. Since then ABSU had been actively supporting PTCA in demand of Separate state till the PTCA leaders betrayed the cause of separate state in 1977.

The PTCA, for the first time submitted Memorandum to the then President of India Dr. Zakir Hussain on the 20th May, 1967 at New Delhi for the creation of an "Autonomous Region" for the Plains Tribal people of Assam. The wave of demand of Autonomous Region gradually got momentum and thus Autonomous Region was upgraded to the demand of "Union Territory" which was nomenclatured as "UDAYACHAL" on the 7th January 1973. The wave of the demand of a separate state ran to the highest level in the hearts of Bodo youths and public in the year of 1972 and 1973. But then came the well-known Roman Script Movement for Bodo language in the year of 1974-75 which was also immediately misunderstood by certain quarters as the movement of separate state. Then came the National Emergency in 1975-76. The PTCA leaders completely stopped all political activities, even they suspended the demand of separate state to escape arrest during emergency period. After the end of emergency, again came the

wave of Janata Party. The PTCA leaders, bargaining for political power, made electoral alliance with the Janata Party in 1977-78. The PTCA leaders Mr. Samar Brahma Choudhury, the Vice-President of the party was returned to the Legislative Assembly and Mr. Charan Narzary, the party General Secretary was also returned to Parliament. But suddenly, most shocking to the tribal mass people the two PTCA leaders announced on the 4th April, 1977 that the PTCA had given up the demand of UDAYACHAL the Union Territory but wanted to experiment on Autonomous Region once again and thus went to the back. At this, there was a strong reaction, the party hardliners and the youths and students of ABSU were badly resented and pressurised the PTCA leaders not to give up the demand of UDAYACHAL while the two PTCA leaders were reluctant to accept. Thus the two PTCA leaders belied the mass people's political aspiration of Separate State. The Young PTCA was also dissolved undemocratically by the two bosses of PTCA.

Mr. Samar Brahma Choudhury, the most treacherous, opportunist and crooked (with devil master mind) PTCA leader bartered Udayachal in lieu of Ministership in Janata regime and he got the Cabinet Ministership of Forest in state Assembly and thus completely gave up the demand of Udayachal. When Janata Ministry was toppled down Mr. Samar Brahma Choudhury again joined Keshab Gogoi's Congress(I) Ministry in State Assembly which unfortunately lasted for only one day. On the other hand, Mr. Charan Narzary, then M.P. denounced the demand of Udayachal in the floor of Parliament. Once again, by the latest, the PTCA leaders made electoral alliance with ASOM GANA PARISHAD (AGP) in the last election for bargaining for political power. Mr. Narzary has returned to the Legislative Assembly and Mr. Brahma Choudhury has returned to the Parliament with the help of their numerous deceiving tactics and political trickeries. After returning to Parliament, Mr. Samar Brahma Choudhury, has once again reiterated the

demanded an Autonomous Region styled as Udayachal in the floor of the Parliament instead of raising the voice for a Separate Union Territory and thus the PTCA is now holding the demand of Autonomous Region which the ABSU vehemently opposes for its ineffectiveness. The two selfish leaders of PTCA are also never interested to launch a continuous concerted and vigorous mass movement for a Separate State.

On the other hand, the hardliner party workers, youths and students formed another political party, the Plains Tribal Council of Assam (Progressive) on the 22nd May, 1979. PTCA (P) for the first time submitted Memorandum to the then Prime Minister of India Smt. Indira Gandhi on the 8th July, 1980 at New Delhi demanding a Separate Union Territory with a nomenclature of MISHING BODOLAND. The PTCA (P) leaders submitted memorandum to the Govt. of India in a number of occasions demanding a Separate Union Territory. Then for the first time PTCA (P) staged a huge demonstration in Boat Club in New Delhi from 19th to 22nd April, 1983 on demand of Separate Homeland "MISHING BODOLAND" and submitted memorandum to the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi on 22nd April, 1983.

Meanwhile, the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) had been taking keen interest for unification of PTCA and PTCA (P) since 1979, but due to the arrogant leaders of PTCA, unification could not be made. The ABSU did not give up the idea of unification and on such a occasion organised a convention of All Tribal Organisations from the 17th to 19th April, 1984 at Jorhat in Darrang District, Assam, wherein the PTCA (P) was dissolved and a new political party UNITED TRIBAL NATIONALIST LIGERATION FRONT was formed on the 19th April, 1984 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Chandra Bhanagar Dasgupta, M.L.A. The UNLF first submitted memorandum for a separate Union Territory to the then Prime Minister of India Late P. V. Narayana Murthy on the 2nd May, 1984 in New Delhi giving nomenclature of "TRIBAL LAND" to the proposed Union Territory. Since then the

UNLF also has been submitting memorandum and met the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in a number of occasions and fighting for a Separate Homeland for Plains Tribals of Assam. The UNLF also submitted memorandum to the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on 10th July, 1985 & 31st July, 1986 demanding for creation of HOMELAND and since then submitting reminders for several times.

On the part of All Bodo Students' Union also since 1967 it has been submitting memorandum to the Central leaders particularly to the Prime Minister, President and the Home Minister of India for a number of times.

The ABSU also submitted memorandum to the Prime Minister Late Indira Gandhi demanding a Separate State on the 9th November, 1972 while she visited Shillong. A delegation team of ABSU also submitted memorandum to the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi in June, 1980 at New Delhi and held a detailed talk on the demand. In 1960 itself, when Giani Zail Singh, the then Home Minister of India visited Gauhati, the ABSU delegation submitted memorandum on demand of Separate State at Jawahar Nagar, Gauhati. In 1983, again the ABSU submitted memorandum to the Prime Minister Pmt. Indira Gandhi demanding Separate State after the turmoil of 1983 election in Assam.

On the 10th July, 1985 again an ABSU delegation team met the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi at New Delhi and submitted Memorandum urging him to create a Separate State for the plains Tribal people of Assam. Again, an ABSU delegation met Mr. S. B. Chavan, the then Home Minister of India on the 8th August, 1985 and submitted memorandum urging him to create a separate State along with the solution of Foreign National Issue in Assam while he visited Gauhati to have audience of various organisations on Foreign National Issue.

By the latest, an AESU delegation under the leadership of its President Mr. Upendra Bora met the Prime Minister of India Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on the 22nd January, 1987 at New Delhi and submitted a detailed memorandum for creation of a Separate State with the status of Union Territory for the Plains Tribal people of Assam in the northern tract of the Brahmaputra valley. The delegation team also met the Union Home Minister Mr. Biju Singh, talked and submitted memorandum on demand of Separate State in Union Territory on the 24th January, 1987 and submitted memorandum to the President of India Mr. Giani Zail Singh at Ashtapati Bhawan, New Delhi on the 30th January, 1987.

The BSU also submitted 92-point Memorandum to the Governor of Assam and Meghalaya Mr. Bhisma Narain Singh at Rajbhawan, Gauhati on the 10th January, 1987 and also to the Chief Minister Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mahanta on the 1st January, 1987 at Janata Bhawan, Dispur.

Besides the demand of Union Territory, the All Bodo Students' Union has also other political demands such as creation of District Councils under the Provisions of the 6th schedule of Indian Constitution in the Tribal Compact areas in the south bank of the Brahmaputra of Assam and inclusion of Boro-Kocharis of Karbi-Anglong into the sixth schedule of Indian constitution and the Governments have been urged for those demands too. The District Councils in the South bank of the Brahmaputra are meant for minimum protection of Bodos and other tribals who will live in Assam after the creation of Union Territory in the north bank of the Brahmaputra.

AREA OF PROPOSED UNION TERRITORY

Total Area of present Assam : 78,523.0 sq. Km. The area to be included in the proposed Union Territory has been shown Districtwise and Sub-Divisionwise in the following table. The whole area of Kokrajhar District, northern parts of Dhubri, Goalpara, Nalbari, Barpeta, Kamrup, Darrang, Sonitpur Districts have been included in the proposed Union Territory. It will be clear from the following table. The Area of the Proposed Union Territory extends from Sankosh river near Srirampur on the west to Sadia on the east covering the major areas in the north Bank of the Brahmaputra of Assam. To the North boundary of the proposed Union Territory will be West Bengal, to the South—Assam and to the East, Arunachal Pradesh. The east-west length of the Proposed Union Territory is about 700 (Seven hundred) Kilometres and the north-south average width is about 36 Kilometres. The detailed areas of the Proposed Union Territory have been shown in the map.

AREA OF PROPOSED UNION TERRITORY.

District/ Sub-Division	Present area Sq. Km.	Area to be included in proposed Union Territory Sq. Km.
Kokrajhar	4,716.5	4,716.5
Dhubri	8,745.5	1,372.7
Goalpara	1,843.8	710.8
Barpeta	3,307.3	1,653.6
Nalbari	2,022.8	1,111.4

Why Separate State

Kamrup	4,625.9	1,155.2
Darrang	3,465.3	2,752.3
Sivasagar	5,255.2	4,204.2
Lakhimpur	5,646.4	5,646.4
Majuli	1,241.0	1,241.0
Sivas	914.0	914.0

Total 25,478.1 Sq. Km.

The total area of the proposed Union Territory ... 25,478.1 Sq. Km.
 Area of the Rest Assam ... 53,044.9 Sq. Km.
 If we subtract the area of proposed Autonomous State of Karbi-Anglong & N.C. Hills (Karbi-Anglong 10,332.0 Sq. Km. + N.C. Hills 4,890 Sq. Km.) = 15,222.0 Sq. Km. from Assam, the area of Assam will still remain 37,822.0 Sq. Km.

The ABSU has been demanding that Assam should be divided Fifty Fifty between the Tribals and the non-Tribals. As such Tribals are getting total area : Proposed Union Territory : 25,478.1 Sq. Km.
 Proposed Autonomous State : (Karbi Anglong and N. C. Hills) : 15,222.0 Sq. Km.

Total area 40,700.1 Sq. Km., which is slightly more than fifty percent.
 Then area of Rest Assam ... 37,822.9 Sq. Km.
 If Cachar also gets Separation then future remnant of Assam will be :-
 Area of rest Assam :- 37,822.9 Sq. Km.
 Area of Cachar (Undivided) 6,962.0 Sq. Km.

Total area of future remnant of Assam : 30,860.9 Sq. Km.
 Still then Assam will be the Second largest State in the North Eastern Region only next to Arunachal Pradesh. Hence no question of impossibility of further division of Assam can arise here.

POPULATION IN THE PROPOSED UNION TERRITORY.

(As on 1986)

Population of present Assam :
 Total Population in the proposed Union Territory— 2,25,00,000
 Total Tribal population in the proposed Union Territory— 61,37,914
 Percentage of Tribal population in the Proposed U. T.— 42.96,000
 Total non-Tribal population in the proposed Union Territory— 70%
 Percentage of non-Tribal population in the proposed U. T.— 18,41,914
 Remainder population in rest Assam— 30%
 Area of rest Assam— 1,63,61,086
 Density of population in the rest Assam— 53,044.9 Sq. Km.
 Density of population in proposed U. T. : 308 per Sq. Km.
 The difference between the densities of rest Assam and the proposed Union Territory is due to the fact that the rest Assam will possess all the thickly populated towns and cities such as Dhubri, Nilasipara, Goalpara, Barpeta, Nalbari, Rangia, Mongoldol, Tezpur, Gauhati, Jorhat, Sibsagar, Golaghat, Tinsukia, Dibrugarh and the District of Cachar while the proposed Union Territory is devoid of such thickly populated towns and cities but comprises large areas of forests where population is very thin.

Tribe-wise total population in the proposed Union Territory : (As on 1986)

Major Tribes	Population
Boros	33,50,000
Mishing	5,60,000
Rabhas	1,41,000
Sonowals	1,00,000
Deoris	1,00,000
Garos	5,000
Karbais	40,000
Lalung	60,000

Total Tribal population in the proposed Union Territory : 42,96,000.

92-POINT DEMANDS OF ABSU

The Bodos and the other plains tribal people of Assam have thousands of problems such as on language, literary, economy, land, education, socio-cultural, job, development etc. Another basic problems of the Bodos and other tribals are crisis of identity, question of survival and political security. Out of those thousands of problems the All Bodo Students' Union has raised only 92 demands and submitted memorandum to the Chief Minister and the Governor of Assam. Of course, the numerous problems and grievances of the Bodos and other plains tribals have been reflected through these 92 demands also. No doubt, the 92-point demand memoranda submitted to the Chief Minister and the Governor of Assam is an important charter or manifesto showing the burning problems and the genuine aspirations of the Bodos of the world and the other plains tribals of Assam. The 92-point Memorandum bears the testimony of how the Bodos and other plains tribals are suffering from wants, discriminations, injustices, insecurity and tortures etc.

Here, the Headlines of 92-point demands without elaboration are given below :

1. Immediate implementation of Bodo as Associate official language in Kokrajhar District and Udalguri Sub-division.
2. Extension of Bodo as Associate Official Language in other districts of Assam.
3. Central University at Kokrajhar.
4. Provincialisation of all L.P., M.E. and High Schools in the tribal areas.
5. Appointment of Bodo medium teachers in Schools.

Why Separate

Why Separate State

6. Regular publication and distribution of Bodo text books. ✓
7. Free distribution of text-books, food and clothing to the tribal students of L.P., M.E. & M.V. Schools.
8. Installation of major educational institutions such as Govt. Medical College, Govt. Engineering College, Veterinary Science College and Govt. Ayurvedic College at Kokrajhar.
9. Installation of Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) at Kokrajhar.
10. Protection of Tribal Belts & Blocks and creation of new ones.
11. Creation of a Separate Directorate for Plains Tribal education with separate financial budget provision.
12. Introduction of Bodo M.I.L. subject in M.A. degree in Universities.
13. Inclusion of Bodo in the 8th schedule of Indian Constitution.
14. Inclusion of Boro-Kocharis of Karbi-Anglong and N. C. Hills Autonomous Districts into the sixth schedule of Indian Constitution.
15. Appointment of lecturers for Bodo M.I.L. in colleges.
16. Introduction of Honours course in Bodo M.I.L. subject in degree level.
17. Retention of English as a medium of instruction in College and Universities of Assam.
18. Introduction of Bodo M.I.L. subject in the colleges of Dibrugarh and North Eastern Hills Universities.
19. Establishment of Agriculture College at Udalguri.
20. Construction of Tribal Hostels at Gauhati, Shillong, Kokrajhar and Tezpur.
21. Enhancement of Scheduled Tribe scholarship and its regular distribution.
22. Introduction of English medium in XI and XII classes in Higher Secondary Schools.

21. Installation of Technical and Poly-technique Institutes in Tribal Areas.
24. Installation of A.R. Station at Kokrajhar.
25. Increment of S/Reservation seats for admission into educational institutions.
26. Increment of Scheduled Tribe reserved quota in Government Services and fulfilment of its backlog.
27. Introduction of Bodo language as optional subject in A. P. S. C. examination.
28. Recognition and implementation of Bodo as one of the regional language subjects in U. P. S. C. and other civil services examinations.
29. Reservation for S. T. in research works.
30. Interviews in Bodo medium in the posts of Clerks, Peon and Choukidars etc.
31. Re-organisation of the boundaries of the new Districts of Assam.
32. Introduction of Bodo M. I. L. in the Colleges of Gaghati.
33. To impart Adult Education through Bodo medium.
34. Control of Price hike.
35. Food for work programme for rural people.
36. Loans and grants-in-aid to the unemployed tribal youths.
37. Exemption of tribals from the compulsory possession of Permanent Residential Certificate in case of holding Govt. service etc.
38. Production of documentary films in Bodo.
39. Nomenclature of Bodo revenue villages in Bodo.
40. Proper census of Bodo population.
41. Installation of a Central Museum at Kokrajhar.
42. Detection and deportation of foreign nationals.

Why Separate State

43. Recognition and introduction of all tribal languages in primary schools.
44. Compensation to the flood affected people.
45. Introduction of Roman Script for Bodo language.
46. Settlement of border dispute between Assam and Nagaland and adequate security to the people living therein.
47. Drinking water supply in all villages within 1990.
48. Electrification of all villages within 1990.
49. Construction and reconstruction of all village approach roads and bridges.
50. Control of rivers.
51. Irrigation system covering all agricultural lands.
52. Free distribution of fertilisers to poor tribal peasants.
53. Primary Health Centre for every two villages.
54. Construction of new High Road from Raimona to Jorai along the southern borders of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh.
55. Installation of Agriculture University at Gossaigaon.
56. Housing grants to poor tribal people.
57. Installation of Forest Training College at Halugaon.
58. Installation of Jute Mill at Serfanguri.
59. Installation of Television Centres at Udalguri and Kokrajhar.
60. Revival of Balajan Airport at Kokrajhar.
61. Establishment of Fishery Training Centre at Kokrajhar.
62. Establishment of Sports Training Institute at Kokrajhar.
63. Opposition to the clause 4.6(ii) of the new national policy of education.
64. Introduction of Boro medium in new Central Model Schools.
65. Introduction of Bodo medium to missionary schools.

Why Separate State

- 64. Redelimitation of Polling-plan areas.
- 67. Appointment of S. S. C. Teachers in Higher Secondary Schools.
- 68. Setting of H. S. L. C. examination question papers in Bodo.
- 69. Opposition to reservation policy and scholarship on economic ground.
- 70. Launching of massive industrialisation.
- 71. Establishment of Music colleges.
- 72. Financial assistance for writing and publishing a book of history of Bodos.
- 73. Appointment of Bodo S. I. s and D. I. s in Lakhimpur District. #
- 74. Merger of tribal areas to Kokrajhar District from Dhubri District.
- 75. Introduction of Bodo medium in Roman Script in West Bengal.
- 76. Transmission of Bodo programmes and Bodo news from Gauhati Doordarshan Kendra.
- 77. Broadcasting of Bodo programmes from All India Radio, Siliguri Centre.
- 78. Extension of Special Provisions for tribals in Indian Constitution from 1950 to indefinite period.
- 79. Establishment of Basic Training Centre at Udalguri.
- 80. Regular payment of salary to the Bodo medium teachers.
- 81. Eradication of Poverty.
- 82. Free and compulsory education for children upto fourteen years of age.
- 83. Opposition to clause no. 6 of Assam Accord. #
- 84. Opposition to clause no. 10 of Assam Accord and eviction of tribals from the forests of Assam.
- 85. Opposition to compulsory imposition of Assamese language in schools.

Why Separate State

- 85. Revocation of Pre-condition of Assamese in state services.
- 87. Opposition to AASU's demand for amendments of Articles 3, 30 and 347 of Indian Constitution.
- 88. Stoppage of political assassination and extremism in Assam.
- 89. Stoppage of brutal police atrocities upon the Bodo students and public.
- 90. Creation of Regional Council for non-Karbi tribes in Karbi-Anglong Autonomous District Council.
- 91. Creation of District Councils in the Tribal compact areas of southern valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam.
- 92. Creation of Separate State with the status of Union Territory in the North bank of the Brahmaputra for the Plains Tribals of Assam.

Pathetically, neither the state nor the Central Government has taken the slightest interest to fulfil even a single demand out of those numerous 92 demands. So, can the Bodos think that they are getting justice and attention from the Government? Definitely not. But they have been totally neglected for centuries.

When a Separate State is created, most of these 92 demands would be fulfilled within a short period of time. #

Why Separate State

THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF ASSAM

The language tangle is one of the most critical and sensitive problems of Assam. Assam is a multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-cultural state. But yet, the Assamese people always try to impose Assamese language upon the non-Assamese people including the indigenous tribal people. As such, here arises the clash between the Assamese speaking people in one hand and the tribals and other linguistic minorities on the other side.

The intention is very clear that the Assamese people and the Assam Government want to Assamite and assimilate the non-Assamese people through the imposition of Assamese language and culture. The Assamese people and the Assam Government have not yet realised the mistake with that Assamisation and Assimilation Policy. Still, they want to force others to read Assamese and accept their policy of Assamisation and Assimilation.

In 1950, the Assamese people launched a vigorous language movement to make Assamese as the official language of Assam and as a result of that Assam Official Language Act, 1960 was passed by the Assam Government through which Assamese was imposed as official language upon the indigenous non-Assamese Tribal people of the then Assam. The Plains as well as the Hills Tribals were badly resented at this enactment. That is why Nagaland was separated in 1953.

In 1972, on the demand and movement of All Assam Students' Union (AASU), at the instance of Assam Government the Universities of Guwahati and Dibrugarh made Assamese as the medium of instruction in place of English in their Colleges whereby the Bodo students who

have passed Matriculation through Bodo medium have been directly obstructed in receiving College education. Now, except a few, all colleges of Assam have practically implemented sole Assamese medium of instruction and as such the problem has become much more serious.

Again, just after assuming power, the AGP Government imposed Assamese language as compulsory third language upon the non-Assamese medium students in secondary schools through a circular given by the Secondary Education Board of Assam (SEBA) on the 28th February, 1986. The ABSU vehemently opposed the circular and announced some programmes of movement for the withdrawal of that SEBA circular and at last compelled the Govt to suspend the same.

The arguments of the Assamese people and Assam Government are like that the Assamese language is the official as well as regional language of Assam, a link language among different communities of Assam, a language for the integrity of Assam and that is why everyone must read Assamese, must speak Assamese, must know Assamese, those who live in Assam must speak Assamese and those who do not speak Assamese they are not Assamese or indigenous people of Assam, Assam is only for the Assamese—they think. These arguments are fallacies. Because, as evident from the earlier discussions in the chapter 'Assam and the Assamese' the originality, genuineness and status of Assamese language and Assamese people can be traced, judged and examined critically. These arguments are nothing but only a defensive and strategic languages for the imposition of Assamese language upon the non-Assamese, but the inherent intention is to Assamite, assimilate and dominate the non-Assamese people whether they be indigenous or outsider but those who live in Assam. Again, if their argument is so, the Bodos the Kocharis—the original master ruler of Assam whose language is the most aboriginal and widespread in Assam can also ask—why not the Assamese people read, speak and accept Bodo as a whole for a link

Will the Assamese agree?

After the coming of AGP Government in Assam, the State Government has given notifications in various state services laying the condition of the knowledge of Assamese language. As per this notification, a job candidate must appear an interview in Assamese language i.e. he must pass the written test in Assamese language, he must know how to type in Assamese and he must undergo viva-voce in Assamese language and if a candidate fails all these tests he will not get the job. Is it not discriminatory to other non-Assamese indigenous people of Assam? How can a Bodo medium candidate fulfil all these rigorous tests? In this way, systematically, Bodo medium students and candidates have been deprived of their legitimate rights of getting state jobs. So, Bodos are not getting jobs in State services.

In this connection, the AGP Government has violated all constitutional provisions, Assam Official Language (Amendment) Act, 1985.

Some provisions of Indian Constitution may be referred in this regard—
Article 15. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

(a) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

Article 16. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment:
(1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

(2) No citizen shall on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State.

The AGP Govt. also has not maintained the commitment or guarantee given by the clause 7 of Assam Official Language Act, 1960 which runs thus—

Why Separate

Rights of the various linguistic group: Clause 7. Subject to the provision of this Act, the State Government may by notification issued from time to time, direct the use of the language as may be specified in the notification and in such parts of the State of Assam as may be specified therein:

Provided that—

(a) The rights of the various linguistic groups in respect of medium of instructions in educational institutions as laid down in the constitutions of India shall not be affected;

(b) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational and cultural institutions, discriminate against any such institutions on grounds of language;

(c) The rights to appointments in the Assam Public Services and to contracts and other avocations shall be maintained without discrimination on the ground of language;

(d) In regard to noting in the offices in the region or district, if any, member of the staff is unable to note in any of the district language, the use of English shall be permitted by the Heads of Departments so long as the use thereof is permissible (for the official purposes of the Union under any law made by the Parliament in this behalf).

The AGP Govt. has also violated the Assam Official Language (Amendment) Act, 1985 through which Bodo was recognised as Associate Official Language of Assam particularly in Kokrajhar District and Udalguri Sub-division. Instead of implementation of Bodo as Associate Official Language in Kokrajhar District and Udalguri Sub-division the AGP Government is imposing Assamese as the sole official language even in those District and Sub-division.

On the other hand, the Assam Government and many Secondary Educational Institutions did not or still do not allow introduction of

Why Separate State

to medium along with Assamese medium. If Bodo medium is introduced, the Government and the School authorities along with the Assamese people drive the Bodo medium out of that School. If it (Bodo medium) is allowed, it is given only in a cow-shed like thatched shed house and with no proper teaching staff. As for instance, out of many, it may be cited that Kalkgaon Higher Secondary School and Danda Saharia High School in Dibrang District did like that. On the other hand, Bodo girls those who went to classes putting their traditional beautiful Bodo DAKHANA dress were turned out from classes in Goreswar College, Dudhnai Girls High school, Bangfor Belguri High School etc. They were forced to put on Assamese Mekhela Chajras.

Is it not discrimination and violation of Fundamental Rights against the Bodos?

The Fundamental Rights provided in Indian Constitution in this behalf may be cited here,

Cultural and Educational Right:

Article 29. Protection of interests of minorities.

1. Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

2. No Citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30. Rights of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions.

1. All minorities whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

As such it is futile to struggle and get exhausted for our rights and survival under this Assam Government and chauvinist Assamese people. Therefore, Separation is a must.

Why Separate State

THE ATTITUDE OF ASSAMESE PEOPLE

One of the most important responsible factors as to why the tribals have become alienated from the mainstream of Assam is the attitude of the Assamese people. The Assamese people have never accepted the tribals as the part and parcel of Assamese community and society in real sense though they give a motivated slogan of Greater Assamese Nationality. As for instance, a Gowami Brahmin family will never allow or agree to give its daughter for a social marriage with a tribal youth. They hate the Bodos calling as Kacharis, Misings—a tribal and the like. So, a Greater Assamese Nationality never existed and does not exist even to-day.

(i) Anti-Tribal Attitude :

The general attitude of Assamese people is anti-tribal. Of course, there is exception of a few. But, the majority Assamese people have deadly and poisonous anti-tribal attitude. They cannot tolerate the existence of tribals such as Bodos, Misings, Karbis etc. They never think the developments of the tribals. Rather, they are jealous of some special facilities enjoyed by the tribals under certain provisions of Indian Constitution. Unfortunately, this anti-tribal attitude of Assamese people is growing more and more rapidly with the rising movement of separate state.

(ii) Expansionist Attitude :

The Assamese people are following the policy of expansionism and imperialism to capture and dominate all corners of Assam including the tribals areas. In fact, they have a plot to conquer all tribal areas and dominate them everywhere under their feet. That is why, they are deeprooting Assamese colonialism in tribal areas. The Assamese people

Why Separate State

not want to give or recognise the existence and predominance of tribal people in their majority areas too. The process of engulfment and silent aggression over the tribals by the Assamese people is still continuing.

(iii) Lack of Political Toleration.

The Assamese people have no political toleration. They cannot tolerate the existence of tribal communities and other democratic organisations who oppose the policies of Assamisation and Assimilation. The Assamese people, the Assam Government and the Administration consider the Bodos as the number one enemy for demanding a Separate State. They cannot tolerate the existence of tribal organisations such as ABSU and UTNLF as because they demand a separate state. The Assamese people harass the supporters and activists of ABSU and UTNLF this way or that way. Even Bodo Students are badly harassed by the Assamese students in the hostels of various Assamese dominated educational institutions throughout the state of Assam.

In fact, the Assamese people and the Assam Government should not oppose the demand and movement of separate state but should support to show their magnanimity. Because, demand and creation of a separate state is neither directed against them nor will cause a great harm to Assam and Assamese society. But still, why are they opposing? This is only because, the Assamese people and Assam Government never expect to hand over the rule and administration of tribal people on their own hands. They are afraid of losing their political suzerainty. They want to dominate the tribals under their feet for an indefinite period which is totally unjustified one. In fact, the outsider and artificial Assamese people have no moral right to rule over the tribals—the sons of the soil and original master of Assam.

THE ASSAM GOVERNMENT

The anti-tribal Assam Government, anti-tribal administration and bureaucrats are the number one factors for demanding a Separate State. The Assamese ruling class is the most exploiting class and they never allow the tribals to rise and prosper.

(i) The Assamese Government :

The Assam Government whether the past or present ones are not the Government of the people of Assam but it is merely a Government of Assamese people particularly the present Assam Gana Parishad Government which has been elected to power out of Assamese chauvinism wave. The present A.G.P. Government is the chauvinist Assamese Government and it is by no means the Government for tribals. As such the Plains Tribals must have a Separate Government of their own.

(ii) Anti-Tribal Government and Administration :

The Assam Government and Administration are deadly anti-tribal. The Assamese and other non-tribal clerks, officers, bureaucrats and ruling Ministers and Politicians—all are out and out anti-tribal and they conspire against the tribals behind the screen. They are hatching a deep-rooted conspiracy to wipe out the Plains Tribals particularly the Bodos for their political suzerainty. No developmental programme is properly implemented for the Plains Tribals under this Assam Government. No progress of tribal people can be achieved under this anti-tribal Assam Government whatsoever policies are adopted to dupe and allure the tribals. The policies and functions of Assam Government and Administration are always Anti-Tribal and quite destructive for tribals.

...no expected progress of tribals in the dimensions of education, economy, language, culture etc. could be achieved even after 40 years of independence of India. Even to-day, Tribals are the most backward section in Assam.

(iii) Repressive Government :

The Assam Government and Administration are deadly repressive upon the Plains Tribals particularly the Bodo Youths and Students. Whenever the Plains Tribals demand and cry for justice, constitutional and legitimate Rights they are meted out with brutal police atrocities and torture. On the pretext of forged cases the Assam Police forces in Tribal areas, arrest the innocent Tribal Youths and Students indiscriminately, strip them into naked and beat up and torture mercilessly in an inhuman way. The cause is nothing but simply for demanding a Separate State and struggling for preservation of their own identity and culture.

The Assam Government, administration and police forces are deadly anti-tribal and they are out to crush down the uprising of the Plains Tribals particularly the Bodos. Excessive police atrocities, indiscriminate arrest, torture started since the demand of Separate State got birth in 1967. On the 22nd May, 1968 police opened fire indiscriminately at Kokrajbar upon a peaceful but huge Mistle of PTCA, many were grievously injured in the firing. The excessive police atrocities, indiscriminate mass arrest, heavy torture during the vigorous Roman Script Movement for Bodo Language in 1974-75 cannot be vividly described here. That was a reign of terror and an all out effort of State Govt. to crush down totally the movement and uprising of Bodos. Thus the Bodos did not get Roman Script which was a deprivation of Fundamental Rights. During Emergency also hundreds of public leaders, students and youths had to go to jail.

In many occasions, numbers of time, police has been arresting indiscriminately on the pretext of forged cases on political ground and have tortured the youths and students of ABSU very badly.

Of late, police raided Kokrajbar College Boys' Hostel and several lodges at Kokrajbar, arrested, beaten up seriously the students during the last part of September, 1986 on purely political ground.

Why Separate State

Recently, again for political cause, police arrested altogether 36 students and public and tortured heavily within the period from 27th April to 25th May, 1987 and raided randomly several Bodo villages in Dotma, Serlanguri, Kachugaon, Simbargaon areas of Kokrajbar District, causing heavy losses of properties of several number of families. The District Administrations throughout the State of Assam have arrested more than five thousand ABSU volunteers since the 27th August, 1987 till to-day during and after ABSU's 17-hour, 24-hour and 36-hour Bandhs on the 27th August, 9th September and 24th September, 1987 respectively on demand of Separate Union Territory in the north bank of the Brahmaputra, District Councils in the south bank of the Brahmaputra, inclusion of Boro-Kocharis of Karbi Anglong into the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution and other 89 demands. The arrested volunteers were heavily beaten up and tortured in Police Station and Outpost lock-ups. Till to-day, ABSU workers have to keep absconding to escape arrest and torture by police.

What is more dreaded is that unprecedented excessive police atrocities, operations, arrest and torture are still going on upon the ABSU workers and supporters and it is apprehended that it will reach the peak while the movement for Separate State gets vigorous turn. This is very obvious.

So, can the tribals hope justice under this repressive and bloody Assam Government without a Separate State?

(iv) A Conspiracy to Massacre Bodos :

The AGP Government has taken up very ugly policies to drag out the tribals into the street with their anti-tribal policies and shoot them to dead and thus massacre the Bodos in large scale. Along with the gaining momentum of ABSU's movement for separate state the AGP, AIYCF and the AASU are campaigning to resist the movement physically. It is unfortunate that those forces are trying to build up civil war against the Bodos. The ruling AGP party under the leadership of Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mahanta is taking pioneering role to cause civil war and commit genocide of Bodos. No doubt, the Bodos will be massacred in large scale with this giant Governmental, Administrative and armed police machineries during this civil war spearheaded by AGP.

As for instance, a class X student of Kokrajbar Higher Secondary Mr. Sujit Narzary was attacked and killed at Nathkuchi (Tihu Chowk) by the AASU supporter chauvinist Assamese people on the 12th June, 1987 while

Why Separate State

along with others were returned to Kokrajhar from attending a huge ABSU Mass Rally at Judge's field, Gauhati on demand of Separate Homeland—a Union Territory and other 91 demands. On the other hand, the Assam police opened fire at Esilangpara near Rowia Chariali in Darrang District while the ABSU volunteers were blocking a Highroad by sitting peacefully to enforce the 24-hour tribal area bandh on the 9th Sept, 1987. Two volunteers—Kabiram Basumatary (25) and Alendra Basumatary (18) were shot dead on the spot and one Shri Sobia Goyary was seriously injured by bullet in the firing.

Again, the police opened fire on the National Highway near Serfanguri in Kokrajhar District on the 25th Sep, 1987 and shot dead one Obiram Musahary (25) and injured Shri Shudev Brahma (16) seriously while the ABSU gave a call for 36-hour tribal area bandh starting from 24th, 1987.

On the 9th Sept, 1987 the AGP, AASU and AJYCP supporters directly and physically resisted ABSU's 24-hr. bandh at Gohpur and they attacked ABSU volunteers where large number of Bodo girls were seriously injured. There was no action from the side of police. Rather, police sided with the culprits. Dangerously, the attackers carried automatic weapons, rifles, stenguns, machineguns, grenades, bombs etc.

In Bengaigaon also the AGP and AASU activists and supporters directly obstructed ABSU's 24-hr. bandh programme on the 9th Sept, 1987.

The AGP Govt. itself is instigating the people to resist the movement physically and to cause bloodshed. As such it is evident that there is a deeprooted conspiracy to massacre the Bodos.

Therefore, it is the duty of the Central Government to protect and safeguard the Bodos and others plains tribals by creating a separate Union Territory with immediate effect to save the situation from worsening, because, if the situation is allowed to drift, it will be hazardous for all.

(v) Better Administration:

No doubt, creation of a separate Union Territory will bring a better administration for the plains tribals. Because, that will not be an anti-tribal Government but will ensure security, peace, development to the plains tribal people. That will be a Tribal State and it will have to look after all the interests of the tribals.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBALS

The measures taken by the Assam Government for the development of tribals are quite ineffective but totally false. The schemes of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSU), the Tribal Development Corporation, Tribal Development Authority, Integrated Tribal Development Project, Welfare of Scheduled Tribes & Backward classes, Tribal Research Institute etc. meant for the developments of Tribals utterly failed to protect the interests of tribals and would not bring the expected and adequate developments of the Plains Tribals of Assam. The Plains Tribals also could not enjoy the facilities properly provided in the Articles 46 and 275 of Indian constitution due to the discriminatory policies of Assam Govt. On the other hand, these are nothing but only defective instruments to protect the interests of Tribals. Moreover, as because, Ministers as well as the bureaucrats of Assam Govt. are anti-tribal, nothing of these measures are implemented in true sense, rather, they are engaged in conspiracies against the tribals. Nor the Government itself is interested at all in the matter of development of tribals.

As such, without a separate state for Plains Tribals no progress of tribals can be achieved whatsoever Policies are adopted to allure the tribals under this anti-tribal Assam Government.

LAND PROBLEM

Land problem is the most burning problem of tribals. In fact, tribals cannot live without land; without land, lives of common tribal people become very much miserable which is now happening to tribals of Assam.

Now, if the families have become practically landless whereas 80% of tribals depend on agriculture. Little plots of agricultural lands cannot suffice tribals to procure a good harvest to cover up whole year for their maintenance of food. As a result, most of the rural tribal families are half-starved.

The so-called protective measure of Tribal Belts and Blocks provided in the chapter X of Assam Land Revenue Regulation Act, 1886 which is practically a mere Act, have not been protected at all for the interests of the tribals. All the tribal villages and areas which have not been covered by Tribal Belts and Blocks. In Assam, there are as many as forty-five (45) Tribal Belts & Blocks now covering an area of total 1,25,28,320 B—1K-10 La of land but nowhere they have been preserved by the enforcement of law to the reality. The list of Tribal Belts & Blocks is given below:—

STATEMENT OF TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS DISTRICT-WISE WITH AREAS

District	Name of Tribal Belts or Blocks	Area in Bighas
Gadgaon (undivided)	1) Sidli Tribal Belts RD. 69/45/29, dated 30th August 1948.	4,61,509 Bighas.
	2) Bijni Tribal Block RD. 69/45/29, dated 30th August 1948.	3,02,545 "
	3) Santal Colony Tribal Block RSD. 9/77/11, dated 24th August 1947.	57,930 "
	4) Bordamal Tribal Block RSD. 14/81/12, dated 9th August 1948.	18,592B—3K—18L.
	6) Dotna Tribal Belt. RSD. 8/82/10, dated 16th June 1933.	38,174B—3K—15L.
	7) Balaghat Nayekganj Tribal Block. RSD. 1/83/15, dated 5th July 1944.	78,777B—0K—9L.
	8) South Kamrup (Chayaganj) Tribal Belt No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	3,02,352 Bighas

Why Separate

9) South Kamrup (Guwahati Tribal Belt) No. RD. 74/46/172, dated 27th March 1959.	7,72,464 "
10) Tamulpur Tribal Belt, No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	4,62,637 "
11) Bakla Tribal Belt, No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	3,77,512 "
12) Chayaganj Tribal Belt, No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	2,64,010 "
13) Goharilhan Tribal Block, No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	38,348 "
14) Bajegon Tribal Block, No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	6,526 "
15) Kharija Bijni Tribal Block, No. RD. 74/46/161, dated 22nd August 1949.	27,542 "
Darrang (undivided) 16) Golpur Tribal Block No. RD. 90/46/82, dated 2nd December 1950.	5,666 "
17) Halpara Tribal Belt No. TAD/REV/73/50/26/43, dated 13th March 1951.	19,36,000 "
18) Kalaignon Tribal Belt No. RD. 74/46/119, dated 12th July 1948.	11,16,336 "
19) Tetelibhampur Tribal Block No. RD. 74/46/119, dated 12th July 1948.	10,117 "
20) Kaicha Para Tribal Block No. RD. 74/46/119, dated 12th July 1948.	9,656 "
21) Tezaj Tribal Block No. RD. 74/46/119, dated 12th July 1948.	8,857 "
22) Ibhaya Khat Tribal Block No. RD. 74/46/129, dated 12th July 1948.	9,299 "
23) Dalgan Tribal Block No. RD. 74/46/119, dated 12th July 1948.	38,299 "

Why Separate State.

North			
Lakhimpur-24)	North Lakhimpur (Submountain)	6,00,160	"
	Tribal Belts No. RD. 92/46/34, dated 28th April 1948.		
25)	North Lakhimpur (Reverine Tribal)	4,93,680	"
	Block No. RD. 92/46/34, dated 28th April 1948.		
26)	Abor Misimi Tirap Tribal Belt No.	34,84,800	"
	TAD/REV/73/50/43, dated 13th March 1951.		
27)	Murkongselex Jonai Tribal Belt No. 28th		
	TAD/REV/73/50/34, dated April 1948.		
Nagaon-28)	Barkacharigaon Tribal Block No.	22,090	"
	RD. 91/46/80, dated 19th September 1950.		
29)	Bhalukhari Tribal Block No. RD.	2,466	"
	91/46/94, dated 17th November 1950.		
30)	Chagou Tribal Block No. RD.	27,866	"
	91/46/94, dated 17th November 1950.		
31)	Tetelia Tribal Block No. RD. 91/	17,761	"
	46/94, dated 17th November 1950.		
32)	Gobha Tribal Block No. RD. 91/46/	30,190	"
	94, dated 17th November 1950.		
33)	Phalguri Tribal Block No. RD. 91/46/	28,071	"
	94, dated 17th November 1950.		
34)	Amsol Tribal Block No. RD. 91/46/	19,926	"
	94, dated 17th November 1950.		
35)	Bagatiguri Tribal Block No. 91/46/	25,759	"
	94, dated 17th November 1950.		
36)	Bardolom Lankabheta Tribal Belt No.	22,176	"
	RD. 9/46/211, dated 18th September 1953.		

Why Separate State

37)	Amguri Chang-Phulaguri Chang Tribal	6,851	"
	Block No. RD. 91/46/294, dated 1st February 1958,		
38)	Jamadari Tribal Block No. RD. 91/46/313,	8,398	"
	dated 29th June 1958.		
39)	Burangapathar Tribal Block No. RD.	21,451	"
	91/46/313, 29th June 1958.		
40)	Barpathar Tribal Block No. RSD.		
	11/61/25, dated 6th April 1974,		
41)	Kaki Tribal Block No. RSD. 63/68/33	4,988B-1K-14Ls	
	dated 6th December 1978,		
42)	Kandura Tribal Block No. RSD.	10,346B-3K-4Ls	
	4/6/9, dated 12th April 1979.		
43)	Batabarigaon Tribal Block No. RSD.	9,794 Bighas.	
	34/76/28, dated 15th March 1982.		
Dhubri-44)	Parbatjar Tribal Belt No. RSD.	3,23,186B-2K-5Ls	
	5/82/44, dated 3rd November 1984.		
Kokrajhar-45)	Ripu Tribal Belt No. RSD. 5/82/43,	1,60,643B-2K-16Ls	
	dated 23rd November 1984.		

Total area—1,25,28,320B—1K—10Ls

But, unfortunately, lakhs of non-tribal encroachers have illegally occupied lands in tribal Belts & Blocks and they have got land pattas also in connivance with the Govt. officials. Mr. Thanesar Boro, the Revenue Minister of Assam himself has recently admitted that 2 lakh 13 thousand and 40 bighas of lands in tribal Belts and Blocks are under the illegal occupation of non-tribal encroachers. The figure of lands illegally occupied by the non-tribal encroachers in tribal Belts and Blocks may be much more higher than that. As such, tens of thousands of common tribal mass people have been badly exploited and rendered landless and shelterless. Now

Why Separate State.

Many of them have become just like refugees. They are not even allowed to live in the forests or grazing fields. They are being evicted till today. N. Dhebar Commission suggested to cancel the illegally alienated land grants and restore back to the original land owners in the case of tribal Belts & Blocks with retrospective effect from 26th January 1950 but nowhere it has been implemented. The Assam Govt. claims that, A. D. C.s, 19 S. D. C.s and other grade III and grade IV employees have been appointed to deal with encroachment cases in tribal Belts & Blocks along with time to time instructions and directives to D. C.s and S. D. O.s to carry out the functions of tribal Belts & Blocks. But, practically, they have done nothing.

Now, only on account that the earlier as well as present Governments failed to protect the tribal areas and if they fail to free the tribal areas from encroachers, tribals are entitled to get a separate State. Non-tribal encroachers such as non-idegenous people have formed majority in tribal areas and oppressed the tribal people and thus interests of tribals are not protected. As such for the protection of the interests of tribals, ethnic identity of Bodos, they are entitled to get Separate State.

On the other hand, so-called Greater Assamese nationality is non-existent. Had it existed, Bodos would not have been oppressed so badly. So, Separate State must be created.

(ii) SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS :

Tribals are suffering from serious economic crisis. Although the percentage of people below poverty line in national level is either 48 or 50, the percentage of tribal people below poverty line shall not be less than 70%. As such, the mode of living of tribal people is also below standard. In the same way their social way of life is also hindered. Due to serious economic crisis education of tribal students is also badly hampered. Has ever the Government taken up effective measures to redress such critical problems of tribals ?

Why Separate State

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Job opportunity is also another most vital factor for demanding a separate state. In Assam, only 10% job reservation is provided for plains tribals. So, tribals can never get more than 10% jobs. Even that 10% job is also discriminated. Moreover, there are as many as 24 (twentyfour) tribes and sub-tribes in Assam. Again allocation and appointment of jobs are given on the basis of political party and communal lines. So, Bodo medium students and youths are not given State jobs on the plea that they do not know Assamese. The State Govt. has set Assamese as a pre-requisite in State services violating the Articles 15 & 16 of Indian Constitution and clause No. 7 of Assam Official Language Act, 1960. Large backlogs of S/T reserved jobs are lying vacant till today. Wherever Separate State is created not less than 70% tribals will get jobs. The backlogs of S/T (plains) reserved quotas in Assam Government's employment can be seen from the following tables.

ASSAM (AS ON 31st MARCH, 1977)

No. of Total Employee - 1,56,909.

No. of S/T (plains) Employee - 10,262.

(Govt. Offices - 6,337 + In schools - 3,925)

Percentage of S/T(P) Employee - 6.5%

Percentage of S/T (P) Employee's backlog - 3.5%

(Source : Directorate of Economics & Statistics)

In Assam Government's secretariate itself the backlog of S/T (P) Employees can be seen from the following table :-

Why Separate State,

Statement showing the representation of the Reserved Community S/T (P) in Assam Secretariate (C).

Year	Class of Service	Total strength	P. C. showing reserved Qrs. in post in respect of S/T (P) 10%	No. of incumbents already employed reserved Community S/T (P)	P.C. of backlog in respect of reserved Community S/T (P)
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Deputy Secy.	12	1.20	1	0.20
	Under Secy.	42	4.20	1	3.20
	Special Officer	1	0.10	Nil	0.10
	Stenographer R Gr.-I.	88	8.80	Nil	8.80
	Class-II Supdt.	118	11.80	2	9.80
	As on Class-III UDA	471	47.10	30	17.10
1986	Class-III LDA	610	61.00	32	28.0
	Steno. Gr. II.	60	6.00	2	4.0
	Steno. Gr. III	66	6.60	1	5.60
	Typist (Ordy.)	301	30.10	14	16.10
	Typist (Select Grade)	28	2.80	2	0.80
	Driver	59	5.90	5	0.90
	Record Supplier	13	1.3	Nil	1.30
	Grade-IV	832	83.20	17	66.20

Vide Personnel S. A. (E) Deptt. Letter No. (E) 19,77,174 dt. 6.6.86. Interestingly, from the above table it is obvious, even in the Grade IV in Assam Secretariate the percentage of S/T (P) employees backlog is 66.20%. Is it due to the fact that the tribals are inefficient even in Grade-IV jobs? Is it not deliberate and discrimination?

Why Separate State?

EXPLOITATION BY NON-TRIBALS

A systematic as well as random exploitation and domination of Non-Tribal people is continuing upon the tribal people of Assam under the aegis of Assam Government. The plains tribal people have been and still being exploited by the Non-Tribals in the matter of land, education, culture, job opportunity etc. Non-Tribal staffs, officers & Administrators dominate and exploit the tribals in their own tribal areas. There is no effort or policy to check such exploitation from the end of Assam Government.

CRISIS OF IDENTITY

Not only development, but the basic question is survival, preservation and growth of ethnic identity of tribals and these are the most genuine factors of demanding a Separate State. The idea of Assamese movement on foreign national issue was also the same—the crisis of identity. The Bodos also want to survive their ethnic identity and here arises an ethnic clash between the Assamese and the Bodos. Without separation or division of Assam this ethnic clash will not meet an end. Therefore, separation is a must.

(I) ETHNICAL BASIS :

A Separate State can be created on the basis of ethnical consideration. As for instance, Mizos have got Mizoram, Khasis, Jaintias and Garos have got Meghalaya, Nagas have got Nagaland, Manipuris have got Manipur, Bengalis have got Bengal, Orias have got Orissa, Tamils have got Tamil-nadu, Marathis have got Maharashtra, Sikhs have got Punjab and the like. So, Bodos and other ethnical tribes must get a Separate State. As such Assam should be divided further on the basis of ethnical consideration in between the Tribals & Non-Tribals.

Why Separate State?

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Bodos have a distinct and rich language and culture. Bodo is a medium of instruction upto the Secondary stage and an M. U. L. subject in Colleges of Gauhati University. It is also an Associate Official Language in Kokrajhar District and Udalguri Sub-division. The Gauhati University has introduced Bodo as a Diploma course. Bodo language has a rich literature. So, Bodo is a distinct and rich Tibeto-Burmese language.

Bodo culture is also rich and standard culture which is quite different from those of the Assamese. The mode of living, ways of thinking, food, religion, culture, beliefs of tribals and non-tribal Assamese are quite different and distinct. So, adjustment and assimilation of tribal languages and cultures with those of the Assamese is quite impossible in the present set up.

So, Assam should be divided on linguistic and cultural basis— one for tribal languages and cultures and the other for Assamese language and culture. The former Prime Minister of India Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested re-organisation of states on linguistic basis and as such Assam also must be re-organised on linguistic basis.

GEOGRAPHIC, AREA AND POPULATION FACTOR

The proposed Union Territory has got all feasibility and it satisfies all criteria for a Separate State. It comprises a contiguous area starting from Sonkosh river—West Bengal Assam border on the west to Sadiya on the east in the north bank of the Brahmaputra of Assam where the Plains Tribal people are mostly concentrated. The proposed Union Territory contains 42,96,000 tribal population out of total 64 lakhs tribal population in Assam. The tribal population is 70% of the total population in the proposed Union Territory. The proposed Union Territory comprises only the tribal major

Why Separate State

ity areas and excludes the non-tribal majority areas. Therefore, the proposed Union Territory area is a tribal compact area. On the other hand, natural boundary is not an overall necessary factor for creating a Separate State which is evident from the existing states. Even, Contiguity is also not a rigid factor for a Separate State as it evident from the undivided Goa, Daman, Diu Union Territory. As regards area, Assam and the proposed Union Territory will have enough area after the division of Assam as well. Population, we do have enough. Bodos alone constitute 40 lakhs population in Assam out of which 33 lakhs 50 thousand population will fall within the proposed Union Territory. Mizos have got a Separate State with merely 5 lakhs Mizo population.

The minority tribal population living in the south bank of the Brahmaputra should be given District Councils in the tribal compact areas for their minimum protection because, they will have to live in Assam after the creation of Union Territory in the north bank of the Brahmaputra.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

(i) POLITICAL SELF-DETERMINATION :

The Plains Tribals of Assam must have to enjoy the internationally accepted principle of right to political self-determination. As such tribals must have a Self-Government in Assam. Let the Assamese also enjoy the right to political self-determination, survive and prosper in a Separate Homeland and the Plains Tribals also must be allowed to survive and prosper in a Separate Homeland. Political self-determination only will be able to bring complete and concrete political as well as all-round security to the Plains Tribals people of Assam. Alternative to that, nowhere the Tribals can feel safe and secure. A Separate State—a Homeland for Tribals only would be able to make the Tribals prosperous nationalities.

Why Separate State.

PHILOSOPHY OF SMALLER STATES :

The idea and political philosophy of smaller states given by Late Jayaprakash Narayan should be experimented. The smaller states should be made true federating units of India with more autonomy. This theory will solve the problems of communal clashes, unemployment to a great extent. The small Administrative units may also progress rapidly. Of course, a socialistic political philosophy, administrative set-up, economic structure and systems will be much more favourable for solving our multi-farious problems of India in a radical manner.

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

What does the constitution of India provide in its preamble to the people of India? It guarantees democracy, liberty, justice, equality of status and opportunity, security to the people of India. Have the tribals got those guarantees? Definitely not.

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political ; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity ; and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation ;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

The tribals have not got democracy, liberty and justice in true sense.

Tribals have been deprived of equality of status and opportunity and they have no security under Assam Government.

Article 2. Admission or establishment of new states.

Parliament may by law admit into the Union, or establish, new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit.

Why Separate State.

Art. 3 : Formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states.

Parliament may by law :-

- a) Form a new state by separation of territory from any state or by uniting two or more states or parts of states or by uniting any territory to a part of any state, (b) increase the area of any state, (c) diminish the area of any state, (d) alter the boundaries of any state, (e) alter the name of any state.

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

[Explanation I.— In this article, in clause (a) to (e), "State" includes a union territory, but in the proviso, "State" does not include a union territory.

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

Art. 4. Laws made under articles 2 and 3 to provide for the amendment of the First and the Fourth Schedules and supplemental, incidental and consequential matters.

1) Any law referred to in article 2 or article 3 shall contain such provisions for the amendment of the First Schedule and the Fourth Schedule as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of the law and may also contain such supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions (including provisions as to representation in Parliament and in the Legislature or Legislatures of the State or States affected by such law) as Parliament may deem necessary.

2) No such law as aforesaid shall be deemed to be an amendment of this constitution for the purposes of article 368.

The All Bodo Students' Union has been demanding to create a Separate Union Territory in the north bank of the Brahmaputra for the Plains Tribals of Assam under the provisions of Articles 2, 3 and 4 of Indian Constitution.

The Plains Tribals of Assam have not been allowed to enjoy the provisions of Articles 2, 3 and 4 of Indian Constitution wherein the provisions of creation of new states lay.

As such the Plains Tribals of Assam must be allowed to enjoy full Constitutional Rights and Provisions in true sense and thus should be allowed to grow according to their own merits and genius through the creation of Separate State. They must not be kept under the suppression for an indefinite period.

UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF THE COUNTRY :

As because we are demanding a Union Territory i.e. a Centrally Ruled State, the unity and integrity of the country will be strengthened rather than taking separatist trend. Where is suppression of people's will by brutal force may lead to counter productive. The Plains Tribals of Assam want to be ruled by the Centre but not by the biased Assam Government.

QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

What is meant by Human Rights ?

The most important of Human Rights are those that protect the security of the person. Violation of such rights includes genocide, slavery, torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, denial of fair trial and invasion of the home.

Second is that bundle of rights affecting the fulfilment of such vital needs as food, clothing, shelter, healthcare and education in the scheme of President Franklin Roosevelt's four Freedoms, Freedom from want.

Third, there is the right to enjoy Civil and Political liberties, these include not only freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion and freedom of assemble and to petition to redress grievances."

Human rights in the United Nations Organisation provides a covenant which runs, thus— "The Covenant on civil and political rights which came into force on 23rd March, 1976 ensures the right to life, liberty, security and privacy of person and the right to be protected from torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. The Covenant provides that person belonging to ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities, shall not be denied, the right in community with other members of group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion or to use their own language."

The Plains Tribal people of Assam have been denied these human rights by the Government of Assam in one or the other way. Excessive abuses of human rights have been committed by the State Govt. in respect of the Bodos of Assam.

Excessive police atrocities, raid, mass arrest, inhuman tortures are being continued upon the ABSU activists, supporters and Bodo people due to the present political movement for a Separate State. The state Govt. of Assam, Police forces are out to commit genocide of Bodos and crush down the movement of tribals for a Separate Homeland.

A Bodo student Sujit Narzary was attacked and killed by chauvinist Assamese people at Tibu Chowk on the 12th June, 1987. Another ABSU volunteer Sri Subhas Basumatary had to lose one eye-sight due to that attack by Assamese chauvinist people.

Police forces shot dead two ABSU volunteers viz. Kabiram Basumatary and Alendra Basumatary at Lailanpara in Darrang District on the 9th Sept, 1987. One Shri Sobin Goyary was seriously injured by bullet in that firing.

Again, Police fired and shot dead one ABSU volunteer Obiram Mushahary and seriously injured one Shri Shudev Brahma near Serfainguri in Kokrajhat District on the 25th Sept, 1987.

So, Bodos have no security of life in Assam. Excessive Police torture on ABSU activists and supporters cannot be vividly described here. So, Bodos have no Human Rights in Assam. That is why a safer Homeland is a must.

SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF BODOS :

As it is evident from above discussions, Bodos cannot survive in Assam, their language, culture, ethnic identity and security are in peril in Assam. At such to save Bodos and other tribals a Separate Homeland is a must. In a Homeland only, the Bodos and other down-trodden tribals can get

security. Save the Union of India,

Why Separ

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Let us have a look at some small States of North Eastern Region, the Union Territories of Indian Union and some Sovereign Countries for comparative studies as to the Area, Population, Economic viability, Geographical and Historical factors with that of the demanded proposed Union Territory.

STATES OF NORTH EASTERN REGION

1. ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Area : 83,743 Sq. Km.

Population : 6,32,000.

Created Union Territory on 20-1-1972.

Recently Conferred full Statehood.

2. MEGHALAYA

Area : 22,429 Sq. Km.

Population : 13,35,819.

Created full State on 21-2-1972.

3. MANIPUR

Area : 22,327 Sq. Km.

Population : 14,20,953.

Formerly Princely State. Merged with Indian Union in 1949.

4. MIZORAM

Area : 21,081 Sq. Km.

Population : 4,93,757.

Created Union Territory on 21-1-1972.

Recently Conferred Statehood.

Why Separate State

5. NAGALAND

Area : 16,579 Sq. Km.

Population : 7,74,930.

Created State on 13th December, 1953.

6. TRIPURA

Area : 10,416 Sq. Km.

Population : 20,53,038.

Formerly Princely State. Merged with Indian Union on the 15th October, 1949.

7. PROPOSED UNION TERRITORY (DEMANDED)

Area : 25,478.1 Sq. Km.

Population : 61,37,914 (Provisional)

Not yet created.

8. REST ASSAM

Area : 53,044.9 sq. km.

Population : 1,63,61,086.

Yet to be divided further.

Out of all the States of North Eastern Region except that of Assam, the demanded Proposed Union Territory will be more economically viable State than those of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya etc. because, all these are Hills States with hilly terrains while the proposed Union Territory has extensive fertile agricultural lands from Sankosh to Sodiya. On the other hand, the proposed Union Territory has resources of forests and timber, Flora and Fauna, Tea Gardens and Petroleum Industry etc. Historical and Geographical factors for the creation of proposed Union Territory are self-evident. Tribal compactness was shattered only through calculated administrative conservatism and infiltration of non-tribals into tribal areas, and Bell

Let us look again at the small Union Territories of Indian Union and judge how they have been economically viable.

UNION TERRITORIES OF INDIAN UNION.

1. LAKSHADEEP

Area : 32 sq. Km. ; Population : 40,249.

2. ANDAMAN & NICOBAR

Area : 8249 Sq. Km. ; Population : 1,82,741.

3. DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI

Area : 491 Sq. Km. ; Population : 1,03,676.

4. PANDICHERY

Area : 492 Sq. Km. ; Population 6,04,471.

By the latest Goa has been conferred Statehood which is also very small in its area.

So, what constitutes the criteria for creating a State or Union Territory? Geographic, Historic, Political, Administrative and Economic viability factors or what? While Goa, Daman, Diu had been Union Territory together geographical contiguity factor was not taken into consideration. So, geographical contiguity also cannot be the factor of creating a Separate State.

Of course, all these factors are satisfied in respect of the proposed Union Territory.

Again, let us see how some small countries in the world have been economically viable and Independent and Sovereign.

INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

1. NAURU

Area : 20.9 Sq. Km.

Population : 8421.

Location : Central Pacific

2. SAN MARIO

Area : 61 Sq. Km.

Pop : 50,000.

Loc : Adriatic side at the tip of Italy.

3. MALTA

Area : 316 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 3,80,000
Loc. : Central Mediterranean Sea.

4. MONACO

Area : 195 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 27,963
Loc. : France's South-eastern Mediterranean coast.

5. MONTERRAT

Area : 102 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 12,074
Loc. : Leeward Island

6. MALDIVES

Area : 298 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 1,68,000
Loc. : Indian ocean.

7. MACAO

Area : 15.5 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 2,61,680
Loc. : South China.

8. BERMUDA

Area : 53.3 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 54,893
Loc. : Western North Atlantic.

9. TUVALU

Area : 26 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 7349
Loc. : Western Pacific Ocean.

10. ANTIGUA & BARBUDA

Area : 280 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 79,000
Loc. : Islands in West Indies.

11. ST. KITTS-NEVIS

Area : 269 Sq. Km.
Pop. : 44,109
Loc. : Two islands in East Caribbean.

12. VATICAN CITY STATE

Area : 0.4 Sq. Km.
Pop. : about 1000
Loc. : Inside the City of Rome.

Such examples of small Independent Countries can be given further. So, observing their Area, Population, Economic viability, Sovereignty, why cannot our proposed Union Territory be created within the Union of India ? What is the harm if it is created ?

A NATIONALITY ISSUE

The Problems of Bodos and the demand and movement of Bodos and other downtrodden Plains Tribals of Assam are nothing but a Nationality Issue. The Bodos have a genuine aspiration to establish a distinct Bodo Nationality and to get recognition in the world as a civilised and advanced Nationality. Without a Separate State it is not possible. As for example, a Bodo Cultural Party which won the first prize in National competition held at Hyderabad and was selected for sending to Moscow in Festival India was dropped by Assam Government and Assamese Bihu Cultural Party was sent in its place. On the other hand, Bodo cultural programmes have been exhibited in Assamese Bodo dance or like that as was done in the last Apna Utav held in New Delhi. The first Bodo documentary film 'DAINA' was also recognised as Assamese Bodo language film and many instances are there.

FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

Creation of a Separate State for the Plains Tribal people of Assam only will be able to bring peace for the Tribals of Assam and the ethnic clash between the Assamese and Tribals will meet an end. That is, both the Tribals and the Assamese will get peace only through division of Assam. No peace will come in Assam unless Separate State for Plains Tribals is created.

Further, it is obvious that a Separate Tribal State can bring rapid progress to the Plains Tribal people of Assam rather than the Anti-Tribal Assam Government. If the Tribals can achieve rapid progress, why Separate State

that all will be a part and parcel of prosperous India. India will be advanced only when the backward communities can march forward towards progress.

Needless to speak that creation of a Separate State for Tribals will evolve broad avenue for job opportunities for hundreds of thousands of Tribal youths and thus will bring sound economic condition to thousands of Tribal families. That Administration too will not be Anti-Tribal as because Tribal officers will be available to administer impartially at the instance of the new Government under the Separate State. As such, Progress will be rapid.

THE NEED FOR POLITICAL POWER

What a nationality needs for redressal of all its grievances is the Political power. Without political power, also a nationality cannot grow as a distinct nationality.

(i) FINANCIAL POWER :

For the solutions of the Bodos and other Plains Tribals a special financial assistance is necessary. But, the Plains Tribals of Assam has no Separate Financial Power to redress their grievances. So, the tribals must get a Separate Financial Power for their development.

(ii) ADMINISTRATIVE POWER :

The Plains Tribals of Assam have no Separate Administrative Power of their own and they have been very badly discriminated by the Administration of Assam Government. Their state is just like underdog in Assam. So, a Separate Administrative set-up is necessary for the Plains Tribals of Assam.

(iii) POWER TO LEGISLATION :

The Problems of the Plains Tribals require many special legislation for their protection of language, land, ethnic identity and culture etc, which the Plains Tribals lack in Assam. It is one of the most important factors for a Separate State.

(iv) EXECUTIVE POWER AND INDEPENDENCY :

An Executive Power is must to carry out independently the schemes for the development and unity of the Plains Tribals of Assam. So, the ABSU does not want any arrangement within Assam, autonomy or sub-state within the State Assam. The arrangement must not be subordinate to Assam.

So, a Separate State with the status of Union Territory with FINANCIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWERS is a must for the Plains Tribals of Assam.

THE MOVEMENT FOR SEPARATE STATE

The All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) has been launching a democratic, peaceful and non-violent movement the 2nd March, 1987 for the creation of a Separate Union Territory for the Plains Tribals of Assam in the north bank of the Brahmaputra, creation of District Councils in the Tribal Compact areas in the south bank of the Brahmaputra, inclusion of Bodo-Kocharis of Karbi-Anglong into the sixth schedule of Indian Constitution and other 99-point demands.

A GLANCE AT THE ABSU MOVEMENT

1st Phase : 2nd March, 1987.

Held Mass Rallies in the levels of District Committees, ABSU.
Declaration of starting of Mass Revolution.



Central ABSU Mass Rally at Judge field, Gauhati on June 12, 1987.

2nd Phase : 1 March, 1987.

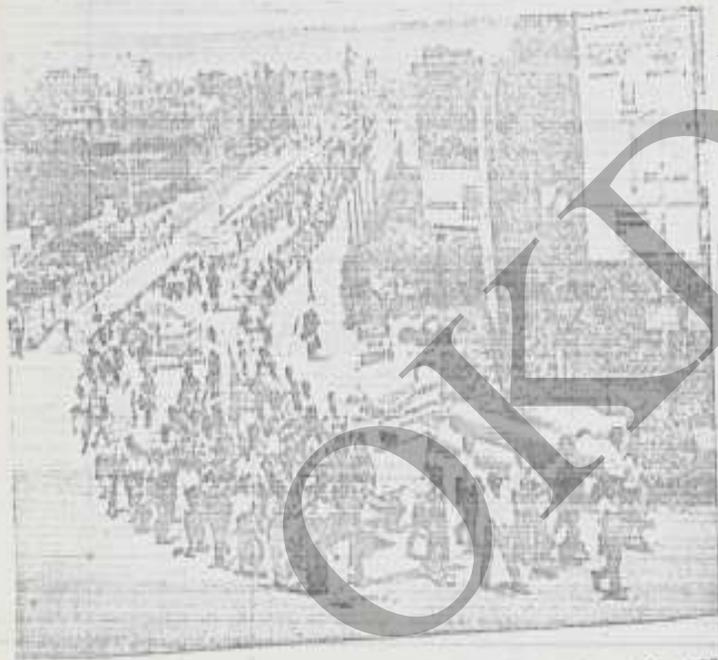
Mass demonstration in front of D.C., S.D.O. and S.D.C. Offices and submission of Copies of Memorandum which were submitted to the President and the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Minister and the Governor of Assam.

3rd Phase : 13th April, 1987.

Anchala Committee (ABSU) Level Mass Rallies through out the State of Assam.

4th Phase : 12th June, 1987.

Central ABSU Mass Rally at Judge Field, Gauhati. That was the ever largest Mass Rally at Gauhati held by the Bodos of Assam.



Central ABSU Mass Rally at Gauhati on June 12, 1987.

Sujit Narzary, a class X student of Kokrajbar Higher Secondary School was attacked and killed by the chauvinist Assamese people at Tihu Chowk while he was returning to Kokrajbar after attending the Rally at Gauhati. He is the first Martyr of ABSU's movement for Separate State. Sri Subhas Basumatary lost one eye in that attack.

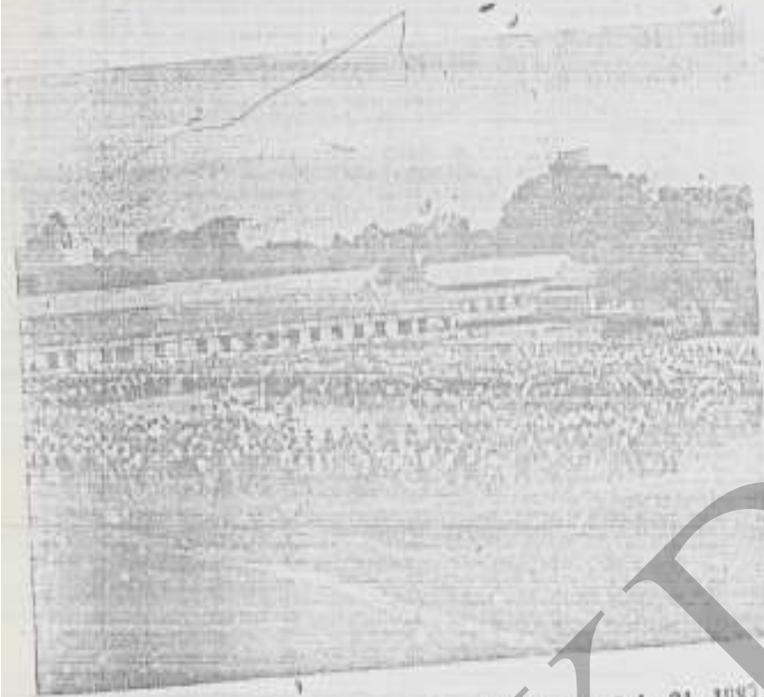


Cremation of Sujit Narzary who was murdered by chauvinist Assamese people.

16th June, 1987 : Protest day against the killing of Sujit Narzary by the chauvinist Assamese people. Rallies, boycott of classes, submission of Memorandum, wearing of black hedges were the parts of the protest day.

5th Phase : 2nd July, 1987. Central ABSU Mass Demonstration in front of Janata Bhawan, Djspur.

6th Phase : 21st July, 1987. Mass Dharmayoga (Religious Prayer) and oath taking for Separate State in District Committee levels. ABSU activists and supporters prayed the Almighty God and took oath to "Do or Die" for a Separate State. The Prayers were performed through their traditional Barhou, Brahma and Christian religious motifs.



Dharmayogna and oath taking at Kokrajhar on July 21, 1987.

7th Phase : 10th August, 1987. Mass Hunger Strike in front of D.C., S.D.O. & S.D.C. Offices. Thousands of ABSU volunteers were arrested.

8th Phase : 27th August, 1987. 12-hour Tribal Area Bandh which was spontaneous and a grand success throughout the State of Assam. Hundreds of ABSU volunteers were arrested and tortured.



ABSU Volunteers blocking railway at Kokrajhar during 12-hour Tribal Area Bandh.

9th Phase : 9th Sept., 1987. 24-hour Tribal Area Bandh. Police firing upon peaceful ABSU Volunteers who were sitting peacefully to block the 52 National Highway at Lailangpara near Rowta Chariali in Darrang District at about 2-30 P. M. of 9th Sept./87 killing Kabiram Basumatary (28) and Alendra Basumatary (18) on the spot and injured one Shri. Sobin Goyary seriously. The Bandh was a grand success. Thousands were seriously injured in Police lathicharge during the bandh and hundreds were arrested and tortured after the bandh.

10th Phase : 24th & 25th Sept, 1987. 36-hour Tribal Area Bandh. Police firing a National Highway near Serfanguri in Kokrajhar District at about 8-45 a.m. on the 25th Sept., 1987 killing Obiram Mushahary (25). He was shot dead from behind. One Shri Sadev Brahma (16) was seriously injured. Thousands of ABSU Volunteers were heavily beaten up in the police lathicharge during the bandh and arrested and tortured after the bandh.



Top : Dead body of Obiram Mushahary who was shot dead in police firing during 36-hour Tribal Area Bandh.
bottom : Silent procession with dead body.

3rd Oct, 1987 : Protest rallies in Anchalik ABSU Committee levels against the police firing, atrocities and killing of ABSU Volunteers. The District Administrations tried to prohibit the rallies by imposition of section 144 of Cr. P. C. but failed.

11th Phase : 12th Oct, 1987. Mass crying for Separate Homeland was observed in village levels where thousands of villagers participated.

12th Phase : 28th Oct, 1987. Cultural Rally and Procession at important public places throughout the state of Assam. Bodo culture and traditional musical instruments were exhibited in the rally.

13th Phase : 10th & 11th Nov., 1987. Mass Demonstration at Boat Club, New Delhi.

14th Phase : 26th to 28th Nov., 1987. 48-hour Rail Roko.

15th Phase : 9th to 11th Dec., 1987. 48-hour National Highway Bandh.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

THE INDIAN NATION

Published from Patna, Saturday, June 20, 1957.

Tribal Unrest in Assam

—by Ghaashyam Pardesi.

The Bodos are the second group of tribals in Assam who are demanding a separate state. In the last newsletter we had discussed the problems of the Karbis who are a hill tribe. The Bodos occupy most of the Assam Plains on the north bank of the river.

The Bodo country starts right from the West Bengal-Assam Border in the Western Assam and ends at Sadiya in the extreme north eastern Assam. Last week as a part of the agitation the Bodo Students Union organised one of the biggest rallies ever held in Guwahati by Assam's tribals.

Men, women clad in the traditional Bodo costumes and students from all over Assam assembled in the city to participate in the rally. More than ten thousand people walked the city streets in a three-kilometer-long procession. Their

main slogan was 'divide Assam 50 : 50'.

The growing feeling of alienation among Bodos is chiefly due to the 'anti-tribal attitude and policies of the past and the present Assam governments' says Mr. Upendra Nath Brahma president of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU). Our biggest problem is the land problem. If all our land passes into the hands of the non-tribals where would the Bodos go "he complains.

At many places along the national highway I saw the huge signboards on which the Bodo demands were written. We want a separate homeland Mr. Brahma says. The alienation and the separatist tendencies have increased during the 15-month long rule of the Asom Gana Parishad Government.

Why Separate State

To-day nearly 60 percent of a total number of four million Bodos and other plains tribals are estimated to be landless. Since more than 90 percent of them depend on land directly the increase in the population and the division of ancestral land among brothers have reduced the size of landholdings. Thus many landless Bodo peasants who earlier made a living out of the ADHIYAK SYSTEM are now of business. This has forced thousands of Bodos to enter the reserved forests which abound in their territory.

The problem has been further complicated by the government's policy of allowing non-tribals to settle down on the protected tribal lands. In 1971 about 5400 highas of forest land cleared of trees was opened for settlement in the Amtika forest range area near the Bhutan border. But the government also decided to settle 20,000 Hindu Bengali refugee families in the area.

Since then thousands of Bangladeshis have managed to bribe their way into the unreserved area. To-day the position is like this: around 60 percent of the total number of settlers are the non-tribal Bangladeshis; one-fourth of about 12,000 are Bodo families.

Why Separate State

There was a great rush of the Bangladeshis in 1976 to the Amtika area. This was a time when many tribal families were leaving the area and moving to Sivamori forest range near the national highway and closer to the Bodo minority area. The Bangladeshis have settled in the area with the connivance of the Assamese forest, revenue and police officers.

Later in 1984 the landless Bodos again came to Amtika area. But by this time there was no land available. The lakhs of non-tribals have no business to be in the protected tribal belt. Mr. Brahma says. The non-availability of land in the unreserved forest area has compelled the Bodo to move into the reserve forest areas nearby.

Around 17000 families are today living in the reserved Amtika forest area along the Thakial river coming from Bhutan. This reporter spent a day and a night in this forest area to understand the Bodo problem. Though the living conditions are very bad the encroachers do not seem to have any other option. They are in a minority in this area. Also the poorest.

In comparison, the Nepali and the Bengali settlers are far more prosperous. They have received political protection from the past Congress-I

government and control from the officials. There is absolutely no political protection they are exposing the fact also they have no process.

On the contrary they are facing the constant threat of eviction. In fact in May the forest and police officials carried out an indiscriminate violent campaign in the forest area. They destroyed the small and big houses of the tribals broke their utensils and took away the chickens.

These incidents took place in Amtika area in the Bitni village, Shihara Bhabhanpur and Dhanpur villages in Bishmuri forest range and Lakhipur village in the same range.

Evictions and the constant fear that any time the police might enter their homes have forced the poor tribals to join the Separatist movement.

This reporter toured the Bodo countryside for five days and met a cross section of the Bodos: intellectuals, landless peasants, big landowners and a large number of students. It was quite evident that in the past one year or so the movement for a Separate Union territory has gained sufficient momentum.

The Bodos feel that the political power is necessary to safeguard their lands and the cultural identity. Apart from this the area has not economically developed. It has remained an appendage to the main Assamese land mass in the valley and has received secondary attention from the Assamese rulers.

The present Assam government has adopted a hard line. The government is using, the students said naked police power to terrify us instead of solving our problems politically.— This writer also feels that the government is following a counter-productive policy.

In the past few months the police has arrested many ABSU activists and has raided many homes to drive away the student workers into hiding in the forests. This may eventually force the students to go underground. In one case that was the house of ABSU assistant general secretary Mr. Garin Basha Basumatary, the police party enjoyed pouring kerosene oil on 400 kilograms of rice and 800 kilograms of paddy which had been stored for future use. This is considerable loss for a farmer's family.

Why Separate State

THE HINDU

Delhi Edition, January 29, 1987.

Separate Union Territory for Bodos demanded in Assam.

From Our Staff Reporter

New Delhi, Jan. 28.

A nine member delegation of the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) Assam which called on the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi recently has demanded through a 25-point memorandum, the creation of a Union Territory for the plains tribal people of Assam in the northern valley of Brahmaputra. The Bodos number 40 lakhs of the two-crore population of Assam on the basis of their language affinity.

Addressing a press conference here today the President of the ABSU, Mr. Upendra Nath Brahma said the partisan and discriminatory policies being pursued by the Assam (Jana Parishad (AGP) government has injected a sense of insecurity among the plains tribals in the State. The only alternative course to ensure their security and development was the creation of a separate

administrative unit with the status of a Union Territory.

In his meeting with the ABSU leaders on January 22 the Prime Minister reportedly promised to examine their demands. Subsequently the delegation had a meeting with the Union Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, who promised to intervene in the matter of alleged eviction of thousands of indigenous tribals by the AGP Government on the pretext of encroachments.

Besides the creation of a union territory the memorandum was for extending the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to the tribal compact areas in the southern valley of the Brahmaputra, including Bodo-Kocharis of Karbi Anglong in the Sixth Schedule or creating a regional council for the non-Karbi tribes such as Bodo and Rengma Nagas within Karbi-Anglong Autonomous

Why separate State

Central Council. The AASU has also demanded establishment of a Central University at Kokrajhar, protection of belts and blocks and teaching of English as the medium of instruction in the colleges of Goalpara and Dibrugarh Universities.

Assam accord opposed: The AASU has vehemently opposed Clauses 8 and 10 of the Assam Accord and has urged the Centre to scrap them. It has alleged that on the basis of Clause 8 of the accord the AGP Government was trying to impose Assamese language and culture upon the indigenous tribal people.

On the basis of Clause 10, the Assam Government has initiated drastic measures to give indigenous tribal people from the forest and garden lands on the pretext of clearing encroachments. The AASU is apprehensive that the AGP Government may use the Assam Forest Protection Decree, enacted for external encroachments against the tribal people.

The AASU has also opposed the demand of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) for amending Articles 330 and 347 of the Constitution so as to make them inapplicable to Assam. The AASU has charged the AGP Government with using the extremist elements in the state to fight the indigenous tribal population.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA Calcutta, February 3, 1987.

BODOS TO LAUNCH STIR FROM MARCH 2

JANUARY 31 (Guwahati Office) "Assam has to be divided to create a union territory for the tribal people of the state. Any declaration of this is not acceptable to us," the president of the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), Mr. Upendra Nath Borah told us in a New Delhi hotel recently.

The Centre, he said, must realise that the problem in Assam today was ethnic. The economic and political problems flowed from the ethnic one.

The Bodos are the largest tribal group in Assam and the Bodo Students' Union claims a following of about 15 lakh students and youths out of total Bodo population of nearly 40 lakh.

The union delegation met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister in the last week of January, but was least satisfied with the talks. The union leaders felt that the Centre was "buying time." "But we shall not rest," remarked Mr. Borah and added that from March 2, the Bodos would launch mass movements in Assam demand-

ing a separate state and resuming the language, cultural and reservation policies of the Assam Government. He stressed that the movement would be "peaceful," neither would be demonstrations in front of government offices and 'barracks' at market places.

Asked if he could guarantee that the movement would remain peaceful, Mr. Borah, raised for a few minutes and remarked "No, I cannot." He said if the movement continued for long and the Centre did not take up the cause of the Bodos there were possibilities of a split among the members of the union and a faction might take its birth.

The ABSU volunteers will physically observe the activities of the tribal people from the forest areas. The union then rallies. Mr. Bodo Singh told the Bodo students that if the tribal people were evicted from their forests and homes, the Centre would have no other alternative but to "intervene in the matter." But how and when would

Why Separate State

Why Separate State

Centre would intervene was a perplexing question before the Bodos. The union leaders stated that 14,000 tribal families were already served with eviction notices by the Assam Government in order to 'protect' the forest land.

There are three important organisations of the tribal people in Assam—All-Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF) and the Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA).

The UTNLF is supporting the demands of the ABSU, including the creation of a separate state under Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution. But the PTCA, according to the ABSU leaders, is likely to accept some kind of an "autonomous region" under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. "Here we differ from the PTCA. It has given up its earlier demand for a separate state. Udayachal has betrayed the people," said Mr. Bhabana.

THE NEW STATE AND GOVERNMENT

There will be a Legislative Assembly and Council of Ministers in the proposed Union Territory. The Union Territory shall have financial, administrative, legislative, executive and political power to safeguard the interests of the Plains Tribals.

A Lt. Governor will be appointed by the Centre in the Union Territory.

No. of total villages in the proposed Union Territory : 10,000 (approx.)
No. of total village in Assam : 22,000 (approx.)

No. of total Tribal villages to be included in the proposed Union Territory : 2,000 (approx.)

No. of total Tea Gardens in Assam : 700 (approximate)
No. of total Tea Gardens to be included in the proposed

No. of Oil Refinery : 1 (Jinggaon Refinery & Petrochemicals) (U.T. 400 (approx.)
No. of Thermal Power : 1 (Jinggaon Thermal Project, Sakalati)

Total Reserved Constituencies of Legislative Assembly for Plains Tribals in Assam : 12

Total S.T. (P) Reserved constituencies of Legislative Assembly to be included in the Union Territory : 9

Total S.T. (P) Reserved Parliamentary Constituency to be included in the Union Territory : 1 (Kokrajhar)

No. of Panchayats : More than 22
General Reservoir : Vast valuable forest area including Monas Gorge

Forest State : Vast forest area falls within the proposed U.T.
Total of Colleges : Not less than 15.