

BODOLAND MOVEMENT – AN ANALYSIS OF EVENTS

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Various groups and organisations of Bodo people have been agitating on various demands of the Bodos. The Plains Tribal Council of Assam has been raising the demand for Udayachal since 1967. All Bodo Students' Union (Ramachiari Group) has placed 35 demands for negotiation which includes a "political settlement" within Assam. The All Bodo Students' Union (Upen Brahma Group) had originally placed 92 demands but later confined their agitation to the 3 basic demands viz., (1) creation of Regional Council for non-Karbi Tribes in Karbi-Anglong Autonomous District Council (2) creation of District Councils in the tribal compact areas of Southern Valley of the Brahmaputra of Assam. (3) creation of separate State with the status of Union Territory of the Plains Tribals in the Northern Valley of the Brahmaputra of Assam. The recent agitation turned violent in October/November, 1988 and from January 1 to April 30 has resulted in 174 deaths.

Some salient features which need attention are briefly noted below:—

GENERAL :

1) Contrary to general impression, the Bodo agitation had its first stirring as far back as 1967. Even in 1974, the agitation had turned violent. The accumulated grievances have unfortunately found expression in violent agitation by a militant section recently.

2) Most of the demands listed both by Ramchiari Group and by Upen Brahma

Group related to administrative measures which are on-going and on which no difference of opinion exist. Socio-economic problems of the tribals have received special attention of the Government and various administrative and institutional measures have been devised for speedy and all-round development of the tribal people. It is however, admitted that much remains to be done. It has also to be appreciated that the efforts so far made by Assam Government compared quite favourably with those made in other parts of the country or, for that matter, even with non-tribal regions of the State.

3) The specific 3 demands now focussed need to be very carefully considered in terms of its wider implications. State Government has clarified its own stand on this demand on unequivocal terms which is also the stand of the Central Government that there should be no further division of Assam. Within the parameter of this basic stand, any satisfactory arrangement by which solution to tribal problems can be found would, in principle, be acceptable to Govt. of Assam. However, the demands projected by ABSU encounters certain apparent difficulties because (a) the area proposed is neither contiguous nor homogenous; (b) the Bodos number only 7.65% as per 1971 census of the entire area and they are not the only tribal group nor the majority group in this area.

Over their demands (92 in the beginning, 3 as of now) the ABSU has, since the first half of 1987, chalked out various agitational programmes. The forms of agitation initially was limited to organising meetings, rallies in district level and State level demonstration in front of office of DC's, SDO's (C), SDC's offering hunger strike etc. and later on it became more severe in the forms of tribal area bandh, Assam bandh, rail-cum-rasta roko, Government office bandh etc. With the passage of time the severity of the agitational calls became more and more and the last in the series, we have seen was the 1001 hours Assam bandh with effect from August 15, 1989. The major agitational

calls among the 42 phases of agitation are listed below :-

1.	27.8.87	12	hours tribal area bandh,
2.	9.9.87	24	hours tribal area bandh,
3.	24.9.87	36	hours tribal area bandh,
4.	26.11.87	48	hours rail roko,
5.	9.12.87	48	hours National Highway bandh,
6.	1.3.88	100	hours National Highway bandh,
7.	27.4.88	72	hours Assam bandh,
8.	22.5.88	100	hours rail roko,
9.	14.6.88	100	hours rail roko,
10.	11.7.88	100	hours Assam bandh,
11.	16.8.88	120	hours office bandh,
12.	6.9.88		
	8.9.88	24	hours alternate day bandh,
	10.9.88		
	12.9.88		
13.	4.10.88	12	hours Assam bandh,
14.	14.10.88	12	hours Assam bandh,
15.	16.2.89	120	hours Assam bandh,
16.	2.3.89	175	hours Assam bandh,
17.	27.3.89	200	hours Assam bandh,
18.	26.6.89	340	hours Assam bandh,
19.	13.7.89	36	hours Assam bandh,
20.	25.7.89	360	hours Assam bandh,
21.	15.8.89	1001	hours Assam bandh (called off on 21.8.89).

With the intensity of the agitational programmes increasing, the violence in the areas of influence also increased. The first time propensity for violence of the organisation was, seen during the observance of 36 hours Assam bandh on 25.9.87 when a strong mob of a thousand people stopped vehicle on the National Highway near Hel bridge (Kokrajhar PS), damaged many vehicles and set a petrol tanker on fire. Police had to open fire to control the violent mob resulting in the death of one person. Since that time the organisers have not seen back and stepped up violent activities tremendously. Initially the violent activities were targetted against PTCA members, loyal Government employees and in some cases against Police. But slowly and steadily the scenerio changed and everybody irrespective of status, community etc. became the target of extremist violence. Offensive against the Government and governmental institutions were stepped up considerably. Schools, Government buildings, Government institutions became the target of the extremists. A wider profile of the incidents that have taken place is shown below. It will clearly show the rate of escalation of violence in the Bodo dominated area. (Districtwise profile is given as Annexure).

Year	MURDER			Arson	Bomb expl.	Attack on Police	No. of Police firing	Dacoity	Robb- bery	Gun snatch	No. of arrest
	Govt. empl.	Boro	Oth- ers								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1987	—	—	4	5	—	2	3	—	—	1	104
1988	11	8	38	186	87	83	68	111	46	124	1117
1989	57	25	259	6437	220	437	374	145	17	67	1570

Some of the major incidents of violence till date are listed below :-

- 6.4.88 Banugaon village which is inhabited by people supporting PTCA was attacked by ABSU activists. Two persons died.
- 4.2.89 About 40/50 Bodo extremists being armed with guns/pistols and other lethal weapons surrounded the Malevita Police Picket (Bijni PS) and attacked the sentry Constable Soneswar sarma and fired at him causing 8 Shot gun injuries on his person. The extremists then snatched away 7 rifles and 200 rounds ammunition from the said Police camp
- 8.2.89 A section of Assam Forest Protection Force while on way to their camp at Saraibil were attacked. One Jawan died at the spot. 10 rifles and 300 rounds of ammunition were looted away.
- 10.2.89 A bomb exploded inside a passenger bus at Baikhung gaon (Kokrajhar PS) on NH 31 (C). 14 persons died.
- 13.2.89 Extremists attacked Sessapani Rly. Station and kidnapped the Station Master, Asstt. Station Master and two others Rly. employees. The dead body of the ASM was later recovered. The same day they attacked Guabari Rly. Station and kidnapped one pointsman.
- 14.3.89 Two powerful bomb blasts took place in Bongaigaon town which resulted in death to 17 persons and injuries to others.
- 23.3.89 16 trucks were set ablaze on NH 31C. One driver was killed and one seriously injured.
- 22.4.89 A bomb exploded under vehicle No. ASP 540 near a wooden bridge at Kakrikhola in the bordering area of Dhubri and Kokrajhar dist. on

Babalpur Kokrajhar road while the vehicle with 12 personnel of 7th AP Bn was proceeding from Bijni to Charaikhola. As a result the vehicle was completely damaged and 4 Police personnel died on the spot and 8 other Police personnel sustained injuries.

- 20.6.89 A powerful bomb blasted at Kokrajhar Rly. Station just after the departure of 59 Up Kamrup Express. 9 persons including an Assam Rifles jawan was killed by the explosion.
- 27.6.89 A group of Bodo extremists raided village Palshijuri (Barpeta dist) and killed 5 persons who were supporters of PTCA.
- 27.6.89 A powerful bomb exploded under a bus carrying patrolling party (4th APTF) and as a result 10 policemen died at the spot.
- 29.6.89 A powerful bomb blasted under a police patrol vehicle and as a result 3 Policemen and the driver were killed.
- 2.7.89 A group of Bodo extremists attacked Daflagarh Tinkunia village in Gohpur (Sonitpur dist) area and kidnapped 9 PTCA supporters. 4 of them were killed and their deadbodies were recovered by Police on 10.7.89.
- 13.7.89 A powerful bomb exploded under a Police vehicle at Chandrapar (Kokrajhar PS) killing 3 persons (2 SIs of Police and the driver).
- 12.7.89 A powerful bomb exploded in Udalguri bazar causing death of 3 persons and injuries to 12 others.
- 11.8.89 A powerful bomb exploded under a Police Patrol vehicle resulting in instantaneous death to 6 Constables.

It has been observed that since the starting of the agitation the ABSU have increased their militant postures tremendously and are getting actively involved in violence. Govt. have innumerable reports of arms acquisition by ABSU activists for furthering their aim in creating a terroristic situation all over the State. The following few points will adequately highlight their activities.

1. On Jan. 17, 1989, in course of search in the house of Reoreo Narzary (General Secretary, Kokrajhar Dist. ABSU) one handmade pistol, one pipe gun, some gun making implements, explosive materials etc. were recovered and these were seized by Police.
2. On 16.4.89, Shillong Police arrested (i) Arun Brahma s/o Aswini Kr. Brahma of Middle Kamarpara, PS Dhaligaon, (ii) Deba Kanta Musahari s/o Alen Musahari of village Rowmari, Kashi Bari, PS Dhaligaon and (iii) Baburam Basumataryt an ex-serviceman of Assam Regimen, s/o late Patra Basumatary of village Batnapara, PS Bijni (all of District Kokrajhar, between the State Transport Office, Shillong and the Petrol pump while they were negotiating with a Mizo for purchasing arms, Subsequently, Dara Singh Wari s/o Nepal Wari of village Ouguri Haodongra, PS Goreswar, dist. Kamrup, Deba Kumar Narzary s/o Charan Narzary of Patgaon, PS Kokrajhar district Kokrajhar, Bipul Mech s/o Binanda Mech of village Pachim Khitara, PS Rangia district Kamrup, Budhbor Goyari, s/o late Andhra Gayari, village Dapnapara, PS Bijni district Kokrajhar, Monilal Narzary, s/o Biren Narzary, village Middle Kajalgaon, PS Dhaligaon, Dist. Kokrajhar, Koneswar Bodo s/o late Letegaram Bodo of village Ambari, PO Darkuchi, PS Rangia district Kamrup, Gedaram

Basumatary s/o late Mohan Basumatary of vill. Betnapara, PS Bijni, district Kokrajhar, Bhaben Ch. Bodo s/o late Andra Bodo of village Darga Chuba, PS Panery, district Darrang were also arrested by Shillong Police in this connection.

Their interrogation revealed that they started collecting materials including gelatine sticks, detonators and other materials for making bombs and fire arms at Bodo Cultural Centre, Shillong. Incriminating materials including gelatine sticks and detonators were recovered by the Shillong Police from their place of stay. Interrogation further revealed that arrested accused Arun Brahma received an amount of Rs. 1,60,000 from the Rowmari unit of ABSU of which Sri Sasanka Brahma of village Rowmari, Kasibari, PS Dhaligaon was the President.

In this connection Shillong PS case No. 248/89 u/s 353/121/120(B) IPC r/w Sec. 25(A) (B) and (C) Arms Act and 249 (4)89 u/s 5 of E.S. Act were registered.

3. On 5.5.89 Dimapur Police had arrested 4 Bodo youths at Dimapur with 100 rounds of rifle ammunitions, 300 numbers of detonators, 7 H.E.bombs and 23 Nos. of hand grenades. They disclosed their identities as follows :-

i) Udangsri Udang Uzir @Anu @Hara Uzir (stated to be the Asstt. Social Service Secretary, All Kokrajhar Anchalik ABSU) S/o Shri Banga Uzir @Dhaneswar Basumatary of Khargaon, dist. Kokrajhar.

ii) Badari Napam Brahma @ Biswajit (stated to be the Vice Chairman, Volunteer

Force, Banargaon Anchalik unit of ABSU) s/o Shri Binode Brahma of Khagrabari, PS Kokrajhar, Dist. Kokrajhar.

iii) Rabiram Mushahari @ Khanda s/o Sri Rupam Mushahari of village No. 1 Joy-pukhuri, Sisupani, PS Merapani, Dist Golaghat.

iv) Paden Basumatary @ Kandur s/o late Nanda Basumatary of village Dineshpur, Sisupani, PS Neraoabum, Dist. Golaghat.

In course of their interrogation it was revealed that one Ganesh Narzary, Secretary, ABSU Kokrajhar unit paid Rs. 10,000/- to arrested accused Udangshri Udang Uzir and Paden Basumatary for purchasing illicit arms and ammunition. Against that amount a consignment consisting of 253 rounds of rifle bullets, 1 hand grenade and 2 nos. of H.E. BOMBS WERE PURCHASED AND WAS TAKEN TO Kokrajhar by (1) Badari Napam Brahma, (2) Bondaram Narzary, (3) Paden Basumatary and Bipul Brahma and handed over to Ganesh Narzary which were later on distributed between Banargaon Anchalik unit and Kokrajhar Anchalik unit of ABSU for operational purposes.

The Second consignment of ammunitions and explosives (seized by Dimapur Police as stated above) were also collected by Udangshri Udang Uzir and were taken to Kokrajhar on 5.5.89 accompanied by Krishna Brahma of Khagrabari Anchalik unit of ABSU, Badari Napam Brahma, Vice Chairman, Volunteer Force, Banargaon Anchalik unit of ABSU, Bikey Brahma of Banargaon Anchalik ABSU, Paden Basumatary and Rabiram Mushahari (both of Sisupani). On the same day while they were proceeding to Burma camp at Dimapur town in two autorickshaws to avail the service of line truck bound for Kokrajhar, they were intercepted by Dimapur Police. Bikey and Krishna who were travelling in the first autorickshaw managed to escape.

4. On 22.5.89, at early dawn an encounter took place between a small Police Party headed by O/C Sarbhog PS and some armed ABSU extremists at Udalguri village

(Sarbhog PS). In the encounter, 5 extremists were killed and 2 were apprehended with bullet injuries. Police also recovered one DBBL gun, one hand made pistol, one sword, 6 rounds pistol ammunition, 12 Nos. of 12 bore cartridges from the possession of the extremists. On identification, the extremists were found to be ABSU extremists hailing from Kokrajhar district.

In course of interrogation the two arrested extremists disclosed that they were sent to Barpeta by the Presidents and Secretaries of Anchalik ABSU Banargaon (Kokrajhar PS) and Bangaigaon (Dhaligaon PS). They also disclosed that other members of the extremist group were also sent from other Anchalik Committees of ABSU of Kokrajhar district.

The utterances by various ABSU leaders in front of press and public clearly indicates the designs of the organisation in achieving their goals through violent means. In this respect we may refer to the press statement (PTI news dated Guwahati the 10th Feb) of Dr. Phukan Chandra Boro, the Chairman of the ABSU Volunteer Force, declaring that the ABSU would take up arms to achieve their goals. The same spokesman also declared a few months back that the Bodos would seek for external help if need arises. A PTI report from Siliguri dated 1st July, an UNI report dt. 28th June from Calcutta and an UNI report dated June 18 from Kohima, are a good pointer to the ulterior designs of the ABSU. Similarly statements by other leaders like Upendra Brahma (PTI report dated 16th Feb. from Siliguri). Sri Rabiram Brahma, Shri Pradip Daimari speaks at length about the propensity for violence among the Bodo youngsters. The ABSU, it seems, feels that extremist action by its militant adherents and resultant Police action would further contribute to the consolidation of Bodo masses in Kokrajhar, Darrang and other Bodo compact areas of the State under the banner of ABSU through arousal of sectarian ethnic sentiments of the Bodo people at large and

that it would get wider publicity in the national media warranting intervention by the Centre.

The terroristic activities of the extremist elements among the ABSU, the irresponsible utterances by their leaders have created an environment of strife and tension and a sense of insecurity and panic among the cross section of the population in the Bodo dominated areas of the State. With increasing violence directed against the populace at large, consolidation and hardening of stand among the non-Bodos and in certain cases Bodos also (PTCA supporters) have resulted in considerable communal tension in several areas of the State. We have already seen enough violence in Gohpur and widespread areas under Udalguri Sub-division of Darrang district.

In spite of terroristic and open confrontation of the militants the law enforcing agency in those areas are taking firm and continuous action relentlessly. The State headquarters is constantly monitoring the performance of law enforcing machinery working in those areas by frequent visits and taking various steps to plug loopholes which were noticed from time to time to make them more effective to deal with the acts of violence and depredations in the wake of the agitation. In the face of launching a calculated media offensive against alleged Police brutalities and repressive measures by the ABSU leadership with a deliberate design of consolidating blind support of Bodo masses by arousing sectarian ethnic sentiments and demoralising Police, the law and order machinery had to confront with increasing impediments to deal with the situation.

The scheme of maintaining law and order in the affected areas has to cover a wide range of activities right from protecting vital installations, road communication life and property of persons who have been facing constant threats from the militants, personal security, VIP security etc. within the limited State resources and in the context of peculiar geography of the affected areas.

The Police force and civil authority have shown act of exemplary courage in dealing with the highly disturbed situation and its impact is arousing. As though 49 Police personnel including 5 Homeguards have fallen prey to the terroristic act of the militants, the efforts to counteract the brutality of the militants have been continuing unabated and as a result a good number of extremists dens have been unearthed with arrest of scores of dreaded extremists by Police recently and recovery of as many as 262 arms, 859 ammunitions, 379 bombs of various type so far. In course of various search and patrolling, the Police have encountered with 480 attacks by militants.

In spite of the agitation degenerating into wanton violence at the hand of the militant adherents with near absence of the leadership from the State, the State administration succeeded in maintaining the supply line by escorts in rails and roads passing through the district during the various phases of agitation. The records maintained at Chagolia and Srirampur check gates of goods traffic entering the State indicate a uniform flow of goods traffic by road. This has been achieved by providing escorts and maintaining vigilance in the face of repeated onslaughts by terroristic and militant activities adopted by the ABSU extremists on traffic passing through the district.

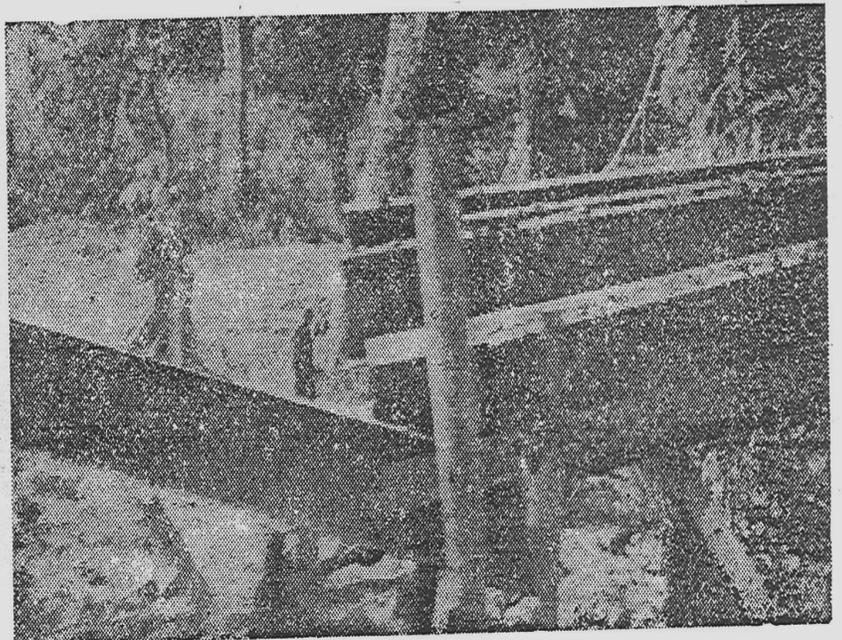
Meanwhile, the State Police has been able to neutralise to some extent the inflow of arms and explosives from neighbouring areas of West Bengal by holding joint meeting/discussion with West Bengal Police. Besides, steps have been taken to intensify searches for recovery of illicit arms and ammunition from the possession/hide-outs of the militants and monitoring of such searches and apprehension of militants is closely pursued and these efforts have resulted in recovery of large number of weapons and explosives so far.

As the current ABSU agitation with large scale militant activities smacks of

invisible hands of divisive forces bent upon destabilising the State, the Government is making all out efforts to bring peace by negotiated settlements with the agitation leaders. While the Government is continuing its efforts for dialogue for peaceful solution, yet the Government is firm to deal with the law and order situation arising out of ABSU sponsored agitation.

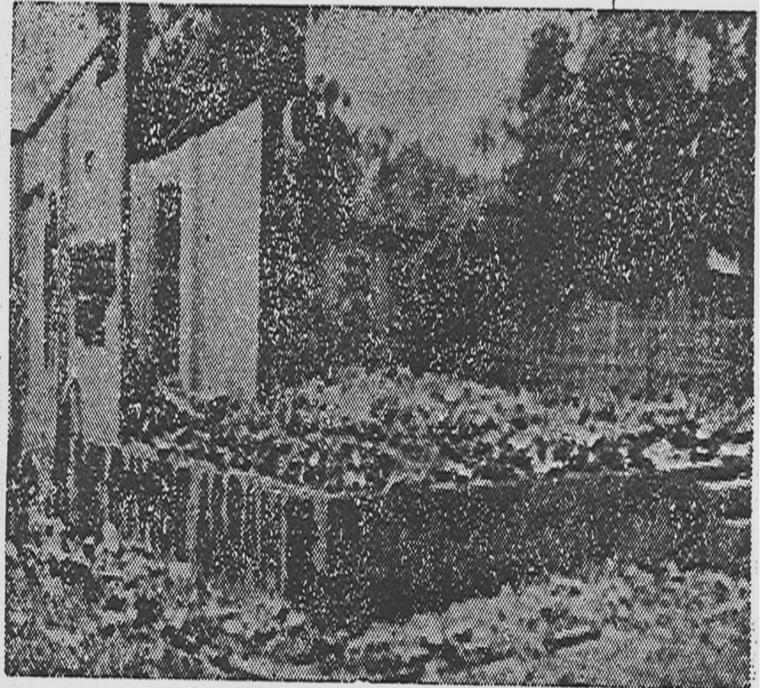


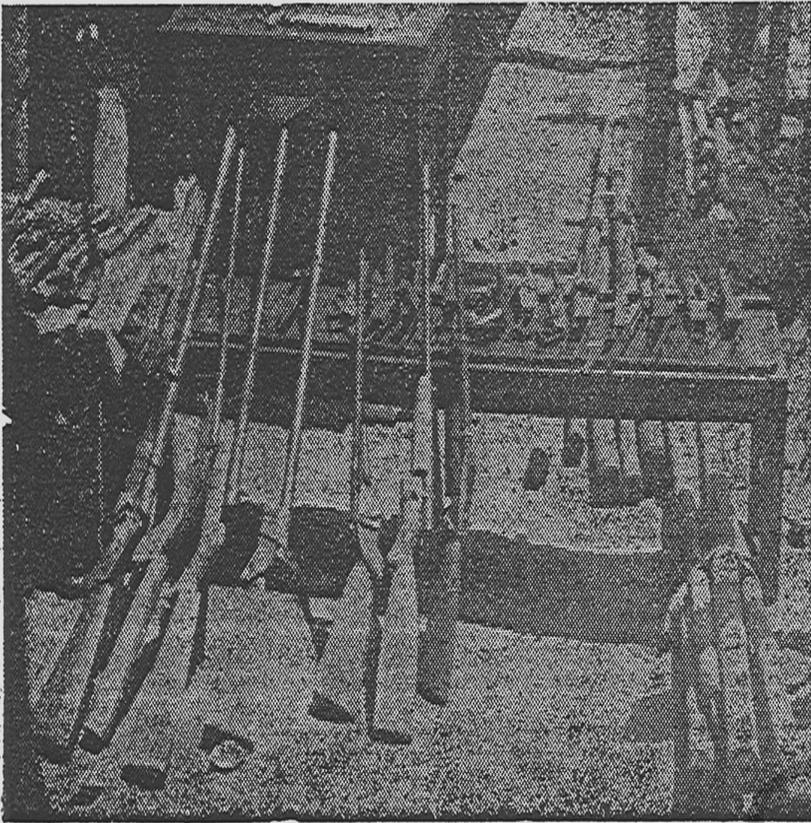
From January to October this year (1989) alone the ABSU (UB) Supporters damaged as many as 164 bridges disrupting road communication in many places.



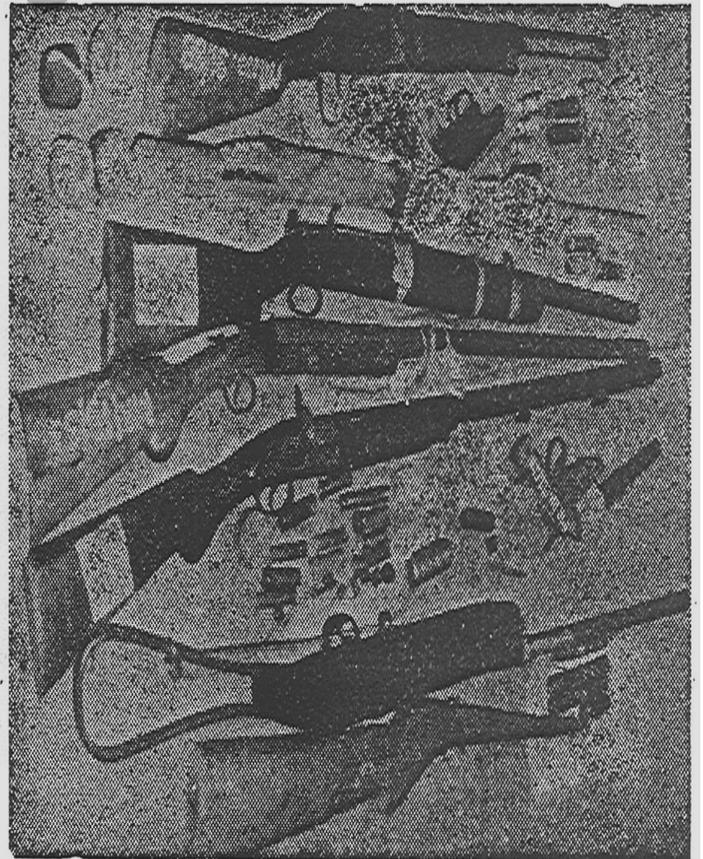


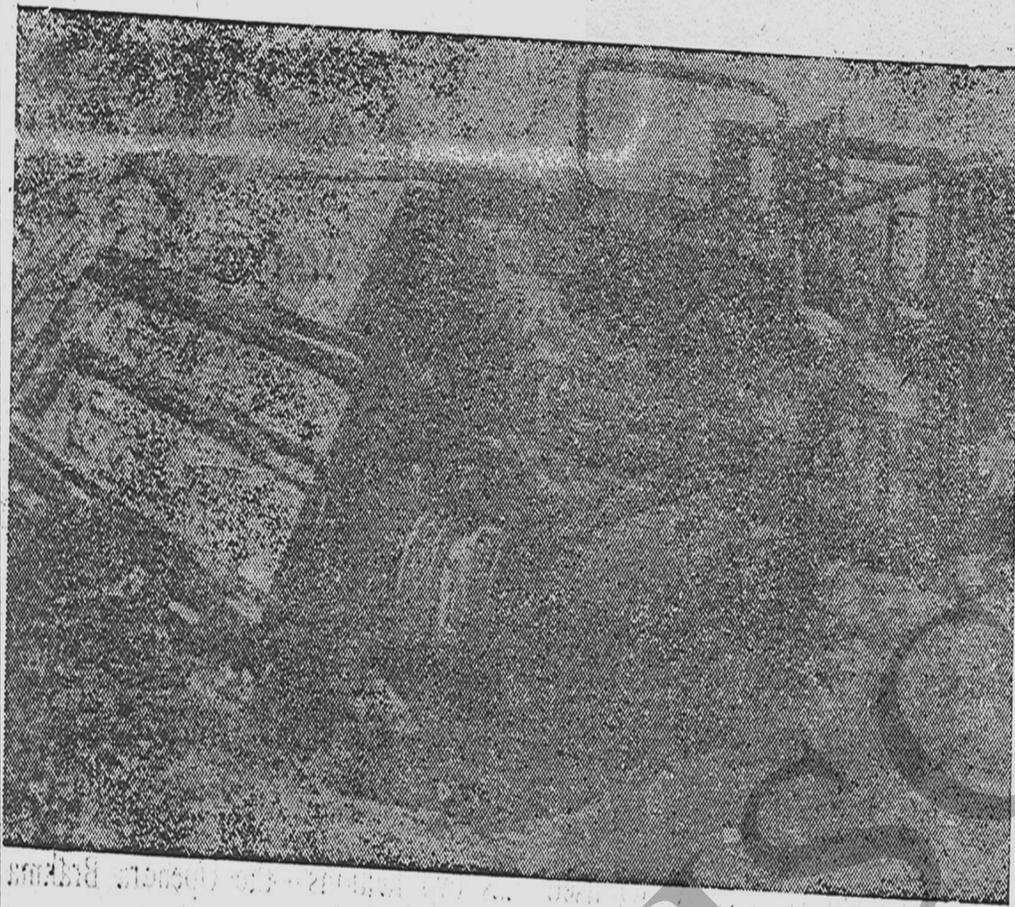
During the last 10 months ending October, 1989 ABSU (UB) activists burnt as many as 286 Govt, buildings including School buildings causing great loss to the student community,



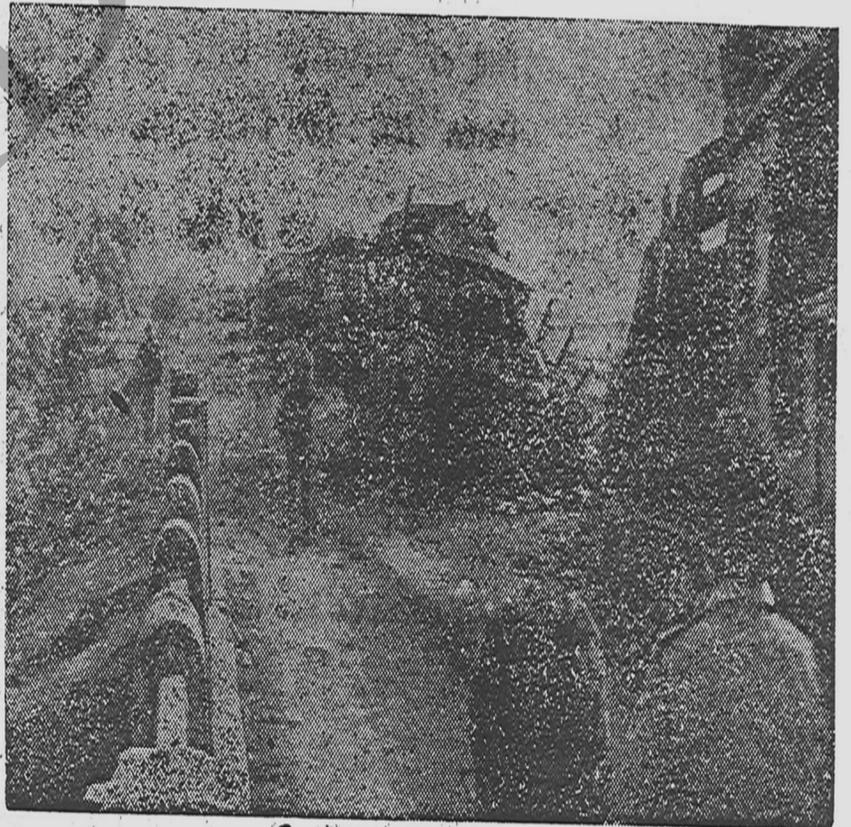


During the last 10 months ending October
Police recovered 605 guns, rifles and
other fire arms, mostly, 989 handmade
from ABSU (UB) activists.





During 1989, upto October 31 alone
55 vehicles were either burnt or
damaged by the ABSU (UB) activists
in Kokrajhar district and Darrang
sub-division.



A QUICK LOOK AT SOME RELEVANT MATTERS

Political Affiliation of The Bodos

The Bodo people have diverse political affiliations. Many belong to all-India political parties like the Congress-I and the CPI(M). The Plains Tribal Council of Assam(PTCA) has a fair following among the Bodos. The AGP has five MLAs from the Bodo community. The ABSU itself has two factions—the Upendra Brahma Group (UBG) and the Ramchiary Group. ABSU-UBG along with the United Tribal Liberation Front led by Binoy K. Basumatary, MLA, are now agitating for the creation of 'Bodoland' State with the help of extremist outfits like the Bodo Volunteer Force and the Bodo Liberation Front.

As a matter of fact, the Bodo people themselves have been the biggest victims of the violence unleashed by the ABSU-UBG and their fellow militants. Many villages inhabited by supporters of the PTCA have been burnt down and many of its cadres killed, including one of its general secretaries. The ABSU-Ramchiary Group has also been the target of violence and killing by the ABSU-UBG. ABSU-Ramchiary Group and the PTCA have condemned the violent activities of the ABSU-UBG. Thus, the Bodos have diverse political, social and cultural views, like any other ethnic group in our society, and the ABSU-UBG and their fellow militants are but a minority amongst the Bodos.

WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRIBALS IN THE PLAINS DISTRICTS OF ASSAM.

According to the Census of 1971, the Scheduled Tribes (Plains) population constitutes 9.24 percent of Assam's population. Tribal Welfare and Development has always been an important part of the Government of Assam's policy.

As in other States like Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, etc., Assam has been implementing Tribal Sub-Plan with a view to speedy welfare of the Scheduled Tribe (Plains) in the Plains districts of the State. In order to ensure that the TSP is devoted to district and field level infrastructural benefits to meet the special needs of the tribals and also in order to have more funds for the implementation of family oriented beneficiary schemes for the benefit of the ST(P) families in the Plains districts, the Govt. of Assam, as a matter of strategy do not load the burden of funding State and Regional level schemes on to the Tribal Sub-Plan. Out of the deep commitment of the State Govt. for the accelerated development of the tribals, the Govt. of Assam have been allocating every resource for the financing of the TSP. The Govt. of Assam have allocated out of the State Plan, the fund more than the proportionate ST(P) population in the whole State, while many of the other 16 States having sizeable tribal population are yet to do so.

As against the ST(P) population being 9.24 percent of the State's population, the fund allocated by the Govt. of Assam for the TSP from out of the State Plan during 1988-89 is more than the proportion of population and it is 10.2 percent. They

propose also similar substantial allocation during next financial year. The economy of the tribals in the Plains districts of the State is basically rural and agriculture is the major occupation for them as in case of the non-tribals in the plains districts. The strategy of development in the TSP takes into account the special needs and problems of the tribals accordingly.

The main facets of the Tribal Sub-Plan are to have infrastructural development in the TSP areas, such as, development of road communication, facilities for health and education, irrigation facility, agriculture veterinary, cottage industries, rural development etc., and also to have specific schemes for the benefit of the poor ST(P) families.

For the accelerated development of the ST(P) in the plains districts, the State Govt. have set up Assam Plains Tribal Development Corporation which, in recent years, has been devoting mostly to the implementation of family oriented benefit schemes. Similarly, the State Govt. have set an autonomous body viz. Assam Tribal Development Authority for the speedy development of plains tribals in the State. During the recent years, this body has taken up schemes in certain critical areas of sectoral development and family oriented benefit schemes for the poor tribal families. The Project Directors and Sub divisional Welfare Officers have been made the agents of the Authority under the provision of the Act to facilitate smooth implementation. As a result of the special attention given by the Govt. for the speedy development of the tribals in the plains districts, the infrastructural development of the tribal areas of the plains districts is quite comparable with the level of development in the General areas as a

whole in the State of Assam. The attached note elaborates this matter.

As regards the economic condition of the tribals in the plains districts in the State, it is pertinent to note that agriculture is the major occupation of the tribals as well as non-tribals in the plains districts of Assam.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

1. Higher Secondary Schools.		
(a) General Areas	Total No. of Schools	299 (all Provincialised)
	Coverage per school	66,889 persons.
(b) T.S.P. Area	Total No. of Schools	30 (all Provincialised)
	Coverage per School	1,06,666 persons
2. High Schools		
(a) General Areas	Total No. of Schools	2,230 (of which 1,689 are Provincialised)
	Coverage per school	9,865 persons.
(b) T.S.P. Area	Total No. of Schools	380- (of which 142 are Provincialised)
	Coverage per school	8,421 persons
3. L.P. Schools		
(a) General Areas	Total No. of schools	22,446 (all Provincialised)
	Coverage per school	980 person.

(b) T.S.P. Area Total No. of Schools 4,524 (all provincialised)
Coverage per school 707 persons.

4. M.E. Schools

(a) General Areas Total No. of schools 4,558 (All Provincialised)
Coverage per school 4,826 persons.

(b) T.S.P. Areas Total No. of Schools 851 (all Provincialised)
Coverage per school 3760 persons.

13. Health Services (As in April 1988)

A. Hospitals

General Areas 54 Nos.

T.S.P. Areas 4 Nos.

B. Dispensaries

General Areas 275 Nos

T.S.P. Areas 24 Nos.

C. P.H.C.

General Areas. 139 Nos.

T.S.P. Areas 74 Nos.

D. Subsidiary Health Centres

General Areas 3,144 Nos.

T.S.P. Areas 349 Nos.

E. Community Health Centres

General Areas. 47 Nos.

T.S.P. Areas 13 Nos.

1. ST(P) 9.24% of Assam's population as per the Census of 1971.

2. No. of villages connected by road :

Total No. of villages		Nos. of villages connected by road upto March, 1988.
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Plains districts (whole)	20,064	12,569 (62.64%)
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Tribal areas in the Plains districts.	4,562	2,925 (64.11%)
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3. Total Road length per 100 sq. km :

Plains districts (whole)	29.63 Km/100 sq. Km.
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Tribal areas in the Plains districts.	28.91 Km/100 sq. Km.
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4. Vety. Hospital /Dispensary :-

Plains districts (whole)	294
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Tribal areas in the Plains districts.	53 (14.68%)
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5. Rural Development :-

(1988-89 upto January 1989)

Total Beneficiaries

Total No. of ST(P)
Beneficiaries.

IRDP	38,280
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6,604 (17.3%)

NREP	19.64 lakh mandays
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3.79 lakh mandays (19.3%)

6. Families below poverty line :-

General Areas 47.51%

(As per Report on the Incidence of Rural Poverty in Assam, 1986-87 by the Assam Agro-Economics Research Centre Jorhat.)

Tribal Sub-Plan Areas 47.34%

(As per Survey of 1987 by Tribal Research Institute, Assam).

7. As per Agricultural Census of 1980-81, out of total 10,4,038 h. of wholly irrigated areas of 82,718 holdings in the General Areas (viz. all Plains districts of Assam), 12,812 h. (12.31% of the above mentioned wholly irrigated areas in the plains districts) of 9,475 holdings (11.45% of the total holdings of wholly irrigated areas in all the plains districts of Assam) are in the ST(P) inhabited areas. Compared to the proportion of ST(P) population, the share of ST(P) population out of the total wholly irrigated land is more.

8. Operation land holdings in the ST(P) inhabited areas are more favourable, compared to the operational land holdings in all the Plains districts as a whole viz. in the General Areas of the State of Assam as may be seen from the following data of the Agricultural Census of 1980-81.

Size in hectare (one hectare = 7.5 Bighas)	Operation holding in General Areas (Percentage)	Operational holding in ST(P) inhabited areas (percentage)
Marginal Below 1.0	18.68	16.27

Small		
1.0-2.0	23.98	27.93
Semi-medium		
2.0-4.0	27.56	33.42
Medium		
4.0-10.0	15.60	20.14
Large		
10.0 and above	14.18	2.24
Total	100%	100%

9. Rural Electrification (upto December, 1988) :-

Villages electrified in the State as a whole—
1,756 (83.2% of total villages)

Villages electrified in the Tribal areas in the plains districts—
2,392 (52.3% of total villages in the Tribal areas in the
Plains districts).

10. Villages in the Tribal areas in the Plains district provided with potable drinking water facility :-

As on 1.4.88—3,488 villages

Target for 1988-89—350 villages.

To reach the goal of covering all villages by the end of the current plan period, all possible efforts are being made. In order to deal with the hard bed rock special problem areas of some remaining villages, special efforts are being made by having special rigs and by adopting appropriate technology, feasible for these villages.

11. HYV Paddy and Wheat Coverage

In the Plains districts of the State, it covers both tribal areas and other areas. Average land holding size and the average size of irrigated land is more favourable in the plains tribal inhabited areas, compared to General areas as a whole. It is also to be noted that the proportions of the families below poverty line in respect of the State of Assam as whole and the tribals in the plains districts are also the same.

12. The State Govt. have been giving special attention to the implementation of the family oriented benefit schemes in respect of the tribals, compared to the average population in the State. A sizeable amount of fund from out of the Tribal Sub-Plan is devoted to the implementation of family-oriented benefit schemes every year. The Govt. will continue to follow the same strategy, keeping the welfare of the tribals in view. In future, it is proposed to give more thrust in this direction. The State Govt. are giving liberally substantial funds to SC and ST students in the form of Pre-matric scholarships, the rates of which were also revised by the State Govt. As regards the Post-matric scholarship, they are giving the same to the SC and ST students at the rates fixed by the Govt. of India for the country as a whole. Providing liberal facilities in the field of education to the students belonging to ST as well as Scheduled Castes is an important part of the welfare policy of the State Govt.

Assam is one of the few States in the country, which have enacted a law on the reservation of jobs for SCs and STs under the State Govt. and State Govt. controlled Autonomous Bodies. Although in many States, this reservation facility is limited only to direct recruitment, the reservation law in the State of Assam covers both direct recruitment as well as promotions. The present Govt. have taken several steps to streamline the implementation of the reservation law.

The State Govt. are quite sympathetic and considerate to the cause of the tribals in the State. As a result of the special attention of the govt. to the accelerated development and welfare of the tribals in the plain areas, the benefits in their case is keeping pace with that of the General areas of the State.

13. Sub Centres :-

General Areas	3,144 Nos.
T.S.P. Areas	349 Nos.

14. No. of STO (P) families economically assisted to cross the poverty line under family oriented schemes :

1985-86	21,151
1986-87	20,431
1987-88	20,120
1988-89	18,198
1989-90	30,840 (target)

15. Flow of fund for TSP :

	Flow from State Plan	Special Central Assistance	Total
1985-86	Rs. 46.11 crores	Rs. 6.32 crores	Rs. 52.43 crores
1986-87	Rs. 56.26 crores	Rs. 7.10 crores	Rs. 63.36 crores
1987-88	Rs. 58.72 crores	Rs. 7.05 crores	Rs. 65.77 crores
1989-90	Rs. 62.61 crores	Rs. 7.71 crores	Rs. 70.32 crores
1989-90	Rs. 63.74 crores	Rs. 8.50 crores	Rs. 72.24 crores

Police Stationwise Plain Tribes population & Bodo speaking population in the North Bank (1971 Census)

Police Station	Total Population	Total S.T. Population (%)		Bodo speaking (%)	
1	2	3		4	
Kokrajhar					
1. Gossaigaon	188,531	42,588	(22.59)	36,010	(19.10)
2. Kokrajhar	196,617	69,215	35.20)	65,438	(32.28)
3. Sidli	149,622	54,304	36.29)	52,813	(35.29)
4. Bijni	175,296	37,440	21.36)	36,580	(20.86)
TOTAL	710,066	203,547	(28.67)	190,841	(26.87)
Dhubri					
5. Golakganj	170,486	1,244	(0.73)	605	(0.35)
6. Bilasipara	232,791	12,432	(5.34)	10,337	(4.44)
7. Dhubri	182,798	6,893	(3.77)	2,578	(1.41)
8. South Salmara	79,371	11	—	1	
9. Mankachar	79,371	21		4	
TOTAL	851,045	20,601	(2.42)	43,525	(1.58)

Barpeta

10.	Sorebhog	209,773	31,636	(15.08)	21,012	(10.01)
11.	Barpeta	340,040	10,877	(3.20)	5,440	(1.59)
12.	Patacharkuchi	167,705	34,472	(20.56)	19,092	(11.38)
13.	Baghbar	187,116	97	(0.05)	Nil	
14.	Tarabari	67,103	397	(0.55)	353	(0.52)
TOTAL		971,737	77,451	(7.97)	45,897	(4.72)

Nalbari

15.	Nalbari	363,804	11,653	(3.20)	5,114	(1.40)
16.	Barama	198,758	56,274	(28.31)	48,043	(24.17)
17.	Tamulpur	137,252	34,476	(25.12)	20,863	(15.20)
TOTAL		699,814	102,403	(14.63)	74,020	(10.58)

Kamrup

18.	Rangia	160,112	24,950	(15.58)	8,643	(5.40)
19.	Hajo	129,996	2,191	(1.68)	638	(0.5)
20.	Kamalpur	144,555	6,911	(4.78)	2,302	(1.60)
TOTAL		434,663	34,052	(7.83)	11,583	(2.66)

Lakhimpur

21.	North Lakhimpur	221,702	46,731	(21.08)	1,254	(0.56)
22.	Dhakuakhana	145,938	55,226	(37.84)	6,476	(4.43)
23.	Dhemaji	135,013	55,367	(41.01)	6,615	(4.89)
24.	Sadiya	32,224	21,165	(65.68)	2,075	(6.43)
25.	Bihpuria	176,723	26,322	(14.89)	1,787	(1.01)
TOTAL		711,600	204,811	(28.78)	18,207	(2.55)

Sonitpur :-

26.	Dhekiajuli	205,905	19,002	(9.23)	6,990	(3.39)
27.	Tezpur	183,662	8,104	(4.41)	2,320	(1.26)
28.	Rangapara	103,379	5,638	(5.45)	1,715	(1.65)
29.	Sotia	194,122	6,021	(3.10)	1,793	(0.93)
30.	Behali	121,171	4,377	(3.61)	1,478	(1.21)
31.	Gohpur	93,375	14,004	(15.00)	3,772	(4.03)
TOTAL		901,614	57,146	(6.34)	18,068	(2.00)

Darrang

32.	Paneri	179,684	47,918	(26.67)	35,797	(19.92)
33.	Mangaldoi	236,698	7,303	(3.08)	3,640	(1.53)
34.	Udalguri	95,000	32,294	(33.99)	30,000	(31.57)
35.	Majbat	57,845	7,422	(12.83)	5,739	(9.92)
36.	Kolaigaon	133,885	26,711	(19.95)	3,743	(2.79)
37.	Dalgaon	131,462	6,846	(5.21)	842	(0.64)
TOTAL		834,574	128,494	(15.40)	79,761	(9.55)

38. Majuli	93,618	34,875	(37.25)	Nil
<hr/>				
— GRAND TOTAL	62,08,731	8,63,379	(13.90)	4,51,902 (7.28)
<hr/>				

Note : 1. The figures in the brackets indicate percentage to the total population.

2. P.S. of North Bank only is shown in the statement.

3. The State Government have tried all possible avenues to find solution across the table. For this purpose discussions were held with all political parties and with all representatives of tribal groups and organisations in the State where the opinion was for starting a dialogue with ABSU. The State Government also have offered to discuss this matter with an open mind without any precondition with flexible approach and the letters from the State Government enclosed would clearly indicate the vigorous positive efforts made by us in this regard. (Necessary documents are enclosed as Annexures).

DISCUSSION WITH ABSU (U.B. GROUP) ON VARIOUS DATES

Date	With whom discussed
1. 22.6.1987	(1) Chief Minister (2) Revenue Minister (3) P.W.D. Minister (Minutes enclosed)
2. 21.9.1987	(1) Minister, P.W.D. (2) Minister, Industries (3) Minister, Revenue. (Minutes enclosed)
3. 27.6.1988 28.6.1988	(1) Minister, W.P.T. & B.C. (2) Minister, Industries (3) Minister, Education (4) Few M.L.As and Officers (Minutes enclosed)
4. 27.9.1988	(1) Chief Minister (2) Minister, W.P.T. & B.C. (3) Minister, Industries (4) Shri M.I. Bora. (Minutes enclosed)

5. 3.1.1989

(1) Minister of State, W.P.T. &—
B.C. (Shri Durga Das Boro)
at Kokrajhar Circuit House.

6. 11.1.1989

(1) Minister of State, W.P.T. &
B.C. (Shri Durga Das Boro)
(2) Kumar Dipak Das,
M.L.A.,
(3) Shri Pradip Hazarika,
M.L.A., at Guest House No 1
(Minutes enclosed)

**MINUTES OF DISCUSSIONS HELD BETWEEN CHIEF MINISTER
ASSAM AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL BODO STUDENTS UNION
HELD IN THE OFFICE CHAMBER OF CHIEF MINISTER
AT 11.00 A.M. ON 22ND JUNE/1987**

PRESENT :-

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Shri P.K. Mahanta, Chief Minister. | 1. Shri. Rakeswar Brahma,
Guwahati. |
| 2. Shri Thaneswar Boro, Minister Revenue. | 2. Shri Swmba Basumatari
Kokrajhar. |
| 3. Shri. Atul Bora, Minister of P.W.D. | 3. Shri Gojen Hojwary,
Udalgari |
| 4. Shri N.N. Barua, Joint Secretary.
to Chief Minister. | 4. Shri Upendra Nath Brahma,
President, ABSU. |
| 5. Shri. H.P. Chaliha, P.P.S. to C.M. | 5. Shri Rabi Ram Brahma, Gen.
Secretary, ABSU. |
| | 6. Shri. Phukan Ch. Boro,
Chairman, Volunteer Force,
ABSU. |
| | 7. Shri. Bali Ram Boro,
Speaker, ABSU |
| | 8. Shri Bhaben Basumatari
Member, ABSU. |

A memorandum on charter of demands was earlier of received by Chief Minister, Assam. In the meeting, the following points were mainly discussed :

1. Eviction of tribal people from the Government land including forest land.

It was pointed out by the representatives of ABSU that only the tribal people were evicted from the Government land including the forest and no steps were taken to evict non-tribals from such areas. In this connection, they had made reference to Amtēka areas of Kokrajhar district where there are large scale non-tribal encroachers, but not a single one of them has been evicted so far.

It was pointed out by the Chief Minister, Assam that there should not be any new encroachment in forest land. The Minister Revenue mentioned that in case of Government land including forest land encroached upon by both tribals and non-tribals, it was difficult for the Government to discriminate between the encroachers on the basis of caste, creed or religion. However it was decided that the cases of the tribal encroachers would be reviewed.

2. Transfer of land in tribal belts and blocks

It was pointed out by the representatives of ABSU that large scale transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals in tribal belts and blocks took place. They suggested that all such transfers should be stopped and possession of land so far transferred be restored to the tribal people.

After threadbare discussion it was decided to take the following steps in this connection.

- (i) The Government will examine whether it will be possible to enact proper legislation prohibiting transfer of land by tribal people to non-tribals measuring 9

bighas (one bigha home-stead land and 8 bighas cultivable land).

- (ii) The Government will also consider for inclusion of names suggested by the ABSU in the Land Advisory Committee in Kokrajhar and Darrang District.
- (iii) Mortgage of such land by tribals with non-tribals should be prohibited. It was assured that the matter will be examined.

3. Incident of Tihu on 12.6.1987

The representatives of ABSU stated that the ex-gratia grant of Rs. 5000/ sanctioned to the family member of the deceased Surjit Nazary was inadequate and according to them ex-gratia grant of Rs. 50,000/- should be sanctioned immediately.

It was decided that this matter would be examined.

It was mentioned that Shri Subhas Basumatari another boy had sustained injuries in his eye on the same day and he is under treatment at Guwahati Medical College. He should also get compensation and proper treatment should be made to save him from loss of eye sight. In this connection, the representatives of ABSU alleged police atrocities on Boro Students' including stoppage of buses at Mangaldoi and Kokrajhar on 12.6.1987 last.

In this connection, it was pointed out by Chief Minister that the buses which had no permits for plying from one place to another might be checked by the police. However, regarding police atrocities, Chief Minister assured that this matter would be enquired into.

Again the representatives of ABSU alleged that the Government statement made in connection with the incidents at Tihu was not correct.

It was decided that the enquiry into the incident would be made.

4. **Appointment :**

The representatives of ABSU alleged that the tribal candidates have not been appointed in the Government posts. Chief Minister, in this connection, pointed out that there was a back-log of appointment in case of Tribal and SC candidates and the Government has taken steps to clear the back-log. It may take some time as the back-log existed from a long time and it would take time for the present Government to create adequate number of posts to clear the back-log in case of some of the Departments.

It was mentioned by the representatives of ABSU that in local Employment Committee in Kokrajhar and Udalguri no tribal members have been included.

It was decided that this matter would be examined.

5. **Establishment of Central University**

The representatives of ABSU demanded that the Central University should be established at Kokrajhar.

It was pointed out by Chief Minister that the location of Central University was to be decided by a Site Selection Committee. However, it was decided that the Government of Assam would examine the establishment of the following as early as possible.

- (i) Establishment of an Industrial Training Institute at Kokrajhar.
- (ii) Establishment of a Basic Training Centre.

6. **Balagaon Airport to be developed to a Commercial Airport.**

The representatives of ABSU mentioned that the Balagaon Airport of Kokrajhar district should be developed into a fulfilled Commercial Airport.

It was pointed out by Chief Minister that the establishment of a Commercial Airport was to be decided by the Central Government on the basis of Commercial viability. Moreover, sometimes there are objections from local people for establishment of an Airport. If necessary, the State Government should have no objection for establishment of an Air Force Airport like the Chalani Airport of Tezpur. Such a airport may be developed into a commercial airport after-wards.

It was agreed that the matter would be referred to the Central Government.

7. Educational :-

The representatives of ABSU requested the Government for extension of Boro MIL to Dibrugarh University.

It was decided that the Government would take up the matter.

It was also mentioned that the condition of venture schools in tribal areas are extremely bad. There are no teachers and buildings. Government should immediately take steps for appointment of Boro teachers in Boro Medium schools. It was also suggested that all Boro medium schools should be provincialised.

It was decided that the matter would be examined.

Regarding supply of free text books, ABSU representatives mentioned that the students reading in Boro medium schools have not yet received free text books.

It was decided that this matter would be looked into. Moreover, it was decided that the Government would examine whether in case of Class I & II, the students could be supplied a fresh text book if the first book already supplied is torned.

It was also alledged that the tribal students did not get scholarship in time.

It was decided that this matter would be looked into.

It was also mentioned by ABSU representatives that the text books in Boro language in MIL have not yet been recognised by the University.

In this connection, Shri Thaneswar Boro, Minister Revenue mentioned the procedure to be adopted for recognition of text books of any medium by the University. He assured that Universities would be requested to look into the matter if Boro Sahitya Sabha take steps for preparing manuscript of such text books in Boro language.

8. Rehabilitation of erosion affected people at Nagaon

The representatives of ABSU referred to specific case of Nagaon district where inspite of earlier assurance by the Government steps have not been taken. The case is that there was heavy erosion in Lahorighat of Morigaon Sub-division of Nagaon. Though assurances were already made no steps were taken for rehabilitation of the erosion affected tribal people.

It was decided that the Government would immediately examine the case and steps to be taken against erosion and also the cases of rehabilitation of the erosion affected tribal people.

Lastly, Chief Minister, Assam thanked the representatives of ABSU for participating in the discussions and insisted that their demand should be settled through negotiations and mutual understanding. It was also decided that another meeting with the representatives of ABSU would be held in the first week of July, 1987.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the chair.

MINUTES OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM AND ALL BODO STUDENTS
UNION, (PRESIDENT, SHRI UPENDRA NATH BRAHMA) HELD
ON 11.1.1989 AT STATE GUEST HOUSE No. 1, JAWAHAR
NAGAR, KHANAPARA, GUWAHATI :

During the visit of Chief Minister, Assam to Kokrajhar on 3.1.1989 there was a dialogue between him and the President (Shri Upen Brahma) of All Bodo Students' Union relating to their 92 point charter of demand. The Minister of State, WPT & BC (Shri Durgadas Boro) was also present during this dialogue. The President of ABSU drew the attention of Chief Minister about ABSU's pursuing the last three demands of this 92 point charter of demand, while suspending their demand in respect of the first 89 points of their charter of demands, following their general meeting, held recently at Basbari in Dhubri district.

Point No. 90 relates to political rights of Non-Karbi tribes in Karbi Anglong District. Point No. 91 relates to the demand for the creation of District Council for the tribals in the tribal compact areas of southern valley of the Brahmaputra of Assam. Point No. 92 relates to the demand for creation of a separate State with the status of Union Territory for the Plains Tribes in the northern valley of the Brahmaputra of Assam. Most of the remaining charter of demands relate to developmental matters.

During the dialogue, the Chief Minister, Assam firmly reiterated the policy of Government of Assam that the State Government were absolutely against any further

division or political restructuring of the existing State of Assam. However, various points of the charter of demands of ABSU including these might be discussed between the representatives of the ABSU and the representatives of the Government of Assam, so that the matters could be appreciated in the proper perspective. He also reiterated the State Government's concern to solve the genuine problems of the Bodos and others and take all possible steps expeditiously for their welfare and development. In pursuance of this dialogue, a discussion was held between the representatives of the Government of Assam and the representatives of the ABSU at the State Guest House No. 1 at Khanapara on 11.1.1989. Shri Durgadas Boro, Minister of State, WPT & BC assisted by Kumar Dipak Das, M.L.A., and Shri Pradip Hazarika M.L.A. represented the Govt. of Assam. The 14 member representatives of ABSU included their Vice President, General Secretary, the two Advisers and Executive Members.

The discussion was held in a very cordial atmosphere. The Minister of State, WPT & BC recalled the firm resolve of the Government of Assam against any further division or political restructuring of the State of Assam. He said that it was ABSU, which had chosen to raise a long 92 point charter of demands and it raised many questions, when the ABSU was recently asking for the suspension of all the 89 initial demands and the pursuing only of the last three demands. As indicated by the Chief Minister, Assam, the various points including the last three could be discussed between the representatives of ABSU and those of the Government of Assam for helping furtherance of the solution to their genuine problems, accelerating the development of the concerned areas of the State, while still maintaining the integrity of the State as per the firm stand of the State Government. The State Government of their own were quite keen and were taking steps for dealing with

the various problems concerning the Bodos and others, but since the ABSU had chosen to raise 92 point charter of demands, the State Government might discuss the same with their representatives.

The representatives of the ABSU wished to confine their deliberation only on the last three political demands. They also expressed a desire for the holding of a formal discussion between their representatives with the representatives of the Government of Assam, following a formal invitation from the Government of Assam, involving the Chief Minister, Assam. In course of the discussion, the representatives of the ABSU asked for withdrawal of the application of the 'Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 Assam, withdrawal of prohibitory orders now in force under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C., stoppage of village raids by the Police, release of the arrested ABSU activists and supporters unconditionally. The representatives of the ABSU stated that their charter of demands was basically an expression of their keen desire to preserve ethnic identity and promote their culture. There should be full opportunity for promoting the cultures of various ethnic groups without discrimination.

During the discussion, the representatives of the ABSU mentioned about the demand for inclusion of the Bodo tribes of Karbi Anglong district as Scheduled Tribes— (Hills) and their demand for the creation of District Council in the tribal compact areas of the southern valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam.

There was a detailed discussion on all these matters and a few other points of the 92 point charter of demands of the ABSU. During the discussion, the Minister of State, WPT & BC, Assam explained that the application of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 was intended for effective dealing with the serious crime and violence and it was not meant for curbing

the political activity of any organisation. Similarly, the prohibitive orders under sec. 144 Cr. P.C. were promulgated by the authorities under the State from time to time as necessary steps against breach of peace in the context of prevailing unlawful and crime situations. The police raids in the village areas or arrests of persons were the lawful steps, taken by the authorities in dealing with the crimes, committed. Following discussions on this issue, the representatives of the ABSU appreciated the position regarding these matters. While reacting to the allegation of Police excess as stated by ABSU, the Minister of State, WPT & BC stated that there was no question of giving indulgence for any Police excess and also there was no question of curbing any lawful action by the Police for effective dealing with the crimes or violence.

Minister of State, WPT & BC, in course of the discussion explained that under the constitution of India, every ethnic group was entitled to preserving and promoting its culture and so far as the Govt. were concerned, they would promote the cultural activities of the various ethnic groups in the State in a fair manner. He called upon all concerned for maintaining the unity and integrity of the State in the midst of diversities in their cultures.

In course of the discussion, the representatives of the ABSU were apprised of the present position regarding the examination of the case of Bodos in Karbi Anglong district and the cases of various other communities in the State of Assam in reference to their representations for being treated as Scheduled Tribes of Assam in accordance with the usual guidelines of the Govt. of India for declaring a community as Scheduled Tribe of a State. The final decision regarding treating a community as Scheduled Tribes of a State or not rests with the Centre and it involves Parliamentary enactment as per the Constitution of India.

In reference to the demand for the creation of District Councils for the Tribals in the Tribal compact areas of the southern valley of the Brahmaputra as demanded by the ABSU, it was explained that the composition of the population of the areas as per the Census was an important matter amongst other things.

With regard to the implementation of various measures on Bodo language as an associate official language in Kokrajhar District and in Udalguri Sub-Division the representatives of the ABSU were apprised of some of the steps taken by the State Govt. in the matter. In this context, one could see the experiences in various other parts of the country regarding the actual position in the use of official languages.

In reference to the discussion on the Tribal Belts and Blocks, Minister of State, WPT & BC explained the policy and the approach of the State Govt. on the matter. The State Govt. are in favour of the preservation of these Belts and Blocks as envisaged under the law.

While responding to the representatives of ABSU in the discussion, the Minister of State, WPT & BC stated that a former invitation would be communicated to the ABSU after consulting the Chief Minister, Assam for the holding of the next discussion between the representatives of the ABSU and State Govt.

While thanking the Govt. of Assam for the cordial gesture for holding the discussion, the representatives of the ABSU stated that they would be looking forward to it. Both sides appreciated the need for maintaining peace. The meeting ended with reciprocation of goodwill to both sides.

**TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS KILLED IN BODO VIOLENCE
SINCE 1987.**

TOTAL NO. OF PERSONS KILLED : 639
 (a) Govt. employees : 21
 (b) Policemen : 69
 (c) Extremists : 124
 (d) Civilians : 425

CLASSIFIED DISTRICTWISE BREAK-UP OF INCIDENTS CHART FOR THE YEAR 1987

Dis- trict	Dead			Arson					Ex- plo- sion	Att- ack Of Police firing	No. Of Police	Da- coity	Rob- bery	Sea- rchs Ra id	No of arms Snatch		Arr- est	Rema- rk
	Em- plo- yee	Poli- ce	Extri- mist	Civi- lian	Brid- ge	Govt. Schl.	Pvt. Buldg	Vehi- cle							Police	Police		
Barpeta																		
Darrang						2			2	1					1		15	
Dhubri																		
Goalpara																		
Kamrup						1											15	
Kokrajhar		2	1							2							31	
Lakhimpur																		
Nalbari								2									28	
Sonitpur																	15	
Toal		2	1	—		3	2		2	3					1		104	

CLASSIFIED DISTRICTWISE BREAK UP OF INCIDENTS CHART FOR THE YEAR 1988

Dis- trict	Dead				Arson				Exp- losi- on	Att- ack on Poli- ce	No. Of Po- lice firing	Da- coity	Rob- bery	Search Raid	No. of arms snatch		Ar- rest	Rema- rk
	Em- plo- yee	Pol- ice	Extre- mist	Civi- lian	Bri- dge	Govt Schl	Pvt. Buldg	Vehi- cle							Police	Police		
Barpeta						1	15		3									
Darrang	1		4	12	10	6	17	8	18	10	7	20	7	16	1	22	335	4
Dhubri					1				2	2	1		2	2				9
Goalpara									1					1				2
Kamrup									5			2		1				
Kokrahar	4	6	6	32	20	25	25	25	55	69	58	77	32	83	4	96	693	
Lakhimpur			2			1						1		1				1
Nalbari												1		1				2
Sonitpur					2				3	2	2	5	3	2				71
Total	5	6	10	46	31	35	57	33	87	83	68	111	46	106	5	119	1117	

CLASSIFIED DISTRICTWISE BREAK UP OF INCIDENTS CHART FOR THE YEAR 1989 UPTO OCTOBER 31

Dis- trict	Dead			Arson					Ex- plo- sion	Att- ack On Po- lice	No. Of Po- lice firing	Da- coity	Rob- bery	Search /Raid	No of arms snatch		Ar- rest	Rem- ark
	Em- plyee	Po- lice	Ex- tre- mist	Civi- lian	Brid- ge	Govt /Schl	Pvt. Bldg	Vehi- cle							Police	Civil		
Barpeta			20	34	9	29	60	4	14	41	34	23	2	29	10	125		
Darrang	3	4	21	81	52	66	2980	3	33	76	62	20	1	63	1	5	428	
Dhubri	1	2		7	13	21	1	1	24	15	15	6	1	30	1	68		
Goalpara				6	5	7	2	2	15	5	3	1		31		78		
Kamrup			10	12	5	15	47	3	5	12	12	4		28	3	81		
Kokrajhar	12	31	37	117	59	94	174	33	101	219	185	39	7	140	19	7	687	
Lakhimpur			5	16	7	10	37	1	15	11	7	10	1	29	3	96		
Nalbari		14	16	82	10	26	49	5	7	34	34	24	1	32	5	24	158	
Sonitpur			4	24	4	18	2632	3	6	24	22	17	4	26	2	8	59	
Total	16	51	113	379	164	286	5982	55	220	437	374	145	17	408	27	61	1580	