



International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)
A Peer-Reviewed Bi-monthly Bi-lingual Research Journal
ISSN: 2349-6959 (Online), ISSN: 2349-6711 (Print)
ISJN: A4372-3142 (Online) ISJN: A4372-3143 (Print)
UGC Approved Journal (SL NO. 2800)
Volume-III, Issue-VI, May 2017, Page No. 330-340
Published by Scholar Publications, Karimganj, Assam, India, 788711
Website: <http://www.ijhsss.com>

Identity politics and Resurgence of Non-Bodo movement in B.T.A.D

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Abstract

Identity politics is one of the most widely discussed issues in the academia today. Identity politics is generally understood as a phenomenon which leads to a counter movement to protest against oppression and injustice that is met out to various communities on the basis of their racial, religious, cultural, gender or ethnic identity. In BTAD the Bodos are trying to get their rights through Bodo Movement. And due to this Identity assertion movement of Bodo community the Non Bodo people are feeling deprive, alienated, discriminated and they are facing problems in every sphere like problem of getting Job, problem of proper political participation, problem of development activities, problem of militancy and so on . As a result the Non-Bodo communities in BTAD started their movement against the Bodo community and trying to get their rights in every sphere. So through this paper an attempt has been made to study the identity movement of Bodos and its counter movement by the Non Bodos in the area. Moreover, this paper also tries to focus the role of various Non Bodo organizations and their demand for protecting the rights of Non Bodo communities in BTAD.

Key Words: *Identity Politics, Bodo Movement, Resurgence of Non Bodo Movement, Assam, BTAD.*

Introduction: The issue of Identity politics has become a very important issue in present context. Generally, Identity politics are political arguments that focus upon the interest and perspectives of groups with which people identify. The issue of Identity politics includes the ways in which people's politics may be shaped by aspects of their identity through loosely correlated social organizations. Examples include social organizations based on race, class, religion, gender, gender identity, ethnicity, ideology, nation, sexual orientation, culture, information preference etc. The term identity politics and movements linked to it came into being during the latter part of the 20th century.

Identity is not inherent. It is not a fixed or determined structure. It is rather open and fluid. Identity is constructed through close interaction between the individual, the society

and history. As a social construct, every type of identity undergoes changes as changes take place in society, culture, technology and political system thereby acquiring its own style, organization, substance and legitimacy over time and space.¹

Identity Politics and Ethnicity: Identity politics is one of the most widely discussed issues in the academia today. Identity politics is generally understood as a phenomenon which leads to a counter movement to protest against oppression and injustice that is met out to various communities on the basis of their racial, religious, cultural, gender or ethnic identity. Identity politics begins with the process of identity formation of certain sections of the society who consider them to be oppressed and marginalized. Such construction of self-identity may originate on the basis race, gender or an ethnic consciousness of a group. However, mere sense of belonging to certain identity does not crystallize into a movement. It leads to a movement only when the symbols of identities (e.g. language, race or ethnicity) are utilized by elites to mobilize group sentiments.

On the other hand there is no generally agreed definition or theory of ethnicity; scholars define and describe the term in various ways, such as a modern cultural construct, a universal social phenomenon, a personal identity, a peculiar kind of informal political organisation or affective association. To begin with those who identify the symbolic and subjective side of ethnicity, Hutchinson and Smith (1996), for example, define ethnies (the French term used to denote an 'ethnic community' or 'ethnic group') as 'a named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members'.

Identity Assertion among Bodos: It is found that the Bodos ruled independently for a long period. There was no outside influence over their language, culture and tradition. They enjoyed a distinct way of life. But they could not maintain this distinctness for a long time because the advent of the Aryans marked the beginning of a new era of the socio-cultural fusion between Aryans and non-Aryans in this part of the country. Automatically, the process of assimilation among the different people went on which brought the diverse ethnic groups under one common cultural platform to lay the foundation of a composite Assamese society and culture.

The period between the Nineteenth century and early part of the Twentieth century was a period of chaos and confusion of their way of life. At that time, socially and economically, the Bodo society was very backward and an unhappy state of affairs was prevalent among them, as the age old ties in the society been losing its strength day by day. Due to the wretched condition of the social system, anarchism was at large in the society. In the matter of religion, some differences were emerged among the Bodos. Some of them had been converted into Islam, Christianity and Vaishnavism. At such a critical moment, a strong

¹ Deka, Hira Moni. (2014). *Politics of identity and the Bodo movement in Assam*, New Delhi: Astral International Pvt. Ltd, p.1.

man of uncommon caliber appeared among the Bodos who was known as Srimot Kalicharan Mech, popularly known as “Gurudev Kalicharan”. He did not like division of the Bodo society in to so many groups in the name of faith and religion. So, he thought of uniting the whole society of Bodos into one. He read the *Saranitya Kriya*, a book of rites and rituals of Brahma Dharma or Brahma Religion, collecting of teaching of Srimot Param Hangsa Sibnarayan Swami, initiator of Brahma religion would be highly appropriate for the Bodos. He was firm in his belief that the present religion of the Bodos should be replaced by Brahma religion immediately. So, he has made so many activities for the reformation of Bodo society. He called upon the people to give up the traditional practices of rearing pigs and poultry birds. Brewing and consumption of liquor were to be totally stopped. He encouraged trade, business, weaving, carpentry etc. he also discredited the practice of demanding the bride price at exorbitant rate. As a result, gradually the Bodos become conscious and started to organize themselves. In this way, in 1918 the All Bodo Chatra Sanmilian was formed, which was the first organization of Bodos and in 1924 the *Bodo Maha Sabha* came into existence. Thus it appears that through the social reformation initially the Bodos become conscious of their backwardness and tried to make the Bodos educated.

So, it can be simply said that the movement of the Bodos started as a socio-cultural movement amongst the Bodo-Kacharis tribe and aimed at securing goal of socio-economic, political and cultural identity. The movement has developed into a socio-political movement, demanding a separate state within the Indian Union as of now. Bodos first raised the demand for a separate homeland during the British rule. To accelerate the movement different organizations were formed. All Assam Plains Tribal League (AAPTL) in 1933, Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) in 1952, Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) in 1967 and All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) in 1967 were formed. With the formation of these organizations the socio-political movement got more accelerated for the political power and self-identity. This movement and consciousness among the Bodo Masses gradually took a definite form and developed for the demand of statehood called Bodoland for safeguarding the interest of Bodos through political set up. As of now, the Bodos under the banner of ABSU is leading a movement called mass revolution to achieve -separate state called “Bodoland” on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra, autonomous district councils in the tribal dominated areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra., inclusion of ‘Bodo-Kacharis’ of Karbi Anglong in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India.² The movement for the Bodoland continued with two approaches- Socio Political movement and the Arm movement. The various social and students organisations like All Bodo Students Union (ABSU). Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS), All Bodo Womens Welfare Association (ABWWF) and other led the Bodoland Movement through social and political movement. On the other hand arm movement was led by some armed organizations like Bodoland Liberation Tigers (BLT) and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB).

² Basumatary, Keshab. (2012). *Political Economy of Bodo Movement*, New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 110094. p.34.

Consequently, on February 20, 1993, the All Bodo Students Union and the Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC) signed Bodo accord with the central and the state governments to end the violent Bodoland movement. The Accord made a commitment to forming an elected Bodo Autonomous council (BAC) comprising "contiguous geographical areas between river Sankos and Mazbat/river pasnoi". The accord left the question of its precise territorial jurisdiction open and provided that the government will "scrutinize the list of villages submitted by Bodo activists having 50 percent and more population which will be included in the BAC. For the purpose of providing a contiguous area, even villages having less than 50 percent tribal population shall be included. The state assembly passed the BAC Act in the same year, which provided for a General Council to be constituted by 40 elected members including 30 seats reserved for the Scheduled Tribes. The Act also provided for functional autonomy to the BAC over a total 37 subjects.³

Soon after the declaration and formation of BAC 1993, the question of majority and minority came to the fore. The Bodos claimed that they constitute the majority and all the Non-Bodo communities thought that they together constitute the majority. Earlier Bhupinder Singh Committee pointed out that the population of the plain's tribal in the proposed autonomous area constitutes only 38 percent of the total population of the area. It seems the leadership of the Bodo Movement was quite aware of the precarious demographic fluidity that exists in the contested space. The longstanding feeling of being a demographic and ethnic majority among the Bodos, was a major propeller of the Bodo Movement.⁴

Creation of BTC and alienation of Non-Bodos in BTAD: Latter, in 2003 the National Democratic Alliance Govt. realized the gravity of the situation, the Bodoland Territorial Act was passed and accordingly BTC was created under 6th Schedule of the Indian Constitution, comprising four district viz. Kokrajhar Chirang, Udalguri and Baksa, collectively known as Bodoland Territorial Autonomous Districts.⁵ It would be effective to note here that originally 6th schedule was created for the hill tribes of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. Presently, the plain tribes namely Bodo are also enjoying 6th schedule status which became a source of discontent of many other plain tribes in Assam, e.g. Tiwas, Rabhas, Mishings etc. The BTC is constituted with total 46 seats, out of them 30 seats are reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, 5 for the non-tribal communities and another 5 seats open for all. The Governor of Assam can nominate other remaining 6 from unrepresentative communities from BTC area. We can get the real picture of administrative set up of Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) in following table-

³ Nurul, Hassan & Mofidur, Rahman. (2015). "Bodo, Bodoland and Beyond Bodoland", published in "*Frontier States Essays on Democracy, Society and Security in North East India*" Edit.(S) Alaka Sarmah and Shubhrajeev Konwer, DVS Publication, Guwahati, p.4.

⁴ Dhruvaprati, Sharma. (2001). "Ideological and Mobilizational Strategies of Ethnic Sub-Regionalism: A study of the Bodo Movement in Assam", *Department of Political Science, Gauhati University*, p.115.

⁵ Nath Monoj Kumar. (2003). "Bodo Insurgency in Assam: New accord and new problems", Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis, Vol.27, No 4, p.537.

Table 1.01: Composition of BTC

Sl.No.	Categories	No. of seats	% of seats
1	Reserved for STs	30	65.21
2	Reserved for Non-Tribal Community	5	10.86
3	Open for all	5	10.86
4	Governor nominates (from un representative community)	6	13.04
5	Total	46	100

Source: Centre for Development & Peace Studies, <http://cdpsindia.org/btc>

So, if we look the above composition (Table 1.01) of BTC carefully we can say that this is an undemocratic composition in terms of population. It is estimated that in BTC out of the total population of 1.05 million, the plain tribes constitute only around 300 thousands (28.57%), the Bengali Muslims 236,000(22.47%), the Jharkhandis 186,000 (17.71%), the Koch-Rajbongshis 165,000(15.71%), the Nepalis and Bengali Hindus 133,000 (12.66%). Santosh Rana argues that if the above data are correct than the plain tribes are minority in BTC. Therefore the creation of BTC is an upshot of minority rule over majority.⁶ As a result the Non Bodos have started movement in BTAD to get their basic rights.

Resurgence of Non-Bodo movement in BTAD: While looking at the Non-Bodo movement in BTAD, there are various Non-Bodo organization started this movement by taking various demand such as Sanmilita Janagostiya Sangram Samiti (SJSS: United Ethnic People's Struggle Committee), Aboro Surakhya Samiti (Assam), BTAD Citizen Rights Forum and so on.⁷ But prior to this organization various committees also tried to solve the problem. For instance, a 14-member delegation headed by Ramesh Ch. Ray and Prithvi Kanti Sinha, President and Secretary respectively, Goalpariaya Bhasa Sankritik Samorah Samity submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister, Hiteswar Saikia and demanded exclusion of non-Bodo dominated villages and two belts (wetlands) from the map of BAC.⁸ Their blanket opposition to inclusion of non-tribal villages in BAC area emerged from deeply rooted fear and assumption that the creation of Bodoland will culminate in subjugation of rights of non-tribals. Bodos read these as part of larger state strategy to divert Bodos from their political aspirations. Ironically, the opposition represented by legislative groups such as the AGP, CPI, CPM, ASDC and BJP also joined the bandwagon of anti-BAC movement to cash in the majority non-Bodo votes. They collectively submitted a

⁶ Nurul, Hassan. & Mofidur, Rahman. (2015). "Bodo, Bodoland and Beyond Bodoland", published in "Frontier States Essays on Democracy, Society and Security in North East India" Edit.(S) Alaka Sarmah and Shubhrajeet Konwer, Guwahati: DVS Publication.p.3.

⁷ Hussain, Manirul. (2012) "Empowering Ethnic Minorities", *South Asian Journal*, p.87.

⁸ Kakati, Bhaben. (2014) Democracy in Sixth Schedule: A Study in BTAD Assam, *Indian Streams Research Journal*, Vol.4, Issue.5 p.3.

memorandum against the BAC in different times.⁹ Moreover they also took so many activities against central and state government like Strike, Dharnas and so on. For instance most recently the Non –Bodo Surakshya Samiti (BTAD) went to Delhi (Jantar Mantar) for protesting against the demand of Bodoland and arose so many demands such as Scrap BTC Accord, review of BTC Accord, exclusion of Non-Bodo village from 51% non-Bodo population in BTAD area and also to hold Panchayat Elections in the villages. Moreover the Non –Bodo organizations also took protest against it by arranging bike rally on December 11, 2016 in BTAD. Through this protest the Non-Bodo organizations tried to prove that the Non-Bodo people are being deprived of civil and political rights, not getting due share in the state sponsored aids, benefits etc. Moreover the Non-Bodo organizations also alleged that they will not allow breaking up of “mother-state Assam for a separate Bodoland”

Therefore, to understand about the non-Bodo movement, we need to discuss various Non-Bodo organisations and their demand, activities for bringing peace in BTAD.

Sanmilita Janagostiya Sangram Samiti: The Sanmilita Janagostiya Sangram Samiti is an alliance of 21 non-Bodo organizations viz. All Koch-Rajbongshi Students Union, Sanmilita Janagostiya Sangram Samiti, All BTC Minority Students Union, All Assam Minority Students’ Union, All BTC Bengoli Youth Students Federation, All Assam Koch Rajbangshi Sanmilani, Koch Rajbanchi Mahila Samiti, Chilarai Sena, Citizen Justice Forum, Sachetan Ganmancha, Nyay Dabi Samiti, Nath-Yogi Students Union, Sadou Assam Kalita Sanmilani, Mushlim Yuva Parishad, Santras Birodhi Gana Mancha, Sanjukta Sankhyalughu Yuva Parisad, Adivashi Sachetan Gana Mancha and O Bodo Yuva-Chatra Mancha.

The Sanmilita Janagostiya Sangram Samiti has been fighting for the last fifteen years against granting of territorial autonomy to the bodos by invoking the sixth schedule of the constitution.¹⁰ Their principled demand was based on the hard fact that the Bodos comprised less than 20-30 percent of the then proposed and now established Bodoland Territorial Area District (BTAD). Another important argument of this organization was, Bodo leadership claim that the Bodo constitute majority in whole lower Assam that means north of the river Brahmaputra. According to them this is absolutely outrageous. There is not a single district in this area, comprising the seven district: Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Darrang and the north bank areas of Kamrup where the schedule tribes, Bodos and other come anywhere near the majority status. Not only that among the scores of the community development blocks in the concerned areas, there are only three blocks in Kokrajhar district and one block in Bongaigoan district which have bare tribal majorities, ranging between 51.8% and 54%. Of these the Kokrajhar part of the bureaucratically bifurcated Sidli-Chirang block has a tribal population of 53.6%, while the

⁹ Dutta, Anwasha. (2016). The Politics of Complexity in Bodoland: The Interplay of Contentious Politics, the Production of Collective Identities and Elections in Assam, *Department of Conflict and Development Studies*, Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium. p. 490.

¹⁰ Khalek, Abdul. (2013) “ BTAD-t Bipanna saikhyalughu Musalmanor Adhikar”, published in *BTAD Sanghat Prachar Bonam Bastobata*, edited by Abdul Mannan, Guwahati: Angik Press, p. 36-48.

other part in the lately created Bongaigaon district has only 25.9%. If the two blocks are combined as they should be the tribal percentage comes down to less than 40%. There are certain blocks viz Jalah in Barpeta district, Baksa in Nalbari District and Udalguri in Darrang district where the tribal population is between 42 and 46 percent, but in all these blocks Saraniaa and Rabhas both classified as Scheduled tribes. There is another block Kachugaon in Kokrajhar district which has a tribal population is nearly 45% and the enumerated tribes here are very largely Bodo. The percentage of Bodos in all other block is low or non-existent, with none reaching the thirties and only five reaching the twenties. The Non Bodo leader has expressed that these all data are based on 1991 census.¹¹ The demands of this organization area as follows-

Their demands:

- i. Reviewing the BTC Accord and Six Schedule to the constitution (Amendment) Act-2003, to preserve constitutional rights of Non-Bodo people and to exclude the Non-Bodo majority villages from the BTAD. Ascertain the security of life and properties of the people in BTAD. If necessary permanent post of central security forces at all the sensitive places proposed by the affected people.
- ii. Fully fledged combing operation for the recovery of all the illegal arms in BTAD areas.
- iii. High level enquiry into the massacres of Narayanguri, Narshingbari and Balapara. Police and administration involved in inaction should also be brought under the high level enquiry.
- iv. CBI enquiry into the murder of Manoj Das at Mushalpur.
- v. Solution to the D voter's problem.
- vi. Stop the violation of human rights of religious and linguistic minorities in the name of D voters.
- vii. Complete the preparation of NRC.
- viii. To ensure, land rights, right to residence and other legal and constitutional right of the non-Bodo people of B.T.A.D. areas as per clause 4.3 (a), 4.3(b) of the B.T.C accord and relevant provision of Indian Constitution.
- ix. Rehabilitation of victims of violence in the present B.T.A.D. areas from 1987 till date should be made as per clause 13 of B.T.C accord, rehabilitating all displaced Koch-Rajbangsi, indigenous Assamese Hindu, Nath-yogi, Adivashi, Nepali and Muslim communities.
- x. To stop movement of all terrorist forces and arms deals in B.T.A.D. areas and cases of extortion of money collected from different communities.
- xi. To find a permanent solution to the foreigners issue in Assam, India- Bangladesh, and India- Bhutan border must be sealed within one year and all river routes to be patrolled to stop all kinds of infiltration.

¹¹ Assam Tribune, 16 April 1993
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- xii. To prepare national register citizens (NRC) on the basis of documents of persons residing in Assam taking 25th March 1971 as base year and issue photo identity cards to such citizen.
- xiii. To establish a permanent cell of National Human Rights Commission in BTAD Assam.

So, in the light of this above demand, one of the important non-Bodo organizations namely Sanmilita Janagostiya Oikya Mancha has submitted their memorandum to Honorable Home Minister of India on August 6, 2014.¹² Again, it has to mention here that on April 8, 2002 also another memorandum was submitted by Sanmilita Jana-Gosthiya Sangram Samity to our Honorable prime minister and Home minister. But till today no positive response has come from the government to solve the issue peacefully.

Abora (Non-Bodo) Surakshya Somitee (Assam): Abora (Non-Bodo) Surakshya Somitee (Assam) is also another important organization fighting for the rights of Non-Bodos in B.T.A.D. This organization was established in 2012-2013. The president of this organization was Nagendra Nath Deka and secretary is Jogeswar Kalita. Presently, Aboro Surakshya Samitee BTAD has been formed under the president Rofik Ahmed and Secretary John Das and working actively for the rights of Non-Bodos.

The Abora (Non-Bodo) Surakshya Somitee (Assam), assert that according to memorandum of settlement Act 2003 that was signed between the central, Assam government and BLT to create territorial council by amending six schedules which is only applicable to hill area. The basic criteria of the amended six schedules are that only those villages having 50% or more ST people are to be included under territorial council. But by violating the MOS, it is seen that hundreds of Non-Bodo villages having 50% or more Non-Bodo population have been included under the BTAD area.

So, the Non-Bodo Suraksha Samitee always stand against any attempt for creation of separate Bodoland state or bifurcation of Assam.

Their main Demand:

- To hold the Panchayat Election after exclusion of villages inhabited by above 51% non-Bodos.
- To stop the process of forming Bodo land state or any union territorial body.
- To ensure the security and fundamental right of Non-Bodos by amendment of agreement of BTC Act 2003.
- To offer the status of Schedule Tribe to 6 (six) ethnic groups of people.
- To seize the illegally possessed weapons from the people in BTC area.
- To rehabilitate the house less victims of the ethnic violence and to provide them adequate security.

¹² Memorandum submitted to Honourable Home Minister by Sanmilita Janagosthiya Sangram Samiti on Nov 8, 2004, collected from the president of BTAD Citizen Rights Forum, Zomser Ali 14/05/2016

- To stop any kind of discussion with NDFB with regard to the demarcation of the area of BTC.
- To bring the culprits of the recent ethnic violence to look justice.

These are some of the demand of Abora (Non-Bodo) Surakshya Somitee (Assam). By taking this demand they have submitted a memorandum to our Honorable Prime Minister Mr Narendra Modi in 2014.¹³

BTAD Citizen Rights Forum: The BTAD Citizen Rights Forum is also another important and very conscious Non-Bodo organization in B.T.A.D. The president of this organization Zamser Ali and other members has greatly sacrifices for the protection of the rights of Non-Bodos especially when the riots took place in 2012 and 2014.¹⁴ The role of Zamser Ali and his organization in the various core issues of Non-Bodo people was very significant. If we look at the clash of 2012, we find that many political leaders like Promod Boro (the president of ABSU); Hagrama Mahilary (the chief executive member of BTC) blamed miscreants from Bangladesh as being responsible for the violence. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has also blamed the “illegal Muslim immigrants” for this clash.¹⁵ But the BTAD Citizen Rights Forum has proved with data that there is no basis to say illegal immigration is the main cause of this conflict. The various demand of this organization can be seen in following points-

1. The displaced persons in B.T.A.D. violence should be given rehabilitation and full compensation with proper security on the basis of 2011 & prior to its anyone voter list.
2. To ensure, land rights, right to residence and other legal and constitutional rights on the Non-Bodo people of B.T.A.D. areas as per clause 4.3 (a), 4.3(b) of the B.T.C. accord and relevant provision of Indian constitution.
3. All arms should be seized in B.T.A.D. areas immediately to ensure peace and security of lives of all people.
4. To stop movement of all terrorist forces and arms deals in B.T.A.D. areas and cases of extortion of money collected from different communities.
5. To ensure appointment to government job of at least one person from the families of each of the persons killed during the recent violence. If no suitable candidate is available pay monthly grants family pensions to such families.
6. To handover all cases of offences committed in B.T.A.D. areas in the recent ethnic cleansing to C.B.I for proper investigating and to continue with army operation in the area to maintain peace.

¹³ Memorandum submitted to Honorable Home Minister Rajnath Singh by Sanmilita Janagosthiya Oikya Mancha on Aug 6, 2014, collected from the president of BTAD Citizen Rights Forum, Zomser Ali 14/05/2016

¹⁴ Memorandum Submitted to Honorable Prime Minister Narendra Modi by Non Bodo Suraksha Somitee, Assam, collected from the president of BTAD Citizen Rights Forum, Zomser Ali 14/05/2016

¹⁵ Ibid

7. To find out a permanent solution to the foreigner issue in Assam, India-Bangladesh, and India-Bhutan border must be sealed within one year and all river routes to be patrolled to stop all kinds of infiltration.
8. To prepare National Register of citizens (NRC) on the basis of documents of persons residing in Assam since before 25th March 1971 and to issue photo identity cards to such citizen.
9. To ensure insurance of land pattas to persons residing on government khas lands, Touzi land for a period of ten years.
10. To ensure detection and deportation of all foreigners entering Assam after 25th March, 1971 through legal procedure. To take stringent action against the persons or organizations who have taken up law in their own hands in the name of detecting of foreigners.
11. To stop police atrocities being committed in the name of investigation of cases in BTAD. There should be no discrimination between different communities in apprehending the culprits.
12. To establish a permanent cell on National Human Rights Commission in BTAD Assam.
13. To make a review of BTC Accord with participation of representation of all communities of people residing within BTAD areas.

These were some of the important demand of BTAD Citizen Rights Forum which has submitted to government of India for bringing peace in B.T.A.D.¹⁶

Conclusion: After going through this discussion it can be said that the Non-Bodo movement is basically the product of dissatisfaction against BTAD administration. Through this movement the Non-Bodo communities tries to bring end of discrimination against them in different aspects such as job, economic opportunities, political participation and most importantly they tries to end up the Bodo militancy and Bodo atrocities on Non-Bodos. Thus this Non-Bodo movement is very recent movement against the demand of separate state of BTAD. For this movement so many Non-Bodo organizations have been doing their activities to end up the Bodo and Non-Bodo problems. Among these organizations ‘BTAD Citizen Rights Forum’, ‘Sanmilita Jangostiya Aikya Mancha’, ‘Aboro Surakshya Samitee’ has been involving more actively. Though these have not been able to get positive result but they are trying to solve the issue and protecting the rights of Non-Bodos in BTAD. And it has to mention here that in this Non-Bodo movement so many Non-Bodo leaders have laid their lives such as Manaj Das, Sanjay Das, Mahendra Hira, Bidyut Kalita, Lakhman, Tapan, Jayanta etc. Thus, Non-Bodo movement has been continuing in BTAD and till today the issue has not been resolved properly.

¹⁶ Pathak, Suryasikha. (2012). “Ethnic Violence in Bodoland”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.47, Issue. 34, p.19.

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