

CHAPTER- 3

BODO IDENTITY MOVEMENT

Unlike the other creatures of this earth, humankind has since time immemorial striven to create bonds on the basis of region, country, language, culture, religion, etc. When such groups feel their identity is getting eroded because of factors like subjugation, assimilation, etc., they have found ways to assert themselves to preserve their identity.

Recent events across the country like movements for a separate Telangana, Gorkhaland, etc., stem from the assertion of people of a particular region of their identity. While these movements emphasized the issues of discrimination and development.

Telangana Movement refers to a people's movement for the creation of a new state of Telangana, from the existing state of Andhra Pradesh in South India. The proposed new state corresponds to the Telugu-speaking portions of the erstwhile princely state of Hyderabad State. After several years of peoples movement The UPA government has decided to bifurcate the existing Andhra Pradesh state and the Union Cabinet on 7 February 2014 unilaterally cleared the Bill for the creation of Telangana, clearing the way for its introduction in Parliament. This has been one of the most longlasting movements in South India. On 18 February, Lok Sabha passed the Bill with voice of the majority. Subsequently, the Bill was passed by Rajya Sabha on February 20, 2014. As per the Bill, Hyderabad will be the capital of Telangana while the city would also remain the capital of residual state of Andhra Pradesh for no more than ten years. The appointed day for the creation of Telangana State is June 2, 2014.

Gorkhaland is a proposed state in India demanded by the people of Darjeeling hills and the people of Gorkha (Nepali) ethnic origin in Dooars in northern West Bengal on the basis of ethno-linguistic rights. The movement for Gorkhaland has gained momentum in the line of ethno-linguistic-cultural sentiment of the people who desire to identify themselves as Indian Gorkhas. Two mass movements for Gorkhaland have taken place under the Gorkha National Liberation Front (1986–1988) and Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (2007–present).

Koch Rajbongshi's of Assam are demanding for kamatapur. Kamtapur is the name of a state proposed in north West Bengal and Assam by the Rajbongshi people. The proposed state comprises some districts of West Bengal and other contiguous districts of Assam. This statehood demand is mostly led by Kamtapur People's Party Koch Rajbongshi community (also known as *Koch rajbongshi* and *Koch*) is an indigenous community found in parts of the Indian states of Assam.

Indigenous groups are unanimously vulnerable in the present socio-political and economic system of the world, including India. Assam is a heartland of indigenous groups. Since hundreds of years, many indigenous groups have been living in the State, maintaining their originalities in every sphere of life with difficulties. The uneven pace of modernization and the hired model of economic development have worsened the human conditions of the indigenous groups of Assam far more. In such circumstances, demand for special human rights to such groups by the groups themselves and by the civil society is a common phenomenon in the political history of Assam. In fact, the prolonged deprivation and alienation from the due benefits of socio-political and economic development has fuelled their anti-system tendencies.

Vulnerability of human conditions of the tribal-indigenous groups is more severe than the non-tribal aboriginals. The tribal-indigenous groups constitute almost 12.4% of the total population of Assam. However, every indigenous person is entitled to the realization of all human rights and fundamental freedom on equal terms with the society without any discrimination. They also enjoy certain human rights specifically linked to their identity, including the right to maintain and enjoy their culture and languages, right of access to ancestral lands, right to own pattern of development and to autonomy over indigenous affairs etc.

Despite these special rights given to them, the tribal-indigenous groups of Assam have to fight for recognition of their identities, their ways of life, rights over traditional lands, water and forests etc. Realizing a similar situation in the rest of the world, the UN Human Rights Council adopted the UN Declaration of Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2006 which emphasized the rights of indigenous people and their development in accordance

with their aspirations and needs.

However, like in other parts of the world, in Assam also, modernization and development have made tremendous impact on the tribal-indigenous groups in many forms. Getting the license of free trading, capitalists and big enterprises have invested their minds, money and machines in different corners of the State, including the remote tribal people-inhabited areas. Thus, gradually, they have been evicted from their own lands, losing their traditional rights on forests. Moreover, many of them are almost on the threshold of losing their own languages (dialects), dress, festivals, beliefs and so forth.

Enjoyment and development of their own culture and languages is a specific human right of indigenous tribes. This issue has been playing a pivotal role in the political history of Assam. Although the Britishers incorporated the hill areas with the plains in the state, yet they had conceded them traditional pattern of governance and socio-cultural lifestyle. But after Independence, especially after 1960, when the Assam Official Languages Bill was passed, a sense of deprivation and exploitation by the plains reached its height in the minds of the hills people. They even had expressed their sentiments before the states Reorganization Commission, which culminated later in the creation of six other states. Besides the hills people, some other plains-tribals of Assam such as the Bodos, Karbis, Misings and the Deuris, who had been maintaining their lingo-cultural identity, were also unhappy to accept Assamese as the medium of instruction. As a result, the state had to see other lingo-cultural and political mass mobilizations in the post-1970 era.

Tribal-indigenous people have integral relationships with land and natural resources. In short, their livelihood, culture and civilization are sustaining centring on nature. But the general intrusion of outsiders into their ancestral lands and forests in the name of urbanization and development has endangered their right to use, manage and safeguard natural resources. The Naga movement had a close nexus with this fear. Likewise, the Bodo movement for a separate State, the Karbi-Dimasa autonomy movement and the autonomy movements of the Misings, Deuris and Sonowals were also an indirect outcome of the fear of losing their ancestral lands, forests and waters in post-Independent Assam.

Self-determination is an important human right of the tribal-indigenous people of Assam,

under the banner of which almost two-third states in the present world have marched to independence. Legally speaking, it means the right of people to constitute, either alone or jointly with other people, a sovereign nation.

The North East, by the time of India's independence India in 1947 comprised of states of Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh. After Partition, means after the separation of Naga Hill District of Assam in 1963; Mizoram was separated from Assam as a centrally administered territory in 1972; Meghalaya was carved out from the state of Assam in 1972 from the greater Assam. And Assam was left with 23 tribes, comprising 14 hill tribes of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hills, and the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley. Observing the development in the hills, some tribals became conscious towards developing their sub-regions.

The Karbis have been aware of their vulnerability. The already deteriorated kingship-based traditional political system, nature-based livelihood, ancestral folk songs, and mortuary rituals and customs, which signified their distinctness once in a vibrant manner, helped them in putting forward their autonomy demand first in 1986. But after the last three decades they have turned their movement for creation of a separate Karbi State under the banner of 'right to self-determination'. Now they could compel the Centre to form a Karbi Territorial Council, a self-elected political body, election to which has already been held. (Khanikar in Sentinal 2012, 20 February)

The Bodos, a major indigenous tribe of plains of Assam, have, however, changed the political equation of the State many times through their identity awareness. After fulfillment of their early cultural awakening (recognition of Bodo language), the Bodos spearheaded a movement for political recognition called Udayachal, which later culminated in the creation of the Bodo Autonomous Council in 1993 and Bodoland Territorial Council in 2003.

The special distribution of rights and opportunities of society to the vulnerable groups is the need of the hour in Assam in order to have a harmonious system for all times to come.

3.1 History overview of the bodos political movement since colonial days to present time

The twentieth century has seen great upheaval in the social, cultural and religious sphere of the Bodo community, and the second part of the century saw movements for political assertion taking root amongst the various groups of people that constituted the Bodo nation. One can say that the transition from the twentieth to twenty first century runs parallel of the transition of the Bodos from a community to a nation.

Changes in traditional Bodo society began with the Brahma Dharma movement led by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma in the first decade of the twentieth century. Gurudev initiated reforms in the society and tried to do away with certain cultural and religious practices that he considered inimical to the wellbeing and progress of the Bodos. He vouched for the abolition of animal sacrifice, use of liquor in the name of religion, forced marriage of young girls, acceptance of bride price, illiteracy, and pig breeding. It was clear that he was influenced by the reformatory movements going on in other parts of the country. He made an effort to make changes in the traditional Bodo society. It is under impact and impulse of the preaching of Kalicharan Brahma, that seek assertion of the Bodo people took roots and found a new direction. He realized the need for all round development of the Bodos, whereas there was no any educational Institution in the Bodo areas. As a result, he succeeded in establishing several primary schools in Bodo areas in 1916. Till 1917, Bengali Language was the medium of instruction in the schools of this region. In 1916, Kalicharan Brahma submitted a memorandum to the chief Commissioner of Assam, pleading to introduce the Assamese language as the medium of instruction; consequently all the schools in Bodo areas were converted from Bengali medium to Assamese medium in subsequent years.

With a view to assisting the Bodo students in pursuing education, Kalicharan founded the 'Brahma Boarding' at Dhubri and it became the first centre of the Bodos to envisage the development of Bodo nationality. The students of the Brahma Boarding Schools were inspired by Kalicharan to find out the Bodos inhabiting in different parts of the country and bring them under one umbrella socially and politically. As a result of this idea under the active initiative and leadership of Rupnath Brahma and Madaram Brahma and the disciples of Kalicharan Brahma, the *Boro Chatra Sanmilan* (students' organization) took birth in 1919

at Kokrajhar town. One of the significant decisions adopted by the Chatra Sanmilani was to devote themselves for the creation of the Bodo Language and Literature.

The activities of Kalicharan Brahma were not confined to socio religious movements only but the prevailing situation and conditions of the Bodos compelled him to take political initiative to safeguard the Bodo from outside exploitation. Kalicharan Brahma pioneered the political agenda of the Bodos by submitting memorandum to the Simon commission on 4th January 1929. The Simon Commission was constituted in St. James London on 26th November 1927, to enquire “into the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institution in British India and the matter connected herewith”. (Brahma 2006, 32)

The political sentiments and aspirations of the Bodos were reflected in the memorandum which had the following demands,

- Separate Electorate for the Boro- Kacharis
- Creation of Boro Regiment
- Reservation of one seat for the Bodos of Assam in the legislature
- Provision for Bodo representative in the Councils as well as Local Boards of Goalpara and Dhubri
- Provision for free, and compulsory primary education and scholarship for Bodo students
- Reservation of executive posts in provincial areas for educated Bodos

The memorandum also opposed the transfer of Goalpara district from Assam to Bengal. The formation of the tribal league in 1933 was a socio economic and a political revolution of the Plains tribal in general and the Bodos in particular. The Indian national movement which spread all over India brought a tremendous psychological impact on the Bodo people too. Kalicharan Brahma gave company to Mahatma Gandhi, while Gandhiji came to Rupsi to address a rally. He also joined the Swaraj Movement and inspired the Bodos to fight against the British and to free the country from the British rule. The Tribal League was the only political party of the plains tribal which tried to bring all the Mongoloid groups of the plains

of Assam to a common platform to exert pressure to the government and national political parties to accord socio economic justice to tribal people.

By 1952, the Bodo Sahitya Sabha was formed with an objective of preserving and developing the Bodo language, culture and literature. The year 1967 was a landmark in the history of social revolution of the Bodos as it witnessed three important events emerging out of the struggle of the Bodos for their social and political identity which might be a reflection of their constant feeling that their society was on the verge of disintegration. The three important events were:

Srimati Indira Gandhi, then the Prime Minister of India announced the policy of reorganization of the state of Assam on the federal basis on 13th January 1967.

The Goalpara District Bodo Students' union immediately reacted to the Prime Minister's proposals for reorganization of state and ultimately it led to the formation of All Bodo Students' union (ABSU) on 15th February 1967.

It was immediately followed by the creation of new political party for the plains tribal of Assam on 27th February 1967.

The political party which was named Plains Tribal Councils of Assam was destined to demand a political unit for the plain tribal of Assam in the form of Union Territory to be called "Udayachal" on 20th May 1967, the PTCA for the first time placed their demand for the creation of an Autonomous Region to the President of India, Dr Zakir Hussain. The PTCA and ABSU jointly boycotted the parliamentary election on 19th May 1968 in support of the demand for creation of a separate administrative unit. In 1973 the demand for Autonomous was upgraded to the demand for a Union Territory. By this time the PTCA was able to get support from the Bodo mass to launch a vigorous movement. At the same the Bodo Sahitya Sabha also succeeded in getting the Devnagiri script accepted for Bodo language and literature.

In the general election of 1977, the PTCA won four seats in the assembly later on the PTCA treated for the demand of the Union Territory and wanted to stick on to the demand for an Autonomous Region once again. This abrupt decision of the PTCA aggravated the situation as the younger group of party workers and the Bodo Students Union vehemently opposed it;

consequently the younger section of the party members came out to form a new political party with the active cooperation of tribal youths and the Bodo Students' Union.

This new party was known as PTCA (progressive) was formed in 22nd May 1979. It submitted a memorandum to Smt. Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister demanding a separate Union Territory. The split of PTCA and PTCA (P) brought political chaos among the Bodos and it had long repercussion in the Bodo society. The ABSU tried to bring PTCA and PTCA (P) to a single platform but they felt in their attempt to do so. As ultimate effort to unify both the parties, the ABSU organized a convention in Harisinga of Darrang District, Assam on April 1984 (now Udalguri). The leaders of PTCA and PTCA (P), other organization as well as the public were invited. At that convention PTCA (P) was dissolved and a new political party United Tribal Nationalist Liberation was formed with Mr. Binoy Khungur Basumartary as its chairman. The UTNLF met the Prime Minister of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi on May 1984 and July 1985. However no sincere efforts have been made by the Central and State Governments to sort out the problem.

In connection for demanding a separate state a section of the Bodo youths under the leadership of Ranjan Daimari formed a terrorist outfit and named Bodo Security Force (BSF). It was formed on 3rd October 1986, in Udalguri and subsequently it changed its name to National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) on November 25, 1994.

The main goals of NDFB include,

- Separate itself from the expansionism and occupation of India
- Free Bodoland from the exploitation, oppression, and domination by colonialists
- Uphold the integrity of sovereign Bodoland
- Set up a Democratic Socialist Society that promoted Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity
- Change the written language to Roman
- Take part indirectly or directly in the elections in the lower house of parliament

In the agitation that followed, Upendra Nath Brahma. He is also known as the Father of the Bodos (*Bodofa*) led the fight for Bodo self-determination with a 92-point Charter centred around the creation of a separate Bodoland state on the North Bank, a regional council for non-Karbis in Karbi Anglong and an autonomous region for Bodo people living on the

South Bank. He also spoke for the rights of other smaller Plain Tribals, ethnic cousins within the larger Bodo family. The ABSU also under the leadership of Upendra Nath Brahma set a target for achieving their goal of separate state by 1990. Along with separate state two other political demands were,

- (i) Creation of district council of the tribal compact areas of the southern part of Goalpara and Kamrup district with a nomenclature of Nilachal, under article 244 (2), that is the sixth schedule of India Constitution, and
- (ii) Creation of regional council for non Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council.

The ABSU organized a huge rally on 12th June , at Judge Field of Guwahati , which was attended by thousands of Bodo people shouting Slogan ‘divide Assam fifty-fifty; do or die’ etc. it was followed by several phase of Bandh, Rail Rokho, National Highway blockade etc.

To determine the next phase of the movement a conference was held at Basbari of Dhubri District from 19th to 22nd December 1988. The most remarkable part was that it was attended by delegates from Tripura Sundari Nari Bahin (TSNB), Tripura Upajati Juma Samiti (TUJS), Tripura Students’ Federation (TSF), All Jharkhand Students’ Union and thirty five thousand representatives of ABSU and BPAC. The demand for Union Territory was upgraded to fully fledged statehood with the nomenclature ‘Bodoland’.

By 1989 several violent activities took place in Bodo areas, which threatened the law and order situation of the state. Finally a situation was created for tripartite talks and ABSU agreed to come to a negotiating table with the central and state government on 28th August 1989. Nothing came out of the talks on Bodoland issue as the Government rejected the demand for separate state. The state government forwarded a proposal for autonomous three-tier Panchayati Raj structure for tribal areas in the seventh round tripartite talks which the ABSU and BPAC rejected.

The 8th round table conference was important as it took a decision on “The Government of India in deeply concerned about the problem of the Bodos and other plain tribal of Assam and is committed to their economic development and other rights. On serious consideration of the Bodo problem, the Government of India proposed the three members committee of experts may be sent to the North of the Brahmaputra River and make recommendation as the

autonomy, legislative, administrative and financial power that may be given to them. The committee will consult a group concerned and submit its report within forty five days to the Government of India. The then, Union Minister Ram Vilas Paswan, as the central representative put forward his proposal in the form of a resolution. He stated that “the Autonomy proposed by the government of Assam for the plains tribal was not adequate and there was urgent need of consideration for granting greater Autonomy”. Thereafter he visited Kokrajhar. (Brahma 2006, 56)

The Ministry of Home Affairs government of India constituted the three members expert committee on Bodo issue, on 25th February 1991 to demarcate the areas and to make recommendation on autonomy. The committee comprised of Dr. Bhupinder Singh, IAS (Retired), Chairman, Dr. K. S. Singh, Director General, Anthropological Survey of India, Member and Sri A.M. Gokhale, Joint Secretary, Department of Rural Development, Government of India, Member Secretary. They submitted the report and recommended for granting maximum autonomy sort of separate state within Indian Union on March 1992. But the proposal was not accepted by the leaders of the movement as they considered it much lower than their expectation.

At last Rajesh Pilot the then Union Minister of the State for Home arrived at Guwahati to sort out the differences and to clinch a permanent solution to the long six years Bodo movement in Assam. The memorandum of settlement (MoS) was signed on 20th February 1993 by the following signatories, from the ABSU and BPAC, Mr. S. K. Bwisumuthiary, the then president of ABSU as the signatory, on behalf of the movement leaders and he was followed by Rabiram Brahma, General Secretary, ABSU and Mr. Subhas Basumatary, Chairman, BPAC, from the central government Mr. K. S. Rao and from the state the additional Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam Sri. Hiteswar Saikia, the then Chief Minister of Assam and Rajesh Pilot signed witness and central observer respectively.

The struggle continued with armed pressure and a short-lived Bodo Autonomous Council which was established in 1993 and a somewhat enlarged and a rather more empowered Bodo Territorial Council was inaugurated in February 2003. *Bodofa's* dream was beginning to be translated into reality, dream of having a separate state for the Bodos. Yet, the larger vision of ‘Live and Let Live’ that he espoused remains to be fulfilled.

The Bodoland Autonomous Council Act 1993 was passed in the Assam legislative Assembly to provide maximum autonomy within the framework of Indian Constitution for social, economic, education, ethnic and cultural advancement of the Bodo residing therein.

The objectives of Bodoland Autonomous Council are

- Formulate integrated development plans for the council area.
- Implement schemes and programmes for development for the council area.
- Have power to appoint class III and class IV staff within its jurisdiction.
- Have power to regulate trade and commerce within its jurisdiction in accordance with the existing law including issues of permits and licenses to individuals within the council area.
- Guide customs, traditions and social justices of the Bodos according to the traditional laws.
- Organize special recruitment drive into army, Para – Military forces and police units for job appointment from the council area in consultation with the central government.
- Allot permits for trade and commerce to the people residing in the council area, preference being given to the Bodos.

But no sincere efforts have been made by the state government to implement the Bodo Accord as laid down by in the MoS neither election was held, nor boundary was demarcated, rather divide and rule policy was followed by the state government to destabilize the BAC.

ABSU under the leadership of President Swmbra Basumatary denounced the Bodo Accord and rejected the Bodoland Autonomous Council by submitting a memorandum to Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the then Prime Minister of India on 19th March 1996, and decided to revive the movement for separate state. But unfortunately he was assassinated by suspected National Democratic Front of Bodoland militants so the ABSU was compelled to reconstitute its Executive body with new president Urkhao Gwra Brahma in the same year itself.

The BAC proved unworkable, however, largely because Bodo villages and settlements were not contiguous. The failure of the BAC to effectively represent the Bodo ethnic people led to

the formation of the Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (BLTF) under the leadership of Prem Singh Brahma.

Bodo Liberation Tigers Force (BLTF), also called Bodo liberation Tigers (BLT), was an armed group operating in the Bodo dominated regions of Assam which demanded a separate state for the Bodos to be carved out of Assam.

BLT's projects its major objectives as

- Creation of a separate State of Bodoland in the north bank of the Brahmaputra;
- Creation of an autonomous district council in the south bank of the Brahmaputra; and
- Inclusion of the Bodos of Karbi Anglong district in the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution.

Aims and Objectives of BLT are

The primary objective of the BLTF was the creation of separate, independent ethnic Bodo state on the northern banks of the Brahmaputra river valley in the Indian state of Assam. This was partially achieved with the formation of the BTC which has given former BLTF leaders limited administrative rights in contiguous Bodo areas of Assam.

The BLT primarily targeted infrastructure (railways, bridges, oil pipelines), Indian security personnel, and non Bodo civilians (mostly Bengali immigrants and other peoples from former East Pakistan) living in what the group considered to be its home territory. Through extortion, kidnapping, intimidation, assassination, and bombings, the BLT hoped to destabilize the region and erode the legitimacy of local authorities, forcing the government to create a new state within India for the Bodo people. The BLT was formed to create a separate state of Bodoland within the Indian Union, and NDFB was formed to create sovereign Bodoland.

On 15th August, 1996 the then Prime Minister H. D. Deve Gowda announced to create three new states in India, which gave new incentive to the ABSU to undertake agitation programmes with new policies and strategies.

In the meantime the Bodoland Movement was able to gain support from various organizations. On 11th December 1996, under the banner of Co-ordination Committee for

Bodo movement (CCBM) two thousand people of different committees demonstrated in front of the parliament house demanding solution of Bodoland problem.

The ABSU took initiative in bringing the BLT to negotiating table with the central government. The ABSU was called to have tripartite talk with the central and state government to resolve the Bodoland crises on 26th May, 1998 but it was fruitless however it was resolved to continue talks to find out an amicable solution.

July 1999 BLT declares unilateral ceasefire in response to the Union government's appeal for talks.

March 29, 2000 Union govt. and BLT arrive at an agreement on ground rules for truce and set up a Joint Monitoring Group to oversee the ceasefire.

September 15, 2000 duration of ceasefire extended for one year following an agreement to create a territorial council under the sixth schedule of the constitution.

June 2001, tripartite talks resume on the formation of the territorial council February 2002 State cabinet formally approves the formation of BTC under the modified Sixth Schedule with adequate and specific safeguards of the rights of the Bodos.

May 6, 2002 Delhi tripartite meeting on the BTC ends inclusively.

December 17, 2002 BLT threatens to resume violence if the BTC is not formed before December, 2002.

January 18, 2003 Govt. of Assam approves signing of MoS with the center and the BLT, but fails to take a decision on the inclusion of 93 additional villages as demanded by BLT.

February 10, 2003 Agreement on the creation of a BTC signed between the Union govt., Assam govt. and BLT representatives.

The objectives of the Agreement are: to create an Autonomous self government body to be known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the State of Assam and to provide Constitutional protection under Sixth Schedule to the said Autonomous Body; to fulfill economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of land rights, socio-

cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos; and to speed up the infrastructure development in BTC area.

November 2003 the BLT and ABSU leadership decide to exert on the state to withdraw all cases registered against BLT cadres since 1987 before the formation of the interim BTC.

November 2003 The Assam Govt. through an official notification, announces a general amnesty and withdrawal cases registered against persons related to the over ground Bodo movement since 1987.

December 6, 2003 2641 BLT chairman Hagrama Basumatary surrender with 615 numbers of arms in Kokrajhar.

December 7, 2003- A 12 member interim executive council of the BTC is administrated oath of office in Kokrajhar.

(<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/icm/index.html>, accessed on 14-06-2011)

A yearlong cease fire pact between the Indian government and a tribal separatist group in the northeastern Assam state began 1st June, 2005 amid hopes of ending nearly two decades of violent insurgency in the region. The cease-fire with the outlawed National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) came into effect with the military calling off in operation against the group. The NDFB cadres will disarm and live in designated camps as per the truce pact. The Indian government and the top NDFB leaders signed a cease-fire accord in New Delhi that was expected to bring the curtains down to a violent campaign for a homeland for the Bodo tribe in Assam that left thousands dead since .

ABSU under the leadership of Promod Boro has also started to create ripples in the region for a separate Bodoland (Map 1). In 2003, the ABSU had withdrawn its separate state movement after the Bodo Accord was formed. The students' body is of the opinion that the Bodo community has understood that the BTC can only be an interim arrangement. The transfer of power to the council is only on paper. This half hearted attitude of the government has lead to mere resentment among the Bodos. The 2003 Accord remains by and large unfulfilled. In 28th October, 2010, the ABSU also organized a rally from Ramlila Maidan to Parliament Street with the demand for the formation of Bodoland. It has called

for the support and unity of the Bodos as their demand the organization will be bound to create a Manipur like situation, to make the demand successful. It says that for the last fifty years nine states has been declared but the government did not pay attention to the demand of the Bodos. The ABSU has for a long time did go to any violent agitation but it warns the government that if it does conspires Bodos have a genuine aspiration to establish a distinct Bodo nationality and to get recognition in the world as a civilized and advanced Nation. Only the creation of Bodoland can provide justice and fulfill the hopes and aspiration of the Bodos. ABSU wants the Bodos to be free from domination, discrimination, negligence and deprivation in the name of ruling in our own land. They say that Bodoland “is our birth right”; the constitution of our nation has provided a provision to accommodate the aspiration of the indigenous people through Article 2 (admission or establishment of new states: parliament by law admit into the union or existing, new states or such terms & conditions, as it think fit) and Article 3 (formation of new state and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states.) ABSU will not allow to go in vain the sacrifices of the thousands of Bodos longing for Bodoland, Bodoland in our legitimate and constitutional right. Government of India must concede seriously they will to force to create the situation of 1987 which saw series of bandhs, rail rokho, and highway blockades.

Both the Telengana demand and the Bodo demand are same and age old so it has formed a larger national network. It is not only the Telengana leaders but also 22 small state demanding groups has decided to unite under a common national platform and form a new political front to drive home their agenda. The leaders of both the parties have join hands. ABSU has recently organized a cycle rally starting from Srirampur gate on November 2011 in the Bodo belts of 580 kms covered Kokrajhar, Barama, Dudhnoi, Goalpara and Dhekiajuli. And on the concluding day of the rally, that on 15th November 2011, a meeting was held in Themalara, Sonitpur where Jaya Vindhyala, President of people’s Union for Civil Liberties and Gali Vinod Kumar, Convenor of Telangana Joint Action Committee also participated the encourage the movement. (Choudhury in Seven Sister’s Post 2011, 16 November)

In 11th and 12th November, 2010 the Bodo National Convention was held in Kokrajhar which resolved with the formation of an umbrella organization named the Bodo National Conference with Hagrama Mahilary as the Chair person. The NDFB also gave its consent

but later on it moved out. 24 Bodo organizations participated in the Conference. The BNC has been formed to user and permanent peace to the Bodoland region and it would always look for greater unity among the Bodos in the greater interest of talks with Ranjan Daimary who is in custody for Peaceful negotiation. Subsequently, the first annual convention of Bodo National Conference was held in Udalguri on the 18th and 19th November 2011 where the different organization participated and urge for unity, integrity and peace of the Bodos. It strives to have peaceful talks with the Union Government in New Delhi to chalk out the peace process with the rebel Bodo organization. (BNC meeting on 18th -19th November, 2011).

The leaders of the BLT, together with the leaders of All Bodo Students' Union, formed a political party called BPPF.

On the other hand the National Democratic Front of Bodoland who was associated with the Bodo National Conference moved out of it and independently decided to strive for a separate Bodoland. In this connection it organized a mass gathering on 14th November 2011 at Udalguri to urge the people to demand a separate Bodoland but only wanted peace, unity and integrity. So it felt that it will not be able to get their demand if it moves along with the BNC.

Though the organizations and banners are different in demanding a separate state but the motto behind them is the same, it is fight for their identity or struggle for their identity.

3.2 Identity Assertion

The Bodos, like all other people, are proud of their identity and aspire to grow and flourish in accordance with their own genius. The role of virtual space like the 'Face Book' where there are groups like Bodoland Groups and Bodoland Online 24, the Bodo Tribe online Magazine, the Great Bodoland, the Bodo Culture and Ancient history of Bodos where one can be updated with the news of the Bodos. All these tries to create the feeling of togetherness and awareness among the Bodo people. Another medium to spread the Bodo culture and unity is the 'Youtube'. It helps in sharing ideas and taking views of the people.

The symbols used by the Bodos are also to be marked. The symbol of ABSU is the sword and the shield, with a yellow background, the sword and the shield symbolizes the Bodos as a warrior community and the yellow background symbolizes belonging to the Mongolian race, as the Mongoloids are yellow in complexion. The symbol of NDFB is that of the *Sijou* tree with a fire burning in between the two stems of the tree. It symbolizes the Bodo community and the fire burning symbolizes that there will be light in the lives of the Bodos.

Self or group identification is an important factor in any movement. In Bodo movement also self identification in the realms of symbols is playing an important role. They are trying to assert their identity and have found symbols of asserting their identity. So, to say every movement is characterized by various symbolic expressions of its ideology. An ideology consisting of values, symbols, norms and expectations, living in a social collectivity (group) and based on belief in common descent and as consequence, a common destiny, strong enough to desire to maintain, strengthen or create a formally and legally organized society.

It is a well acknowledged state that India is a multi-national state. Every such nationality or emerging nationality will therefore naturally ask for their own space in their politico-economic dispensation of the Indian state and an attempt to suppress such aspirations would cause not only resentment but also alienation. Experience shows that this resentment and alienation eventually lead to violent mass movement and even movements for succession in certain cases. The movement for self determination waged by the emerging Bodo Nationality concretizes this contention quite clearly. This kind of phenomenon is a pointer to the fact that excessive centrist tendency is not only undesirable but also counter-productive. This calls for a federal system in the real sense of the term suiting Indian reality which would ensure the devolution of political, economic and cultural autonomy to each and every nationality or emerging nationality group in constitutional terms and thus minimize the scope of manipulation on the part of both the state and the opportunistic middle class leadership of these groups at the expense of the masses. (Sarma 2000, 141)

For every movement, there must be an organization, a specific ideology or a set of ideologies and objectives. As a theoretical pattern of beliefs, ideology can and must be looked at the basis of whether it adequately or inadequately reflects social reality on the basis of its cognitive possibilities. The nature on ideological reflection depends primarily on the bearer of the ideology the group and the role it plays in social developments. Each

individual perceives an object or incident in his own way. This perception may reflect some social reality. People with the same kind of perception come together, form as process stronger social, economic, political notions which develop along with the development of society occur due to the differences in interests and aspirations of its members.

Most of the movements have a clear ideology or a set of ideologies which act as a guiding force to determine the means and its end. Ideologies for any movement develop from the overall historical background of a society. History of particular society is important on which ideologies are built must be real, and at the same time convincing to the public so as to mobilize them on the direction to gain support which also demands sacrifice to justify the movement. Without ideology it is almost impossible for the leaders to direct a movement. Hence in every movement we find an arrangement of organization, ideology, leadership, mobilization and direction. The Bodo movement appears to be a result of oppression, rising expectations and discrimination, real or perceived that generate a feeling of deprivation.

In the case of Bodo movement, the sharing of a common biological and cultural origin, taking recourse to this origin the Bodos are trying to gain resources for their development.

Identity movements are based on characteristics such as ethnicity. In the process of uniting the Bodos culturally, we can also see some revivalism in the religious practices of the people. In the early eighties, the people who adopted the reformist Brahma religion were forced to practice their age old religion *Bathouism* in some parts of the Bodo dominated region. And also in some areas people adopting Vaishnavism were also again asked to move back to their traditional religion.

It was in 2003, that *dokhona*, the traditional dress of the Bodos were made compulsory in schools and colleges in Bodo areas. And nowadays it is seen that even the men folk are seen in the traditional Gamcha and Aronai in Bihu functions, ABSU meetings, rallies and religious get togethers etc.

The socio-cultural consciousness and political trajectory among the Bodos came about in the early stages of the twentieth century. Socio-religious reformer Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma was instrumental in bringing about transformation of Bodo society in the early 1920s. He re-imagined a new Bodo society which was envisioned to be achieved through the spread of

education, change of religious faith and active participation in electoral politics. To achieve the same he worked tirelessly for reforming and developing the Bodo society by removing its (regressive) medieval practices. (Deka 2014, 6) He preached a Brahma religion among the Bodos, popularly known as Brahma Movement. This was done with intentions to safeguard the identity of the Bodos and introduce modern ways in every sphere of Bodo life. (cited in Mochahari 2014, 79) Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma, the great Bodo social and religious reformer, had earlier been influenced by Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Brahma Samaj in the early 20th century and saw in its teachings an instrument for the social and religious regeneration of the Bodo community. The movement took root as Brahma dharma and helped advance Bodo education, stem conversion to Christianity and combat colonialism. The Bodos nevertheless wished to maintain their identity and petitioned the Simon Commission for autonomy when it visited India in 1930 in the run up to constitutional reforms.

This was also an attempt to distance the Bodos from the clutches of Hinduism and a growing spread of the Christian faith among the Bodos, perceiving them as a threat to the community. According to Choudhury (cited in Mochahari 2014, 79-80) captures Kalicharan Brahma's efforts towards transformation in the following words.

Kalicharan Brahma initiated a process that created an autonomous sphere for accommodating the Bodo aspirations for upward social mobility. In fact the birth of Brahma Movement marked the beginning of the assertion of the Bodo identity. Naturally it was the advanced section of the Bodos who embraced the Brahma religion and these neophytes, under the guidance of the preacher Kalicharan Brahma, used the new faith as a vehicle for treading along new vistas of social reorientation...The independent status of the Bodo community, according to Kalicharan, could be claimed and attained, only by distancing it from the Assamese as far as possible and to achieve this objective, it was imperative that the new religion should be something quite different from that of the Assamese. Kalicharan's initial agenda was no doubt social, but he did not feel shy to give it a political twist when an indulgent British administration made situation favourable. So the foundation of the future Bodo politics was securely laid.

Upendra Nath Brahma has been regarded as the father of Bodos. It was he who brought changes in the Bodoland movement. He is termed as the great visionary leader of the Bodos. Upendra Nath Brahma, lovingly known as '*Bodofa*' (the Father of Bodos), was born on March 31, 1957 in a poor family in Bogari villave of Kokrajhar district of Assam. He studied at Kokrajhar College and later he completed Post Graduate studies from Gauhati University. Even from his early childhood, Upendra Nath Brahma showed his intelligence and demonstrated great his leadership quality. He knew the history of Assam extremely well. Though Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma lived only for 33 years but he will ever be remembered for his visionary leadership and the sacrifice he made for the cause of his people. Today, his name is a source of determination and sacrifice for the Bodo people. He is an 'icon' of leadership, sacrifice and unity.

His active political involvement in student politics began way back in 1978-79 when he was elected as the President of the Goalpara District Bodo Students Union. In 1983-84, he chaired the seat of vice-president of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU). He shouldered the responsibility as president of ABSU in 1988 at 20th annual conference of ABSU held at Bashbari. He lectured in many parts of Assam, reinforcing the theme that Bodos were treated as second class citizens even in their own motherland, Assam. He observed that the Bodo people had little or no influence in Assam politics. He observed no job opportunities for Bodo students, once they completed their studies. Upendra Nath Brahma with his followers, having realized the need for a mass movement, gradually mobilized Bodo students at the grass-root level. In 1987, as the AASU movement was losing momentum, he with his trusted colleagues spearheaded the 'non-violent Bodoland Movement' to carve out a separate state 'Bodoland' in the North Bank of Brahmaputra in Assam. As the president of ABSU, he left no stone unturned to fulfill the historical demands of Bodos. The agitation was at the peak during 1988-99. In 1989, the then Congress Government led by late Rajiv Gandhi formally invited the ABSU president for a tripartite talk between the Central government, the Assam government and the ABSU. On August 28, he led a 50-member Bodo team in the first round of tripartite talks held in New Delhi. He should his shrewdness, intelligence and promptness in the talks. In the mean time, he was suffering from cancer and was admitted in CMC Hospital, Vellore, from where he attended the second and third rounds of talks.

He also attended the fifth round of tripartite talks. Though the Government of Assam proposed to offer all medical treatment abroad, he refused to accept the offer and rely on contributions from the well wishers. He guided and conducted the cause of the Bodo Movement from his hospital bed. Tragically, the great leader died even before he could see the fruits of his leadership on May 1, 1990. Although Upendra Nath Brahma was a Hindu, he wanted himself to be buried. His tombstone can be seen in the Upendra Nath Brahma Park in Dotoma, Kokrajhar. Today, Upendranath Brahma's life is celebrated each year on the anniversary of his death as 'Bodofa Day', all over Assam. It was under his leadership that the whole Bodo movement took a new turn.

Upendra Nath Brahma born into a humble family was a self-made man. In trying to restore his own community to its earlier glory without injury to any other, he was a soldier of humanity. If the part is uplifted, the whole must surely gain. Bodo well-being was not posed as something to be achieved at the cost of the Assamese people and others but in concert with them as equal partners in a shared homeland and for the greater common good.

3.3 Emergence of the Bodo identity movement

Starting with Sanjib Baruah's one of the point in *India against Itself*, (2013) "We are Bodos, not Assamese" is the reason why Bodos are demanding a separate state. Historical background and cultural symbols have been focused in constructing a distinct identity of the Bodos. The Bodo leaders focused more on history and cultural symbols while constructing Bodo ethnic identity. The strength of Bodo politics rests mainly on cultural and linguistic difference. The Bodo movement tries to the feeling of nationalism by the power of cultural and historical symbols.

"After the Assam Accord of August 15, 1985 the political climate of Assam started changing colour, the two controversial clause of the Accord i.e. clause 6 and 10 contributed to a storm that created havoc particularly in Bodo dominated areas of the state. Clause 6 which provided safeguards for protection of distinctive identity of people of Assam was viewed with caution and a crisis of identity was felt by the Bodo leaders. Before 1974 the Bodos never clearly raised the issue of identity crisis. It was the script issue that stirred the Bodo heart and soul as their agitation for Roman script faced state's

harsh repression. The repressive measures to deal with the movement created a mental divide among sections of the Bodos/ Bodo intellectual. Gradually a state of mind was created and social mobilization was thought necessary to realize the ethnic and political demands of the community.”(Deka 2014, 44)

Assertion of ethnic identity and the accompanying political unrest is rooted often in fears among minority groups of losing their historical and culturally acquired identities. In Assam several group have agitated against the centre and state government.

Promod Boro, the present President of ABSU, in an interview regarding the Bodoland issue at *Raijyor Kathgora* in News Live Assam, date 17th August, 2013 pointed says that “the Bodos feel that they have been discriminated and exploited the system of Government. The Bodos going back by their history finds themselves to be the first settlers of the region. They are the Mongoloid stock of people who first occupied the barren and abandoned land of the North East region by the Aryans, and other people belonging to different racialist origin. In that period of history, the history of Bodos has been in constant struggle against the civilization and the colonizer for existence as a different cultural identity. The reason for demand for separate state according to the Bodos is that they feel they lack justice. They feel that their identity has been kept hidden, and they have sufficient from oppression. According to Promod Boro, the President of All Assam Bodo Student Union one of the examples of being deprived is that the Bodos have been requesting to the Government to declare 31st march as holiday in memory of the father of the Bodo Upendra Nath Brahma. But the idea has been rejected. He also mention another point that the Bodo has been demanding a separate Directorate of the Bodo medium for a long period but it has also been given least attention. He is of the opinion that there is no record of achieving something for the Government without violence. There is a total record of 1135 Bodo people being killed in mass movement for a separate state. Why do we sacrifice our lives for right? The Bodo are of the opinion that they are only striving to safeguard their identity. Article 2 and article 3 of the constitution of India provides the provision for admission or establishment new state and formation of new state and alteration of areas, boundaries or name of existing States. It’s about the legitimate rights, and extra constitutional. They want a new state for the equal development of all the communities in India. It is five-decade-old demand. If the India Government doesn’t take interest in the issue, it will mean that it has double standard and

discrimination among its own citizens. Bodos are one of the major communities of this country and have been around since 5000 BC. The aspiration is the preservation of the identity, culture, language and customs. The Bodoland Territorial Council declared on 10th Feb 2003 has no power and is dependent on the state Government of funds. There is no space for a Bodo identity under the Assam Government. The Bodos feel they are outnumbered in their own state. In 1951, in the proposed Bodoland areas, the Bodos were a majority. This created the feeling of Deprivation”. (Boro in *Raijyor Kathgora* 2013, broadcasted on 17th August)

“Our land (Bodoland) was never a part of India...we are socially, culturally, traditionally distinct people. Bodos have right to protest, right to demand, and even have right to use force to any one whoever tries to discriminate us, betray us in our land, we have right to war against anyone who encroach our land. Bodos is one of the major tribal in the entire North East, and history says that Bodo people are living in this region since 5000 BC. And we have never been absent in history so our aspiration to preserve our identity, language and culture, that’s the main issue, one council cannot preserve our identity, accommodate our hopes and aspirations. That’s why we have so many problems in the Council. In 2003 the Bodoland Territorial Council was created, but in certain cases, in development issues it can take some resolutions. But in every case the Council has to depend on the state. So without depending on the state we cannot do anything. Our aspiration is the self determination. And this people are dominating us not only for few years but from decades and decades, they are suppressing us. That’s why we want preservation of our identity and culture, they are not liberal, and they don’t think with their open heart, they never accommodate the aspiration of other people. There is no space.” (Boro in *Tehelka* 2013, 20th August)

On interviewing Mr. Dhiren Boro, 45 yrs, vice-president of NDFB on Bodoland issue, it was responded that “We, the Bodos are the aboriginal people of this land, and now we are being ruled by others, in our own land, we are lacking behind. So, creation of Bodoland will bring all round development of the Bodo community”.

Bipin Chandra Brahma (58yrs), a bank employee at present who was an active member of PTCA when asked ‘why is there need for Bodoland? His quick response was that “identity, see at the time of representation of the culture of Assam in either National or International level Bihu dance of the Assamese speaking people being represented, means that the Bodos are not getting recognition. Bodos are not being recognized and represented in the outer

community even though they are one of the major inhabitants of the region. He adds that “if Bodoland is granted then Bodos will get recognition and the whole world will know about the Bodos.”

Monalisa Dwimary, a teacher by profession from Udalguri, aged 38 has expressed her views on the occasion of 25 years separate state Bodoland movement Celebration Day held on 2nd March 2012, held at Amingaon, Guwahati. According to her the BTC region is lacking behind in industry. The government of Assam has not set up any industry in the region, so the region is economically backward as there is no scope for earning avenues. Many people have gone to the metro city to earn their livelihood. The main occupation of the region is agriculture but most of the irrigation project has not been implemented fully. The government has taken many plans and policies regarding education, one of which is the student teacher ratio, is must be 35:1, but it has not come to effect in case of Bodo mediums as the number of teachers are very few in number. She also said that a good number of Bodo medium schools have not been provincialised till now. She curses the government for its failure and neglect towards the Bodos.

According to her, dress and culture alone cannot be the identity of the Bodos but education is equally important to have a distinct identity. There should be love for owns community, there should be dedication, and then only the dream of separate state will come true. But again the question of who will lead the Bodo community comes, she says students should carry on with the task of studying; the movement will also go on. Then only there can be balance in future. All those are some of the problems faced by the Bodos from a long period. So creation of a separate state could bring an end to the problems and uplift the Bodos.

Mr. Sansuma Bwisumuthiary, MP of Rajiya Sabha has said in the Convention of BNC that the Bodos should be united for the purpose of creating Bodoland. There should be peace in the region, and a growth in the number of population.

Ranjan Baruah, a social activist in an interview with Tehelka TV said that “If you look at history, beginning of separate state, ABSU that started in 2nd March 1987, prior to it was PTCA who demand for separate state. But if you look at again, going back to history 91 demand on the Charter, Bodoland separation was not on the top. Initially what they were asking was for right, right in the sense of education right, justice. Even today we have forest right, right to education.

But unfortunately there are many Bodo youths and students. Bodo medium schools were not provincialised. They are living in this place for years and years are not getting Permanent Resident Certificate (PRC) because they have no land pattas, like suppose if someone staying here for years and years and you know they have to get into problem to get PRC in admission even in institutes in BTC like Central Institute of Technology, Kokrajhar, there are reported case that student not getting admission because they have no PRC. This happens to anyone, they are from place and do not get admission: basic right, right may be education. Enough when a child is not getting enough education, anyone will definitely have an anger on system and anger on the system is the government, who is suppose to give them these rights and like it may be different things like- if I don't get my right of course I have to shout, raise my voice and whom do I shout? In a Democratic country we have law, we can raise voice. Personally, I see there is no harm in raising. But the question is how government resolves this kind of problem. If you look at these things started after Telengana thing, Telengana was in recommendation and may be Gorkhaland also and not only Bodoland and other smaller state who demand may be those committee did not look at these small places, the state may be created or may not be created, but I feel that justice or the right must be to the people and citizen of the region'. He said that giving state is a solution or not. But at any cause whatever right is there in the Constitution, this must be given to the citizen or people and if people are deprived of it, then anyone everyone has got these democratic right to fight and shout for their own right. He concluded by saying that if small state can give these rights, why not smaller states, which will give good governance.” (Baruah in Frontier TV 2013, 2nd August)

Ethnic movements can be defined as a process which occurs when nations perceive a threat to their identity, especially in their territory.

Ratnadeep Choudhury, the principal correspondent of Tehelka TV has also put forward his opinion regarding the Bodo issues. According to him “we have to establish the fact that in North East we think, ethnically, we might say that we are united bunch of people more or less North East think ethnically, that's why over the years what we have seen is growing number of ethnic nationalism, the underground group has come up with demand of separate state. The succession from India, these has all come up because at the ground zero there has been alienation, justice has not been delivered, basic right of indigenous people have been hurt”. (Choudhury in Frontier TV 2013, 2nd August)

Ultimately, the issue remains that there is grief, there is feeling of disconnect, they are neglected. There is a geographical disconnect from Delhi, the reason behind, feels that they are suppressed and oppressed.

Independence saw application of the Sixth Schedule to the hill districts of Assam but not to the plains areas where the homelands of the Bodo-Kachari family, a conglomeration of 18 or so scattered tribes, mostly living on the North Bank, were located. The refusal by the States Reorganisation Commission in 1956 to carve out a separate Bodo area led to the formation in 1960 of the Plains Tribal Council, encompassing tribal belt and blocks. The demand for Udayachal followed in 1967.

Rejection of their demands for further autonomy within Assam or a separate state, growing land alienation and joblessness culminated a painful social explosion. In July 2012, there was a clash between the Bodos clashing with Muslims. As many as 400,000 persons fled the scene and were huddled in refugee camps for months until calm and confidence were restored. The violence was sparked by alleged illicit immigration, resentment over encroachment on lands and forests and mounting unemployment. It was a tragedy that must never be repeated.

The issue of identity and feeling of exclusion had also played critical role in the mind of Bodos. Ethnicity led identity crises triggered the frustration, and spread the feeling of exclusion in the mind of common people. Cultural activities have been increasingly engaged in the process of representation. The questions of ethno-cultural identity have become important. The primary concerns of the present study are to examine how cultural expressions can construct a culturo-political identity of its own kind over a period time, and how to address such ethnic isolations for the broader interests of the nations.

The massive participation of the Bodo people in the recent mass rallies, hunger strikes and protest marches in the aftermath of the Telengana declaration is proof in itself that the Bodo masses are eager to take the movement ahead. The recent declaration on the formation of Telengana state has reignited the voices of those who are demanding a separate state in various parts of the country. It is felt that one of the solutions to the issue of Bodoland can be the realization of Bodoland as a state, which will also lead to the end of insurgency problem.

The movement of self assertion among the Bodos right from the very beginning is conspicuous by the importance being attached to folklore as mode of glorifying a distant history and tradition of the Bodos. The widespread politics of ethnic identity in the North East India has assumed a great political importance. The politics of this region has been increasingly besieged by the movements of various ethnic groups having different languages, culture and customs, the ethnic assertion in this region are mostly are mostly linguistic and cultural in nature.

The Bodo population in Assam feels that during the constitution of the Bodoland Territorial Council in 2003 under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution they were not given a fair deal regarding land rights. In the memorandum to the home minister, the team urged the Centre to "take bold initiative for the Protection of Tribal Belts and Blocks under Chapter X of Assam land & revenue regulation Act 1886 by ensuring that the non-tribals are not rehabilitated in the tribal belts and blocks."*(ibid)*

End notes

Clause 6- Constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards, as may be appropriate, shall be provided to protect, preserve and promote the cultural, social and linguistic identity and heritage of Assamese people.

Clause 10- It will be ensured that relevant laws for prevention of encroachment of Government lands and lands in tribal belts and blocks are strictly enforced and unauthorized encroachers evicted as laid down under such laws.