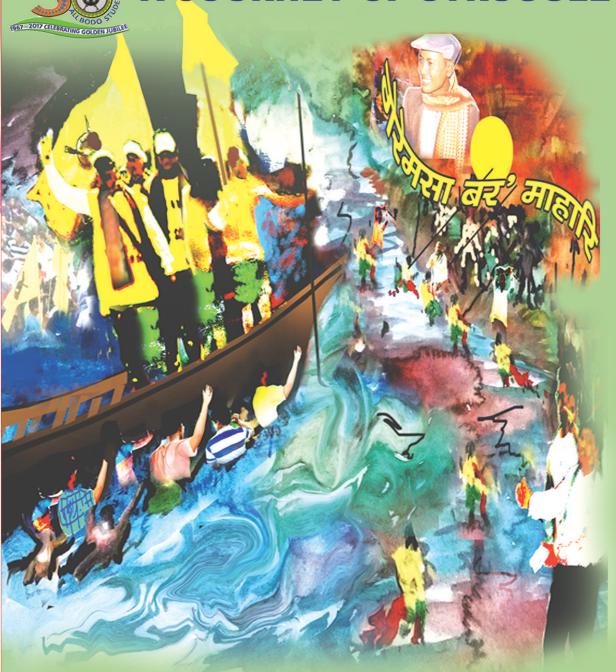
HISTORY IN GLIMPSE ALL BODO STUDENTS UNION (1967-2017) A JOURNEY OF STRUGGLE



Published by All Bodo Students Union



History in Glimpse ALL BODO STUDENTS UNION (1967-2017)

A Journey of Struggle



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HOMAGE TO MARTYRS

On this auspicious occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration of All Bodo Students Union, we pay deepest homage to the Martyrs who died fighting for the emancipation of Bodos aspiring to safeguard its land, culture, history and political identity within India Union.

On this day, we offer our in-depth reverence & floral tribute to heroes and heroines who plunged into the Bodoland Movement under the stewardship of Bodofa Upendranath Brahma which is replete with acts of courage, dedication & sacrifice in prime times of their lives.

We are indeed, forever indebted for their supreme sacrifices which motivates us to continue the struggle for the noble cause of justice, dignity & peace.

-All Bodo Students Union

FROM THE DESK OF PRESIDENT

At the outset, I pay my humble homage & floral tribute to our martyrs who dedicated their lives for the cause of the identity, protection and all round development of Bodos and other indigenous tribes.

I'm pleased to present before you a booklet on **History in Glimpse ABSU 1967-2017: A Journey of Struggle** on this august occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of All Bodo Students Union.

It's been a long journey of struggle for ABSU in these 50 years which is significantly marked by intense struggle and commitment to dedicate our services for ensuring safeguard to Bodos and other downtrodden indigenous communities of north-east India in all aspects.

Releasing of this booklet is an endeavour and attempts to prepare a ground for bringing in a full-fledged history book by the end of a yearlong programme of Golden Jubilee Celebration by ABSU. By doing so, we humbly intend to seek guidance, suggestions, feedback and criticism from diverse quarters to make this history book more meaningful in totality.

We positively look forward for your kind co-operation and association in this holistic venture in future.

Thanking you with sincere regards.

(**Pramod Boro**)
President ABSU

Introduction:

This booklet titled as History in Glimpse: ABSU 1967-2017 A Journey of Struggle is an attempt to briefly highlight the important historical events. This is an endeavor in interim to the full fledged history to be brought out by the end of one year long celebration of All Bodo Students Union's Golden Jubilee Celebration. This book has been prepared in consultation with limited individuals by referring limited historical documents to prepare the ground for full fledged history at the later stage. While publishing this history of ABSU in precise, we seek your guidance, suggestions, feedback and criticisms which will help us to improve our future endeavors.

This book briefly touches upon the pre-independence struggle of the plains tribes of Assam, Post-Independence Struggle, Genesis of ABSU, some historical facts from 1967-1985, highlights of 1986-1993 six years revolutionary movement, limited historical facts between 1994-2003, and some information about 2004-2017. This is intended towards giving a glimpse of pasts of ABSU. Hope the readers will ignore tasteless text and embrace it little piece of information.

About the Bodos:

The Bodos are the aboriginal autochthones of the human civilization of the Brahmaputra and the Barak valleys of the North East India. Ethnically the Bodos are of Sino-Tibetan origin and linguistically they are of Tibeto-Burman group. The Bodos were known as the Mlechcha, Asura, Danava, Kirata or Kachari in indifferent stages of history and mythology. Mahiranga (Sanskritised from Bodo word Mairang) Danava was the first king of Assam (Pragjyotishpur) as mentioned in the history of Assam. Starting from Mahiranga Danava's rule which is believed to have been around in 2500 B. C. till the eclipse of the independence of Kachari Kingdom (1854), Koch Behar (1949) and Tripura (1949) several hundreds of kings and rulers of different dynasties of this ethnic group ruled in different areas of the region in different time. Earlier they had one identity with the generic name of either Mlechcha or Asura or Danava or Kirata or Kachari or Bodo for the entire ethnic group, however in the present days they are known with the different ethnic names - such as - Bodo or Boro, Borok, Barman Kachari, Chutiya, Dimasa, Deuri, Dhimal, Hajong, Mech, Modahi, Koch, Rabha, Sonowal, Thengal and Tiwa. They are but cognate tribes of the same ancestry.

Pre-Independence Political Struggle of the Bodos:

As has been the case of all the kingdoms and princely states, the states such as Dimapur, Kashpur, Maibang and other states ruled by Bodo Kachari kings had been annexed with British Rule. On one hand politically dispossessed after having been snatched away all the powers by the British and on the other hand relentless social and cultural aggression for forceful assimilation, Bodos were left to fight the tough twin battles of retaining political power and rich socio-cultural identity. Throughout 18th and 19th century Bodos faced terrible political, social and cultural aggression resulting into irreparable damage to their rich culture, tradition, history and land.

The intolerable injustice meted out to the Bodos forced them to gradually lose their ancestral land, inherited culture, language and history. During the early part of 20th century, some conscientious Bodo youths started organizing themselves for reclaiming lost socio-cultural and political spaces. These untiring mobilizations resulted into formation of Bodo Chatra Sanmiloni in 1919. The Bodo Satra Sanmiloni brought about a new awakening amongst the Bodos for marching towards a new dawn to the present state of Bodos.

The Assam Kachari Jubok Sanmiloni led by Mr. Jadav Khakhlary as its General Secretary and the Boro Jubok Sanmiloni met and submitted a memorandum to Mr. John Simon, the Chairman of the Simon Commission, when he was visiting Assam in 1928-29 with demand for recognizing their distinct identity and addressing other grievances, such as – (1) Raising of Bodo Regiment in the British (Indian) Army, (2) Reservation of seats for the tribal in Assam's Provincial Council and the Local Bodies, (3) Enlisting them separately and distinctly as the Bodo but not as the Hindu in the Electoral Roll and the Census Report of India etc. Many of these demands later were conceded by British India Government through the enactment of Government of India Act 1935. One of the major demands conceded by the British Rule was creation of separate electorate for plains tribal and reservation of four assembly constituencies for plains tribes of Assam.

Immediately after submitting the Memorandum to the Simon Commission Bodos; along with other plains tribal of Assam decided to intensify their political movement. Thus, a tribal political organization was formed in 1933 with the name and style of 'The Assam Tribal League' under the leadership of Mr. Bhimbar Deuri and Mr. Rupnath Brahma. The main demands of this political organization were for

protection and safeguard of the language, culture and identity by declaring the tribal inhabited areas as the 'Schedule Area'.

These organizations founded by the Bodos and other tribal groups of Assam not only fought for their survival, development, protection and participation in the processes that affects their life, but also actively took part in freedom movement of India. Many tribal leaders such as Lt. Jogendra Nath Basumatary, Lt. Rupnath Brahma and many others were jailed during the freedom movement.

Thus, Bodo Kachari leaderships have contributed immensely towards both Indian Freedom struggle and struggle for reclaiming its own glorious past.

Post Independence-Pre ABSU Struggle of the Bodos:

After attainment of freedom, the then Indian National Congress (INC) leaders of Assam led by Mr. Gopinath Bordoloi promised to concede all the key demands of 'The Assam Tribal League' in 1947 especially of protection of tribal land by inserting Chapter X in the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation 1886. This particular chapter of the Act ultimately paved the way for creation of 33 Tribal Belt and Blocks for protection of tribal land, culture and identity.

The simple and honest tribal leadership overjoyed with ostensible promises made by the then INC leaders, decided to dissociate 'The Assam Tribal League' from active politics and renamed it as 'All Assam Tribal Sangha' in 1953. The All Assam Tribal Sangha abandoning all its political activities took the shape of a socio-cultural organization.

This created a huge political vacuum amongst the plains tribes of Assam especially when Hills Peoples Party was demanding creation of separate state comprising some hilly districts of the then Assam. The Naga National Council and Mizo National Front had ensued armed struggle for creating sovereign nation carving out the Naga Hill District and Lusai Hill District of Assam respectively. While the Hill Tribes of Assam were intensifying both democratic and armed struggle for claiming their political rights, the plains tribal leadership were busy joining different political parties of their choice leaving the 'All Assam Tribal Sangha' to struggle for its existence.

Fortunately, Bodo Sahitya Sabha was founded in 1952 which had to certain extend filled the vacuum mostly in the field of protection and development of Bodo Language, Literature and culture.

Genesis of ABSU:

The plains tribes' population especially the Bodos were feeling perturbed about the absence of strong organization for representing the struggles of the plains tribes. While the struggle of hills tribes Assam were getting stronger and many of their demands were conceded like the Nagaland state was created on 1st December 1963 carving out the Naga Hill Districts of Assam, the plains tribal leadership scrambled in the midst of the political ploy of different political parties. On 13th January 1967, the then Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi assured the delegations of All Party Hills Leader's Conference (APHLC) of reorganizing Assam into a federal structure, the Bodo youths were stirred.

An urgent meeting of likeminded Bodo youths was organized on 15th of February 1967 at Kokrajhar Tribal Rest House by leaders like Mr. Kanakeswar Narzary, Mr. Baneswar Basumatary and others. In this very meeting, a solemn revolutionary decision was taken to form All Bodo Students Union (ABSU). This single decision of giving birth to ABSU was awaiting the glorious revolution of the Bodos and other plains tribal to resurrect a responsible and proud Bodo nation with the strong "unity, struggle and prosperity".

ABSU-A Golden Journey So Far:

Now popularly known as ABSU (All Bodo Students Union) has turned 50 since it was founded on 15th February 1967 to 2017. Irrespective of the ethnicity, religion and politics, people are gearing up to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of ABSU in a grand manner. Thus, a magnificent celebration is being organized at Jangkritai Fwthar (Field of Revolution) from 12th to 15th of February 2017.

ABSU was born in the quests of emancipation for the downtrodden tribes of Assam. All the tribes of then Assam which comprised present Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland, were facing chauvinistic and discriminatory policies by the successive government of Assam. The superiority complex of the ruling cliché had triggered common trend of resentment amongst the tribes. While the Hill Tribes were well organized, the plains tribes were disintegrated into several political formations. Taking advantage of chaos and confusion amongst the tribes and their organizations, ruling clichés with exploitative mindset took aggressive policies to smother the Bodos and other tribes in Assam.

It is around this time, common masses of Bodos who were in search of an organization that could represent its heart and soul gave birth to All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) on 15th of February 1967. The organization was formed with the vision of ensuring "Justice, Dignity and Peace". The ultimate mission of ABSU is to work-"with the purity of heart, solemnly resolve to unite the students of Bodo groups living in different parts of the world into an organization for the better and mutual understanding of ourselves to safeguard and develop the socio-economy, education, culture, tradition, language and literature of the great Bodo nationality". The workers of ABSU follow the motto of "Unity, Survival and Prosperity".

By walking on the stated path, ABSU has been able to earn the status of backbone of not only Bodo tribe but all the communities in the region. History of the region as a whole will now be marked by the presence of ABSU and especially last 50 years will be remarkably known forever by ABSU's era.

ABSU today is in every hearts and minds at least in its surroundings. In needs, in deeds, in sorrows and joys, be it failures and successes, ABSU has become an integral part of socio-political life in the region. Last 50 years this region has witnessed tragedies after tragedies, in all of these ABSU leadership with whatever little capacity and might has stood by the people, made best of endeavors to reduce those human tragedies. It took uncompromising stands on principles of justice, dignity and peace. Thus, presently has earned the popularity of an institution that stands for justice of the oppressed, dignity of the most marginalized and peace for all.

ABSU during 1967-1985:

In 1967 Assam had witnessed the birth of two strong organizations one being All Bodo Students Union and other being a political party Plains Tribals Council of Assam (PTCA). Both were given birth at Kokrajhar. Immediately after the formation of ABSU a resolution was adopted to welcome the decision of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Hon'ble Prime Minister of India to reorganize Assam state into a federal structure. It also decided to concentrate working on socio-cultural, economic, language, literature and other developmental agendas of Bodos and other downtrodden tribal communities of Assam.

The PTCA immediately after it was formed on 27th February 1967, started spearheading the political movement of the plains tribal of Assam. It also launched a political movement for creation of separate state of Udayachal on 2nd December 1972 to end land alienation, exploitation, marginalization and discriminatory treatment to the tribes by the successive state government of Assam.

From 1967 to 1986, ABSU had maintained its apolitical approach and functioned mainly as youth force in different struggles of the Bodos. In the movement for introduction of Roman Script for writing Bodo Language from 1970 to 1975, ABSU had played key role. ABSU also strongly supported the movement for creation of Udayachal state by carving out of Assam.

From 1967 to 1986, ABSU apart from mobilizing Bodo youths for all round socio-cultural and economic development had acted as solid support base for political struggles of the Bodos and other indigenous communities.

ABSU During 1986 to 1993:

Until 1986, ABSU had closely followed the political developments which were full of upheavals, disunity and disintegration. ABSU by 1986 came to the conclusion that Tribal struggles especially Bodo Struggle was seeing bleak future in the hands of the political leaders who were shouting slogans for Tribal emancipation only to serve vested political interest.

It is around this time of tribal disintegration and frustration, the leadership of All Bodo Students Union was handed over to Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma, a highly educated, young, charismatic and dynamic leader. Leaving aside all his personal ambitions, Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma, rechristened and redefined the tribal political movement. He was of the opinion that there was nothing apolitical in the hardships faced by the plains tribes of Assam. According to him all the injustices, exploitation, discrimination and under development faced by the tribes of Assam are for political reasons.

Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma was made the 8th President of the All Bodo Students' Union on 31st May 1986 in the conference of the ABSU held in Darang District. Since then, the task of political movement for a separate state has been taken over by the students' Union from the political party and it continues till date. Before that the students' union extended only moral support to the political demand and other problems necessitating political decisions. The All Bodo Students' Union

and the leadership of Upendra Nath Brahma submitted a 92 Points Charter of demand to the then Chief Minister of Assam Sri Prafulla Kumar Mahanta on 1st January 1987. Amongst these 92 points of demand the major ones were the creation of a separate state on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra for the plains tribal of Assam, the creation of an autonomous council on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra and the creation of Karbi Anglong regional council for the non-Karbi tribals under the district council. Barring these three political demands the other 89 demands were related to socio-economic, education and other problems. In 1987 for the first time these demands were placed before the then Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi (on 22 February) in New Delhi. The charter of demands was submitted to the Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh, and the Honourable President of India Shri Giani Jail Singh on 24th and 30th February 1987 respectively. For ABSU it was the first ever event that raised the separate state in the national capital for the plains tribals of Assam.

The river Brahmaputra will divide Assam if the separate state demanded by the Bodos is conceded. The demanded geographical area consists of the plains of Himalayan foothills below the kingdom of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh on the northern bank of Brahmaputra. It starts from the river Sankosh in the west and extends up to Sadiya in the east. This narrow strip of land measure 25,478sq.k.m. In comparison to Nagaland and Mizoram or Pondicherry the state demanded by the ABSU is larger and economically more viable. Packed with forest areas, hundreds of tea gardens, vast areas of fertile land and plentiful of natural resources, this region is richer and more feasible than many other states of India.

Brief Highlights of Historical Events of 6 Years Glorious Bodoland Movement-

- Under the leadership of the ABSU a movement of separate state was launched on 2nd March 1987. On that historic day all the Bodo dominated districts of Assam held mass rally proclaiming the demand of separate state with Upendra Nath Brahma as the leader.
- On 23rd March 1987 the ABSU took out demonstration in front of D.C., S.D.O. and S.D.C. offices throughout the state.

- On 13th April 1987 the ABSU launched Mass Rally at Anchalik level thoughout the state.
- A historic Mass Rally was organised at Judges Field, Guwahati on 12th June 1987. Thousands of supporters attended this mega rally extending full support to the movement of the ABSU. The 12th June has gone down in the history for the Bodos as a tragic day, because on that day Martyr Sujit Narzary a student of class X from Batipara, Kokrajhar became the first martyr at the hands of some chauvinistic Assamese people who were against the Bodos. In the course of Bodoland movement as well as in the lives of the Bodos as of now 12th June has become special day for the reason stated above and is now being observed as Martyrs' Day every year.
- On 2nd July 1987, a demonstration was staged in front of Janata Bhawan, Guwahati.
- On 21st July 1987 all Religious Prayer Meeting was held at district level throughout the state. On that day the Bodos took a vow to keep on struggling till the achievement of separate state.
- On 10th August 1987 a programme of Hunger strike was organised in front of the D.C., S.D.O and S.D.C. Offices.
- On 27th August 1987, for the first time, a bandh call for 12 hour was declared in tribal areas.
- On 9th September 1987 a 24 hour Tribal Area Bandh was observed. During the bandh period Martyr Kabiram Basumatary and Martyr Alendra Basumatary of Lailangpara, Darrang district were killed at police firing.
- A 36 hour Bandh of tribal areas was called from 24th to 25th September 1987. At this bandh also police opened fire and killed Martyr Obiram Mushahary of Serfanguri.
- On 3rd October 1987 protest rallies and demonstrations were observed in front of D.C., S.D.O and S.D.C. offices at Anchalik Committee level against the atrocities of Assam Police.
- On 12th October 1987 a programme of Mass Crying was launched throughout the demanded areas.

- On 28th October 1987 Bodo Cultural Demonstration with traditional musical instruments and dance was organised at important places as a part of the ongoing programme of the movement.
- On 10th November 1987 a Mass Demonstration was staged at Boat Club, New Delhi where around 1500 ABSU activists and supporters took part. A procession from India Gate to Rafi Marg over the Rajpath was also performed on the same day and met the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and Lok Sabha Speaker, Balaram Jakar and submitted memorandum to each of them.
- From 26th to 28th November 1987 a 48 hour Rail Rokho programme was launched.
- From 9th to 11th December 1987 a 48 hour Highway Blokade programme was launched.
- On 4th January 1988 at the heart of Kokrajhar town a huge Mass Rally Programme was organised, where 1, 50,000 people gathered. As a result of this Mass Rally the President of India Mr.R. Venkataraman for the first time invited a representative of the ABSU to the capital for a dialogue and the delegation team of the ABSU was led by Upendra Nath Brahma. This team met the President of India in New Delhi and a talk was held on the statehood demand of the ABSU. On 22nd January the team met the then Home Minister for state Mr. Sintamani Panigrahi.
- On 25th and 27th January 1988 ten (10) Bodo women from Bhumka village under Kokrajhar District were gang raped by Assam Police. It became the first rape case in the history of movement of the ABSU. This incident was condemned throughout the country.
- On 10th and 11th February 1988 a programme of Hunger Strike was organised in front of the D.C., S.D.O.and S.D.C. offices.
- A Highway Blockade programme was held from 1st to 5th March, 1988.
- On 28th April 1988 Peace Rally was held on the highway.
- From 27th to 30th April, 1988 a 72 hour Assam Bandh was declared. During this bandh many incidents of violence took place. The police

- atrocities ignited the flame of violence in the minds of people, and the Bodo youths resorted to violence to express their resentment.
- On 12th May 1988 Ms. Gaide Basumatary and Ms. Helena Basumatary were killed by Assam Police and became the first women martyrs of the movement.
- Millions of people took part in an Anchalik level demonstration on 16th May 1988.
- On 17th May, 12 hour Tribal Area Bandh was observed against the Police firings and killing of Bodo people.
- From 22nd to 26th May 1988 a 100 hour Rail Rokho programme was organised and it ended peacefully.
- From 4th to 8th June 1988 another 100 hour Rail Rokho and Road Blockade programme were launched.
- On 29th June 1988 another Mass Prayer programme was organised and the Bodos took new vow to fight for the achievement of separate state.
- A 100 hour Assam Bandh was observed from 11th to 15th July 1988.
- The ABSU boycotted the celebration of 15th August in 1988 and observed it as a Black Day.
- From 16th to 20th September 1988 a programme was launched to boycott duties in Government offices of tribal areas.
- From 6th to 12th September 1988 a programme of Alternate Day Bandh in tribal areas for 4 days was organized.
- A new chapter created in the movement of the ABSU with the formation of Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC) on 8th November 1988. The 20th Annual Conference of the All Bodo Students' Union was held from 18th to 22nd December 1988 at Bashbari in Dhubri District. It was in that conference that the separate state demanded by the ABSU was given the nomenclature "Bodoland". The other important decision of the delegate meeting in the conference was dropping the 89 points of demands related to socioeconomic problems out of the original 92 charter of demands. The

ABSU decided to focus its attention on the three political demands:

- a) Separate state for the Bodos and other plains tribes on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra.
- b) Creation of Karbi Anglong Regional Council within the District Autonomous Council for the non-Karbi tribal population.
- c) Formation of an Autonomous Council for the Bodos on the southern bank of Brahmaputra.
- From 16th to 21st February, 1989, 120 hour Assam Bandh was observed.
- From 2nd to 9th March 1989, a 175 hour Assam Bandh was observed.
- From 27th March to 5th April 1989, 14 days long Assam Bandh was declared but this programme was called off after ten days as a talk was proposed between the ABSU and the Assam Government on 17th April 1989.
- A 300 hour Assam Bandh starting from 26th June 1989 was observed successfully.
- From 25th July 1989 a 360 hour Assam Bandh was declared. During this bandh the ABSU appealed to the Central Government through press statement and memorandum that a bill be introduced in the ensuing monsoon session of the parliament.

In the month of August 1989 a terrible ethnic clash broke out at Gohpur between the Bodos and a group of chauvinistic Assamese people. Incited by the Assam State Government hundreds of Assamese extremists attacked a large number of Bodo villages and more than 500 hundreds of Bodos were massacred. Thousands of them became homeless as their properties and houses were destroyed by the extremists. The incident lasted for 4 days from 9th to 12th October 1989. The cleavage between the Bodos and the Assamese people widened with this incident and the Bodos became all the more determined to get separated out of Assam.

Accordingly, a tripartite talk of the centre, the state and the representative of the ABSU-BPAC was held in New Delhi on 28th August 1989. This talk was presided over by Mrs. Rajendra Kumari Bajpayee. The delegation team of ABSU-BPAC

raised the issue of separate state very strongly during the talk. Moreover inclusion of Bodos in Karbi Anglong in the category of Scheduled Tribes (Hills) and creation of Autonomous council on the southern bank of Brahmaputra were demanded in the talk. The second tripartite talk was held on 5th October 1989. No concrete result came out from this talk. The next tripartite talk was held during the National Front Government at the centre. This talk was held on 11th January 1989 and was headed by the Union Labour Minister Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan. In this talk the Bodoland issue gained priority and a heated debate between Bodo leaders and the Assam Government came up again on the Bodoland issue.

On 9th March 1990 the 4th round tripartite talk was concluded. Upendra Nath Brahma couldn't participate in this talk on health ground.

The 5th round tripartite talk took place on 18th April 1990. In this talk Upendra Nath Brahma headed the ABSU-BPAC team for the last time. His health rapidly deteriorated after this talk as he was already at the terminal stage of cancer. He had long since been afflicted by this disease. He was first admitted at Joy Lakshmi Nursing Home at Coochbehar and received treatment for the first time. Later he was treated at C.M.C Vellore. After treatment for sometime at Vellore he was taken to Tata Memorial Cancer Institute in Bombay. However, as the illness was at a critical stage, end of Bodofa's life was only a matter of time.

Upendra Nath Brahma breathed his last at Tata Memorial Cancer Institute on 1st May 1990. His untimely demise was a major jolt in the course of the Bodoland Movement which was at its peak. At the death of Upendra Nath Brahma who was called Messiah of the downtrodden, the Bodos were caught unprepared and they were at a fix as to sustain the unfinished Bodoland Movement. Political observers in the country and abroad directed their attention to this incident. He was buried with public funeral rites on 4th May at Dotma and he was given the title 'The Father of the Bodos' or "Bodofa" on that day.

The 6th round of tripartite talk was held on 2nd July 1990. In this talk the ABSU-BPAC team was headed by Mr Sansuma Khungur Bwiswmuthiary, the new President of the ABSU and one of the tallest tribal leaders in the region.

The 7th round of tripartite talk was held on 8th August 1990. The 8th round of tripartite talk was held from 11th and 13th September 1990. In this talk the central Government recommended a Three Member Committee to study the Bodo Issue.

On 21st October 1990 Union Minister for Labour and Welfare Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan visited Kokrajhar. More than ten lakhs people gathered at Debargaon field to welcome him as well as to show their popular support to the demand of the separate state.

- ❖ On 31st September 1990 the ABSU-BPAC organized a demonstration at Boat Club, New Delhi urging the Central Government to solve the Bodoland Issue at an early date.
- On 3rd January 1991 another demonstration was arranged at Boat Club New Delhi where one thousand people took part to raise the demand of separate state.
- ❖ On 25th January 1991 the Central Government made a declaration that a three member expert committee headed by Dr. Bhupinder Singh would be formed to study the Bodo issue. The other members were Dr. K.S. Singh as Member and Padmashri A. M. Gokhale as Member Secretary. The Centre delegated power to the Committee for studying the possibility of administration, legislative and financial mechanism within an autonomous set up.
- Assam. By way of welcoming the Committee a great exhibition on the customs, culture and history of the Bodos was organized at Debargaon, Kokrajhar. Through this exhibition the demand of Bodoland on the basis of distinct culture, language and history was reinforced. On 4th September 1991 this Expert Committee visited Karbi Anglong. The Committee also visited Udalguri, Gohpur and other places. But the ABSU-BPAC had to reject the recommendation of the Committee as it failed to evolve a formula for solving the Bodo issue
- The P.V. Narasimha Rao Government resumed the tripartite talk and the 9th round talk was held on 7th January 1992. The Prime Minister gave an unofficial responsibility to the then Defence Minister Mr. Sharad Power to look after the Bodo issue.
- ❖ On 6th June 1992 the ABSU-BPAC staged a programme of Hunger Strike

- at Dispur, Guwahati demanding quick solution to Bodoland problem.
- ❖ On 28th July the ABSU-BPAC again organized Hunger Strike at district and sub-divisional levels showing resentment against the delay in solving Bodoland problem and protested the deployment of Army in Bodo dominated areas
- ❖ On 14th and 15th September 1992 the ABSU-BPAC staged demonstration at Boat Club, New Delhi demanding Bodoland. In this programme many leaders and intellectuals of the country took part.
- On 28th October 1992 Peace Rally was organized on the national highways. Through the rally demand for quick solution to Bodoland problem was raised.
- On 17th November 1992 Assam Bandh for 12 hours was held for quick solution to the Bodoland problem.

Even after the passing of considerable period no response was received from either State or Central Government except hollow verbal assurance. The ABSU-BPAC once again declared a 1001 hour total Assam Bandh starting from 21st November 1992. Large scale violence broke out during this bandh. Looking at the grim situation generated out of the bandh the then Home Minister Mr. S.B. Chavan called upon the ABSU–BPAC leaders to put an end to the bandh by giving an assurance that the government would take measure to resolve the Bodoland issue. Accordingly the ABSU-BPAC called off the bandh. After this bandh the headquarter of the ABSU at Debargaon was raided repeatedly by Assam Police. It was the last bandh call given by the ABSU-BPAC during the 6 years long intense Bodoland movement.

In 1993 talk on Bodoland demand was resumed. By then congress party had comeback to power at Centre and Rajesh Pilot, the then State Home Minister, was given charge to resolve the Bodo issue. On 20th January 1993 Mr. Pilot had a protracted talk with the president of the ABSU Mr. SK Bwiswmuthiary. On 10th February of the year Mr. Pilot had talk with Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, the then Chief Minister of Assam for political solution to the Bodoland problem.

20th of February, 1993 became a historic day as the first Bodo Accord for creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council was signed on this very day. The Bodo Accord was signed by representatives of central and state Governments on the one

hand and the ABSU-BPAC on the other, paving the way for formation of an autonomous council. This accord brought about many changes in the political discourse of Bodoland Movement. It is noteworthy that the accord was signed in Guwahati, Assam and the signatories were Mr. Rajesh Pilot who represented Central Government, Chief Secretary of Assam, Mr. K.S. Rao representing state Government and Mr. S.K. Bwiswmuthiary, President and Mr. Rabiram Brahma, General Secretary, ABSU. The State and Central Government declared that with this accord the Bodo issue involving political, economic, linguistic and cultural problems had been resolved. With much aspiration and a bit of skepticism the first phase of 6 years long Bodoland movement formally came to an end.

Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma a Messiah for Bodos:

Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma as he is now popularly known and revered; was born in a humble family at Boragari village of Dotma Circle under Kokrajhar district. He was born to father Lt. Monglaram Brahma and mother Lt. Lepsri Brahma on 31st March 1956. He received his primary schooling from Dotma itself and went on to do his Bachelor of Science (B.Sc) from Guwahati Cotton College in Physics. He was one of the most meritorious students amongst the Bodos of his generation. After finishing his B. Sc, Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma, obtained his Master of Science in Physics from Guwahati University in 1984. He also obtained Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Kokrajhar College and almost completed his Bachelor of Law from Guwahati Law College.

Despite hailing from a humble socio-economic background Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma turned down all the offers for his personal career and became the President of All Bodo Students Union in the 18th Annual Conference, held at Rowta, Darrang district from 29th to 31st of May 1986.

Since then he never looked back. The Bodos and other plains tribes were then devastated, were on the verge of getting assimilated with language and culture of the majority. The land alienation was at its extreme, continuous political divisions amongst tribes had devastated and frustrated the downtrodden communities, the chauvinistic aggression of ruling cliché was increasing, the tribal struggle was seeing irreparable downward trend, it was at this time Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma plunged into the Bodoland Movement with limited activists. Seeing his indomitable

courage and conviction, common masses started reposing trust on him. By the end of first year of his tenure, he travelled to nook and corner of tribal dominated areas across the northeastern region to seek support for the Bodoland Movement. His extraordinary efforts and clarity of vision drew people's attention. His strategy of involving masses and all the stakeholders was admired by everyone.

His relentless efforts resurrected not only a vibrant movement for reclaiming glorious past of the tribes especially the Bodo tribes, but also helped built a confident, disciplined, informative, articulate and sophisticated new young generation. He always shouted slogans of "Live and Let Live" and left behind amongst the younger generation to follow it. Through his leadership Bodos of the World was united for a single cause of political self determination under the constitution of India. For this he sacrificed his life. He was aware of his ill health but continued with the vigorous movement. His stubborn engagement with Bodoland Movement finally led him to succumb to the disease of cancer on 1st May 1990.

His sudden and untimely demise left tears in the eyes of every Bodo person forever. The Bodo leadership was orphaned by this irrecoverable loss.

He was cremated at Dotma which is now named as Thulungafuri (Kingdom of Inspiration) on 4^{th} May 1990. On the same day with the unending tears on eyes the ABSU-BPAC leadership honoured him with the title of "Bodofa" (The Father of the Bodos).

It is by following vision and conviction of Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma, a Messiah for Bodos, present generation is proudly celebrating 50 years of All Bodo Students Union commemorating glorious pasts.

ABSU During 1993 to 2003:

The Government has not conceded to the demand of separate state of Bodoland. While ABSU-BPAC leaders signed the agreement, it already smelled ploy, that just to douse the fire of Bodoland Movement government in a hurried manner agreed to the Bodo Accord. Nevertheless, Bodo leadership with all sincerity decided to experiment with the arrangement of political autonomy given through the Bodoland Autonomous Council created through the Bodo Accord.

In three years duration after the Accord was signed, the apprehensions of Bodo Leadership were proven to be correct. In those three years time, both the state and central government failed to demarcate even the boundary of BAC. An election was never held for the Council members as promised in the agreement. The Central Government created trouble by setting certain unacceptable conditions. It was stated that the strips of land covering ten kilometres from the international border would not be included in BAC region due to border security reason. Secondly, the reserved forest being a central subject couldn't be included in BAC area. Thirdly; Srirampur border Gate between Assam and Bengal, some important place such as Darrang, Tangla, etc. would not be included in the council. It is important to state here that the ground put forward by government for excluding those areas and places have no constitutional basis. For this reason the boundary demarcation of the BAC wasn't drawn till 1996.

The Bodos and other common masses of region felt really betrayed. The sincere efforts for bringing lasting peace in the region by ABSU leaders went in vein due to the fatal diplomatic moves being taken by the central and state government.

Hence, ABSU under the leadership of Jwhwlao Swmbla Basumatary in its 28th Annual Conference held from 3rd to 5th March 1996 at Langhin Tinali, Karbi Anglong, adopted a resolution in its delegate session on 4th March to denounce the Bodo Accord and to resume the movement for separate state of Bodoland.

Some of the activists of 6 years Bodoland Movement felt really betrayed and went underground to form an armed organization named as Bodo Liberation Tigers. The sense of betrayal was so strong amongst the Bodos and other tribes in the region. The movement turned so violent that hundreds of people had lost their precious lives on either side of the conflicting parties.

On 30th July 1996 unidentified extremists suspected to have been member of National Democratic Front of Bodoland, shot dead Mr. Swmbla Basumatary, President of ABSU. This myopic action of the extremists resulted in widespread fratricidal violence amongst the Bodos. Since then ABSU, observes 30th July as "Anti-Terrorism Day" every year.

Raising the similar political demands of ABSU, the BLT adopted an ideology of creating a separate state remaining within the sovereignty of India. This organization sprang up from the background of the 6 year Bodoland Mass Movement as a reaction against the repressive policy of the government, which denied the Bodos their rights enshrined in the constitutions which they sought

through democratic movement terming it a law and order problem. A section of Bodo youths considered extremism as a right counterpoise to the police atrocities as well as a means for the end.

After the assassination of Jwhwlao Swmbla Basumatary Mr. Urkhao Gwra Brahma became the president of the ABSU in 1996 with Mr. Emanuel Mushahary being the General Secretary. Mr. U.G. Brahma and Mr. Emanuel Mushahary took up the responsibilities of ABSU leadership at a very critical juncture. It was at this point of time, armed struggle between the extremists groups and government armed forces became intense, secondly fratricidal armed conflict between two extremist groups was taking a heavy toll, thirdly, a terrible ethnic conflict broke out between Bodos and Santhals in the area. Mr. U.G. Brahma, who was then seen as time tested individual with his extra-ordinary courage, impeccable integrity, simplicity and honesty, despite his reluctance was imposed with the huge responsibility of leading ABSU at an extreme situation of crisis.

ABSU had no choice but to deal with the situation. The leaders knew very well it was sinister design of the people at the helms of power to malign the Bodoland Movement through an ethnic conflict between two friendliest tribal communities in the region who for centuries co-existed peacefully. Thus, ABSU made relentless efforts to reconcile both the estranged communities. Thankfully, Adivasi Seva Samiti, the AAASA, and other Adivashi organizations readily extended their co-operation to the ABSU-BPAC in bringing peace to the region within a short span of time. Both state and central government did not come to rescue of human tragedies in the relief camps. The relief residents had to survive with bare minimum mostly provided by students union and some NGOs. There was no education, health, water, sanitation facilities. Extreme suffering of people at the relief camp was anyway signaling the occurrence of future episodes of ethnic violence. This was proven correct with the brief episode of 1998 repeat of ethnic violence between Bodos and Santhals. However, ABSU along with Adivashi organizations had been able to douse the fire of conflict quickly.

As the leadership of ABSU was aware about the sinister design, it continued with its mass democratic movement.

15th of August 1996 the then Prime Minister of India H.D. Devegowda in his address from Red Fort made a statement that the government of India was in favour

of creating three new states namely Jharkhand, Uttarkhand and Chattisgarh. The previous Congress government, on the other hand had been reiterating that the centre had no policy of creating new states in India. The ABSU welcomed the statement of the Prime Minister and reminded the centre that the Bodoland demand by the Bodo people should be conceded at the earliest possible under the article 2 and 3 of Indian Constitution. Mr. H.D. Devegowda visited Assam on 25th October 1996. During his visit a delegation team of ABSU met him at Raj Bhawan, Guwahati and submitted a memorandum demanding a separate state. Soon after his visit a huge Mass Rally was organised on 28th October 1996 at Judges Field, Guwahati. It was the first mass Rally after resumption of the statehood movement and more than fifty thousand people participated in this public gathering. The second important programme was held in New Delhi on 10th December 1996. A train was booked for that purpose and two thousand people boarded the special train to participate in the demonstration. The ABSU raised the demand of Bodoland state strongly through this programme in the capital. On both the days of the programme (10th and 11th December 1996) the then speaker of Lok Shaba Mr. P.A Sangma was met and a petition was submitted telling him that through this petition the demand of separate state had been raised in the parliament. After this programme a five member delegation team of ABSU met the Prime Minister of India Mr. H.D. Dev Gowda. The Prime Minister asked for some time to resolve the Bodo issue. Before this the delegation team met the then Railway Minister Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan and requested him repeatedly to extend his cooperation in solving the Bodoland issue through dialogue. It should be mentioned here that ABSU has declared a 48 hours road blockade on 10th and 11th January 1997. But the extremists put themselves into action from 29th December 1996 onwards. As a result, a widespread incident of violence took place in Bodo dominated areas. Several bridges on national highways as well as on railway tracts were blown and even trains were attacked with bombs on 30th December 1996. Owing to this violent situation the ABSU called off the northeast road blockade programme. On 18th January 1997 a delegation team of the ABSU met Mr. Indrajit Gupta the then Union Minister in New Delhi and lobbied hard with him to resolve the Bodoland imbroglio. On 18th February 1997 Mr. S.C. Jamir, Chief Minister of Nagaland was met and requested to cooperate with the Congress in resolving the Bodoland issue. On 20th February 1997

the delegation team met the BJP leader Mr. Atal Behari Bajpayee, the then opposition leader in the parliament, and requested him to adopt a policy for fulfilling the Bodoland demand. In the discussion held at his office inside the parliament building Mr. Bajpayee gave a patient hearing to the Bodo issue and assured to the team of his commitment to help in future.

The 29th Annual Conference of the ABSU was held at Kajolgaon in the month of March 1997. In this conference the president of the organization was retained while Mr. Nathuram Boro was selected as the new General Secretary of the ABSU. After the conference the ABSU carried out many agitation programmes. It is noteworthy that on 23rd August 1997 a delegation team of the ABSU had a talk with Mr. K. Padmana Bhaiya, Secretary, Home Affairs at Dispur, Guwahati. As a consequence of this talk a tripartite talk under the leadership of Mr. Indrajit Gupta was held on 18th September 1997 for the first time in New Delhi. But this talk also ended with no satisfactory results.

With a view to launch a joint movement for creating smaller states in India a discussion was held on 6th June 1996 with members from the ABSU, All Gorkha Students' Union (AGSU) and the All Jharkhand Students' Union (AJSU). On that very day a committee called National Students' and Youth Forum for Smaller States (NSYFSS) was formed. Mr. Urkhao Gwra Brahma and Mr. Roson Giri became the president and the secretary of the committee respectively. This student's forum staged demonstration two times in New Delhi demanding Bodoland, Gorkhaland and Jharkhand and met the Prime Minister Mr. Atal Behari Bajpayee and the Union Home Minister Mr. L.K. Advani several times. On 28th and 29th July 1998 the NSYFSS called bandh in Bodoland, Gorkhaland and Jharkhand.

In order to transform the Bodoland movement into a mass movement the ABSU in its 30th Annual Conference held from 1st to 3rd April 1998 at Dudhnoi the Bodo People's Action Committee was brought back to life with Mr. Gobinda Boro and Mr. Reo Reoa Narzihary as the Chairman and the Convenor respectively.

On 13th November 1998 a talk was held between Central Government, Assam Government and the ABSU-BPAC. There was no progress in this talk too.

The 31st Annual Conference of the ABSU was held from 14th to 16th February 1999 at Bodofa Nwgwr, Dotma. Although it was the term ending session both the President and the Secretary of the outgoing body were re-elected for the following

term. Till that time there was no solution in sight for Bodo issue.

In 1999, The Bodo Liberation Tigers declared a unilateral ceasefire during the Kargil War between India and Pakistan stating it is not fighting war against India, but the armed struggle is for creating a safe and secured homeland for Bodos and other tribes in the form of smaller state carving out of Assam under the provisions of Indian Constitution. The government of India was quick enough to sign the ceasefire agreement.

The formal talk between BLT and Government of India began in May 2000. ABSU kept a close watch on the development of the talk. Looking at the rapid progress made in the peaceful negotiations between BLT and Government of India, ABSU decided to formally back the negotiation. The then ABSU leadership decided to extend full support to the peace talks between BLT and GoI, seeing the opportunity for return of lasting peace in the region, secondly possibility of resolving Bodoland issue through peaceful means, promote communal harmony, allow rapid socioeconomic development which was being hampered due to the repressive state policies and continuing political struggles of people.

After series of peace talks finally BLT and GoI agreed for 2nd Bodo Accord which was signed by BLT, GoI and Govt. of Assam on 10th February 2003. This Bodo Accord though did not fulfill the main aspirations of Bodos and other plains tribes for creating a separate state of Bodoland, had agreed upon basic demands such as creating Bodoland Territorial Council under the amended sixth schedule of Indian Constitutions, enlisting Bodo Language in 8th Schedule of Indian Constitutions, examining feasibility of enlisting Bodo Kacharis of Karbi Anglong district into S.T. Hills Status and some financial package for rapid socio-economic development.

Mr. U.G. Brahma, after retirement as the ABSU President, was elected as Member Parliament (R.S.), along with Mr. Sansuma Khungur Bwiswmuthiary who was then M.P (L.S.) played crucial role in brokering peace between Bodoland Liberation Tigers and Government of India. Both being the stalwart of the Bodoland Movement were well versed with the aspirations and sentiments of the people in the region. They also were exposed to the diplomatic channels of Government of India. Thus has helped both of them to bring both the negotiating parties to one table and thereby facilitated a peaceful conclusion to the armed struggle of Bodo Liberation Tigers with meaningful results. In the history of struggles of the Bodos both the names after Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma

will forever be revered with great pride and honour.

ABSU as promised decided to suspend its demand for separate state of Bodoland for at least few years and observe the functioning of the Bodoland Territorial Council, as it is aware that other old Autonomous District Council, the formation of which coincided with the adoption of constitution of India also could not bring about development, stability and peace in those areas.

ABSU During 2003-2017:

As the second Bodo Accord was signed on 10th of February 2003 to create the present Bodoland Territorial Council for partial political autonomy, an interim Executive Council was formed with Mr. Hagrama Mohilary as the Chief Executive Members. Each and every citizen of the region especially the Bodos were overjoyed with the formation of BTC and its newly nominated Executive Council. For creating ground so that BTC would be administered by the democratically elected members, ABSU along with Ex-BLT members formed a political party named as Bodoland Peoples' Progressive Front (BPPF) in 2004 with Mr. Rabiran Narzary as President and Mr. Hemendra Nath Brahma as General Secretary. The first election of BTC was held on 5th May 2005 and BPPF won all the 40 legislative council seats. The elected members formally elected Mr. Hagrama Mohilary once again as Chief Executive Member of the Bodoland Territorial Council.

With the establishment of strong Bodoland Territorial Council, ABSU decided to suspend all its agitational programmes for creation of Bodoland in conference held at Bonorgaon in 2004. This conference also elected Mr. Rwngwra Narzary as President and Mr. Gautam Mushahary as General Secretary. The newly elected committee decided to rechristen the original 92 Points Charter of Demands by reducing it to 26 Charter of Demands through its annual convention in 2005. As ABSU decided to allow the newly formed Bodoland Territorial Council to function smoothly for expediting the socio-economic development, safeguard land, culture and history of the indigenous communities, it restarted its original constructive work for bringing about holistic change in the surrounding.

ABSU declared 2006 as Year of Education through which it reached out to each and every village inhabited by Bodos to sensitize the masses as well as to gauge the magnitude of the problem. In the following year 2007, ABSU declared

Mission Quality Education for next 10 years. 400 youths have taken out a cycle rally covering 5000 kilometers in 2 months time across the nook and corner of Assam. As part of the mission several innovative programmes and activities were launched. It received a very positive response from the people. The ABSU also started an annual survey of educational status amongst the Bodos, where it found only 33% of the Bodos are literate. The Bodo Medium Education is ailing pretty badly with huge shortages of teachers, lack of infrastructure, people's ownership, shortages of text books, large scale corruption in the system and many other pressing problems. The ABSU started a very strong advocacy and lobbying to reform the educational system especially for the tribes in Assam which heeded no attention by the government. In the process ABSU made innumerable friends across the country especially from Civil Society Organizations, NGOs, Academia, Media and likeminded who have enriched our learning and extended unending support. We as ABSU owe a lot to them.

While the constructive work by ABSU was at its peak, as usual the BPPF right from its formation was facing trouble in terms of strong differences and resentments amongst the leaders. Finally it split into two factions and a new political party emerged from the intense differences, which was named as Bodoland Peoples Front in 2007. Since the formation of new political outfit, a terrible fratricidal killing was ensued. From 2007 to 2010, for no reasons more than 200 precious and innocent lives were lost under the very nose of the police administration. While the ABSU decried for help and worked relentlessly to restore peace, there was total inaction by the state government and its law enforcing agencies. While the people had started breathing peace after creation of BTC the terror unleashed by the political elements created fear and frustration amongst the people.

In the year 2008, the suspected illegal Bangladeshi immigrants attacked some Bodo villages in Udalguri districts leading to an ethnic clash between Bengali Muslim immigrants and indigenous communities in the district. Mohanpur Bodo village under Udalguri Sub-Division of Udalguri district was attacked for the first time on 3rd October 2008. In this many people lost their lives and villages were torched by the rioters, leading to internal displacement of more than 300,000 population.

ABSU ran pillar to post to douse the flames of the ethnic conflict. On one hand arranging relief materials for Internally Displaced Persons and on the other

hand working relentlessly for immediate restoration of peace, those days were really hectic and challenging for ABSU. It was because of efforts put forward by ABSU & other responsible organizations the fire of ethnic conflict could be doused quickly. Returning of IDPs to their beloved homes was also ensured by ABSU.

In the year 2009, in the conference at Thelamara in Sonitpur district, the leadership of ABSU was handed over to Mr. Pramod Boro as President and Mr. Jiron Basumatary as General Secretary. Soon after taking over the leadership, Mr. Pramod Boro with active support from his colleagues declared a mission for Illegal Weapons and Violence Free Society which was launched on 30th July 2009 by the able hands of Mr. Natwar Bhai Thakkar a renowned Gandhian Social Worker at Basugaon. 30th July is observed as Anti-Terrorism Day by ABSU in commemoration of its leader Jwhwlao Swmbla Basumatary who was assassinated on that unfortunate black day.

From the 2nd October 2009, ABSU started observing the International Day of nonviolence by organizing a huge public event at Rajmela Field, Kokrajhar. This now has become a regular annual event.

ABSU on one hand relentlessly worked for restoration of peace in the region and on the other, actively carried out the Mission Quality Education. After three years of actively pushing the government, Government of India sent it's the then Home Secretary, Mr. G.K. Pillai, on 9th and 10th February 2010 to find out the causes of the large scale killings of people in Bodo dominated areas. After his visit all of a sudden the secret killings stopped. One wanders, why this move was not taken at the beginning of the large scale killings.

On 9th of December 2009, the then Union Home Minister of India, Mr. P. Chidambaram, while visiting Hyderabad announced that the new state of Telengana will be created carving out of Andhra Pradesh state. This sudden announcement surprised the ABSU leadership. When the negotiation for BTC was on, the Government of India assuaged Bodo leaders by saying that it has no policy for creating any more new states in India. They also assured that as and when the policy for creating new states is adopted, Bodoland will be considered on priority basis. But when announcement for Telengana was made, Bodo leadership felt really betrayed.

The ABSU leadership was pressurized by the masses it represents to withdraw the decision for suspension of movement during its annual convention held at Mazbat under Udalguri district on 9th and 10th January 2010. Thus,this paved the way for Third Phase of Bodoland Movement.

To formally begin the third phase of Bodoland Movement, ABSU organized a mega Mass Gathering on 2nd of March 2010 at Kajolgaon. More than 200,000 people attended this gathering. This day of 2nd March was chosen because the 6 Years Glorious Movement was launched on this very day in 1987. Throughout 2010 and 2011, ABSU leadership made innumerable representation to the Government of India those have not been heeded. ABSU during these years have struggled with many intense issues such as working towards ending the secret killings of innocents by political extremists, carry on social reformation movement through spreading message of quality education, anti superstition movement, advocate for Illegal Weapons and Violence Free Society which has been dearest mission for Mr. Pramod Boro, a man of extraordinary courage, conviction, simplicity, impeccable integrity and a gifted leader who always holds a vision for a violence free society.

2012 was one of the most tragic and challenging year for ABSU. While it celebrated 25 years of first phase of Bodoland Movement on 2nd March 2012 at Amingaon in presence of more than 100,000 gathering, it also faced a very tragic incident. While the whole team of ABSU leadership was visiting flood affected victims in Dhemaji, on 19th of July 2012, some miscreants killed 4 Bodo youths at Joypur village near Kokrajhar town. On the following day, at Paroura and Monakocha, two Bodo villages near Fakiragram town were torched by the miscreant rioters. The ABSU leadership rushed back to Kokrajhar only to find the full scale ethnic conflict between Bodos and Bengali Muslims. Almost half a million from both the communities were displaced and 109 people from both the communities lost their lives. ABSU tirelessly worked to bring back normalcy and peace. While returning from Dhemaji on 20th July 2012, Mr. Pramod Boro and his colleagues met the then DGPMr. Khogen Sharma, to tackle the situation at the earliest. But as the state government machineries were believed to have been hand and gloves with the forces involved with the riot, no firm actions were taken by the Political leadership and bureaucracy. ABSU helplessly decried for peace, the political leadership only fished in trouble water. ABSU made desperate attempts to bring back peace, collaborated with different NGOs, media groups, students union and others. Thus, ABSU contributed significantly in stabilizing the situation and return of IPDs to their native villages.

As the UPA government took cabinet decision to create new state of Telengana in 2013, the ABSU leadership had no choice, but to prove its commitment to the people. An ultimatum was given to the Government of India to create Bodoland state by 15th of August 2013 along with Telengana. This ultimatum was reminded through a 12 hours railway blockade at Korkajhar Railway station which was participated by more than 200,000 people. But it was not heeded by the government forcing the ABSU leadership to declare for indefinite hunger strike at the Play Ground of Kokrajhar Govt. H.S and MV School. The indefinite hunger strike began on 22nd of August as declared, thousands of people volunteered to participate in the hunger strike. The National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and organization such as Peoples Joint Action Committee for Bodoland Movement for the first time took part in any movement organized by ABSU. Irrespective of political party lines people participated and were supported by the NDFB (P), BPPF, UDPF, PJACBM and Kuki State Demand Committee for the demand of Separate State Bodoland. By 23rd and 24th morning health of hundreds of activist deteriorated and they were admitted into the RNB Civil Hospital. Mr. Pramod Boro, President, ABSU who was spearheading the movement was advised to be admitted into the hospital but he refused, forcing the medical team to put him on saline at the venue of the hunger strike. The numbers of activists and organization supporting the movement was increasing day by day every passing minute. Finally, when Ministry of Home Affairs sent a formal letter to ABSU through Deputy Commissioner, Kokrajhar for a Tripartite Talk on 4th September 2013 and on repeated request of eminent citizens of the country, Mr. Pramod Boro, decided to end his fast unto death in presence of Mr. Natwar Bhai Thakkar on 24th of August 2013. Following are some the dates when the Tripartite talk between Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Leadersip led by Mr. Pramod Boro had been held-

- First round of Tri-Partite Talk on 4th September, 2013
- Second round of Tri-Partite Talk on 27th November, 2013

- ❖ Third round of Talk on 21st February, 2014
- Fourth round of Talk on 28th February, 2014. In this Tripartite Talk Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde, the then Union Home Minister in presence of all the Home Ministry Officials and Assam Government representative agreed to work towards resolving the Bodoland issue at the earliest possible and directed the officials to take all necessary steps to this end.

The simmering volatility of ethnic conflict in 2012 continued to haunt the region. On 1st and 2nd May and 23rd December 2014, unidentified extremist opened indiscriminate firing resulting into heavy loss of innocent human lives. In the aftermath of 23rd December 2014, incident killing innocent Adivashi villagers across 3 districts of Chirang, Kokrajhar and Sonitpur, ethnic tension was spurred. Many Bodo villages had been burnt down by some Adivashi miscreants. In order to immediately restore normalcy, ABSU along with All Assam Adivashi Students Association and All Santhal Students Union carried out a Joint Peace Mission from 26th of December 2014. On 24th of December 2014, a huge Peace Rally was organized at the heart of Kokrajhar city. The quick action by ABSU for reconciliation and establishing peace had helped restore normalcy within a few days.

On 1st of March 2014 a delegation of Bodo leaders led by Mr. Pramod Boro met Mr. Rajnath Sing the then President of Bharatiya Janata Party and opposition leader, on his invitation. During lengthy discussion for the first time in the history of Bodoland Movement a political party agreed formally to include the agenda of creation of Bodoland Movement in its poll manifesto. Having been dissatisfied with the way the Bodoland issue was heading to, ABSU decided to back BJP with the hopes of permanent solution to the long pending Bodo Political imbroglio. With the active support from ABSU, for the first time BJP won 7 MP seats in Assam. Bodo leadership was jubilant about the formation of new NDA government only to realize later that it has been duped by BJP. Unlike UPA, the new regime NDA even stopped the ongoing Tripartite Talks which was progressing towards logical conclusion.

Thus, leaving with no choice, ABSU resumed its agitation. In the wake of the growing agitation and peaceful democratic movement NDA Government at the centre resumed dialogue through the Fifth Round of Tripartite Talk on 9th June

2015, chaired by the Join Secretary, MHA (NE In-Charge). Recently on 9th of January 2017, a Tripartite Talk was held at Guwahati which was also chaired by Mr. Saityendra Garg, Joint Secretary, MHA (NE In-Charge). In both the talks Mr. Pramod Boro, took up the demand for creation of Bodoland state. Both the talks ended with positive note and all the stakeholders agreed to continue the dialogue for peaceful resolution of the issue.

Conclusion:

With this positive note, ABSU is all set to celebrate its Golden Jubilee. On embarking upon 50 years of glorious history, present leadership of ABSU is indebted to former leaders and workers for leaving behind a legacy of pride and dignity. All of us at ABSU are really indebted to all the hardworking and visionary leaders and workers, who have immensely contributed towards journey of realizing the vision. We are well aware about the fact that to reach this far, thousands of lives have been sacrificed; thousands of people became disabled; the hardships and sufferings had been extreme for all the people in the region. We salute all of you from bottom of our heart and present generation is really inspired by your brave deeds. No words to express our gratitude and gratefulness, we can only make promises to continue the struggle that you left behind for us with purity of heart.

We, the present generation of ABSU are conscious about the unchanged discriminatory attitude of the ruling cliché in Assam. The exploitative practices and ploy to smother the identity of the indigenous communities from the face of Assam by taking away the land, destroying the culture and tradition, depriving of quality education, imposing economic backwardness and infrastructural development continues. This has forced the All Bodo Students Union to continue the struggle for justice.

Once again, the present leadership of ABSU wishes to reiterate that will never compromise with the vision for giving justice, dignity and bringing peace for the downtrodden tribal communities in Assam in particular and across the country in general.



U.N. Brahma in action at the 1st round of tripartite Talk on Bodoland issue in New Delhi



Scene of Just after 5th round of Tripartite Talk



April,1990 in Bombay



U.N. Brahma addressing a public Meeting



at Rastrapati Bhawan on 18 Jan/88



P.K. Mahanta, C.M. Assam, U.N. Brahma, President, U.N. Brahma with Mr. R. Venkataraman ABSU, P.R. Brahma, President AATWWF at Circuit House, Kokrajhar on 3rd Jan/89



U.N. Brahma at Basugaon A/C, ABSU addressing Public Meeting



Graphics

April, 1990 in Mr. Wangshu Wangdi's House, Bombay



1st Memorandum containing 92 point U.N. Brahma & Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan Charter of demand to Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi on 10th Nov/87.



5th October/98



1st Round of Tripartite Talk on Bodoland Issue held in New Delhi on 28th Aug/89

Cronology of President & General Secretary of ABSU Since 1967 to 2017



Baneswar Basumatary (Bagsa) Kankeswar Narzary (Kokrajhar) Damrudhar Brahma (Kokrajhar) Rajendra Nath Brahma (Kokrajhar) President 1967-72



General Secretary 1967-72



President 1972-74



General Secreaty 1972-74



Abhiram Boro (Bagsa) President 1974-76



General Secretary - 1974-76 President - 1976-79



General Secreaty 1976-79



Gobinda Basumatary (Chirang) Premsing Brahma (Chirang) Santola Basumatary (Chirang) President 1979-81



General Secretary 1979-81



Parmeswar Brahma (Kokrajhar) Dipak Kr. Basumatary (Bagsa) President 1981-83



Rajen Khakhlary (Bagsa) **General Secretary** 1981-83



Karendra Basumatary (Udalguri) President 1983-86



Sansuma Khu, Bwiswmuthiary (Chirang) General Secretary - 1983-86 President - 1990-1993



Upendra Nath Brahma (Kokrajhar) President 1986-1990



General Secretary 1986-1993



Rabiram Brahma (Udalguri) Garla Bata Basumatary (Kokrajhar) President 1993-1995



Moheswar Basumatary (Udalguri) Swmbla Basumatary (Chirang) **General Secreaty** 1993-95



President 1995-96



Imanual Mwchahary (Bagsa) Urkhao Gwra Brahma (Kokrajhar) **General Secretary** 1995-96



President 1996-2001



General Secretary 1997-2001



President 2001-2005



General Secretary 2001-2003



Naturam Boro (Udalguri) Rabiram Narzary (Kokrajhar) Lwmsrao Daimary (Udalguri) Rwngwra Narzary (Chirang) General Secretary - 2003-2005 President - 2005-2009



Gautom Mushahary (Kokrajhar) **General Secretary** 2005-2009



President 2009-2017



Pramod Boro (Bagsa) Jiron Basumatary (Kokrajhar) **General Secretary** 2009-2013



Romio Narzary (Golaghat) **General Secretary** 2013-2015



Lawrence Islary (Kokrajhar) **General Secretary** 2015-2017

ABSU-BPAC supported M.L.A.s and M.P elected in 1991 General Election



Karen Basumatary





Jeu Ram Boro Parameswar Brahma



Pramila Rani Brahma



Milon Boro



Derhagra Mushahary



Tojen Narzary



Kamal Brahma



Kiren Borgoyary



Satyendra Nath Brahma Choudhury

ALL BODO STUDENTS UNION

VISION: LIVE, WORK & PROSPER

LIVE

Existence, Security & Dignity

WORK

Work Culture & Ideology

PROSPER
All Round Prosperity

MOTO: UNITY, SURVIVAL & PROSPERITY