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# RESEARCH ARTICLE

### BODOLAND TERRITORIAL COUNCIL A SIXTH SCHEDULE AREA: A MINI VIEW

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### **ABSTRACT**

In this study evaluate the Bodoland Territorial Council a Sixth Schedule Area and the working of the Bodoland Territorial Council the Administrative powers, functions and the Achievements. The Autonomous District Councils or Regional Councils under the Sixth Schedule are looked upon as instruments for welfare of the tribal people and to preserve their own tradition and culture. Contribution to social, political, economic and cultural development is regarded to be the core strategy of the District Councils or Regional Councils in the North East India. Bodoland Territorial Council is an Autonomous Council within the State of Assam under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. It has been formed with the aim to fulfill the long pending aspiration of the area. The Memorandum of Settlement (2003) signed by the three parties- Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Liberation Tigers explores various aspects on the formation of BTC within the State of Assam. Important aspects as reflected in the Memorandum are being discussed. On the basis of Secondary data, this work attempt to study the Bodoland Territorial council in bringing about the socio-economic and infrastructural development of the Bodos.

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### INTRODUCTION

The Sixth Schedule under Articles 244 (2) and 275 (1) in Part X of the Indian Constitution envisaged a special system of Administration for certain areas designated as 'Tribal Areas' in the four northeastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram, i.e. areas specified in parts I, II, IIA, & III of the paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The Constitution, under Sixth Schedule, contains special provisions for the administration of Tribal Areas; the rationality behind the special arrangements in respect of only these four states lies in "The Tribes in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram have not assimilated much the life and ways of the other people in these states. These areas have hitherto been anthropological specimens. The tribal people in other parts of India have more or less adopted the culture of the majority of the people in whose midst they live. The tribes in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram, on the other hand, still have their roots in their own culture, customs and civilisation. These areas are, therefore, treated differently by the Constitution and sizeable amount of autonomy has been given to these people for self-government."

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These led to the formation of Autonomous District Councils or Regional Councils in certain Hill Districts of Assam. Under the Sixth Schedule, the District Councils or Regional Councils are provide with powers and functions as Autonomous Administrative Bodies to manage all affair pertaining to the welfare of the Tribal Peoples. The Autonomous Districts or Regions under the Sixth Schedule, para-20 includes:

### Part-I (for Assam):

- 1. The North Cachar Hills Districts
- 2. The Mikirs Hills District (Karbi Anglong)
- 3. The Bodoland Territorial Areas District (BTAD)

### Part- II (for Meghalaya):

- 1. The Khasi Hills District
- 2. The Jaintia Hills District
- 3. The Garo Hills District

### Part- IIA (for Tripura):

1. The Tripura Tribal Areas District

### Part-III (for Mizoram):

- 1. The Chakma District
- 2. The Mara District
- 3. The Lai District

In the long history of the Bodos who have been living in the north-eastern region of India since time immemorial, for the first time a vigorous movement was launched demanding equality, economic and social justice, political and civil rights and rights to land, language and culture. The political movement in the late 20th century from eighties was the greatest human struggle and it ran into the 21th century. This struggle is known as 'Bodoland Movement.' Political consciousness came to Bodos way back in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The demand of a separate electorate for the Boro Tribal's in Assam before the British Simon Commission in the 1929 is a pointer to this. The political consciousness of the Bodos is found reflected in this important demand by them during that time. This consciousness gradually took a definite form and further developed to the stage of statehood demand for safeguarding themselves by political means. On 13th January 1967 the then Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi in a talk to the Mizo Union made a statement that the centre had a policy to recognise the state of Assam on the basis of federal structure. The All Bodo Students' Union of undivided Goalpara district welcomed this policy of the centre. Since then the All Bodo Students' Union has been demanding the bifurcation of Assam and the creation of a separate state for the plain tribals of Assam. The political awakening of the Bodos took a new turn on 27th February 1967 by the formation of the Plains Tribal Council of Assam- a political party which raised the demand for separate state named Udayachal in order to fulfil their aspirations, to protect their economic interest and to bring about the development of their society. But the party could not do anything even after the lapse of seventeen years since its formation. This political party remained barren, and people started to reject it. People lost their confident in this party (Bodo Movement 1986–2001; Urkhao Gwra Brahma).

The Bodoland Territorial Council is one of the District Council of Assam State and it was the result of vigorous Bodoland Movement launched by the Bodo people since 1986. The prolonged Bodoland Movement it came to signed after 30 rounds of tripartite talks held from March 2000 to February 2003 between the representative of the Government of India, Government of Assam and the Bodo Liberation Tiger. Consequently, a Memorandum of Settlement was signed on 10<sup>th</sup> February, 2003, which established the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). The main objective of the agreement are to create an autonomous self-governing body to be known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the State of Assam and to provide Constitutional protection under Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution to the said Autonomous Body, to fulfil economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and prevention of land right, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos, and to speed up infrastructural development in BTC area. The Bodoland Territorial Council has been vested with powers for self-government or self-rule of the Bodos under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The Administrative unit has been created with the objective of accomplishing development in the fields of economy, equality, education, political and civil rights, preservation of land rights, linguistic aspirations, socio-cultural and also to preserve the ethnic of the Bodos.

### **Profile of the Study Area**

The Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) is a territorial council in Assam State of India which have jurisdiction in the Bodoland Territorial Area Districts. The Schedule Tribes Amendment Act 1976 specifies nine plain tribes of Assam in

which the Bodos are also significant among others. The Memorandum of Settlement (MOS), 2003, signed by the three parties- Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Liberation Tigers) of the BTAD is the culmination of the Bodo Movement for autonomous self governing territory within the State of Assam. The BTC which was created on 10<sup>th</sup> February. 2003 comprising the four districts of Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri - curved out of eight existing districts-Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup, Darrang and Sonitpur. The study area focuses of the four districts of BTC. The area under the BTC jurisdiction further Subdivided into 10 Civil Subdivisions and 40 Development Blocks, some of which are partly in BTC area and partly outside of it. The provisional geographical area of BTC is 8,795 Sq km. The four districts of BTC's geographical boundary lies between 260 7'12"N to 260 47' 50"N Latitude and 890 47' 40"E to 920 18' 30"E Longitude and is in the North Western Part of the Assam State. The BTC constitutes 35 percent of marginalised Tribal groups like Bodos, Garos, Rabhas, etc. The major religions of the area are Hindu, Muslim, Christian and others. The region falls within the geographical map of least developed region in India. The agro-based economy is the only source of livelihood of the people in the region. The industrialisation and other employment opportunities are scant. The boundary of the BTC in the north is shared by Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh and these boundary lines are called Indo-Bhutan International Boundary and Assam-Arunachal Pradesh Inter State Boundary; in the east are the Panchnoi River and Sonitpur district of Assam; in the south is an artificial boundary line that is shared with parts of Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup, Darrang and Sonitpur districts of Assam; and the west is the River Sankosh. The area is outline by the Assam-West Bengal Inter State Boundary in the northern portion and down below by an artificial boundary line shared with the remaining portions of Kokrajhar and Dhubri district.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The study analysed the following objective:

- To investigate the administrative structure, powers and functions as specified to the BTC, under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule.
- To find out the responsibility of the Council in total development of the Bodoland Territorial Area Districts (BTAD)
- To understand the administrative structure, the Executive body and has to examine the power and functions that are vested with Bodoland Territorial Council under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.
- To enquire into the plans and policies of the Council and their execution in bringing about the socio-economic-political-cultural and development in the BTC area.

### **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

In order to make an analytical study follows the descriptive method. In this study data have been collected by using secondary sources. Secondary data and information have been collected from different published books, journals, internet sources, Election Commission reports of Assam, Statistical Handbook of Assam, Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) of

BTC, election manifesto of BPF, Souvenirs of All Bodo Students' Union and Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Bodoland Diary, published research papers and articles, etc.

#### **Understanding of Bodos and Bodoland Movement**

According to history, the Bodos are the aboriginals of Assam part of Bengal, Bihar Nepal and the North-eastern regions of India. They once ruled the entire region. The Ahoms arrived in Assam in 1228 AD, and after that conflict between the Boro Kacharies and the Ahoms started. It was those Ahoms who bought the high caste Assamese Brahmins in the State. From that time the Boro Kacharies were gradually engulfed by them. Even then, the Boro Kacharies ruled Assam till 1854 AD. Kaspur was the last Kingdom of the Boro Kacharies and Tularam was the Chieftain of that Kingdom. The ruins and relics of the last Kingdom of the Boro Kacharies are still lying scattered in Dimapur City of Nagaland. In Coochbehar (Now in west Bengal) the Kacharis brothers Narnarayan and Chilarai established a Kingdom the place of which still existent. But in the course of time the Boro Kacharies lost their land kingdom, palace and everything is gone, and today in free India this community has not small corner of land to claim to be their own home land in Assam. Today they don't have their own state or a place under their political exercise. So this community with glorious past must have their own land to be ruled by their own people. The Bodos and other plains tribes of Assam must have a separate state to liberate Bodo language and culture from the suppression and to be free from political exploitation and persecution and to develop at par with other communities of India and to give economic opportunities and political power to serve their own interest and will.

Sub-groups of Bodos- the Mongoloids have been divided into two groups in 'the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary'. They are the Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman. The Mongoloids as a whole are also called Sino-Tibetans. The Himalayas plays the role in dividing these people onto two groups. The Mongoloids living to the North of the Himalayas are classified as the Chinese while the people living to the South of the Himalayas including the people of the Himalayas are known as the Tibeto-Burman. Considering the language spoken by these people, the people falling under the Tibeto-Burman group are again sub-divided into the sub-groups: (a) the people living in the North-East of India and Myanmar are classified as the Kamrupans. (b) Those who are living on the Himalayas are called the Himalayee Tibeto-Burman. Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim fall in this group. (c) The people living in Sichuan and Yunnan are called Kiyangic Mongoloids. (d) Certain people living in the Northern Myanmar and the Southern Yunnan are called Jingphou-Nangese Mongoloids. (e) Mongoloids living in the South-East China, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam are known as the Loloyese-Nakshee Mongoloids. (f) Mongoloids living in the areas between Myanmar and Thailand are known as Karenic Mongoloids. (g) Some groups of Mongoloids in Yunnan are identified as the Beyik Mongoloids. Considering the tone in the formation of the language spoken by these Mongoloids Tibeto-Burman, their languages have been generally classified into the - Kamrupan, Himalayese, Kiyanjic, Kachinic, Lolo-Burmese and Karenik. Boro language would fall under the category of the Kamrupan Tibeto-Burman language. Kamrupan language has again been sub-devised into-Boro, Garo, Dimasa, Tipera, Murung, Rabha; Kuki-Chin, Naga; Abar-Miri-Dafala (Bakul Ch. Basumatary 2009).

The Bodo movement started as a socio-cultural movement amongst the Bodo Kacharis tribe and aimed at securing goal of socio-economic, political and cultural identity. The movement has developed into a socio-political movement, demanding a separate state within the Indian union as of now. Bodos first raised the demand for a separate homeland during the British rule. To accelerate the movement different organisations were formed. For Example, All Assam Plains Tribal League (AAPTL) in 1933, Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) in 1952, Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) in 1967 and All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) in 1976 were formally formed to strengthen the movement. With formation of these organisations the socio-political movement got accelerated for the political power and self-identity. This movement and consciousness among the Bodos masses gradually took a definite form and developed for the demand of statehood called Bodoland for safeguarding the interest of the Bodos through political set up. As of now, the Bodos under the banner of ABSU is leading a movement called mass revolution to achieve separate state called 'Bodoland' on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra, autonomous district council in the tribal dominated areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra, inclusion of Boro Kacharis of Karbi Anglong in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The All Bodo Students' Union under the leadership of Upendra Nath Brahma submitted a 92 point charter of demand to the Chief Minister of Assam Sri Prafulla Kumar Mahanta on 1th January, 1987. Amongst these 92 points of demands, the major ones are the creation of a separate state on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra for the plains tribal of Assam, the creation of autonomous council on the southern banks 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, educational and other problem.

In 1987 for the first time these demands were placed before the then Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi on 22nd February in New Delhi. The charter of demands was also submitted to the Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, and the Honourable President of India Mr. Giani Jail Singh on 24th and 30 February respectively. The movement for the Bodoland continued with two approaches, that is, Socio-political movement and the Arm movement. The various social and students organisations like All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS), All Bodo Women's Welfare Association (ABWWF), and other led the Bodoland Movement through social and political movements. On the other hand arm movement was led by some armed organisations like Bodoland Liberation Tigers (BLT), and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB). First Accord was signed between the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU), State Government and the Central Government in 1993 for the Creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC), and the second Accord was signed in the year 2003 between the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT), State Government and the Central Government for the creation of Bodoland Territorial Council under the amended Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

# **Bodo Population of Assam in 2001**

Before the creation of the Bodoland Territorial Council on 10th February, 2003, the size of the provisional Bodo population of Assam was 52, 49,973 where the total population of Assam were 26,655,528, according to 2001 census report.

Table 1. District wise break up of provisional Bodo Population of Assam as on 2001 census (Approximately)

Sl. No.	District	Percentage of Bodo Population	Sl. No	District	Percentage of Bodo Population
1	Kokrajhar	68.04	9	Sonitpur	31.26
2	Bongaigaon	16.48	10	Lakhimpur	59.05
3	Dhubri	24.33	11	Nagaon and Morigaon	05.21
4	Goalpara	53.97	12	Karbi Anglong	16.29
5	Barpeta	31.98	13	Jorhat	85.00
6	Nalbari	51.22	14	Golaghat	05.98
7	Kamrup	18.53	15	Sibsagar	16.00
8	Darrang	43.43	16	Dibrugarh	01.11

Sources: Population Census 2001 (India), Bodoland Movement (1986-2001), Assam

Table 2. Total Population of BTC in four Districts (2001 - 2011)

District Persons		Male		Female		% to total population of the state Assam		
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Kokrajhar	843,243	887,142	433,360	452,905	409,883	434,237	3.16	2.85
Chirang	433,061	482,162	222,364	244,860	210,697	237,302	1.62	1.55
Baksa	857,947	950,075	438,345	481,330	419,602	468,745	3.22	3.06
Udalguri	758,746	831,668	388,690	421,617	370,056	410,051	2.85	2.65

Sources: Population Census 2001 & 2011 (India), Assam

Table 3. literacy rate of four districts of BTAD (2001 & 2011)

District	istrict Persons		Ma	ıle	Female	
	2001 (%)	2011 (%)	2001 (%)	2011 (%)	2001 (%)	2011 (%)
Kokrajhar	52.29	66.63	61.01	73.44	43.06	59.54
Chirang	52.61	64.71	61.82	71.35	42.87	57.87
Baksa	59.57	70.53	70.32	78.55	48.33	62.23
Udalguri	56.40	66.60	65.94	73.79	46.34	59.17
Average	55.21	67.11	64.77	74.28	45.15	59.70

Source: Statistical Handbook BTC 2011, Population Census (India), Assam

The identity of a community is known on the basis of language. The Bodos received education in Assamese medium in different parts of the State. Owing to the impact of assimilative policy of Assam the Bodos have forgotten their own language in many places/parts of the state. Nevertheless, they retain their family names and the distinct social life. This group of people have been shown as Assamese in the census report. For example, we can cite the case of Dibrugarh and Sibsagar Districts. There were about 2 lakhs Bodo population in these two districts, but the census report doesn't show a single Bodo from that particular areas. The numerous Bodo populations in forest village and lakhs land area are left out intentionally. The Saranias whose origin is Bodo aren't shown as Bodos in the census report. If we count the Bodo population as against the population of the other communities in relation to, we get the following indication:

### **Population Strength of Four Districts of BTC**

According to the Constitution of India, the size of the population is one of the important criteria in the creation of a new state. The following table shows the total population of BTC area:

As per the population census 2001 reports the BTC has 2,892,997 persons including of all its inhabitants. The highest population could be seen in Baksa district of 857,947 of which 438,345 were male and 419,602 were female. Kokrajhar district had population of 843,243 of which male and female 433,360 and 409883 respectively. Udalguri district had a population of 758,746 of which male were 388,690 and remaining 370,056 were female. Finally, in 2001 census report the Chirang District had have received a population of 433,061 of which 222,364 were male and remaining 210,697 were

female. Among four districts of BTC area in the population ranking Baksa, Kokrajhar, Udalguri and Chirang comes in 1th, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> position. It is seen that the Kokrajhar forms 3.16 percent, while districts such as Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri are having population of 1.62 percent, 3.22 percent and 2.85 percent respectively of the total population of Assam State. According to 2011 census reports the total population of TBC area is found 3,151,047 persons where Baksa district top with the total population of 950,075 and lowest seen in the Chirang district with total population of 482,162. Kokrajhar district has total population of 887,142 and Udalguri has 831,668. In 2011 census, out of total population Kokrajhar has 452,905 male and 434,237 female respectively, Chirang 244,860 male and 237,302 female, Baksa 481,330 and 468,745 and Udalguri male 421,617 and 410,051 female. The above table also shows the comparative size of districts in terms of population of the districts of Assam. Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri are having population of 2.85 percent, 1.55 percent, 3.06 percent and 2.65 percent respectively of the total population of Assam.

According to the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS, 2003), the BTC is comprised of 3,082 villages. But the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) leaders signed the MoS even though they had reservations over this number and demanded that an additional 95 villages be included in the BTC territory. In the negotiations that followed the signing of the MoS, it was agreed that another 13 villages (or a 25 villages, according to other reports) would be included in the BTC area, thus bringing the total number of villages under the BTC area, as of now to 3,095. Further, discussions over the inclusion of the remaining 82 or 70 villages in the BTC are to be held after the formation of the Interim Territorial Council. Such vagueness and imprecision is hardly surprising given the general imprecision in land revenue records, or even on the ground, regarding the classification,

Table 4. Participation in BTC Legislative Assembly since 2005

Year	Total No. of Seats	No. of Male Elected Members	No. of Female Elected Members	(%) of Female Elected Members
2005	46	44	02	04.54
2010	46	43	03	06.97
2015	46	41	05	12.19
Total	138	129	09	23.70

Including Six Nominated Members of BTCLA

Source: Bodoland.gov.in

Table 5. Members of the Interim Council of BTC Since 2005

Period	Period of 2005-2010			Period of 2010-2015			Period of 2015-2020		
Sl.No	Designation	Name of the Member	Sl.No	Designations	Name of the Member	Sl.No	Designations	Name of the Member	
1	Chief of BTC	Hagrama Mohilary	1	Chief of BTC	Hagrama Mohilary	1	Chief of BTC	Hagrama Mohilary	
2	Dy. Chief of BTC	Kampha Borgoyari	2	Dy. Chief of BTC	Kampha Borgoyari	2	Dy. Chief of BTC	Kampha Borgoyari	
3	Executive Member	Derhasat Basumatary	3	Executive Member	Derhasat Basumatary	3	Executive Member	Lwmsrao Daimary	
4	Executive Member	Hitesh Basumatary	4	Executive Member	Reo Reoa Narzary	4	Executive Member	Bonjar Daimary	
5	Executive Member	Sobharam Basumatary	5	Executive Member	Banamali Boro	5	Executive Member	Rajib Brahma	
6	Executive Member	Emanuel Muchahary	6	Executive Member	Gonesh Kachary	6	Executive Member	Gonesh Kachary	
7	Executive Member	Mitharam Basumatary	7	Executive Member	Mitharam Basumatary	7	Executive Member	Mritunjay Narzary	
8	Executive Member	Lwmsrao Daimary	8	Executive Member	Lwmsrao Daimary	8	Executive Member	Alindra Kr. Moshahary	
9	Executive Member	Shyam Sundi	9	Executive Member	Santiuse Kujur	9	Executive Member	Shyam Sundi	
10	Executive Member	Lakhiram Tudu	10	Executive Member	James Basumatary	10	Executive Member	Daneswar Goyary	
11	Executive Member	Maheswar Basumatary	11	Executive Member	Sobha Ram Basumatary	11	Executive Member	Maheswar Basumatary	
12	Executive Member	Mono Kr. Brahma	12	Executive Member	Mono Kr. Brahma	12	Executive Member	AnsumwiKhungur Boro	
13	Executive Member	Singha Ram Boro	13	Executive Member	Deben Boro	13	Executive Member	Deben Boro	
14	Executive Member	Budhi Narzary	14	Executive Member	Budhi Narzary	14	Executive Member	Jagadish Sarkar	

Source: BTC Legislative Assembly, Bodoland.gov.in

location identification, or even in relation to the names of the villages in Assam, and, indeed, in much of rural India. However, there is less ambiguity about the majority town that fall within the BTC territory. The most important of these are Kokrajhar, (the Bodo heartland as it were and the home of the earliest Bodo autonomist/nationalistic assertion), the major part of Bongaigaon, including the refinery and petrochemical complex, Bijni, Sidli, Tamulpur and Udalguri.

Literacy: The above table indicates that the literacy rate of BTAD is seem to be improvement but this improvement is not up to the mark in compare to other districts of the Assam State. According to the 2001 and 2011 census report with the female literacy rate of 45.15 percent and 59.70 percent of all four districts of BTAD area is too lower than male literacy rate of 55.21 percent and 67.11 percent respectively. In 2001, the literacy rate of Kokrajhar had 52.29 percent, Chirang 52.61 percent, Baksa 59.57 percent and Udalguri 56.40 percent. The district wise rate of literacy and their rankings where Baksa was top in the list and the Kokrajhar district in the bottom list in 2001 census report. According to 2001 census report, the female literacy rate in four districts of BTAD were as: Baksa districts in 1st place, Udalguri in 2nd place, Kokrajhar in 3rd place and Chirang in 4<sup>th</sup> place respectively as the table show. According to 2011 census, the districts under BTAD, Baksa is in the highest among the 4 districts with the literacy rate of 70.53 percent and Chirang in the lowest position with the literacy rate of 64.71 percent, and Kokrajhar in 2<sup>nd</sup> position with rate of 66.63 percent and Udalguri in 3<sup>rd</sup> position with rate of 66.60 percent. There could be seen a little improvement of female literacy rate the four districts under control of BTAD in comparing with previous 2001 census. Baksa district has recorded in the highest female literacy rate in the 2011 with the literacy rate of 62.23 percent and Chirang district in the bottom list with the literacy rate of 57.87 percent, as well as Kokrajhar district in 2<sup>nd</sup> place with the literacy rate of 59.54 percent and Udalguri in 3<sup>rd</sup> place in the list with the literacy of 59.17

**Education:** The department of Education in the four districts of the Bodoland Territorial Council is under the control of BTC's

Authority. Bodoland Territorial Council is entrusted to work in the overall developmental activities for the School Education, General College Education, and vocational Education except Technical Education and University Education. The control of Education Department lies on the Executive Member of BTC who is given the charge of Education through the Director of Education.

## **BTC Legislative Assembly Elections**

The BTC has 46 Executive Members each looking after a specific area of control called 'Somisthi'. A provision is made in Para 2(1) of the Six Schedule for the increasing the member of members for BTC up to 46 out of which 30 is reserved for schedule Tribes, 5 for non-tribal communities, 5 open for all communities and 6 to be nominated by the Governor of Assam from the unrepresented communities from the BTC area of which at least 2 nominated members should be women categories. The nominated members have the rights and privileges as other members including voting rights. The election from the 40 constituencies is based on Adult Franchise and the tenure of the elected members is of 5 years. The Bodoland Territorial Area District was created for the self-rule of Bodos under the provision of amended Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution on 10th February, 2003. Subsequently, an interim council was formed on 6th December, 2003 without a single women representative. The newly formed interim council was to hold election within a year for forty elected seats the provisional functioning of the council and that was declared by the State Election Commission to be held on 13<sup>th</sup> May, 2004. After the election Hagrama Mohilary was sworn as Chief of BTC with his elected members consolidated his power.

## **Executive Council**

The BTC was created after the signing of the Bodo Accord and it was made operational from 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2003 consisting of 12 Executive Members (E.Ms) provisionally. The overall BTC's administration is vested in the Executive Council

headed by the Chief Executive of the Council. The Committee of BTC exercises similar powers and functions to that of the Cabinet at the State or at the Central level within the jurisdiction of its own. There is an Executive Council under the control of BTC comprising 14 Executive Members including the one Chief Executive Member and another one is Deputy Chief Executive Member and the other 12 members of the Executive Council are from among the 40 elected members of the BTCLA who are appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Chief Executive Member. The Executive functions of the Bodoland Territorial Council shall be exercised through its Principal Secretary who shall be an officer of the rank not below that of Commissioner/Secretary of Government of Assam. The sanctioning powers of the Government of Assam shall be vested with the Principal Secretary of the BTC and sanctioning powers of a particular department, including technical sanction, shall be conferred on the senior-most officer of the department, preferably not below the rank of Additional Director, who may be designed as Director of the BTC for that department. The Principal Secretary and other officers exercise their powers under the overall guidance and supervision of the BTC.

The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, **2003:** The Bill seeks to create an autonomous self-governing body to be known as the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the state of Assam under Schedule VI of the Constitution of India which shall have legislative, administrative and financial powers in respect of specified subjects. The Bill further seeks to provide for adequate safeguards for the non-tribals in the BTC areas in regard to rights and privileges including land rights presently enjoyed by them at the commencement of BTC. During his deposition before the Committee on 26 June, 2003, the Joint Secretary of NE, Ministry of Home Affairs traced the genesis of the Bill and informed the Committee that the Bodos were the largest reorganised plain tribe in Assam comprising 1.2 million people or 5.3 percent of the total population of Assam of 22.4 million as per 1991 census. They were chiefly inhabitant of Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup and Darrang districts of Assam.

The Constitution (Ninety-Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2003: This Bill is a natural corollary to the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2003, which has been dealt with in Chapter-I of this Report. Accordingly, this Chapter is devoted to the Constitution (Ninety-Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2003. This Bill has also emanated from the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) signed between the Government of India, Government of Assam and the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) on 10<sup>th</sup> February, 2003.it fulfills one of the terms of the agreement which reads as under: Provisions of the Article 332(6) of the Constitution will be so modified that the existing status of representation of BTC area in the State Assembly is kept intact. After the creation of BTC, the Parliamentary & Assembly Constituencies shall be delimited by the Delimitation Commission in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

**Status of Bodoland Territorial Council:** The Provisions of the Sixth Schedule and other relevant Articles of the Constitution of India are applied to Bodoland Territorial Council, mutatis mutandis in terms of the agreement of the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS). The

modifications/safeguards for the non-tribals in BTC area interalia include the following:

- The provision of para 1 (2) of the Sixth Schedule regarding Autonomous Regions is not applicable to BTC.
- A provision is made in para 2 (1) of the Sixth Schedule for increasing the number of members of the BTC up to 46 out of which 30 is reserved for Schedule Tribes, 5 for non-tribal communities, 5 open for all communities and 6 to be nominated by Governor o Assam from the unrepresented communities from BTC area of which at least 2 should be women. The nominated members have the same rights and privileges as other members including voting rights. The election from the 40 constituency is based on Adult Franchise and the term of the elected members is 5 years.
- Safeguards for the settlement rights, transfer and inheritance of property etc. of non-tribal is suitable incorporated in para 3 of the Sixth Schedule. Any such law may be as may be made by the BTC in this regard will not, in particular: (a) extinguish the rights and privileges enjoyed by any citizen of India in respect of his land at the commencement of BTC, and (b) Bar any citizen from acquiring land either by way of inheritance, allotment, settlement or by way of transfer if such citizens were eligible for bonafide acquisition of land within the BTC area.
- The provision is added in **para 6** of the Sixth Schedule that in BTC area language and medium of instruction in educational institutions will not be changed without approval of the state Government.
- The provision of para 8 of Sixth Schedule regarding power of assess and collect land revenue and impose taxes shall be applicable to BTC.
- Para 10 of the Sixth Schedule will not be applicable to BTC area.
- Provisions of Article 332 (6) of the Constitution is no modified that the existing status of representation of BTC area in State Assembly is kept intake. After the creation of BTC, the Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies shall be delimited by the Delimitation Commission in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.
- The Panchayati Raj system ceases to be in the council area, the power of the Panchayati Raj institutions in such matters is vested with the Council.

## **Powers and Functions**

The Bodoland Territorial Council shall have legislative powers in respect to subjects transferred to it as enumerated in paragraph 3 of the Memorandum of Settlement has executive, administrative and financial powers in respect of subjects transferred to it. The Government of Assam vide notification NO. TAD/BTC/161/2003/6 has resolved and entrusted the 40 subjects listed in of the MoS. These powers are without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 3. So the Bodoland Territorial Council within its area shall have to make laws with respect to: Agriculture, including agricultural education and research, protecting against pest and prevention of plant diseases; Animal husbandry and veterinary, that is to say, prevention, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal disease, veterinary training and practice,

cattle pounds; Co-operation; Cultural affairs; Education, that is to say, primary education, higher education including vocational training, adult education, college education (general); Fisheries; Flood control for protection of village, paddy fields, market and towns (not technical nature); food and Civil supply; Forest (other than reserved forests); Handloom and textile; Health and family welfare; Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivatives, subject to the provisions of entry 84 of list of the Seventh Schedule; Irrigation; Labour and employment; Land revenue; Library services (financed and controlled by the State Government); Lotteries (subject to the provisions of entry 40 of list I of the Seventh Schedule), theatre, dramatic performance and cinemas (subject to the provisions of entry 60 of list I of the Seventh Schedule); Markets and fairs; Municipal Corporation Improvement Trust, districts boards and other local authorities; Museum and archaeology institutions controlled or financed by the state, ancient and historical monuments and records other than those declared by or under any law made by Parliament to be of National importance; Panchayat and rural development; Planning and development; Printing and stationary; public health engineering; Public works department; Publicity and public relations; Registration of births and deaths; Relief and rehabilitation; Sericulture; Small, cottage and rural industry subject to the provisions of entries 7 and 52 of list I of the Seventh Schedule; Social welfare; Soil conservation; Sports and youth welfare; Statistics; Tourism; Transport (roads, bridges ferries and other means of communications not specified in list I of the Seventh Schedule municipal tramways. ropeways, inland waterways and traffic there on subject to the provisions of entry 40 of list I and III of the Seventh Schedule with regards to such waterways, vehicles and other mechanically propelled vehicles); Tribal research institution controlled and financed by the State Government; Urban development- town and country planning; Weights and measures subject to the provisions of entry 50 of list I of the Seventh Schedule; and Welfare of plain tribes and backward classes (Memorandum of Settlement 2003).

Law and Order: The Law and Order of any state is one of the most important subjects for development and strengthening the administration of that particular state. To strengthen the Police Administration, Government of Assam has appointed an Inspector General of Police (IGP) for the four districts of Bodoland Territorial Council and the jurisdiction of the Deputy Inspector General (DIG), Kokrajhar is also modified to cover these districts. But the overall Law and Order is subject of the State Government of Assam.

Library Services of BTC: Basically there are three types of library service in Bodoland Territorial Council area namely the Public and Rural, Academic and Special. Academic and Public and Rural Libraries form major part of the library services in the Bodoland Territorial council area. Special library consists of Engineering and Technical College Library, Law College Library, ITI Library, CIT Library, Fine Arts College Library, etc. the library service under BTC is increasing day by day but the extend of library services in the BTC area is not enough and not up to the mark of the present day context

**Socio-Economic Condition of BTC:** Through out the centuries, after their settlement in Assam, the Bodo people and the economic life continued to be based on garniture. More than 90 percent of the Bodo community population live in countryside village and therefore agriculture is the mainstay of

their economy. The area of land they hold is indispensible to them for their livelihood. Though capitalism has been flourishing in India since the time of the British rule, the Bodo people have not been able to detach themselves from the Asiatic mode of production, nor have they been able to adopt themselves to the new system of economy. As a result, this economic condition of the people has continued till today with only minor deviations in recent times. The Bodo populated areas covers almost all the districts of the Himalayan foothills of West Bengal and Assam and is immensely endowed with natural resources. It has vast forest area and water resources that can be tapped for electricity, irrigation, fishing and other possibilities. Majority of the tea estates are located in the Bodo area in Assam. Their number is growing fast and in recent years many new plantations have taken places. The Himalayan land foothills are basically suited for the rubber plantation. Experimental rubber plantations have shown good progress though large-scale plantation; and government initiative is yet to be seen. The landmass inhabited by the Bodo People is fertile and capable of producing all kinds of crops in the areas. The productivity can increased manifold with application/use of the scientific methodology

In the sphere of the economic condition life of Bodoland Territorial Council and its area the agriculture is still holds a dominant position, but in the recent times occupation like service, trade and commerce, etc. are adopted in small scale but increasing in nature with the present growing needs of such sectors for the overall growth of the economy. Agriculture has been dominant occupation of any rural society and it is also the main occupation of the socio-economic condition/life of the BTC area. The Bodos who constitute the major population generally cultivates for mustard seeds, tobacco, jute, vegetables like cabbage, potato cucumber, cauliflower, gourd, green leaves, spices, chilly, onion, ginger garlic, ladyfinger, etc. for their daily needs and use and economic gain purpose. Castor plants are cultivated for producing Endi (in local language) cocoon, which is a part of home industries in spinning and weaving especially for the women folk. The Bodo women also weave various types of cotton cloths on their hand-looms both for their own use as well as for the market purpose. It is however only recently that these hand-loom products of the Bodos women have caught the attention of outside markets and hence a new avenue of employment has opened up for them. For the cultivation of paddy, there are three kinds of cultivation of the land in the society. They are: (a) Self- System: - The owner cultivates his land with the help of his family members or male labour (Dahwna) and female labour (Ruwati or Ruwani) for a season by giving them certain amount of paddy or wages. (b) Adhi System: - In this system the land owner gives away their land to a cultivator for the cultivation for a temporary phase and the total product of the land is distributed equally between the land owners and the cultivators, and (c) Sukhani System: - Here the land owner fixes a contact with the cultivator, and the cultivator has to give a fixed quantity of products for each Bigha of land he cultivated.

Infrastructural Development of BTC: According to the MoS, one of the main objectives is to lend development power to the people. As per the agreement, within the limitation of financial and other constraints, it is allowed for the Council to coffer, possible and sustainable additional incentives for attracting private investment in the council area and also to support project for external funding. Yet again, in order to accelerate the development of the region and to meet the aspirations of the

people, the Government of India is to provide financial assistance. In addition to this, 40 subjects have been entrusted to the BTC authority for overall development of the area, including infrastructural and socio-economic development. In general, infrastructure can be interpreted as active building in many sectors. To mention a few of such sectors we can cite railway connection, roads, bridges, runways and other airport facilities, telephone telecommunications network, pipeline for water, canal networks for irrigations, drinking water, electricity, sanitations or sewages lines, etc. In some extent the Bodoland Territorial Council has been done on working in the infrastructural development and its growth in the BTC area like Administrative Infrastructure, Public Work Department (PWD), Transport Department, Irrigation Department, Flood Control Department, Soil Conservation Department, Public Health Department, Health and Family Welfare Department, Education Department, Loan and Revenue Department are the main projects of the Area.

Tourism of BTC: The tourism department of BTC is important department because it has the potential of contributing revenue in the region. So, to tap the tourism potential is the area several project has been taken up in different districts of the council. The Bodoland Territorial Council is blessed with the natural beauty with rivers and vast forest land covers and abundant flora and fauna. Located in the foothills of Bhutan and bordering North Bengal, BTAD has more than one-third of its land covered by pristine forest. The main tourist attraction places in the Bodoland Territorial Council area are including the- Manas National Park, Chakrasila Wildlife Sanctuary, Bornadi Wildlife Sanctuary, Kalamati, Ultapani, Jamduar Reserve Forest, and Kachugaon Reserve Forest.

Panchayat and Rural Development of BTC: The development of the rural area assumes a lot of importance as about 80 percent of the population in the BTC area resides in the rural area. The socio-economic condition of the people in rural areas can develop only when this area comes under the supervision of the present government of the council. Therefore, as per the provision of the BTC, the Panchayati Raj System has been vested with the Council for the better development of the regions at the grass-root level. With the view for the development of the weaker sections, the BTC has taken various schemes to implement in rural areas of the regions. Thus, for execution of plan and policies the Panchayat and Rural Development Department had placed 14 fully and 26 partially Development Blocks in the area. Again there are 4 reorganised Districts Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) to monitor the activities of Rural Development Schemes.

BTC Budget for 2018-19: The Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) has legislative, administrative, executive and financial powers over 40 policy areas in the *Bodoland Territorial Areas Districts* comprising four Administrative Districts as-Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri and 40 Elected Representatives to the BTC Legislative Assembly and provisions for 6 nominated members to be nominated by the Governor of Assam from the unrepresented communities in the BTCLA through Direct Elections. It was established in 10<sup>th</sup> February, 2003 following a peace agreement between the Government of India and the Bodo rebels and is functioning since 2003 under the provision of Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The Chief of BTC Hagrama Mohilary presented the council Budget for the year 2018-19. The Budget

proposed a total estimated expenditure at Rs 241626.49 lakhs against total estimated receipts of Rs 242987.48 lakhs with a surplus of Rs 1360.99 lakhs. Presenting the budget on the first day of the two-day BTC session that began from 21 March, 2018 at the BTC premises, Bodofa Nwgwr here, Mohilary, who is also the head of the finance department, said that the Council is committed to achieve the growth target as per the Plan allocation. In the budget speech, Mohilary thanked the Prime minister of India Mr Narendra Modi for providing special financial assistance through the State Government to the BTC to encourage and facilitate the development activities in the region. The state government has made budget provision in the year 2018-19 in addition to last year's fund provided as a onetime special grant of Rs 1,000 crore for the region, out of which Rs 300 crore is going to be released before March 31, 2018, he said. Also stated, "In addition to higher allocation and special allocation of Rs 300 crore and also further allocation of a sum of Rs 177.52 crore as per recommendation of the Assam State Finance Commission to the BTC for the year 2018-19, I am confident that this will go a long way in overcoming the development deficits of the region and help bridge infrastructural gaps that the BTC area suffers."

Mohilary also underlined the major thrusts being given by the BTC with active support of the State Government in the financial year 2018-19. "To improve the educational infrastructure of higher learning, the State Government has earmarked Rs 15 crore for Bodoland University, Kokrajhar, Rs 5 crore for BB Engineering College in the name of Tejasvi Navaditamastu," he said while adding that the construction works of Kokrajhar Medical College, B.Ed College at Baksa, DIET at Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri will also commence from current year under SCERT. Mohilary also thanked the Assam Chief Minister for declaring an ex-gratia of Rs 5 lakhs each for the family of martyrs of the Bodoland movement in Assam. "The last decade of the 20th century witnessed the Bodo agitation in parts of Assam. Subsequently, the movement resulted in the historic signing of the Bodoland Accord and creation of BTC. The creation of the BTC is the result of the sacrifices of these brave hearts," he said. Mohilary said that the council has emphasised more on the public works departments which is followed by health, education, forest, tourism, etc. He also said that the council has earmarked Rs 4,842 lakhs for PWD, Rs 7,500 lakhs for education, Rs 825 lakhs for PHE, Rs 1,310 lakhs for irrigation, Rs 500 lakhs for forest and Rs 500 lakhs for tourism. Meanwhile, issues relating to AH & Veterinary, land revenue, sericulture, excise, education, sports and youth welfare were debated during the budget session of the council.

#### Conclusion

The above description is a brief review of the newly created Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) under the State of Assam. As a territorial council, the BTC has administrative districts, where the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and the relevant have been applied. The Bodos were launched a vigorous Bodoland movement covering a number of issues and this movement went through different phases as it continued to be highlight, in course of time, particular issues and problems of the Bodo peoples. There was the socio-religious reformation movement led by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma in 1919 for the preservation of the distinct identity of the Bodos, the Tribal Land Preservation in 1954, the Udayachal Movement led by PTCA in 1967 for demanding

creation of a separate tribal land for the tribals of Assam, the demand for the Bodo Language as a Medium of instruction in the school and colleges in 1953, the Roman Script Movement in 1974 led by both the Bodo Sahitya Sabha and the All Bodo Students' Union, and finally, the Bodoland Movement led by the ABSU in 1987 with the objective to create a separate state for the Bodos. After the series of movement, an autonomous council was created on 10th February, 2003 for the Bodos to administer their own affairs within a definite territory. This territory was known as the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), and it started to function provisionally from 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2003. The Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) Chief Sri Hagrama Mohilary, was sworn as the Chief Executive Member (CEM) of the interim BTC on 7th December, 2003 t60 administer the Council provisionally. Again in the BTC Executive Council Election held on 13th May, 2005, and Hagrama Mohilary led the BPF party won the with a majority votes and Hagrama Mohilary was again sworn as the Chief of BTC. The BTC area as demarcated covers an area of 3082 villages, 4 districts and 9 sub-divisions under its jurisdiction. The Council has been given executive, financial and legislative powers over 40 subjects for overall development of the area. To execute the given subjects both the Centre and State Government have been providing financial assistance in order to accelerate the development of the area and to meet the aspirations of the people. From then on the Bodoland Territorial Council started to fully function with its headquarters at Kokrajhar. Importantly the formation of the Bodoland Territorial Council in Assam is one of the towering steps towards development and progress of the Bodo tribal community. This council has contributed immensely as per provisions laid down in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, towards overall progress in the region.

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