

Role of Gaide and Helena in Bodoland Movement

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Abstract

This paper discusses the role of Rani Gaide and Helena in the Bodoland Movement demanding separate state for the Bodos in Assam state of India. The dissatisfaction among the Bodos was cropped up in the Assam government's indifferent attitude towards several ethnic communities of Assam who felt threat to distinct identity, language and culture driving into the single fold of Assamese identity. The Assam accord proved Assamese chauvinism and language became tools for waning separate identity of many ethnic groups living in the region. This Bodoland movement was deeply rooted in socio-economic and language deprivation of the Bodos where the Assam government failed to resolve the long-standing Bodo issues. In the process of Bodoland movement two dynamic figures Helena and Gaide took active participation in the fight against the brutal attitude of the Assam police directed by the state government. The dynamic role of Helena and Gaide was manifested in large mobilization of villagers to rescue innocent Bodo youths taken by Assam police from villages in Gossaigaon areas of Kokrajhar district. The heroic sacrifice of Helena and Gaide had had a deep impact on the minds of the Bodo women, inculcating a sense of patriotic spirit. Every year, the demise of two Bodo women is honoured by observing "Bodo Mother's Day" on 12th May.

Keywords: Bodoland Movement, Role of Women, Ruthless Activity and Heroism.

INTRODUCTION

Assam is a homeland of different ethnic groups. People belonging to various cultures, religions, races over time came to the region and assimilated there. Among the ethnic groups of the region, the Bodos constituted the largest in number. The Bodos are peace loving people who live simple lives without having social division (Sudhir Jacob George: 1994: 879). The land constituted the primary economic resource of the Bodos and 90% of them depended on agriculture for their livelihood (Sudhir Jacob George: 1994: 881). As days went by, the Bodos have experienced socio-economic exploitation and discrimination meted out by Assamese who were deprived of protective and promotive provisions of the schedules of Indian constitution. The development of political consciousness of the Bodos can be traced back to the period of 1927, which marked the debut of a separate electorate demand for Bodo ethnic group placed before the Simon Commission (Dr. Vikram Singh Amarawat: 2013: 60). Prior to India got independence, different Mongoloid ethnic groups of the plain's areas jointly formed All Assam Plains Tribal League and placed their own candidate in the election of 1946. On 13 January 1967 prime minister of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi gave clear statement on the policy of central Government regarding reorganization of the Assam state on the basis of Federal Structure (S. L. Barua: 2011: 654). The All

Bodo Student Union which was formed on 9th February 1966 welcomed the statement made by the Prime Minister of India thereafter they began to demand separate state for plain tribal of Assam by calling time to time demographic strike embarking with 12 hours Assam bandh, 24 hours Tribal area bandh, 36 hours Assam bandh, 48 hours Rail Rokho, 96 hours bandh and ultimately resorted to 1000 hours Assam bandh that caught the national attention of the Central Government (Subungcha Mwshahary: 2006: 85-86). In pursuance of separate state, the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) was formed on 27 February 1967 (Prakas Basumatary: 2018: 142-143). With the support of All Bodo Students Union, the PTCA raised the demand for formation of a separate Union Territory for the plains tribal within the state of Assam (Subungcha Mwshahary: 2006: 69). The year 1986 turned out to be the turning point for the movement of Bodos. On 31st May 1986, Upendra Nath Brahma was made the 8th president of ABSU in the conference of ABSU held in Darrang district (Charan Narzary: 2011: 20-27). In the long history of the Bodos in Assam or in the north-east India, this was the first time when Bodos launched the movement demanding equality, economic and social justice, land and political rights, language and culture etc., in the decade of 1980s. The task of political movement for a separate state has been taken over by ABSU from the political party. Under the leadership of Upendra Nath Brahma, a 92-point charter of demand was submitted to the Chief Minister of Assam Shri Prafulla Kumar Mahanta on 1st January 1987. In these 92 demands, three demands were political and for creation of a separate state and other 89 demands were related to socio-economic, educational and others (Satyendra Nath Mondol: 2011: 101). In 1987 these demands were placed before the Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Home Minister Shri Buta Singh and President Shri Gyani Singh. This was the first time when the demand for a separate state was raised in the Capital. Thus, the Bodo People Action Committee (BPAC) was formed by Upendra Nath Brahma at Dotma in a conference held on 8th November 1988. This committee formed with Mr. Karendra Basumatary as chairman and Mr. Sansuma Khunggur Bwiswmuthiary as convenor (Subungcha Mwshahary: 2006: 84-85). But, this ad-hoc committee was later declared as full-fledged in the 20th annual conference of ABSU was held at Bansbari village in Dhubri district from 18th to 22nd December 1988 (Bakul Chandra Basumatary: 2015: 90-170). In this conference a decision was taken to demand a separate Bodo state called 'Bodoland' for the Bodos. The other important decision was to drop the 89 points of demands related to socio-economic problems out of 92 points charter of demand and special emphasis was focused on the three following political demands (Why Separate State of Bodoland Demand and Justification: 1998: 4-5)-

1. A separate state for the Bodos residing on the Northern Bank of the Brahmaputra.
2. Creation of Karbi Anglong Regional Council within the District Autonomous Council for the non-Karbi tribal population.
3. Formation of an Autonomous Council for the Bodos on the Southern Bank of the Brahmaputra.

After posting these demands the Bodoland movement accelerated and became bloody (Bodoland Movement: 1986-2001- A Dream and Reality: 2001: IX). A large number of the Bodos were killed in the ethnic clashes, thousands of them became homeless due to their properties and houses being destroyed by the police force of the state government. In this movement, more than 60 thousand Bodos were forced to take refuge in refugee camps at Kakila in Arunachal Pradesh. On the other hand, some of the Bodo youths reacted through arm struggle. They targeted public property like railway property and public servants. From that time onwards, rift between the Bodos and Assamese heightened the antagonism where the Bodos became more determined to secure a separate state.

This first tripartite meeting was held on 28th August 1989 under the presidentship of Dr. Rajendra

Kumari Vajpayee between the representatives of the union and state government and the representatives of ABSU and BPAC. Unfortunately, this meeting ended with more resentment that failed to meet the demand of the Bodos. Meanwhile All Bodo Employees Federation (ABEF) was formed on 28th October 1989 which played a vital role in the movement. Along with this meeting total nine tripartite meetings were held in the duration of 28th August 1987 to 7th January 1992. Most of the time, these tripartite meetings failed to bring any solution to the cause of the Bodo movement except the eighth meeting which was held on 11th September 1990. In the meeting the Central Government accepted the proposal of constituting a committee to study the Bodoland issue. After this meeting Union Labour Minister Shri Ramvilas Paswan visited Kokrajhar on 21st October 1990 (Satyendra Nath Mondal: 2011: 108). On 31st September 1990 and 3rd January 1991 ABSU and Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC) jointly staged a demonstration in New Delhi to quickly resolve the issue of Bodoland. However, ABSU and BPAC rejected the recommendations made by the committee which failed to evolve a formula as to how the Bodoland problem was to be solved. After the failure of this trial, the movement was vigorously intensified by resorting to bandhs, peace rallies, and demonstrations in Assam and New Delhi. But the government gave only verbal assurances whereas the movement wanted speedy resolution of the problem. Finally, on 21st November 1992, ABSU and BPAC called a 1001-hour total Assam Bandh triggering extensive obliteration and disruption of socio-economic activities. In the months of January and February 1993, the private discussion was held between Home Minister Shri Rajesh Pilot and ABSU president Sansuma Khunggur Bwiswmuthiary and the then Chief Minister of Assam Shri Hiteswar Saikia. These talks proved very constructive and fruitful to the prevailing issues of the Bodos. On 20th February 1993 turned out to be an important day in the history of Bodos because on that day Bodo Accord (Bodoland Autonomous Council) was signed at Gauhati by representatives of the central government with ABSU-BPAC (Memorandum of Settlement (Bodo Accord):1993: 1-9).

The Bodo accord brought about many changes in the political agenda of Bodoland movement. However, this accord failed to liquidate the fresh movement of the Bodos due to non-fulfilment of the separate state. According to ABSU and BPAC 'the creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council failed to resolve the common issue of the Bodos and Bodo Accord of 1993 was termed as betrayal to the Bodos (Topu Choudhury: 2022: 755).' The Bodo Accord of 1993 could not bring sustainable solutions to the Bodo issues as a result after three years from signing of the accord fresh Bodoland movement started again. Mr. Garla Batha Basumatary became the president of ABSU in 1993 after Sansuma Khunggur Bwiswmuthiary. In 1996 Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) was formed with the ideology of separate state within the Indian Territory. On 14th July 1986 All Assam Tribal Women's Welfare Federation (AATWWF) was formed that played a prominent role in making the Bodo women conscious about their moral duties and responsibilities towards the Bodo society (Dr. Harka Bahadur Chetty Atreya: 2007: 207-208). As a consequence, the name of the organization subsequently changed from AATWWF to All Bodo Women Welfare Federation (ABWWF) in the Third Annual Conference of the federation held at Tamulpur on 6th November 1993. According to Mrs. Kanan Basumatary, former president of the organization, 'The ABWWF was the first Bodo Women Organization of Assam and at the peak time of the Bodoland movement.' Each and every Bodo woman of Kokrajhar District was a member of the organization and the Bodo women folk under the banner of ABWWF actually played a significant role in the struggle of the Bodo movement (Sucheta Sen Chaudhuri: 2004: 96-101).

Phases of the Bodo Movement

The First Phase (1933-1952)-The Phase of Political Awakening: The Bodo leadership propagates the idea of Bodoland through the assumption that political autonomy will remove their deprivation. The first phase embarked on with the formal organization of the Bodo polity with the Bodo's feeling the need for a political party that represented their interests. This phase is also considered the phase of political awakening that lasted from 1933 to 1952. A memorandum to the Indian statutory commission was submitted in 1929 by the Bodo community of Goalpara and Kachari Juvak Sanmiloni demanding political power. Finally, in 1933 the All Assam Plains Tribal League (AAPTL) was formed as a political party under the leadership of Rupnath Brahma (Khema Sonowal: 2013: 87-95).

The Second Phase (1952-1967)-Issue of Language and Script: with the formation of the Bodo Sahitiya Sabha (BSS) in 1952, the nationalistic feeling among the educated Bodos grew momentum, which led to submission of a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Assam Bishnuram Medhi for the introduction of Bodo Medium Schools in 1953. The BSS movement during this time was addressed by the threat posed by the dominant Assamese community where Assamese was introduced as an official language bill in 1960. This phase is also marked by aggressive mass movement on questions relating exclusively to Bodo identity for the first time in history. This phase has also witnessed radicalization of the Bodo language as the medium of instruction in schools in Bodo dominated areas in 1963 (Ajay Roy: 1995: 58-65).

The Third Phase (1967-1986): With the quest for linguistic identity in progress, the movement has for the first time extensively culminated in the demand for an arrangement of autonomy. Assurance given by congress to the Tribal League, the promise of the protection of tribal rights and land was not codified in its true sense. Thus, on 27th February 1967, the Bodos took its movement with the objective of forming the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA). Its aim was to demand a Union Territory called "Udayachal" in the Bodo dominated areas. The ABSU was also formed on 15th February 1967 at a time when the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi proposed to recognize the state of Assam on 13th January 1967. This period also witnessed anti-foreigner's agitation carried out by All Assam Student Union and All Assam Gona Sangram Parishad (AASGP) in 1979. The PTCA and the ABSU have supported this movement (Jaiklong Basumatary: 2014: 2-25).

The Fourth Phase (1986-2003)- Demand for Separate Statehood: The PTCA and ABSU worked together till 1979. ABSU withdrew the support of PTCA due to failure to fulfil the expectation of the Bodo people for a separate state during the reorganization process of Assam. From 1987, ABSU has taken vigorous mass movement. On 2nd March 1987, under the leadership of late Upendra Nath Brahma, ABSU launched a strong mass movement as political demand for a separate state of Bodoland. These demands were for a creation of Bodoland within the Indian Union and not within Assam (Sucheta Sen Choudhuri, 2004: 72-73).

The Bodo movement in the Indian context in general and in the context of Assam, in particular is not a threat but it is a process of national integration. As such the development of the Bodo community and Bodo locality directly helped the process of nation building.

Women Participation in Bodoland Movement

In the long struggle for Bodoland movement, the Bodo women played a significant role. From 1987, the Bodoland movement vigorously intensified its mass movement under the banner of ABSU. The initiative of ABSU offered a crucial platform for the involvement of Bodo women in the struggle for a

Bodo homeland. The Bodo women folk embarked upon the struggle for the cause for the community fighting shoulder to shoulder along with men under the overall guidance of the ABSU. The women of all age and walks of life including housewives, students, minor girls, actively participated in the movement. Prior to 1974 women's participation in the ABSU was negligible. Following the implementation of the Roman script launched in 1974, the intense movement grew momentum. The ABSU movement exhibited two contradictory trends very clearly: non-violent protests through organizing mass rallies, processions, protest rallies, hunger strike, road blockade, etc. and the other trend was violent in nature. The ABSU established a military wing (ABSU Volunteer Force) to conduct armed struggle. Dr. Phukan Chandra Bodo and later Premsingh Brahma were in charge of this wing and were designated as chairman. They were both former executive members of the ABSU. From the beginning, the Bodo Volunteer Force actively participated in the movement. It worked as an underground force of the ABSU. Its protests were violent in nature which included bomb blast at public places, dacoity to collect money and arms, firing on security personnel, etc. During the movement, its volunteers worked as soldiers for the Bodos. In 1989, the ABSU and the Volunteer Force leaders expressed their willingness to train the women in arms. The women too wanted to join arms training and they did it. So, from 1989 onwards women joined the Volunteer Force but they were not involved in direct action. They were taught to use the rifle for their own safety. They were trained to carry messages and other necessary articles. Many girls from different areas received nursing training in the rural primary health centre. The idea of women joining the Volunteer Force was not received well by some AATWWF members. This decision was criticized on the grounds that they were doubtful about the marital future of such girls. Yet, the ABSU and Volunteer Force continued providing armed training to the women as well (Sucheta Sen Choudhuri, 2004: 72-73).

The late 1970's the participation in ABSU movement was negligible. In the meantime, the ABSU leaders perceived that without an active participation of the Bodo women in the movement it would not be possible to achieve their desired goal. Upendra Nath Brahma alleged that a society cannot progress without the development of women and their support. As a result, with the active initiative of the leaders like Upendra Nath Brahma, Sansuma Kungkur Bwiswmuthiary, Subash Basumatary and Deora Dekhereb Basumatary of the All Bodo Students Union, the Bodo women organization known as All Assam Tribal Women's welfare Federation (AATWWF) was formed on July 14, 1986 (Sucheta Sen Choudhuri, 2004: 74). Thus, the political mobilization of Bodo women came in an organized manner. This women's organization of the Bodo community had played a vital role in promoting a strong bond of unity among the Bodos in general and Bodo women in particular during the period of the Bodo movement. It was witnessed by the Bodo leaders that this women organization played a significant role in the political movement with their direct participation as well as welfare activities within the Bodo society. It aimed to fight for equal rights, equal status and honour of the Bodo women in socio-political and individual life in the society (Jogendra Kr. Das: 1994: 417-426). Besides, AATWWF also intended to defend rights of women in conflict situations and fight against the violation of the rights of women. In such cases their activities involved visiting relief camps, consoling the victims, appealing the state and district administrations for due and proper rehabilitations, slogans for peace, women empowerment and formulation of socio-economic developmental programs for women. In the political scenario, AATWWF is seen taking active part in protest rallies, silent march, calling for bandhas, strikes, blockades, gheraos in government offices, holding seminars and conferences. Besides, AATWWF popularized the Bodo movement along with its aims and objectives among the illiterate women in the

rural areas. It is necessary to mention here that most of the central committee members of this women organization were teachers. The AATWWF constituted almost all the tribal groups of the women such as the Bodo, Garo, Mishing, Tiwa, Karbi, Naga and so on but when the Bodoland movement was intensified it fought merely and specifically for the Bodo cause (Abhijit Bhuyan: 2005: 20-24).

Therefore, other tribes began to feel alienated and maintained distance. As a result, in 1993, the AATWWF changed its name to ABWWF in its third conference of Tamulpur and this name was more acceptable for the Bodo women because almost all the members belonged to the Bodos. Since the formation of this women organization, it has been facing lots of hurdles from different angles. In this regard, the killing of Helena Basumatary, an ABWWF member in a protest rally testified to it. The ABWWF has actively worked in BTC towards setting up of many small-scale industries for Bodo women, taking up the health issue and literary issue for eradicating social evils such as witch hunting and other evil practices and so on. The ABWWF was also successful in bringing out souvenirs like Songdan, Raikhmuthi etc. The members of ABWWF played a significant role during the Bodoland movement in providing first aid service to the wounded and victims of the movement (G.T. Haokip & Niengkhoidei Singson Roluahpuia: 2014: 102). ABWWF became a formidable force during the Bodo movement to counter the threat of the state against their male counterparts of being abused or shot by security forces. They acted like a wall between repressive state forces and Bodo agitators. What could be termed as the most successful achievement of ABWWF was the struggle against the Assam police in Guwahati High Court over the notorious Bhumka Gangrape case. Nonetheless they also became victims in the hands of the state paramilitary. When most of the men freedom fighters were in prison the women came forward and took charge of the struggle. There are hundreds of cases of the Bodo women being victimized by the state forces (Yamao Jwhwla Brahman & ABSU: 2001: 1-18). Including the contribution of the Bodo women in the Bodoland movement it would be incomplete without mentioning the contribution of the women participation in India's freedom struggle. There are many women who participated in the freedom struggle movement which have influenced our Bodo women to take special participation in the Bodoland movement. The sacrifice made by the women of India will copy the foremost place. They fought with true spirit and valour and faced various tortures, exploitation and hardships to earn us freedom. In history for their dedication and undying devotion to the service of India is a long one. Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi whose heroism and superb leadership influenced as role model for all future generations of Bodo women freedom fighters of real patriotism. In the 20th century, Sarojini Naidu, Kasturba Gandhi, Vijay Lakshmi Pundit, Begam Hazrat Mahal, Madam Cama etc., are remembered even today for their remarkable contribution both in battlefield and in political field. Hundreds and thousands of Indian women dedicated their lives for obtaining freedom of their lives for obtaining freedom of their motherland (Dr. V. Venkatraman: 2018: 1-12).

Role of Gaide and Helena in Bodoland Movement and Atrocities of Assam Police

Gaide and Helena were the young brave Bodo girls, both of them were daring and fearless freedom fighters who had shown leadership roles by taking active participation in Bodoland movement under the direction of Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahman against the heinous act of the Assam police. Both Gaide and Helena developed a strong and courageous spirit among the women to fight and struggle against the cruelty, brutality of the Assam police. Both of them sacrificed their most valuable lives at the hands of the Assam police for the cause of Bodoland movement (Bhobani Baglary: 2014: 1-11). Meantime, in Gossaigaon subdivision under Kokrajhar district several Bodo villages were constantly patrolled day and

night by large numbers of Assam police vehicles. Unfortunately, Gaide and Helena also belonged to these villages. Over time, many young and adult villagers could not afford peaceful sleep every night because of military, police brutality. As a result, many young Bodo boys turned police victims without any reason who were taken as prisoners. On account of the ruthless act of the Assam police, most of the villagers such as Soraibil, Mothambil, Janali etc., always spent their nights awake in order to escape from the hands of the arrogant, merciless and cruel Assam police (Interview with Isilash Basumatary: 2022). On 11th May 1988, a group of scoundrels, uncivilized police cars were continuously patrolling around and across the roads of several Bodo villagers to imprison the large number of Bodo people without any anti-social act against them. As such, several innocent young boys of those villages around Gossaigaon fell victim to Assam police prisoners who did no crime where justice barely prevailed (Bhobani Baglary: 2014: 8-9). In fact, on 12 May 1968 in the morning time at 7 o'clock at the same time the merciless Assam police turned their groups of several vehicles and motors from Jamduar village up to the Janali market. In this occurrence of police vehicles moving around the Bodo villages, finally the people of Jamduar, Mothambil, and Janali villagers could see several Bodo boys who were arrested by the scoundrel Assam police were taken by police vehicles. By seeing this dreadful incident, the helpless villagers could not find any way out to release them from the hands of merciless Assam police (Interview with Nirendro Narzary: 2022). In the meantime, the police vehicles were driven away from their villages and after some time these police vehicles arrived at Raimona village. Finally, on the road of Raimona village, a large number of Bodo villagers participated in the road blocking rally where about 200 Bodo girls along with the Bodo women extended their act of bravery by blocking the road in front of the police vehicles against them. Among them most of the Bodo young girls were led by brave, courageous and fearless Bodo girls namely Gaide Basumatary and Helena Basumatary who had mobilized and put strong resistance against the arrogant police and military of Assam. Their main purpose of gathering and blocking Raimona road against the police vehicles was to release innocent young Bodo boys from them. With this intention, Helena and Gaide confronted a large number of police forces at the cost of death, fear and hesitation. At this moment the Assam police were shocked and instantly turned their vehicles to the other sides. Thus, Helena and Gaide constantly followed the vehicles and looked forward to the quick release of innocent Bodo youths from the police vehicles. Ultimately more Bodo women from different villages came forward for help to release those young boys from the hands of the police. As the number of people increased Assam police changed their mind towards brave women ultimately, they shot Helena and Gaide who could not escape casualty meted out by Assam police.

Soon after police brutality, several strong and courageous Bodo women along with Gaide and Helena were being shot down by the police (Interview with Episush Basumatary: 2022). At the end, both the brave and powerful Bodo women Helena and Gaide left the world for heavenly abode on 12 May 1988. Therefore, this bold incident surpassed grief sentiments into the minds of other brave women. With the objective of inducing a strong message to the Bodo society and in honour of their great contribution towards Bodo nationalism, 12 May is observed as the 'Bodo Mother's Day' (Bhobani Baglary: 2014: 8-9). In heroic attitude and strong determination Gaide and Helena led many Bodo girls to fight against suppressive rules of Assam government and their aggressive activities of the police and military. This fearless influence and courageous role of Gaide and Helena sowed the most powerful seeds in the field of the Bodo women's heart in the Bodo society to strongly fight against the brutal act of Assam police and Government. The selfless and protective role of courageous Gaide and Helena earned them the

mother of the Bodo community for the steep resistance put forward against the Assam police to preserve the distinct identity of the Bodos by demanding a separate homeland called Bodoland (Interview with Monomoti Basumatary: 2022). Therefore, on account of their dynamic role in Bodoland movement, today the dead day of Gaide and Helena is observed as the “Boro’s Mother Day” on 12th May for the contribution of their great role in courageous fight against the atrocities of Assam police for safeguarding our Bodo identity and separate demand for statehood. Their sacrifice is worthy of mention in the realm of the Bodoland movement. Their sacrifice had inspired many other Bodo women members of the Bodo society in the movement (Bhobani Baglary: 2014: 10-11).

Conclusion

The movement for a separate statehood for the Bodos in Assam had its origin in the economic and socio-cultural aspiration of the Bodos who felt insecure, exploited and deprived of rights in aforementioned spheres. It seems that the Bodoland movement is not a sudden outcome but aged old grievances and struggle developed a spirit of Bodo Nationalism for procuring a separate state that eventually drew mass movement from every corner of Bodo inhabited area of Assam. The Bodoland movement created a slogan, writing on placards and walls “Divide Assam 50-50”, “No Bodoland No Rest” and creation of Bodoland under article 2 and 3 of the Indian constitution. The political wave engulfed the Bodo heartland with a spirit of political alienation. New terms and campaigns like people’s revolution, total revolution and long walk to freedom have been articulated in the recent past to keep the mass movement for separate state in progress. On the other hand, the call for division of Assam is equally countered by the anti-Bodoland demand groups which are gradually resorting to strikes, bandhs, rail blockade and other forms of protest to sabotage the peace process. It is important to note that there has been pragmatic political dialogue to address these issues within the framework of the Indian constitution. The larger debates on the part of the successive state and the central governments to find a sustainable solution to Bodo demands is practically missing and consequently the issue of Bodoland is disregarded in the corridors of powers. Over time several rounds of dialogues between the government of Assam and government of India were held with the ABSU, BPAC and BLT.

The Bodo women have not only been a fighting force for a separate Bodoland but at the same time, have taken active initiative for peace building too. Under the banner and leadership of All Bodo Women Welfare Federation have made efforts, though in a limited way at the positive peace building. Though the women's federation have extended their support to the cause of Bodo movement right from the inception, their role is not known in the book of other women organizations. Moreover, due to biased media the story of the Bodoland movement was not projected in the mainstream instead it worked as a media being a force of the state. Thus, the role of the Bodo women was never visible. As the publicity of the organization was not widely spread, as a result their role in the society also became limited. The most common role of the organization is that they stood for women’s problems, be it family or in society. The Bodo women federation continued to raise voice for women's rights as human rights and civil liberties of all downtrodden over exploited, oppressed, suppressed and depressed. The Bodo movement in the Indian context in general and in the context of Assam in particular is not a threat but it is a process of national integration. Courageous role of Gaide and Helena sowed the most powerful seeds in the minds of Bodo women’s heart and in the Bodo society to strongly fight against the atrocities, cruelty of Assam police and Assam government. Both Gaide and Helena were considered as the mother of the Bodo community. Therefore, due to their active and fearless role in Bodoland

movement, today the dead day of Gaide and Helena is observed as the Boro's Mother Day. It may be observed that the relationship between violence and state has an indirect consequence in marginalizing women's role in such movements. This is because violence is found to be the most effective strategy of attracting the attention of the state. The response of the state acted violently because most of such movements cherish interests which are not in favour of the state.

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2. In an interview with Isilash Basumatary, Age-55, Occupation-Cultivator, Vill.- Mothambil, P.O.- Raimona, District- Kokrajhar, BTR, Assam on 03-04-2022.
3. In an interview with Eepisush Basumatary, Age-50, Occupation-Cultivator, Vill.- Mothambil, P.O.- Raimona, District-Kokrajhar, BTR, Assam on 03-04-2022.
4. Interview with Monomoti Basumatary, Age-55, Occupation-Housewife, Vill.- Mothambil, P.O.- Raimona, District-Kokrajhar, BTR, Assam on 05-04-2022.