

Role of Tripura Upajati Juba Samity (TUJS) for the Formation of Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAADC) under Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution

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Abstract: *Once upon a time the tribal's were majority in Tripura. But due to migration of Bengali people from Bangladesh the tribal's became minority. Therefore, the last king of Tripura Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur reserved 2060 sq. Km land for 5 tribal groups to protect tribal interest. But, the State government dissolved the 'reserved land' in 1974. Moreover, the Bangladesh liberation war held in 1971 caused a huge migration to the State. Therefore, the TUJS came forward and demanded to restore 'reserve land' and to form Autonomous body for the Protection of the tribal people of the State. Finally, due to their movement, Tripura got TTAADC under Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution in 1985. The paper has followed on both Primary and Secondary sources of data.*

Keywords: Migration, Reserve, Autonomous, Constitution, Movement

1. Introduction

Tripura is the third smallest state of India having 10,491 km² of its area. It is surrounded by Bangladesh border is about 856 km on its north, south and west side and only east side it is connected with the mainland of India i.e. with Assam border is about 53 km and with Mizoram border is about 109 km.¹ Tripura is known as tribal State. According to the Census 2011, Tripura constituted 11,66,813 (31.78%) tribal people out of 36,71,032 total population in Tripura. There are 19 groups of tribe who claim themselves as 'the sons of the soil'. They are Tripuri 5,92,255 (50.75%), Reang 1,88,220 (16.13%), Jamatia 83,347 (7.14%), Chakma 79,813 (6.84%), Halam 57,210 (4.04%), Mog 37,813 (3.24%), Munda 14,544 (1.24%), Noatia 14,298 (1.22%), Garo 12,952 (1.11%), Orang 12,011 (1.02%), Kuki 10,956 (0.93%), Lushai 5,384 (0.46%), Bhil 3,105 (0.26%), Santhal 2,913 (0.24%), Uchai 2,447 (0.04%), khasia 366 (0.03%), Lapcha 157 (0.01%), Bhutia 28 (0.00%), Generic Tribes 48,356 (4.14%).

According to the 'Rajmala' scribed by Kailash Chandra Singha (1896) the name of the State has come from the words Tui (water) Pra (near) meaning land adjoining water. During the British period the state was called Hill Tipperah.² Kok-Borok is the major language which talks about 8 major groups of tribal are- Tripuri, Reang, Noatia, Jamatia, Rupini, Koloi, Uchai and Murasing. The word kokborok comprises two words 'Kok' means language and 'Borok' means man. Thus, kokborok means language of man.³

The indigenous people of Tripura are the section of Bodo people. The Bodo section of the Tibeto- Burman people (Bodo-Mec, Koc, Kacari, Rabha, Garo, Tipura) came to Assam and East Bengal and were spread all over East and North Bengal and created 'seven sisters' state.⁴ According to Baruah, the main habitation of Bodo language tribe was on the Coast of West Chinass' Yang Sikiang and Howangho River. A branch of these people entered into the Assam and came to the Bodo turning near of Dhubri through the Brahmaputra River. From there a segment of people of this tribe moved towards the South and then first settled in Garo Hills and later settled in Hilly Tripura.⁵ The ancient name of Tripura was Kirat (Hunter). The Samrat or Emperor of India Jajati belongs to the Lunar race exiled his sons like-Yadu, Druhya, Turvasu and Anu. Druhya settled on the banks of Kapila (Brahmaputra) in the Eastern part of India. He abandoned the throne and retired to the Jungles to devote himself for religious purpose. Then, his son Tripur descended in his place. He built a city named Tribeg (literally meaning the place where three streams meet) as the capital of his kingdom and now it known as Tripura.⁶ The kings of Tripura claimed they are lineage of Druhya.⁷

However, the state had been ruled by 184 tribal kings. Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya was the last ruling Maharaja of Tripura before merged with India in 1949. On 15 October, 1949, Tripura joined with Indian Union as a 'C' category state. It later became the Union territory on 1 November, 1956. Thereafter, it attained fully statehood on 21 January, 1972.⁸

⁴ Rabindra Kishore Debbarma, *Tipra Jana Jatir Samaj Sanskriti*, (Agartala, Jara Publication, 2006) p. 5.

⁵ Kailash Chandra Singha, *Rajmala*, (Kolkata: Parul Prakashni, 2015) p.8.

⁶ E.F. Sandys, *History of Tripura*, (Agartala: Tripura State Tribal Cultural Research Institute & Museum Govt. of Tripura, 2008) pp. 9-10.

⁷ Ranjit Kumar De, *Socio- Political Movement in India*, (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1998), p.1.

⁸ Biswaranjan Tripura, *Tribal Question in Tripura: Dialogue Between Its Past and Present*, (Daltri Journals, Journal of Tribal

¹ *Economic Review of Tripura 2012-2013*, Directorate of Economics & Statistics Planning (Statistics) Department, Government of Tripura, Agartala.

² Gautam Kumar Bera (ed.), *Tribal Development in Tripura*, (Guwahati: EBH Publishers, 2009) p-3

³ K. B. Jamatia, *Modernity in Tradition: A historical Study of the Jamatia Tribe of Tripura*, (Agartala: Akshar Publications, 2007) p. 61.

As already mentioned the state is called a Tribal State. But, in reality the majority of the people are non-tribal. 100 years back the majority of the people were tribal. But after Independence of India, the non-tribal (Bengali) people migrated to the state from the neighbourhood Bangladesh. This migration had continued on 1965 and 1971. This migration of non-tribal caused the identity crisis among the tribal people of the state. This crisis inspired them to demand for the formation of 'Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council' (hereafter TTAADC). However, the demographical scenario of the state has mentioned on the following:

Demographical scenario of Tripura

Year	Total Population	Non-tribal population	Tribal Population	Percentage of tribal population	Percentage of non-tribal population
1881	95637	12,380	83,257	87.06	12.94
1891	137442	33,328	1,04,114	75.5	24.25
1901	173325	43894	1,29,431	74.68	25.32
1911	229613	81653	1,29,950	64.34	35.66
1921	304437	96686	2,08,051	68.34	31.66
1931	382450	1,14,383	2,68,067	70.09	29.91
1941	513010	1,94,651	3,18,359	62.06	37.94
1951	639928	3,28,082	3,10,946	48.65	51.35
1961	1142005	7,81,935	3,60,070	31.53	68.47
1971	1556342	1105796	4,50,544	28.95	71.05
1981	2053058	1469138	5,83,920	28.44	71.56
1991	2757205	1903860	8,53,345	30.95	69.05
2001	3199203	2205777	9,93,426	31.05	68.95
2011	3671032	2504219	11,66,813	31.78	68.21

*Sources: 1. Reports from Tripura State Tribal Cultural Research Institute & Museum.

2. Census Reports 2011.

The above table is showing the difference between pre and post- merger of population among the tribal and non-tribal people of Tripura. The table is showing up to 1941, the tribal population was majority in the state. But, from the year 1951, the demographical scenario is looking very opposite. From 1951- 1971 the non-tribal's increased very first in the total population. In contrast, the tribal became minor. According to the 1881 census, the percentage of tribal population was 87.06% and non-tribal was only 12.94%, but in 1981 the tribal population came down up to 28.44% and non-tribal increased up to 71.56%. Though, from the year 1991- 2011 the tribal population gradually increased and non-tribal has decreased. In 1991, the tribal population was 30.95% and non-tribal was 69.05%. Finally, in 2011 census, the tribal increased up to 31.78% and non-tribal decreased up to 68.21%.

2. Review of Literature

A set of relevant books, book articles, journal articles, newspaper articles has been consulted in order to accomplish the thesis.

In his book, *Genesis of Tribal Extremism in Tripura*, Suchintya Bhattacharyya provided the causes of tribal unrest in Tripura. The author who is closely associated with the

tribal life gives a methodical look into the society of Tripura through the prism of Sociology to find out the factors and forces – both indigenous and alien- that contributed to such unrest in the context of inbuilt inequalities in the distribution of society's wealth in the societal condition of Tripura from the remote past. He discussed in detail the features of insurgency in the State in the light of his experiences and also suggests some remedial measures to eliminate its causes.⁹

Bijan Mohanta, in his book "*Tripura in the light of Socio-Political Movements since 1945*" regarded as an in-depth study of how the socio-political advancements in Tripura is taking place through united struggles of the tribal and non-tribal people. The book deals with the major socio-political movements since 1945 which speak volumes for the heroic struggles of the people. These movements not only have speeded up the march of Tripura from monarch to Democracy but also shaped the lives and destiny of the people-tribal and non-tribals of the state after independence. The tribal and non-tribal people specially the Bengalees have been residing in Tripura since long as kith and kin sharing weal and woe of each other. Whenever there arose a problem they fought untidy against it. The timeworn unity and friendship between the communities have, thus, been cemented further. This unity matters much for the future development of Tripura as well.¹⁰

In his book "*Socio-Political Movements in India: A Historical Study of Tripura*" Ranjit Kumar De, dealt socio-political movements in Tripura were influenced by the political measurement of the neighbouring undivided Bengal. The book introduces Tripura to the outside world with its strange natures of relations with the British, demographic uprising and tribal condition. The influence of Bengal since the anti-partition protest of 1905 is noticeable. Three scopes of national movements of 1919-1922, 1930-34, and 1942-43 provided as a turning point in the lives of many people in the State. Besides, the affects of the commercial dejection of 1930s, economic effects of the two World Wars as a root of political turmoil are analysed. The emergence and activities of the socio-political parties as traced and examined in their appropriate perception. Effort is also made to set up the policy of "armed confrontation" can be replaced by a constitutional electoral battle if people so demanded. For, people are the true judges of real uninterrupted historical process.¹¹

In her book '*Land Question in Tripura*' Dippanita Chakraborty made an historical analysis between the land and population growth in the state during the 19th and 20th Centuries. It also discovers the manifestations arising out of the abnormal population growth, a result of the enormous refugee influx along with given away of land for several economic and ecological necessities. Particular emphasis has

⁹ Suchintya Bhattacharyya, *Genesis of Tribal Extremism in Tripura*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991).

¹⁰ Bijan, Mohanta, *Tripura in the light of Socio- Political Movements since 1945*, (Kolkata: Progressive Publishers, 2004).

¹¹ Ranjit, Kumar, De, *Socio-Political Movements in India: A Historical Study of Tripura*, (New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1998).

been given on identifying the causes and effects of the problem of land availability and the ultimate shrinking of cultivable land. In analysing these relations the study offers a new vista of observations- simply recasting agrarian sector cannot remove the problems relating to land question since land is a stagnant factor and its productivity is subjectivity. Hence land classification, depending on its capability, is the need of the hour to rejuvenate the state economy.¹²

In his book '*Illegal Migrations and the North-East: A Study of migrants from Bangladesh*' Sibopada De clarified different contours of most controversial unauthorised migrations from Bangladesh to North-eastern states of India. The book discussed in details of the anti-alien movement in Assam, analyse why all prime minister of Bangladesh, denied infiltration to Indian territory, why Bangladesh need a lebensraum in the Northeast of India, why all the successive ministers of Assam fails to implement the Assam Accord and minimise the flow of illegal migrations, and finally what should be the reasonable approach to contain the foreign nationals issues in the north-eastern states.

Moreover, the author highlighted the peculiar impacts of illegal migrants in Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. The nature and intensity of the issue differ from one another. State wise study has been made by author to acquaint the readers with the peculiarities of the respective states. It also suggests remedial measures to address and contain the tangle situation in the north-east.¹³

In his book "*Tribal Insurgency in Tripura: A Study in Exploration of Causes*" S. R. Bhattacharjee highlighted the causes of tribal insurgency in Tripura. The causes are- a) influx of Bengali people into the state from Bangladesh, b) control of politics and administration by the Bengalis, c) impact on the Culture and identity, d) unemployment problem and e) land alienation etc.¹⁴

In his paper '*Communalism, Nationalism and Tribal question in Tripura*', Harihar Bhattacharyya, examined the growth of the Communist movement in Tripura by the birth of Jana Mongal Samity in September 1938. Later, the Jana Shikha Samity (JSS), the first Tripuri pro-nationalist organisation, which was formed on December 27, 1945, developed the Tripuri nationalist ideology among the indigenous people.¹⁵

3. Objectives of the work

The work has following objectives:

- To analyse the reason for Autonomy movement in Tripura.

¹² Dippanita Chakraborty, *Land Question in Tripura*, (New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2004).

¹³ Sibopada De, *Illegal Migrations and the North-East: A Study of migrants from Bangladesh*, (New Delhi: Anamika Publishers and Distributors (P.) Ltd. 2005)

¹⁴ S. R. Bhattacharjee "*Tribal Insurgency in Tripura: A Study in Exploration of Causes*" (New Delhi: Inter- India publications, 1989).

¹⁵ Harihar Bhattacharyya '*Communism, Nationalism and Tribal question in Tripura*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 25, No. 39 (Sep. 29, 1990).

- To analyse the role of TUJS for the formation of TTAADC.

4. Methodology

The proposed study has relied on both the primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources are collected from Government publications such as the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Tripura, Census Reports, Statistical Reports of Tripura, and Reports from the Tribal Research Institute and Publications of the TUJS. Primary sources also included information to be collected through fieldwork which will include interviews with the leaders of TUJS, and leaders of various political parties among other things. The interview has based on both structured and unstructured questionnaires.

The secondary sources are include the data drawn from published and unpublished works, newspapers, journals, magazines, and other printed materials.

5. Discussion

Formation of TTAADC led by TUJS

TUJS was the first ethnic political party emerged on 10-11 June, 1967 under the leadership of Sonacharan Debbarma. The party was born at Kainta kobra para a few miles east of Agartala. The party did not born suddenly. Because, on the one side Congress became a refugee party and on the other side, the lamentable defeat of CPI(M) in 1967 election remains confused among the tribal people. Both the critical situation obliged the educated youths to unify all the tribal leaders under one roof. They organised an Indigenous based meeting called "All Tripura Tribal Leaders convention". Many political leaders irrespective of different political parties like Congress, CPIM participated in the meeting. Some leaders like Dasarath Deb, Aghore Debbarma, Birchandra Debbarma, Bajuban Reang etc illuminate the meeting. Moreover, some educated tribal youths who also had important role in this convention were Drau Kumar Reang, Naresh Chandra Debbarma, Nishikanta Debbarma, Banulal Debbarma, Sachindra Debbarma etc.

However, the Central Executive Committee of TUJS has been formed on 11 June, which has mentioned on the following:

- President- Rabicharan Debbarma (Maglam, khowai).
- Vice-President- Ramesh Debbarma (Banshtali, Bishramganj).
- General secretary- Drau kumar Reang (Dashda Kanchanpur).
- Joint Secretary- Renubala Debbarma (Madhupur).

After formation, the TUJS started its movement with 11 points of charter. Some of the demands were:

- 1) Introduction of Fifth Schedule under art. 242(1) of the Indian Constitution.
- 2) Transfer the tribal land under Tripura Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, (TLR & LRA) 1960.
- 3) Introduce Kokborok in the primary school.
- 4) Introduce roman script except Bengali for the development of tribal language.

5) To stop the forest oppression etc.

The convention made the tribal people happy for bringing the CPI(M) and Communist Party of India (hereafter CPI) closest to each other and thought that now the tribal people could be unified after resolving the problem between Dasarath Deb and Aghore Debbarma. However, the convention was decided to organise a public rally to the children Park, Agartala on 22 June, 1967. More than 5000 people gathered on the rally. Before starting the meeting a memorandum has been submitted by Aghore Debbarma to the Chief Minister Sachindra Lal Sing. But due to the question of leadership a contradiction appeared between Dasarath Deb and Aghore Debbarma. So, the CPIM withdrew its 4 members from the TUJS on the first week of September. Even, the Congress also withdrew its 2 members like Bajuban Reang and Sachindralal Singha. Thus, a unity which had been appeared under TUJS among the tribal leaders had broken. But, in spite of this crake, the TUJS had been continuing its activity.¹⁶

TUJS introduced itself in politics in 1971 by participating in the Lok Sabha election on the same year. Though, the candidates couldn't win any of the Constituencies. However, by this election the TUJS recognised as a regional political party. Afterwards, TUJS started fully its political activity. Then, TUJS had two important slogans, which were- 1. *Kachak koofoor Choong-Chia, buini tala tanglia (Red and White, we do not know, We shall not remain under anybody or party)*; 2. *Chini haoa tangna hangklai, Chini kagna Masrunganaï (Those immigrants who reside in our land must know our language.*

The demand for the formation of TTAADC under Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution was one of the important demands of the TUJS. Though, the movement was started in 1974, when the State government dissolved the status of 'Tribal Reserve Areas' covering 2060 sq. miles which used to be enjoyed by the five major tribal groups of the State-Tripuri, Noatia, Jamatia, Reang and Halam. But, the movement flamed before the independence of India. Many tribal based organizations fought for tribal causes, which are mentioned below:

a) Bir Bikram Tripur Sangha'

In 1947, a tribal organisation named, 'Bir Bikram Tripur Sangha' was formed under the leadership of Durjoy Kishore Debbarma with the aim of protect the tribal interest and to resist the Bengali refugees from the state. The Sangha had a militant wing called 'Seng Krak' which symbolized the cult for 'clenched fist'. The organisation was known for *Bangal Kheda* movement. But, due to its violence character the organisation banned by the chief commissioner of Tripura in 1949.

b) Pahari Union, Adivasi Sangha

After Seng Krak was banned, some other tribal organisations like- Pahari Union, Adivasi Sangha came into force in July 1951 and November 1953 respectably for the spirit of tribalism.

c) Adivasi Sangsad

But latter these organisations combined together for fighting the tribal causes. It was named 'Adivasi Sangsad'. The organisation took an anti- Bengali and anti- refugee stand. The organisation demands for – (a) Tribal regional council in Tripura; (b) declaring Tripura as an Autonomous District; (c) merger of Tripura with Assam; (d) filling up of Gazetted posts by the non-Bengalees only;

d) Eastern India Tribal Union'

In 1955, a group of tribals formed Tribal Union under the leadership of Sneha Kumar Chakma. In 1956 the organisation renamed 'Eastern India Tribal Union', which raised slogan for 'Tribal State' comprising NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency), Manipur, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Naga Hills, Mizo Hills, Tripura and other tribal areas of Assam. In Tripura the organisation raised voice 'directing the Bengalee- refugees to go to Delhi' and for 'sealing the border driving out the Bangalees and making Tripura a Tribal State.' But the organisation could not get wide support from the tribal people of Tripura.¹⁷

e) Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad

The Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad (hereafter TRMP) formed in 1948, renamed Tripura Rajya Gana Mukti Parishad (hereafter TRGMP) in 1951, later joined with CPI (M) in 1964 fights for tribal causes. The main aims and objectives mentioned in the constitution of GMP in 1949 are-¹⁸

- i) To organise the tribal people of Tripura and make them aware of the special rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution of India and launch a sustained struggle for the realisation of these rights.
- ii) To work for the all round development of agriculture, industry, education and culture of the tribal people.
- iii) To protect the rights of all tribal people and to fight for the growth and expansion of the democracy and lasting peace in Tripura by establishing a good brotherly relationship with other communities and progressive section of the non-tribal people'.

f) Dhebar Commission' (1960)

Meanwhile, in 1960, the Central government formed 'Dhebar Commission' headed by the Congress President Mr. Dhebar to examine the socio-economic condition of the underdeveloped and backward Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes and to give recommendation for improving their overall development. The then ex-Chief- Commissioner Nagrik Mohan Pattanayak, recommended to the commission which has been mentioned in the Commission's report page no. 448, Scheduled Areas heading no. 49.7 "At present there is no Scheduled Area in this Territory. The Chief Commissioner has suggested that the areas of Kanchanpur Chaumanu, Amarapur and Teliamura Blocks and some of the areas Under Sadar, Belonia and Sabroom Sub Division which are contiguous to Amarapur and Teliamura Blocks and

¹⁷ Ranjit Debbarma, 'Socio-Political Movements in Tripura: with Special reference to Dasarath Deb', (Guwahati: EBH Publishers, 2016) pp. 91-1992.

¹⁸ Bijan Mohanta, 'Tripura in the Light of Socio-Political Movements since 1945', (Kolkata: Progressive Publishers, 2004) p.61.

¹⁶ Interview with Amiya Kumar Debbarma (ex-General Secretary of TSF), (Agartala: 5 January, 2016).

have a preponderance of Tribal population may be declared Schedule area. The heading no. 49.8 also mentioned The influx of displaced persons from Pakistan to Tripura has been enormous and has set the local economy. It has greatly affected the tribals and has made the land problem acute. The rights of the tribals in the land should be safe guarded."¹⁹ So, from the above discussion it has cleared the commission favoured for the establishment of tribal reserve area under the fifth schedule of the constitution.

g) Administrative Reforms Commission (1966)

Later, the Administrative Reforms Commission (1966) also recommended for establishment of tribal councils in the specified tribal compact areas.²⁰ Thus, the question of autonomy movement got priority in Tripura. But, neither Central government nor State government took step for implementing the above recommendations.

Role of TUJS

However, when TUJS came into force in 1967, the TTAADC movement got its high peak. In the beginning TUJS wanted to form the ADC under 5th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. It demanded to form an autonomous district for the tribals, with an area of 2060 sq. miles which had been declared as a tribal reserving area for the indigenous people of the state in 1943. Their movement got more powerful in 1968, when the state government reduced the tribal reserve by 300sq. miles.²¹ Since then the TUJS observed a continuous hunger strike from 1968. The Four members of TUJS visited to Delhi for giving their deputation to the Central government on January, 1968. The members were Draou Kumar Reang, Harinath Debbarma, Bijoy Kumar Hrankhwal and Ranjit Karta (Tikendrajit Karta). But the visit couldn't succeed. Again, for the second time the member of TUJS visited to Delhi on 15th March 1968. By the members were Shymacharan Tripura, Draou Kumar Reang, Bijoy kumar Hrankhwal and Gopal Chandra Debbarma. The visit was succeeded. Because, with the help of Kirit Bikram Kishore Debbarma (M P of Tripura), the members of TUJS met with the Indian Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and submitted their memorandum to her. But in the conference of Durga Chowdhuri Para held on 1969 the Party changed its demand i.e. demanded Sixth Schedule in spite of Fifth Schedule. The TSF had full support with this demand. Thereafter, the Party organised strike for 24 hours in the 17 important places of the state like Pancharthal, Bilonia, Baikhora etc, on March 17, 1971.²²

Meanwhile, on January 21, 1972 Tripura became statehood. In the assembly election held on 1972, the Congress party came into power and Mr. Sukhamoy Sengupta had been

¹⁹ Shri Aghore Debbarma, 'Bighata Congress Amalay abang CPIM-ar Gata Dash Batsar Shasanay Tripura-r Upajati-der Abastha' (Agartala: Manisha Granthalay Pvt. Ltd., 1992) pp. 21-22.

²⁰ Dr. Suchintya Bhattacharyya, 'Genesis of Tribal extremism in Tripura', (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991) p.79.

²¹ Kamalini Kumar Ghosh, *Tribal Insurrection in Tripura: A study of Relative Deprivation*, (Hyderabad: Booklinks Corporation, 1984).p. 77.

²² Nishikanta Debbarma, *Tripura Upajati Juba Samity O Tar Uttarparya :Ak Oitihisik Dalil (1965-2010)*, (Agartala: Srma Ptinting Press, pp-212-213)

selected as the Chief Minister of the state. After coming to the power he dissolved the Tribal Reserve Area with an ordinance on February 28, 1974. The area was demarcated by the king Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya for five major tribes (Tripura, Noatia, Jamatia, Reang and Halam) on 1933 to stop the land alienation. The act first implemented at Kalyanpur area by 110 sq. km and later, on 1943 it expanded to all over the state by 1950 sq.km. According to the Act, no other community or tribe except those five tribes would acquire, sale and buy or transfer land to others. In spite of this restriction implemented by the king Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya, the government dissolved the reserved area and allowed the all 19 tribes to fall into that reserve area.²³ The decision of the state government dissatisfied the tribal people of the state. TUJS vehemently criticised the government policy for dissolve the reserve area.

Though, the government policy allowed all the 19 tribes into the reserved area but, there was also another reason which was not said by the govt. i.e. to rehabilitate the non-tribals into the tribal compact area. There are many instances to support the above argument like- 300 non-tribal families has been rehabilitated in Burakhana under Sadar, 150 non-tribal families rehabilitated to the Pabiachara, Bengali people shifted to tribal compact area from Dharmanagar Town and Amarapur etc.²⁴

To resist the government decision All Party Tribal Convention was called on 7th April 1974. The parties attended in the conference were TUJS, TSF, Tripura Rajya Upajati Gana Mukti Parishad (CPI(M)-led), Tripura Rajya Mukti Parishad (CPI-led), Tribal Youth Federation(TYF) and Tripura Upajati Karmachari Samity (TUKS). Then, a 'Joint Action Community' (hereafter JAC) was formed with the presence of hundreds of delegates to the convention. Abhiram Debbarma and Shymacharan Debbarma were selected for the spokesman of the committee. The Committee adopted 'Four – Point Charter of demands'. The demands were-

- i) Revocation of the Ordinance and preservation of the tribal compact area and introduction of an Autonomous District Council therein.
- ii) Restoration of tribal lands transferred to the non-tribals after 1960.
- iii) Recognition of 'kok-Borok' as the second state language.
- iv) Introduction of Kok- Borok as the medium of instruction at the primary stage.²⁵

The Joint Action Committee (hereafter JAC) organised a mass demonstration on 30 April, 1974 before the Block Development Offices in the state. A twelve hours 'Tripura bandh' was also observed on 3 May, 1974.²⁶ But, the united tribal movement could not go for long because, during procession it has seen, the CPI (M) Cader's (CPIM

²³ Proceedings of the 11th Tripura Legislative Assembly, Series no. VI, Vol. II, p. 53.

²⁴ Assembly Proceedings, 3rd Assembly, Series VI, Vol. III, IV, 1st April 1974, p.41

²⁵ Ranjit Debbarma, *Socio-Political Movements in Tripura: with special reference to Dasarath Deb*, (Guwahati: EBH Publishers, 2016) p. 91.

²⁶ Interview with Amiya Kumar Debbarma (Leader of INPT), (Agartala: 5 January, 2016).

supporters) were leading the movement, which was not accepted by the other leaders of the JAC. Therefore, a collision was took place between the CPIM and the other parties of the JAC. Finally, the CPIM withdrew their support from JAC. So, finally the 'Joint Action Committee' dissolved on 5 June, 1974. From that day the tribal autonomy movement moved in two different ideological lines. However, The TUJS, TSF, and TUKS jointly continued the JAC. The Committee organised a big procession at Agartala on 10 July, 1974. The rally gathered in Agartala Children's Park, where Aghore Deb Barma, Harinath Deb Barma, Debabtata Kolai, Shyamacharan Tripura addressed the meeting. The leaders vehemently criticised the state and central government policy which responsible for the backwardness of the tribal people of Tripura. A memorandum on the four- point charter of demands submitted by the 'Joint Action Committee' in September 1974 to the Union Home Minister in New Delhi. The memorandum mentioned: '*Without mincing matters it is worth being direct and brief in mentioning that the Government of India, through the last twenty five years, acted in collusion with the administration of Tripura in speedily wiping out the Tribal Character of Tripura and make it up the home of Non-tribal refugees.*'²⁷

Likewise, another big procession was held on 2 February, 1975. Due to huge pressure of the JAC the Congress government declared the kings' 'reserve area's 'Schedule area' on 27 February, 1975. Likewise, the government also announced that the tribal land would be transferable from 1 January, 1969 except 1960 but, it could not satisfy the demand of tribal people.²⁸ So, the movement was continued until it gets its goal. Thereafter, on 1977, the committee summoned a 'Civil Disobedience' movement on 5th October at Kumarghat, North Tripura District; 7th October at Udaipur, South Tripura District and 10th October in Agartala, West Tripura District. The movement held in Agartala was very big, where thousands of tribal people participated. When the rally was moving towards the Secretariats Office, the Tripura Police stopped the rally and burst out into a huge violence. Police started 'Lathi Charge' to the unarmed people. Due to the Lathi Charge, leaders of TUJS like, Nagendra Jamatia, Bijoy Harangkhal etc. wounded vehemently and hundreds of picketers have been imprisoned. Though later, at night all protesters got released.²⁹ Finally, due to that huge protest the state government suggested for making an alternative district council in Tripura like Manipur. But, the opposition party had not accepted the government's suggestion. In Assembly election of 1977, the Communist party captured the states power. Then, the TUJS organised a conference in Dumchara on 8-9 December, 1978, where the party took an historical decision that if the state government do not form an Autonomus District Council under Sixth Schedule, then the

TUJS will form an alternative District Council from 26 January, 1979.³⁰

As a result the left front government in Tripura introduced 'The Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Bill, in 1979' in the Legislative Assembly under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India. The bill was passed in the assembly by two third of its members on 23 March, 1979 and sent to the President of India for his assent on 20 July, 1979. Finally, the bill came into being on 18 January 1982. Thus, Tripura facilitated as an autonomous area. After formation of the ADC the state government made the head quarter in Agartala. But due to huge protest of TUJS the government compelled to shift the head quarter to Khumlung. However, the TTAADC bill 1979, under fifth schedule could not satisfy the aspiration of the native people. So, the TUJS again demanded for TTAADC under Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. Finally, the Communist government of Tripura brought the resolution to the assembly on 16th December 1983 and requested the central government to agree with the demand of TTAADC under Sixth Schedule. Then, the Indian Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi made an agreement between TUJS and Congress party on 23 August for coalition in the election. Then TUJS agreed with the agreement. So, the Central government brought the 49th amendment on 11 September, 1984 and passed the Sixth Schedule. The bill got affected on 1 April, 1985 under Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.³¹

But after formation of the TTAADC the state government decided to establish its headquarter to Khejur Bagan in Agartala, which was vehemently criticised by the TUJS. The organization organized mass rally where more than 25000 tribal people were gathered in Agartala against the government decision on 18th September 1985. Then, the government obliged to withdraw its plan and established headquarter to Khumlung.³²

6. Conclusion

The above discussion has cleared that the TUJS played very important role for the formation of TTAADC. The illegal migration and government initiative for dissolve the 'tribal reserve area' caused the Autonomy movement in Tripura led by TUJS. However, the movement (1974-1985) created a history of state politics of Tripura with the formation of TTAADC. One more thing we need to accept here that the then ruling party CPI(M) also had important role to form TTAADC. But still the TTAADC is not able to enjoy full power under Six Schedule of the Indian Constitution, like-direct funds from central government etc. Therefore, TUJS demanded to give more power to TTAADC. After TUJS other ethnic based political parties also demands to give more power to the TTAADC.

²⁷ Bijan Mohanta, *Tripura in the light of Socio- Political Movements since 1945*, (Kolkata: Progressive Publishers, 2004).pp. 58-66.

²⁸ Nishikanta Debbarma, *Tripura Upajati Juba Samity O Tar Uttarpurba :Ak Oitihisik Dalil (1965-2010)*, (Agartala: Srma Ptinting Press, 2016)pp.212-213

²⁹ Interview with Amiya Kumar Debbarma (Leader of INPT), (Agartala: 5 January, 2016).

³⁰ Nishikanta Debbarma, *opcit*, p.215.

³¹ Ranjit, Debbarma, *Socio-Political Movements in Tripura: with special reference to Dasarath Deb*, (Guwahati: EBH Publishers, 2016).p- 91-95.

³² Interview with Amiya Kumar Debbarma (Leader of INPT), (Agartala: 5 January, 2016).

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