

CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	
1.1	Statement of the Problem	1
1.2	A Brief Overview of Literature	3
1.3	Research Questions or Hypotheses	6
1.4	Conceptual Framework and Methodology	8
1.5	Plan of Work and Chapterization Scheme	11
II	Profiles of Brahmaputra Valley	
1.	Historical Background	13
1.1	Pre-Colonial Situation	13
(i)	Topography and Political Boundary	13
(ii)	Social Mosaic	15
(iii)	Mode of Production	21
1.2	Colonial Phase	24
(i)	Colonization	24
(ii)	Economic Transformation	25
(iii)	Colonial Administration	30
(iv)	Social Change (Language/Identity/Migration)	32
(v)	Freedom Movement	45
2.	Post-Colonial Phase	53
2.1	Topography and Political Boundary	53
2.2	Demographic Change	56
2.3	Social Identities	60
2.4	Economic Situation	62
2.5	Political Situation (upto Assam Accord 1985)	63
III	The Nature and Implications of Assam Movement	
1.	The Asamiya Ruling Class and the Nationalist Parties in Assam	69

1.1	Indian National Congress	71
1.2	The Lefts and the Socialists	73
1.3	Other Rightist Parties (Janata)	76
1.4	Early Political Organisations (PLP, AJD etc.)	76
1.5	1978 Elections to State Legislature	79
2	Evolution of Assam Movement	80
2.1	Beginning of Assam Movement – Mongaldoi bye Election	80
2.2	Leadership	82
2.3	Organization (Strategy)	84
2.4	Issues and Objectives	88
2.5	The Assam Accord	92
3.	Dimensions of the Assam Movement	96
3.1	Linguistic Dimension	96
3.2	Nativist Dimension	98
3.3	Regional Dimension	99
3.4	Political Dimension	100
4.	Basis of success	113
4.1	Role of the Press	114
4.2	Strong Apprehension	117
4.3	Role of Tradition	118
4.4	Marginalisation of the Left	121
IV.	Autonomy Movements in Assam : Evolution and Transformations	
1.	Autonomy and the Question of Identity	126
2.	Colonial Administration and Identity Conflict in Assam	129
3.	Re-organisation of Assam and the Autonomy Movements in the Brahmaputra Valley during the Post-Independence Period	131
4.	Post-Accord Developments	140
5.1.	Bodo Agitation	142
5.1	Formation of ABSU (All Bodo Students' Union)	145
5.3	Role of ABSU spearheading the Bodo Agitation	146
5.4	Bodo Autonomous Council – Problems and Issues	150

V. United Minorities Front in Assam

1.	Emergence of United Minorities Front	155
2.	Membership	165
3.	Organisational Structure	165
4.	UMF and Regional Parties and Platforms in Assam	173
5.	UMF and National Political Parties	178
6.	Aims, Objectives of the United Minorities Front	182
7.	The Role of UMF in the Politics of Assam	183

VI Economic Performances of Post-Accord Regimes

1.	Economic Development and Regime Theory	201
2.	Selection of Districts	206
3.	The AGP Regime	209
4.	The Saikia Regime	223
5.	Pre-Accord and Post-Accord Economic Situation	252
6.	Inter-District Variations	268
7.	Significance of Economic Data	274

VII Summary and Conclusion 275

Appendices

Appendix – I	279
Appendix – II	284
Appendix – III	295
Appendix - IV	312
Select Bibliography	317