

## Depiction of Post Independence Scenario of Assam in Dilip Borah's Novel

*Kalijar Ai*



**Bodoland University, Kokrajhar**

**Submitted By – Arpita Dhar**

**Roll No – PGENG408A22004**

**Registration No- 013643 of 2022-2023**

**Supervisor- Dr. Manab Medhi**

**Department of English**

## DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation “Depiction of Post Independence Scenario of Assam in Dilip Borah’s Novel *Kalijar Ai*” is my own original work conducted under the Supervision of Dr. Manab Medhi. This dissertation, to the best of my knowledge and ability, does not include any portion of any other work that has been submitted to this university or institute for consideration for any degree. Appropriate acknowledgment has been given to the dedication writers.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my dissertation advisor Dr. Manab Medhi for your guidance, support and encouragement throughout this journey. His patience, time and valuable feedback have been instrumental in shaping this work. I would like to Thank HOD sir Dr. Debajyoti Biswas for your suggestions and guidance and the professors of the Department of English, Bodoland University.

I would also like to Thanks my friends and family for encouragement, motivation and for being a constant source of inspiration. This dissertation would not have been possible without the support and contributions of each and every one of you. Thank You.

**TABLE OF CONTENT**

<b>CONTENT</b>	<b>PAGES</b>
<b>1. Declaration</b>	2
<b>2. Acknowledgement</b>	3
<b>3. Abstract</b>	5
<b>4. Chapter 1</b>	6
<b>1.1 Introduction</b>	6
<b>1.2 Literature review</b>	10
<b>1.3 Methodology</b>	13
<b>1.4 Aims &amp; Objectives</b>	13
<b>5. Chapter 2: Assam's struggle &amp; Survival in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century</b>	15
<b>6. Chapter 3: Ethnonationalist Landscape Of Assam</b>	30
<b>7. Conclusion</b>	42
<b>8. Bibliography</b>	46

## Abstract

This paper reflects the troubled contemporary socio-political phase of Assam. The present study is based on Dilip Bora's Assamese novel *Kolijar Ai* (2003). Dilip Bora is such a novelist who has convincingly encountered the issues related to insurgency, corruption and dishonesty of the leaders in the society. *Kolijar Ai* talks about the life story of a boy named Chinmoy Barua or Ratul Mahanta and his involvement in Assam Movement. After that the Bangladesh war happened and thousands of refugees filled the streets and empty spaces of Guwahati. The refugees from East Pakistan were both Hindus and Muslims. Almost all of the Hindu families who left Bangladesh for India as result of the war remained in India. But the declaration of the state of Emergency changed the life of common people in India. The movement was led by students and movement was instantly burning like a fire and the Assamese peasants in the villages jumped into the movement in the name of survival like a bird jumping into fire. In the early stages of the movement, the Assamese people considered only non Assamese as foreigners and asked them to leave Assam. The communist parties and political leadership of Bengal tried to mislead the main objectives of the Assam movement by calling it a movement against foreigners but the movement did not had much impact outside Assam. During the Presidential rule, the central leadership was in the hands of the congress party and they had no difficulty in repeatedly defeating the young leadership with their cunningness. The main aim of this paper to portray the Post Independence scenario of Assam as reflected in Dilip Bora's novel *Kolijar Ai*.

Keywords: Assam Movement, United Liberation Front of Asom, immigration, insurgency, student movement

## Chapter 1

### 1.1 Introduction

Ethnonationalism is a political ideology that emphasizes the connection between a particular ethnic group and a sovereign territorial entity. It often advocates for the preservation of a distinct cultural, linguistic and historical identity for that group within a specific geographical region. Ethnonationalist movements can vary widely in their goals and methods, sometimes leading to tensions and conflicts in multicultural societies. Ethnonationalism is a contentious issue in the contemporary socio-political life of Assam. One of the most popular writer Dilip Bora who is often used in his novels an inclusive sense of ethnonationalism. The fertile contexts provided by the Assam Movement, insurgency, Student Movement in Assam shaped his vision and understanding of nationalism and his eclecticism.

Assam has witnessed an Ethnonationalist movement primarily centred around the issue of illegal immigration, particularly from Bangladesh. The movement seeks to protect the cultural, linguistic and economic interests of the indigenous Assamese population. Organizations like the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) have played significant roles in advocating for the rights of the native population and highlighting concerns related to demographic changes. The movement has been marked by protest, demands for stricter immigration control and discussion on the preservation of Assamese identity.

The early 20th century saw a historic migration to Assam intensifying in the aftermath of the partition of Bengal in 1947. After this migration from Bangladesh (East Pakistan) Assam faced a demographic shift and it became concerned for the indigenous Assamese population

about their political identity and culture. The total population of Assam increase upto 82 percentage during 1950-1971. After 1971 the demographic pattern of the district of Assam has totally changed. This has created division in the society ethnic and religious grounds. The diverse cultures and traditions brought by migrants influenced the cultural varieties of Assam. However this cultural diversity also led to tension, as efforts were made to balance the preservation of the Assamese cultural identity with the new influences introduced by migration.

Assam's history is full of several movements and conflicts that have moulded the state's sociopolitical environment over time. Assam has seen many movements come and go from the pre-independence to the post-independence periods, each with its own set of complaints, goals, and consequences. This article provides a thorough analysis of the Assam Movement, insurgency, student movements, and other notable Assamese movements, as well as the relationships and background of each.

Prior to independence, the main goals of the Assam Movement were the resistance to British colonial control and the upholding of Assamese identity and culture. The British East India Company's annexation of Assam in 1826 signalled the start of movements in opposition to colonial exploitation. During this period, the 'Peasant Uprisings of Assam' represented a notable rebellion by the peasants against the repressive land revenue practices of the British.

The Assamese Movement of the 1980s was closely linked to the debate over illegal immigration, which was seen as a danger to the state's demographic and cultural identity. Young people became disillusioned with the Assam Movement's issues not being addressed by succeeding governments, which aided in the emergence of insurgency activities in the

area. Native Americans' sense of alienation and dissatisfaction with the political system was exploited by insurgent groups such as ULFA, who made money off of their frustrations. In Assam, student protests—especially those spearheaded by associations like AASU—have frequently acted as impetuses for more significant socio-political movements, influencing public opinion and putting pressure on the government to take urgent action.

The Assam Accord, which was struck in the wake of the Assam Movement, is still debatable today because many of its terms have not yet been completely implemented. This underscores the difficult task of balancing conflicting interests in a state with a diverse population such as Assam.

A turning point in Assamese history occurred during the Assam Agitation, also known as the Assam Movement, which was spearheaded by organisations like the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) and the All Assam Students' Union (AASU). It aimed to defend the rights of the indigenous community and was mainly a response to the problem of illegal immigration. The movement attracted a large number of young people who were motivated by worries about economic opportunity, cultural identity, and demographic changes. The youth were politicised and mobilised by the movement, which helped them develop a feeling of unity and identity. It developed into a forum for complaints and goals, and young people were vital in planning demonstrations and gatherings. The movement had an impact on political developments as well, helping to shape the Assam Accord of 1985, which sought to resolve the issues brought up by the agitation. The campaign became a formative experience for many young people in Assam, influencing their perspectives on political action, social justice, and regional identity. It had a long-lasting effect on Assam's socio-political environment and influenced regional conversations on immigration and citizenship.



"...Dilip Borah's novel *Kalijar Ai* is a realistic picture of the food movement and the arm's struggle that is currently shaking Assam and the Assamese nation." (Amarjyoti Bora Tezpur)

Dilip Bora is such a novelist who has convincingly encountered the issue related with insurgency, corruption and dishonesty of the leaders of the society. *Kalijar Ai* talks about the life story of a boy named Chinmoy Barua or Ratul Mahanta and his involvement in Assam Movement and also his sacrifices for his nation. He sacrifices his family and his teenage life. Not only Chinmoy, with him many boys destroyed their life on this movement. The main motif of this movement was to protest against illegal immigration from Bangladesh and to safeguard the rights and identity of indigenous. But the movement ended differently and most of the leaders of the students and youth community of Assam started collecting funds in the name of the movement and they used it on their own benefits.

## 1.2 Literature Review:-

Various writers from Northeast have addressed themes related to identity crisis, culture, insurgency and socio political dynamics which are integral to discussions about Ethnonationalism. This novel also portrays various kinds of movement like Assam Movement and Language Movement. Many writers wrote about the insurgencies that happened during the protests in North East. Sajal Nag's book entitled, *Contesting Marginality: Ethnicity, Insurgency and Sub-nationalism* in North East India studies about the problems of secessionism, insurgency, violence and her turbulence in Northeast India and why these communities began to be organize and equip themselves, debate and decide their future course of action and confront the colonial and post colonial Indian states and process through which this confrontation led to the growth of secessionism and insurgency.

*The Insurgency Movement in North Eastern India* by Phanjoubam Tarapot is another thorough analysis of the current state of affairs in India's delicate northeast, which shares borders with Bangladesh, China, and Myanmar. It also addresses the circumstances that gave rise to various clandestine groups inside the area.

Another well-known author is Sanjay Hazarika, a researcher, author, journalist, and film director from Shillong. He has written about themes specific to Northeast India, including violence during insurgencies, migration, identity crises, and distinctive cultures. He attempted to highlight the reality that the people of the North-East are consistently oppressed and disenfranchised by the rest of the nation in his 1994 book *Strangers of the Mist*. According to him, the Northeast region of India is a lopsided strip of land connected to the rest of the nation by the Chichen's Neck, a slender corridor that is only twenty km wide

at its narrowest point. Additionally, he highlights how the central government has embezzled the natural wealth of this north-eastern province.

A possible interpretation of nationalism is a set of incidents illustrating the "congruence between culture and power" (Gellner 1983, 52–53). A range of discontents have resulted in the realisation that the idea of "Indian nationalism" or "India as a nation state" is more real than myth, and that cultural heritage can be a powerful tool in negotiations with the government, according to the ongoing ethno-political situation in the Indian context. The idea of nationalism, or the nationalised sense of belonging to the state, began with the creation of a single national anthem, national symbol, national language, or national culture—all of which were imposed from on high rather than from below.

The struggles of a little child caught between her Assamese and Bengali identities during the turbulent Assam Agitation of 1980 are portrayed in Arupa Kalita Patangia's novel *The Story of Falanee*. The protagonist faces challenges related to citizenship and cultural assimilation, which are indicative of the region's more significant socio-political issues.

*The Man from Chinnamasta*, Indira Goswami is one of the writers who had portrayed human beings consequences of conflict and displacement. In his publications, Goswami frequently examines the psychological damage caused by conflict from the perspective of common people trapped in *the* crossfire.

*In The Last Tai Ahom Princess*, author Mitra Phukan delves into the realities of the Tai Ahom community in the face of displacement and demographic shifts. Phukan explores issues of damage, nostalgia, and the quest for identity in a fast shifting socio-political environment via the journey of the protagonist.

The novel *Kaljar Ai* adequately represents the metamorphosis of Assam written by retired IPS officer Dilip Borah. By appearing serially in Assam's most popular fortnightly Prantik, it ensured a permanent place in the Assamese mind. Dilip Borah's novel *Kolijar Ai* portrays the post independent scenario of Assam and involvement of youths in this. Assam has been witnessing a series of socio political movements in the ethnic line since the time of Independence of the country and almost every community of the province is seen to be resorting to such movements. *Kalijar Ai* is a novel that explored the situation of people in Assam in the end of 20th century. The novel is significant as it depicts the life of an insurgent who suffers from compunction after choosing path of violence. Deeply attached with his mother, at a choice between his mother and the metaphorical "Mother Assam" for whom he had taken up the path of violence.

### **1.3 Methodology**

The research aims to investigate the perspective of "Ethnonationalism" in Dilip Bora's novel *Kalijar Ai*. This research methodology employed for this study involves a systematic approach to gathering and analysing data from various sources, including scholarly articles, critical essays and academic publication methods of research, study seek to provide a comprehensive understanding of the idea of "Ethnonationalism" in Assam after Independence. Qualitative research allows for an in-depth about conflict and violence of Assam and all the movements held at that time explored. It is well suited for understanding literary texts and analysing different interpretations and critical perspectives.

The primary source of data for this study is scholarly articles, critical essays and academic publications focused on the Ethnonationalism in Assam in *Kalijar Ai*.

Through a systematic analysis of scholarly articles, critical essays and as academic publication the research seeks to shed light on the movement happened in Assam in the novel. The findings will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the Ethnonationalism perspective and enrich the understanding of Dilip Bora's work.

### **1.4 Aims and Objectives**

Examining ethnonationalism in Assam is the primary goal of this study, which also seeks to defend the rights and interests of the Assamese people, who have a shared ethnic and cultural identity. Preserving the distinct culture, language, and legacy of the Assamese community is frequently one of the goals; other concerns include immigration and its effects

on the indigenous population. Additionally, in order to maintain self-governance and safeguard the socio-cultural fabric of the area, ethnonationalist movements in Assam can want political autonomy or even independence. It's crucial to remember that different people in Assam may have different views on ethnonationalism and that not everyone supports or shares the same objectives.

The second aim of this study is to methodically draw attention to the Assamese insurgency problem as it is portrayed in the book. People in the state faced social, political, and economic difficulties during the Assamese insurgency, especially in the 1980s. There was an air of unease brought on by the insurgency. Attacks on government officials and security personnel, as well as bombings and kidnappings, were frequent occurrences. This atmosphere of unpredictability and anxiety had an impact on people's day-to-day existence. During the insurgency, both security troops and insurgent organisations violated human rights. The populace was distressed by stories of extrajudicial executions, disappearances, and other abuses.

The third goal is to examine how the Assam Movement, also known as the Student Movement, is portrayed in the novel and how it impacted Assamese youth. The Movement was fueled by the active participation of many young people. They planned and participated in agitation, demonstrations, and protests to express their worries about things like illegal immigration and the alleged risks to Assamese socio-cultural fabric.

## **Chapter-2: Assam's struggle & survival in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century**

In north-eastern India, Assam experienced an excess of socio-political upheavals, cultural renaissances, and literary awakenings as the 20th century came to an end. Assam dealt with challenges of identities, immigration, environmental degradation, and insurgency during this crucial juncture in its history, which was characterised by a delicate balance between tradition and modernity. In light of this, Assamese authors set out to document the intricacies of their own nation and provide moving analyses of its past, present, and future.

In the text Chinmoy tells about his life experiences in those movements. He started from 1962's India China war the Indian soldiers couldn't stand the Chinese soldiers. After that the Bangladesh war happened and thousands of refugees filled the streets and empty spaces of Guwahati and for the emigrants changed his life totally. All the critical movements start from here. The refugees from East Pakistan were both Hindu's and Muslim faiths. After Bangladesh become Independent, However, most of them did not return to their homeland. A Hindu scholarly culture had already developed in Bangladesh. From time to time, there were reports of various forms of atrocities committed by the majority Muslim against Hindu. Many Hindus converted out of fear and were forced to conform to the prevailing religious and social system. Almost all of the Hindu families who left Bangladesh for India as a result of the war remained in India.

“There is a lot of work to be done. The dream of freedom has been dreamed of by millions of new generations throughout the ages, in countries; but freedom is not a dream mantra, many struggles for freedom have been defeated despite the bloodshed of thousands of young men and women. Our struggle cannot be pushed to the path of self-immolation by momentary complacency.”

Here Chinmoy a college student in Guwahati Cotton College came from a small village in Nagaon and he involved in Assam movements and left his house and family without any hesitation just for Independence. But his life changed totally. He wanted to do good things but for some pressures he involved in a wrong path, he robbed the bank and also killed some people. Some unknown leaders guide him and he also follows their instructions. In different places they create some groups with youths and they helps the leaders in other works. On the other hand leaders made deals with business groups and sold every piece of wood, tea, bamboo, oil etc and from that money they left Assam and enjoy their live at another place. On the other side in Assam youths are involved in murdering, robbery, kidnapping and attacks government officers. This climate of fear and instability affected the daily lives of the people.

"Nehru was often criticized by the people of our region for his injustice to the people of Assam in the '62 war and for his failure to strengthen the Indian defence department to stand bravely against China. Now I was somewhat surprised to see the same people holding all-religious prayer meetings in praise of Nehru after his death. Which form of our people is true? Criticizing Nehru, or shedding tears on Nehru's death? This is the first time I have understood something about this dual character of man. However, the prejudice I had against Nehru about the Chinese war did not disappear after his death."(*kalijar Aai*, pp-29)

Understanding the complexity of human perception and judgment towards historical figures like Jawaharlal Nehru requires a nuanced analysis that considers various factors, including historical context, personal experiences, cultural influences, and political narratives. Nehru's legacy is indeed multifaceted, marked by both praise and criticism, and the differing responses to his death reflect the diverse perspectives within society. Nehru, as the first



Prime Minister of independent India, played a significant role in shaping the nation's trajectory during its formative years. His leadership was characterized by his commitment to democracy, secularism, and socialism, as well as his vision of a modern, industrialized India. However, his tenure also witnessed challenges and controversies, particularly in the realm of foreign policy and defence. The 1962 Sino-Indian War is a pivotal event in Nehru's legacy, often cited as a failure of his leadership and strategic decision-making. The war ended in a humiliating defeat for India, with Chinese forces inflicting significant losses and capturing territory in the Himalayan region. Critics argue that Nehru's policies, including his approach to border disputes and reliance on diplomacy over military preparedness, contributed to India's vulnerability and eventual defeat.

After the 1971 war and the subsequent migration of women from Bangladesh to Assam, the situation they faced was complex and multifaceted. These women were often displaced, traumatized, and struggled to rebuild their lives in a new land. Their experiences encompassed a range of challenges, including economic hardships, social stigma, and cultural adaptation. Many women who migrated from Bangladesh to Assam in 1971 were fleeing the violence and turmoil of the war. They left behind their homes, families, and communities in search of safety and security. However, their journey to Assam was fraught with danger and uncertainty. Some women were separated from their families during the chaos of the war, while others lost loved ones to violence or displacement. Upon arriving in Assam, these women faced a host of challenges as they attempted to integrate into their new surroundings. One of the most pressing issues was economic survival. Many women were forced to take on low-paying, menial jobs and sex workers to support themselves and

their families. Some worked as domestic workers, agricultural labourer or in the informal sector, where they were often exploited and underpaid-

“This tragic chapter of violence against women has continued in countries throughout the ages as we did that day. And the men of that mother and daughter’s family? They may have been shocked to hear our voices. They did not think of protecting their wives, daughters, mothers, or sisters. They knew that they would be beaten if they spoke loudly. Maybe you'll struggle with life. When the house is broken down, what is the point of thinking about protecting dignity? (Pp-43)

In the aftermath of migration from Bangladesh to Assam, women often found themselves thrust into a complex and challenging environment, grappling with a myriad of social, economic, and cultural obstacles. Their experiences were shaped by a multitude of factors, including the reasons for migration, the circumstances of their displacement, and the reception they received in their new communities. For many women, the decision to migrate was born out of necessity, driven by conflict, poverty, or the search for better opportunities. The 1971 war and its aftermath resulted in large-scale displacement, with countless families fleeing violence and upheaval in search of safety and security. Among them were women who bore the brunt of the consequences, facing the loss of homes, livelihoods, and loved ones. The issue of women engaging in sex work after migrating from Bangladesh to Assam is a sensitive and complex one. While it's true that some women may turn to sex work as a means of survival after migration, it's important to approach this topic with sensitivity and understanding of the underlying factors that contribute to such situations. Migration itself can often push individuals, particularly vulnerable populations like women, into precarious situations where they may resort to activities like sex work as a

means of economic survival. Factors such as poverty, lack of education, limited job opportunities, social isolation, and the breakdown of traditional support networks can all contribute to this phenomenon. Addressing the issue of women engaging in sex work after migration requires a multifaceted approach that addresses the root causes of vulnerability and provides support and resources to those in need. This includes efforts to address poverty, improve access to education and employment opportunities, provide social and economic support to marginalized communities, and combat gender-based violence and exploitation. However, it's essential to acknowledge that the journey for women migrants from Bangladesh in Assam has not been without its setbacks and challenges. They continue to face discrimination, marginalization, and violence in various forms, underscoring the persistent inequalities that plague our society. Addressing these issues requires concerted efforts at the individual, community, and institutional levels, promoting empathy, understanding, and solidarity across lines of difference.

In Assam, those who had won the 1978 elections and were elected to the Assembly felt as if their backs had been crushed when the Congress came in the 1980 National Assembly election. The Janata Dal divided into several smaller groups. The Congress likewise had a small number of MLAs, and no one was able to gather enough to form a government. The Central Government had a duty to impose the presidency in Assam. Even during the presidency, it was impossible to put an end to the movement in a constructive manner. It proved to be difficult for two primary reasons. The party, which has already won power at the Centre, attempted to dodge the question of deporting foreigners from the beginning. The reason for this is because even before independence, Assam has relied on minority votes to gain political dominance. It was necessary to do so. Before the war, the Muslim

League won a majority of seats in the general elections that were held under the Government of India Act. After being Prime Minister, Sir Shadullah adopted a policy of requiring many Muslims from then East Bengal to settle on the fallen lands, riverchars, and government reserved lands of Assam's sparsely populated districts. Despite the fact that India was separated by religion after independence, a considerable number of Muslims remained in Assam, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar states. In terms of political influence, particularly in Assam, Muslim voters stayed stable at around 40% of the seats. The Congress Party, a competent political chess player, knew this. The party also held power in the 1971 Bangladesh War. As a result, when millions of Bangladeshi refugees stayed in Assam following the conflict, the ruling party took no action to evict them. In fact, following the emergency, the number of minority voters in many districts increased at a significantly faster rate than usual. As a result, there is a constant accusation that the party in question hasn't ever stood up for Assam's indigenous people when it comes to deporting foreigners.

In 1983 massacre in Assam was a tragic event in the history of Assam. More than five thousand people were killed in just one day in Gohpur, Nelli etc and in Assam this was the first casualty of the Assam Movement. Along with Gohpur and Nelli in other parts of Assam, the impact of this movement was also seen and many lives were lost. People's houses were destroyed. Many affected people started living in government camps. After this accident, the Congress party against this movement in various areas especially in hill areas, Borak valley and the othe areas like Kokrajhar, lakhimpur, and Dhemaji started making some camps for public opinion. Despite this, the Assamese people kept faith on this movement. But the Congress ministers disowned the Assamese community and the minority Muslim community cooperated with the Congress, and they created different types of 'Gots' in

different parts of Assam. Some people were with this movement and some were against this. After Nelli and Gohpur's incident, the Muslim community, Bodo Kachari from Kokrajhar and Udalguri, the tribals and Santali people all formed a few new 'Gots' in Gosaigaon and other places in Assam. In Lower Assam as well as, Tinsukia, Dibrugarh etc places in upper Assam some new groups were formed to destroyed this movement and Congress party help them.

In an attempt to reclaim order, the administration launched a brutal crackdown, deploying civil force and imposing curfews. However, these steps merely added to the pressure, as protestors saw them as a breach of their public rights and a suppression of their legal claims. The Assam Accord was signed in 1985 amid instability and fighting, marking a watershed moment in the movement's history. The pact, a tripartite agreement between the national government, the state government, and the leaders of the Assam Movement, intends to address the root causes of illegal immigration while protecting the interests of the indigenous community. While the agreement provided momentary relief and the way of hope, its execution was filled with difficulties and disagreements. The process of finding and removing illegal immigrants proved to be a hard and time-consuming task, exacerbated by claims of corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency. In the years after, the state has seen a rise of tensions and strife, with several factions emerging, each with unique views and demands. The advent of insurgent organisations and militant groups exacerbated an already dangerous situation, driving the nation into a spiral of violence and turmoil. The ramifications of the Assam Movement and following battles were far-reaching and complex. On the socioeconomic front, the growth of a state was severely impeded, with industries

and enterprises feeling the weight of the uncertainty. Educational facilities and healthcare facilities were disrupted and resource-constrained, affecting the lives of many people.

“The deportation movement in Assam seems to be slowly disappearing into the darkness of the black side. After the new moon comes the Shuklapaksha - then the full moon. The darkness goes away. But will our new moon ever go away? There are millions of rural people in Assam, a few school- college boys who have taken to the streets. They will destroy their farms, abandon their markets and destroy schools and colleges. But all these are lighthouses in the dark night. Their dull pale light cannot tear through the indexical darkness. Where is the moon? Who can give these myriads of lightning birds the search for the moon? I can't. I know I can't find the moon” (pp-128)

Chinmay's life was associated with various movements and while studying at Cotton College, he went to help. Many people lost their lives and their houses were destroyed in various parts of Assam due to the movement, while Chinmoy and his companions used to go to the government camps to give them food and help. Many girls joined these movements along with boys, Chinmoy being their leader. The government of Assam was involved in these movements. A foreign movement started in Assam for the Congress government and the Congress government created many sects against the Assamese people. The Congress government was in some cases at the root of all these movements. This government protested against this movement in different parts of Assam. This government was in power even during the 1971 war and even after the war, when the Bangladeshis did not leave Assam, this government did not take any decision about them. From this time various movements were created in Assam. This movement became a suicide movement in

different parts of Assam. The students wasted their future for this movement and they started protesting at different places.



“They were the ones who took to the streets in thousands of villages. Thousands of students gave up their studies at their call and staged sit-ins at crude oil pumping stations to block oil. They closed their factories and left their fields bare and shouted, "I will give blood, I will not give oil. Government employees quit their jobs and stood in the streets shouting, "Come on, come out; In short, the movement established them as the controllers of the fate of 15 million people in the entire state of Assam. Even those who opposed the movement could not ignore their existence.” (pp -91)

Youth involvement in conflicts, however, has extended beyond nonviolent action and protests. Feelings of marginalisation, alienation, and dissatisfaction with the current political system have drawn some people to more radical and violent movements. Many young recruits were drawn to groups such as the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) because they perceived armed struggle as a way to resolve issues and make their identities known. A sense of injustice and a yearning for change drove many young men and women to join insurgent groups that were active in Assam, attracted by the appeal of militancy. Initially motivated by nationalist goals, these groups eventually became involved in extortion, violence, and violations of human rights, which continued a vicious cycle of suffering and strife. Like young people everywhere else, Assamese youngsters reflect the ambitions and dreams of a generation adjusting to swift social, economic, and political change. Young people have frequently been at the vanguard of movements for change during wars, inspiring their peers and opposing the established quo. The Assam Agitation in the 1980s involved youngsters organising protests, rallies, and demonstrations in an effort to address concerns of illegal immigration and protect the rights of indigenous Assamese. They were moved to become outspoken defenders of the rights and interests of their communities by the principles of justice, equality, and self-determination.

The role of various ethnic and religious groups in Assam's conflicts cannot be overstated. The state's diverse population, comprising numerous indigenous tribes, ethnic communities, and religious minorities, has contributed to its rich tapestry of culture and identity. However, it has also been a source of tension and division, as competing interests vie for recognition, resources, and representation. Ethnic tensions, exacerbated by historical grievances and perceptions of discrimination, have fuelled conflicts between different



communities in Assam. The Bodo-Santhal clashes in the 1990s, for example, highlighted the complex interplay of identity, land, and political power in the state. Similarly, the tensions between indigenous Assamese and Bengali-speaking Muslims have simmered for decades, erupting into violence during periods of heightened agitation and polarization. A divisive topic in Assamese conflicts has also been religious identity, especially in light of illegal immigration from Bangladesh and the state's alleged threat to its socio-cultural fabric. Hindu nationalist organisations have taken advantage of these feelings by presenting the problem as one of defending the rights of native Hindus from alleged Muslim immigration intrusion. This story has exacerbated tensions and thwarted attempts at reconciliation by further dividing communities along religious lines, further, the youth of Assam have demonstrated perseverance and inventiveness in their attempts to use social media and technology to promote social change. Young people now have a venue to contest prevailing narratives, organise support, and magnify those voices thanks to online platforms. Youth-led efforts, ranging from digital storytelling projects that capture the experiences of marginalised people to viral campaigns against corruption, have shown the potential of solidarity and collective action in furthering peace and justice.

The post-independence story of Assam is complex, covering topics related to politics, culture, identity, and socioeconomic concerns. Writers have shown the intricacy of Assamese people, their environment, and the challenges they encountered in their works. In the late twentieth century, the sensitive topics of identity and immigration became central to the Assamese narrative. The 1980s Assam agitation, fuel by worries of cultural dilution and economic marginalisation as a result of illegal Bengali immigration, left an extensive shadow over the region. Migration became a frequent theme in Assamese literature,

representing the complicated interplay of identities and the eternal desire for belonging. The portrayal of Assam following independence, as well as the regional tensions, have been explored by a variety of writers, fiction as well and nonfiction. Assam's after independence narrative is diverse, covering issues of identities, politics, culture, and socioeconomic concerns. The authors' writings have conveyed the complexities of Assam's geography, people, and the hardships they faced. The rich cultural environments of Assam, as well as the question of identity, have served as significant subjects in literature. Writers like Arupa Kalita Patangia have investigated the ambiguities of identification in Assam. Patangia's work *The Story of Felanee* depicts the hardships of a young girl stuck between her Assamese and Bengali identities during the stormy Assam Agitation of the 1980s. The protagonist struggles with issues of citizenship and cultural assimilation, which reflect the region's greater socio political difficulties. The literature of the region has been greatly influenced by the conflicts in Assam, particularly the insurgency movements and the Assam Agitation. Known for her book *The Man from Chinnamasta*, Indira Goswami is one of the writers who had portrayed human beings consequences of conflict and displacement. In his publications, Goswami frequently examines the psychological damage caused by conflict from the perspective of common people trapped in the crossfire. The story of Assam after independence has been tainted by the flood of migrants from nearby areas, especially Bangladesh. In *The Last Tai Ahom Princess*, author Mitra Phukan delves into the realities of the Tai Ahom community in the face of displacement and demographic shifts. Phukan explores issues of damage, nostalgia, and the quest for identity in a fast shifting socio-political environment via the journey of the protagonist. Another work of Mitra Phukan *Collector's wife* is set in Assam, India, a place known for its rich cultural diversity and complicated social dynamics. A major issue of the book is ethnonationalism, which is

interpreted via the prisms of identity, belonging, and cross-cultural conflict. Phukan captures the beauty, intricacy, and contrasts of Assamese life in a striking picture. She examines the many aspects of ethnonationalism through her characters, ranging from the disastrous effects of identity-based conflict to the desire for cultural preservation. The conflict between tradition and modernity is one of the book's main topics. Many of Assamese people feel dislocated and alienated as a result of the state's rapid social and economic development and the collision of ancient patterns of life with new realities. For individuals who feel disenfranchised or intimidated by these developments, ethnonationalism serves as a rallying cry as they work to defend their cultural legacy against alleged outside influences. Another famous writer name Sanjay Hazarika also wrote about the situation of Assam at that time, the suffering of people, identity crisis and ethnic rights. Hazarika addresses the causes and effects of political violence in his writings, which frequently offer perceptive analysis and criticism on the region's complicated socio-political context. He digs into the past, examining the causes of disputes and the things that have contributed to the region's bloodshed. Hazarika's *Strangers of the Mist: Tales of War and Peace from India's Northeast* (published in 2009) is one of his most well-known works. He looks at the numerous insurgencies, ethnic conflicts, and separatist movements that have afflicted the North East in this book as he examines the history of political violence in the area. The reasons for these confrontations, including ethnic tensions, resource disputes, and demands for autonomy, are explored in Hazarika. The human cost of political violence in the area is another topic covered in Hazarika's works. He talks about how conflicts affect people and communities, emphasising the pain, uprooting, and fatalities brought on by such violence. Hazarika provides voice to the oppressed and victims, presenting a complex picture of the fallout from political violence. Hazarika also stresses the value of

communication, comprehension, and peacemaking in resolving political violence. He supports an all-encompassing strategy that addresses the underlying socioeconomic and political grievances that fuel violence in addition to the urgent security issues. It is important to note that Hazarika's articles are based on in-depth study and first-hand knowledge gleaned from his years of interactions with the local populace. His work seeks to advance regional efforts for peace and prosperity as well as a deeper knowledge of the complexity of the North East. Writings on political violence in North East India by Sanjoy Hazarika offer insightful analyses of the political, social, and historical factors that contribute to conflicts in the area. For academics, decision-makers, and anybody else trying to comprehend the intricacies of the North East and find paths towards peace and stability, his work is an invaluable resource. Renowned author and academic Sanjib Baruah is well-known for his in-depth studies on Northeast India, with an emphasis on the region's conflicts, politics, and identity challenges. In the works that he wrote Baruah investigates the intricate mechanisms of political violence in Northeast India, an area that has historically characterised by a range of uprisings, disputes over resource ownership, and tensions between ethnic groups. He explores the political, social, and historical elements that have moulded the unstable terrain of the area. The Baruah's Work frequently highlights how identity politics and power struggles contribute to the spread of violence. In the North-east He looks at how matters like land ownership, religion, race, and language clash with frustrations and political ambitions, resulting in violent confrontations. Baruah emphasises how these disputes frequently have their origins in past injustices, marginalisation, and estrangement. Experiences by a few of the region's ethnic groups. Additionally, Baruah examines severely the reactions to political violence in North-eastern India by the Indian government and its security services. He examines the effects of emergency laws, militarization, and

counterinsurgency tactics on the the social fabric of the area. His works clarified the difficulties and complications involved in resolving disputes and establishing enduring peace in north-eastern India. Additionally, Baruah's study examines the more the political violence in the region has geopolitical dimensions. He looks at the ways that the Northeast's proximity to other nations, including Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, and China, influences the dynamics of hostilities and initiatives to promote peace. He explores challenges related to cross-border mobility, illegal activity as well as the region's strategic importance. Consequently, by his poems, Sanjib Baruah offers insightful explanations of the complex dynamics of political violence in the Northeast. India. His writings provide a sophisticated comprehension of the political, social, and historical aspects. That fueled regional tensions and offer a forum for discussion and informed making of policies.

Politically, the movements created new power relations and alliances as many factions competed for power and representation. The problem of illegal immigration became an opportunity for contentious language and political arrogance, causing already high tensions and dividing society. Culturally, the movement highlighted the fundamental fears and anxieties about maintaining of the Assamese culture. The indigenous people were in danger by significant demographic changes and the apparent destruction of their native tongue, the customs process, and way of life. This sense of social insecurity inspired the need for greater efforts to protect their heritage. Despite the hardships and failures, the sense of resilience and tenacity that defined the Assam Movement remains unwavering. Local communities worked together, calling for long-term solutions and encouraging conversation to bridge gaps. Interfaith activities and cultural exchange programmes aimed to increase friendship and coexistence.

### Chapter 3: Ethnonationalist landscape of Assam

The song of the play *Lobita* by Jyotiprasad Agarwal powerfully reflected nationalistic passion-understanding cultural nationalism in Assam

"Biswabijoyi nawa jowan, Biswabijoyi nawa jowan

Saktisalini Bharatar

Olai aha, olai aha

Santan tumi biplabar"

Jyoti Prasad Agarwala and Bishnuprasad Rava two most famous icons of Assam in 19th century and from them the effect of ethnonationalism is start in Assam. Their plays and songs effect on youth not only in nineteenth century but also in 20th century. Jyotiprasad Agarwala's songs are special reflection of his views on nationalism. Throughout the 20th century ethnonationalism in Assam was closely tied to the preservation of Assamese culture, language and tradition. Efforts were made to resists cultural assimilation and promote to district identity of the indigenous communities.

The origin of ethnomationalism in Assam may be traced back to the colonial era, when the British grab the province and implemented polities that changed its demographic composition. The influx of Bengali speaking migrants from Bengal which was mostly driven by economic sectors such as Assam's tea plantation, created tensions with the indigenous Assamese population. The colonial management is encouragement of migration to fulfil labour demand intensified these conflicts, providing the groundwork for ethnic nationalism to emerge.

When Assam came under the rule of British, they needed some educated people for their rule, but the people of Assam were not educated enough to help the British. Before Assam, Bangladesh was under British rule. As per result Bengali community was already familiar with western education and they served under the British. Many Bengali's were educated in western education. So British government brought some educated Bengali's from Bangladesh. Moreover, educated people in Assam did not like to work under the British and there was a shortage of higher education people in Assam. Educated Bengali's serving under the British, established Bengali language schools in Assam and Bengali was also prevalent in Assam's office court. At that time the educated youth of Assamese who were educated in Calcutta started thinking for the improvement of Assamese language and literature. Due to their efforts,"Asomiya Bhasha Unnati Sadhini Sobha" was established in Calcutta. Later it was transformed into "Assam Sahitya Sobha" in 1917. At that time the next generation of Assamese community intend to join the British rule but the officer of Bengali community preferred the candidate of Bengali community. In this circumstance one day India gained independence in 1947 as well as Assam. The most of the job in office of Assam are occupied by the candidate of Bengali community. The Bengali community is increased day by day for migrants from East Pakistan then the language movement entered in Assam.

The language has always been a site of contestation in the policies of Assam, both in colonial as well as post colonial situations. The language policy of the state, and it related politics in the post-independent period in Assam, was the major cause for emergence and growth of the ethnonationalism politics in Assam. Assamese language had been the medium of communication among different tribal groups of Assam (both divided & undivided Assam). The different ethnic groups learnt Assamese spontaneously in the educational institutions.

In the year 1960, the Assam government tried to impose Assamese language as the official language, making it the medium of the educational institutions. With the continuous pressure from Asom Sahitya Sabha, then the chief minister Bimala Prasad Chaliha brought the language bill in assembly in 1960. Covertly, it was a part of the hegemonic agenda of the dominant Assamese for inclusion of the other non- Assamese speaking groups under its fold. But it worked reversely.

After India gained independence in 1947, Assam witnessed Ethnonationalist movements, particularly driven by concerns about demographic changes due to migration. The influx of Bengali- speaking immigrants, including both economic migrants and refugees, was a major impetus for Ethnonationalist sentiments. Locals were apprehensive about losing their culture identity and economic opportunities due to their changing demographics. In this novel *KalijarAai*, we witness the ethnonationalism after the immigrants come from East Pakistan means Bangladesh and from this other movements like language movement, student movement start in Assam. We can see the effects of this movement in the eyes of Assamese youths at that time.

"The freedom struggle is not a day-two or and an hour-two struggle. The freedom struggle is not even just a bloody struggle. The struggle for freedom is the struggle for the liberation of the human soul, for the right of a people to self- determination, for the self-injury of a region, a nation, a community - a culture- a society. Therefore, my mother told me, 'Can a handful of young men for your organization understand the language of the minds of so many people of Assam and the North East, of so many colourful cultural worlds, of so many religions and languages? I had my doubts too. Yet I told my mother--' In ages, in countries,



young blood dreams. Youth means the dream of the new, the dream of freedom, the dream of spreading wings to the horizon in the pursuit of conscience."(Dilip Borah,2006, pg-243)

Political liberation in Assam has been a complex and multifaceted journey marked by historical, cultural, and socio-economic dynamics. Located in North-eastern India, Assam has a rich heritage and diverse population comprising various ethnic groups, including the Assamese, Bodo, and various indigenous communities. The quest for political liberation in Assam has been intertwined with issues of identity, autonomy, and representation, dating back to the colonial era and continuing into contemporary times. One of the significant milestones in the political history of Assam was the formation of the Assam Association in the late 19th century, which advocated for the interests of Assamese people and played a crucial role in fostering a sense of unity and identity among various ethnic groups. However, the partition of India in 1947 and the creation of East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) led to a massive influx of refugees into Assam, triggering demographic changes and exacerbating tensions over land and resources.

The peak of ethnonationalism was witnessed during the Assam Agitation, led by the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP). The movement aimed to protect the rights of the indigenous Assamese people and resist what they perceived as the undue influence of "outsiders." The peak of ethnonationalism was witnessed during the Assam Agitation, led by the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP). The movement aimed to protect the rights of the indigenous Assamese people and resist what they perceived as the undue influence of "outsiders."

To address the concerns raised during the Assam Agitation, the Assam Accord was signed in 1985 between the government and the leaders of the agitation. The accord aimed to identify and deport illegal migrants, provide safeguards for the local population, and ensure political representation for Assamese interests. Ethnonationalism has significantly influenced Assam's political landscape. Various political parties have aligned with or opposed ethnonationalist sentiments based on their electoral calculations. The issue of identity and protection of indigenous rights continues to be a key political narrative in the region. Ethnonationalism in Assam is not just a political issue but also has cultural and socioeconomic dimensions. It involves the preservation of Assamese language, customs, and traditions, as well as concerns about economic opportunities and resources. While the Assam Accord addressed certain issues, challenges persist. The complexities of identifying and addressing the status of migrants, the potential for discrimination, and the need for balanced development that benefits all sections of the population continue to pose challenges.

Despite the signing of the Assam Accord, issues of illegal immigration, ethnic tensions, and socio-economic disparities persisted in Assam. The demand for political liberation and autonomy continued to resonate among various ethnic communities, leading to the emergence of regional political parties advocating for greater self-governance and representation. In recent years, the political landscape of Assam has witnessed significant changes, with the rise of parties like the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and the Bodoland People's Front (BPF), which have championed the cause of regional autonomy and representation. Additionally, the implementation of policies like the Bodoland Territorial

Council (BTC) and the creation of autonomous councils for various ethnic communities had aimed to address grievances and empower local governance structures.

Ethnonationalist movements in India represent complex socio- political phenomena deeply intertwined with the country's diverse cultural, linguistic and religious landscape. These movements emerge for the desire of certain ethnic or cultural groups to assert their district identity, protect their interest and often demand greater autonomy or sovereignty within the Indian state. Understanding the dynamics, motivation and implications of these movements requires a nuanced examination of historical, socio- economic, and political factors.

"I am convinced that the deportation movement cannot provide political, social, linguistic or economic protection to the Bhumiputras of the North-east. Yet I was involved in the movement for the past five years because I had no doubt that the continuous influx from Bangladesh and Nepal would one day eradicate the identity of all the indigenous people of the North-east" ( pp-119)

Socio-political violence in Assam, a north-eastern state of India, has been a persistent and complex issue with deep historical roots and multifaceted dimensions. To comprehend the dynamics of this violence, it's essential to examine the historical context, the various factors contributing to it, and the efforts made to address these challenges. Assam's history is marked by a rich tapestry of cultures, languages, and ethnicities. It is home to several indigenous communities, including the Assamese, Bodos, Karbis, Dimasas, and various tribes. The state's demographic landscape has been shaped by centuries of migration, including waves of settlers from different parts of India and beyond, as well as colonial influences. One of the key factors contributing to socio-political violence in Assam is the

issue of identity. The state's diverse population, each with its distinct cultural heritage and aspirations, has led to identity-based movements and conflicts. The Assamese identity, often defined by language and culture, has been a focal point of assertion and contestation. This assertion has sometimes led to tensions with other ethnic groups, particularly those perceived as outsiders or settlers. The phenomenon of illegal migration from neighbouring Bangladesh has also been a contentious issue in Assam. Over the years, waves of migrants, both legal and illegal, have settled in the state, leading to concerns among indigenous communities about demographic change, cultural assimilation, and competition for resources. The issue of illegal migration has been a rallying point for various political and social movements, sometimes resulting in violence and communal tensions. The state's various populations, each with their own cultural history and goal, had resulted in identity-based groups and conflicts. The Assamese identity, which is frequently defined by culture and language, has been a source of contention and debate. This assumption has occasionally sparked conflicts with other ethnic communities, especially those viewed as immigrants or settlers. The problem of illegal migration from neighbouring Bangladesh has also proven contentious in Assam. Over time, waves of legal and illegal migrants have settled in the state, raising worries among indigenous populations about changing demographics, cultural assimilation, and resource rivalry. The problem of illegal immigration has served as a rallying point for a variety of social and political movements, occasionally leading to violence and communal conflicts.

Assam, situated in India's northern region, is renowned for its rich cultural legacy, linguistic diversity, and gorgeous scenery. State of Assam is home to a diverse ethnic population, including indigenous Assamese, tribal tribes, and migrants from other regions of India and

neighbouring countries. In Assam, ethnonationalism is defined as the assertion of Assamese ethnicity and the safeguarding of the rights of indigenous people in the face of population shifts and perceived challenges to their culture and political power. This emotion is influenced by a history of immigration, colonial control, and post-independence socio-political upheavals.

The North East's diverse socio-cultural environment provides countless opportunities for research on a broad range of subjects, including people, culture, literature, and ethnic groups. A persistent endeavour is being made in the field of ethnic cultural mode reinstitution and a questioning of identification on varied grounds in the global liberal world view. The contemporary era necessitates the exploration of novel literary paths and the continuous search for wider spaces to accommodate human concerns and competing ideals, making a thorough analysis of tradition and contemporary imperative. It is an issue of a number of concerns about how change is occurring in opposition to customs and societal norms, and to identify the historical influences that are social and cultural. Many of the north-eastern regions of India are plagued by insurgency and political instability, and the region has come to be perceived as one marked by ethnic conflict. In respect to the nation state, it is now seen as a minority space. Due to its remote location, long history, and abundance of tribal communities, it has produced a tribal-non-tribal barrier that has only served to further alienation. Due to a variety of socio-cultural and political factors, the so-called tribes or ethnic minorities in the area have been losing some of their own customs and cultural foundations. Many of the ethnic communities in the area have demanded separate homelands during the past 20 years, and as a result, there has been a growing political disorder and the conceptions of ethnos national understanding of identity have

become violent over time. The dispute over ethnic identities with those who are perceived as "outsiders" more and more has impacted interethnic interactions in the area. When used to describe ethnic communities, phrases like "tribe" and "tribal culture" are highly derogatory and lack a precise explanation of what distinguishes tribal identity from non-tribal identity. The adoption of such terminology contributes significantly to the creation of the primal other and minimises the hegemonic character of such concepts. Therefore, the mere fact that minority cultures are associated with ethnicity places them in a crippling position and leaves little room for any meaningful criticism from them. Ethnic identity was viewed as inferior in both colonial and post-colonial contexts. The way that tribal culture and history are portrayed in mainstream media frequently turns them into the "other," an item to be compared with the frequently implicit norm of mainstream Indian civilization. It is likely more realistic to have a contingent and temporal conception of identity, even though sociological and cultural studies tend to consider issues connected to "tribes" in either an isolationist or integrationist fashion. In Northeast India, socio-political violence has long been a problem with nuanced historical, ethnic, and political undertones. The many ethnic groups that make up the area are what make it unique; each has an own language, culture, and set of historical grievances. An analytical synopsis of Northeast India's socio-political violence is provided here. Controversial identities, disputed borders, and the legacy of colonialism characterise the history of the area. Tensions between different ethnic groups and territorial conflicts have been caused by the arbitrary border-drawing that occurred during British administration. Rooted in calls for increased autonomy, secession, and identity assertion, insurgency movements first appeared in the region in the middle of the 20th century. These movements frequently turn to violence in order to accomplish their goals. Many ethnic communities, including the Assamese, Bodo, Naga, Manipuri, and many

more, are based in north-eastern India. Interethnic conflicts and violence have resulted from competition for resources, political power, and cultural domination brought about by the diverse ethnic landscape.

The problem of immigration, especially from Bangladesh, is one of the main causes of ethnonationalism in Assam. For many years, the flood of immigrants—both legal and illegal—has fuel concerns about demographic shift and cultural assimilation among the native population. These worries were expressed in the Assam Movement of the 1980s, which culminated in the signing of the Assam Accord in 1985. The movement sought to solve the problem of illegal immigration by implementing policies including updating the National Register of Citizens (NRC). Conflicts and conflicts between ethnic groups have also been exacerbated by the issue of illegal migration from nearby nations, especially Bangladesh, which some see as a danger to their identity, way of life, and political representation. There has been a recent upsurge in writing from the Northeast that aims to capture the region's multiethnic and cultural reality and give voice to the issues of political instability and widespread violence that result from the process of post-colonial nation-building. Numerous rebel groups aiming for political, social, and economic reforms have occurred in the area. Feelings of abandonment, marginalisation, and perceived exploitation by the federal government frequently serve as the driving forces behind these movements. A considerable number of people have been killed and the normalcy of the area disrupted by acts of violence committed by insurgent groups like the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), and several others. An extensive security infrastructure has been deployed by the Indian government to counter insurgency in the region. In certain regions of Northeast India, the Armed personnel (Special Powers)

Act (AFSPA) has been put into effect, giving security personnel additional authority to uphold law and order. However, there have been claims of security personnel violating human rights, making its implementation contentious. There have been attempts to use political dialogue and peace talks to address the underlying causes of the disputes. Recent trends like urbanisation, globalisation, and the emergence of identity politics have further complicated the conversation around ethnonationalism in Assam. The dynamics of power and representation in the state have changed due to the establishment of new political formations and the reorganisation of alliances based on racial and regional affinities. In general, Assamese ethnonationalism is a dynamic and changing phenomena influenced by conflicting ideas of identity and belonging, historical legacies, and modern socio-political realities. It presents obstacles to inclusive growth, social cohesion, and democratic government in the area, even though it represents justifiable worries for political autonomy and cultural preservation. Assam's future trajectory depends on striking a balance between its ethnonationalist goals and the values of diversity and inclusivity as it continues to manage these challenges.

The Ethnonationalist movement in Assam has its roots in the socio-political dynamics of the region, shaped by historical, economic and demographic factors. This movement seeks to protect the interests of the indigenous Assamese people against perceived treats posed by migration particularly from Bangladesh and the perceived marginalization by the central government. The Ethnonationalist movement has had a profound impact on the policies and society of Assam. It has shaped electoral dynamics with parties often aligning themselves with the Ethnonationalist agenda to secure votes. The issue illegal immigration has been a central theme in Assamese politics, influencing policy decisions and public discourse.



Moreover, the movement has contributed to special division and tension, particularly between indigenous Assamese communities and Bengali-speaking migrants. While the Ethnonationalist movement has brought attention to important issues, it also faces several challenges. Efforts to detect and deport illegal immigrants have been hampered by logistical difficulties and legal complexities. Moreover, the movement confrontational approach has led to accusations of discrimination and human rights violations against migrant communities. Moving forward, achieving a balance between protecting the rights of indigenous Assamese people and upholding principles of inclusively and diversity remains a significant challenge.

## Chapter 4: Conclusion

In the novel *Kalijar Ai* we found a detail scenario of Assam after Independence. Here the narrator, Chinmoy Baruah told us about his involvement of all the movement happened in Assam in the end of 20th century. It reflects the troubled and contemporary socio-political phase of Assam. For this movement, Chinmoy left this house and family also, not only him, other youth of Assam did the same sacrifice like him just for their Independence within a state. Like young people everywhere, Assamese youth reflect the hopes and dreams of a generation coping to rapid social, economic and political change. During wartime, young people have regularly led several movements, encouraging their peers and challenging the status quo.

Assam located in North-east India, Assam witnessed numerous literary awakening, artistic renaissance, and socio political upheavals as the 20th century came to a conclusion. During this pivotal moment in its history marked by careful balancing act between tradition and modernity, Assam wrestled and issues of identity, immigration, environmental degradation and insurgency. Because of this, Assamese writers treed to capture and offer poignant interpretation of it's past, present and future.

The Assam Agitation, or Assam movement which started in the late 1970s and lasted into the early 1980s was one of the most pivotal events in Assam's fight in the late 20th century. Fear of the cultural and demographic shifts brought about by illegal immigration from Bangladesh was the main driving force behind this campaign. Many protested and demanded that illegal immigration be removed because the migration wave threatened the traditional Assamese identity. The Assam Accord, which attempted to address the concerns

of the indigenous communities by putting politics in place to defect and expel illegal immigrants and protect Assamese rights, was signed in 1995 as a result of the agitation.

On the other hand, The Assam Accord's aftermath presented new difficulties. There have been recurring conflicts and violent outbursts as a result of the difficult process of locating and expelling illegal immigration, Assam ongoing struggles with citizenship identity and communalism frequently served as fuel for regional ethnic wars and insurgencies. The Assam Accord, which was signed in 1985 by the movement leaders and the Indian government, was arguably the movement's most important outcome. Detecting and deporting illegal immigrants, implementing safeguards for the cultural, linguistic and constitutional rights of the indigenous Assamese population, and establishing mechanisms to protect and preserve Assamese identity are just a few of the province outlined in the Accord that aim to address the complains of the Assamese people. The Assam Movement increased ethnic division in the state even though its main focus was on the problem of illegal immigration. The movement set up native Assamese people against immigrants who spoke Bengali, especially Muslim who were thought to be foreigners. Communities were uprooted and lives were lost as a result of the violence and tension between the divided parties. Human rights violations and extensive violence were reported during the Assam Movement, especially against suspected illegal immigrants. Significant numbers of people and property were lost as a result of gang attacks police brutality and ethnic riots that targeted minority groups. The violence damaged the movement reputation and caused wounds that still impact Assamese community relations. The influx of immigrants has led to an identity crisis among the indigenous Assamese population. Many fear losing their cultural heritage, language, and political representation due to the growing numbers of immigrants.

This has resulted in social tensions and sporadic outbreaks of violence. The demographic changes brought about by immigration have strained Assam's resources and infrastructure. The competition for land has intensified, leading to conflicts between indigenous communities and immigrants. Additionally, the pressure on jobs has exacerbated unemployment issues, particularly among the youth. The issue of immigration has polarized Assam's political landscape. Various political parties have capitalized on the sentiments of both indigenous Assamese and immigrants to garner support. The politics of identity and ethnicity have often overshadowed developmental issues, hindering progress and stability in the region.

This foreign distribution movement was started to evict the foreigners but eventually created a conflict between the large Assamese, Hindu-Muslim population of Assam. The friendship end between different communities in Assam. Some were associated with the Congress as a result of this movement. Chinmoy wasted six years of his life for this movement. Illegal immigrants are thrown out of Assam and the future of millions of students like Chinmoy is ruined because of this.

Chinmoy and his friends also traveled to Pakistan, Bangladesh for the movement only for the rights of the poor people of Assam. People coming from another country cannot destroy the culture of Assam. But during these agitations the people of the villages of Assam suffered the most. Many villagers were killed just to shelter their comrades in their homes. Many brides were divorced for these reasons. This movement was started for the protection of the people of Assam but the most affected were the people of Assam. They had to lose their homes and family members too. Even after all this, good results were not obtained only for some leaders. Chinmoy and his companions went to war together. Many of them

lost their lives for this. At the end of this movement, the Assam government gave up on them and the government did not take any decision for these foreigners, thinking of their profit, and the people of Assam are suffering the consequences till date.

## Bibliography

Barbora, Sanjay, *Autonomous districts and/or ethnic homelands: An ethnographic account of the genesis of political violence in Assam (North-East India) against the normative frame of the Indian constitution. International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 15.2-3 (2008): 313-334.

Baruah, Anuja, and AlakBaruha Epidemiological study of violence: A study from North East India" *Indian Journal of Community Medicine* 32.2 (2007): 137-138

Baruah, Sanjib. "Gulliver's troubles: State and militants in North-east India." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2002): 4178-4182.

Baruah, Sanjib. "Durable disorder: Understanding the politics of Northeast India." (2007).

Baruah, Sanjib. "Territoriality, Indigeneity and rights in the north-east India." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2008): 15-19.

Baruah, Sanjib. *Protective Discrimination and Crisis of Citizenship in North-East India. Economic and Political Weekly* (2003): 1624-1626.

Baruah P. Speaking The Same Language: How Ethnonationalism And Hindutva Seep Into The Adjudication of Citizenship In Assam.

Dutta, P. C. "Population Growth and Environmental Crisis in North-East India: Problems and Remedies." *Development Priorities in North East India Concept Publishing Company. New Delhi* (2002): 143-162

Deb, Mrinal Kanti, and Arobindo Mahato. "Understanding the politics around illegal migration from Bangladesh into Assam and Tripura." *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 7.9 (2017): 222-234.

DEVI, KHUMANTHEM GUNIBALA, PHD SCHOLAR, and DR SANGEETA LAISHRAM. "CONFLICTS AND VIOLENCE AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN: A READING OF SELECT WORKS OF TEMSULA AO AND INDIRA GOSWAMI"

Daimari, Ms Anjela. "An analysis of the women characters- Rukmini and Nandini in the novel *The Collector's wife* by Mitra Phukan."

Dutta, P. C. "Population Growth and Environmental Crisis in North-East India: Problems and Remedies." *Development Priorities in North East India, Concept Publishing Company. New Delhi* (2002): 143-162.

Ghosh, Sandipan. "Violence, Resistance and Survival in North-East Indian Insurgency Literature: A Study of Arupa Patangia Kalita's *Felanee* and Indira Goswami's *The Journey*."

Grewal, RS. *Ethnonationalism In North-East India*.

Hazarika, Sanjoy. *Writing on the Wall: Reflections on the North-East*. Penguin Books India, 2008.

Hassan, M. Sajjad. "*Explaining Manipur's breakdown and Mizoram's peace: the state and identities in north east India*." (2006).

Harriss, John. "The state, tradition and conflict in the North Eastern states of India." (2002).

Hazarika Parishmita: Understanding Cultural Nationalism in Assam: Perspectives from the Plays of Jyotiprasad Agarwala and Bisnuprasad Rava. ( Rupkatha Journal, Vol.14, Issue2, April-June,2022)

Hazarika, Sanjoy. *Rites of passage: Border crossings, imagined homelands, India's East and Bangladesh*. Penguin Books India, 2000.

Hazarika, Sanjoy. "Land, conflict, identity in India's north-east: negotiating the future." *Futures* 36.6-7 (2004): 771-780.

Hazarika, Sanjoy. "A Question of Outsiders: Bangladesh, Myanmar and Bhutan." *Demography and National Security* (2001): 228-55.

Hazarika, Sanjoy. "Introduction: East by Northeast." *Northeast India and Japan*. Routledge India, 2021. 1-16.

Hazarika, Sanjoy. *Strangers of the mist: Tales of war and peace from India's northeast*. Penguin Books India, 1995.

Kolás, Áshild. "*Framing the tribal: ethnic violence in Northeast India*." *Asian Ethnicity* 18.1 (2017): 22- 37.

Kutty, Soumya Mathew. "IMAGES OF VIOLENCE IN NORTH EAST INDIAN FICTION."

Nag, Sajal. *Contesting Marginality: Ethnicity, Insurgency And Subnationalism In North-East India*.

Nath Prafulla. *Socio- Historical Study of Ethnic Nationalism in Assam*(2004)

Patangia Kalita Arupa. *The Story of Falanee* ( 2011)



Pathak, Suryasikha. "Ethnic violence in Bodoland." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2012): 19-23.

Phukan, Mitra. *The Collector's Wife. Zubaan*, 2005.

Singh Ankur. Hindu Nationalists are Taking Notes- and Tech Support- From the Israeli Right (2024)