NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Denisoff (1974) has observed that according to many historians of thought, Stein also influenced Karl Marx's thinking about social movement and the political potential of the proletariat. Also see Marcuse (1960: 374-88) and Wilkinson (1971-20).

2. For example an Aramiya Marxist scholar who fundemantally Rationalized the position of the scholarship of the movement in her writings observered very conspicuously "My Assamese people reference is being made not only to the indigenous caste Hindu population of Assam valley but also the Tai-Ahoms, Bodo-Kacharis, Chautilyas, Karbis, Mishings and other plain tribals of Assam who inherit a common historical and cultural tradition and share a common economic life within a common territory" (Misra, 1982:41). She ignored various other sizable components of Asamiya nationality like the Rajbonshis, black-tribals and the Muslims. The last group constitutes 1/9 of the total population of the state and about 1/5 of the Asamiya nationality itself. These three groups would together constitute about 1/3 of the Asamiyas.

CHAPTER 4

1. However, Some people were of the opinion that the leadership was scared of touching the tea-industry because it would have drawn backlash from the oppressed black-tribals who had already shown their sign of militancy in some tea-gardens in Upper Assam like Sakalatinga Tea-Estate, So, the leadership thought it prudent not to include tea in their programme of blockade.

CHAPTER 6

1. Historian Bhuyan has described eight groups which are by and large similar to the four that we have stipulated (Bhuyan 1975: 171-72).

2. Goria: Sometimes this term is used to denote the entire Asamiya Muslims. According to Gait the word Goria is an indication of their claims to have come from Gaur, the medieval Mohammadan capital of Bengal (Gait 1905: ) in addition, it should be mentioned here that the Muslims had entered Assam obviously through Bengal. There may be some controversy, but, by and large, Goria refers to he Asamiya Shaikh Muslims to day (Hussain : 1988 A).
In Assam there has been a strong tendency to blame Syed Mohammed Saddullah, the Muslim League Premier of Assam for five times in only seven years (1938-45), for the migration of Muslims peasants from East Bengal. He is regarded by many including the ideologues of the Assam movement as the chief architect of the peasant migration to Assam. They normally forget or ignore the fact that the East Bengal peasants started their migration to Assam much earlier and reached its peak in 1931 Census much before his assumption of office in 1938. His Muslim League led coalition government was very unstable and had to repeatedly depend on the supports of European members of the Provincial legislature (for details see Guha 1977). Though he occupied the chair of the Premier, he was in fact decisively marginalized in excercising his power by the inherent rule of the colonialism. Simply put, he was an useful instrument at the hands of the British colonialism. The Assamiya press made him all powerful villain responsible for migration of East Bengal peasants to Assam, ignoring the fundamental role of colonialism and socio-economic transformation generated by the inherent rule of colonialism. Similarly, we have noted earlier how the Assamiya bourgeois press and the ideologues of the Assam movement had made the colonial administrator C.S. Mullan and the American political scientist Myron Weiner heroes of their argument/scholarship without grasping the role of colonial and neo-colonial hegemony in India. In spite of their apparent hatred towards the Congress Party during the days of movement, the leadership of the movement made Gopinath Bordoloi, the Congress leader who later became the Premier/Chief Minister of Assam during the crucial time of independence and partition, hero of the Assamiya nationality. They regarded him as the saviour of Assam from grouping it into East Pakistan. They ignored the role of Assamiya masses who vehemently opposed such move which forced the Congress Party at the state level to fight against grouping of Assam with East Pakistan. Besides, during Bordoli's tenure, Assam accepted a large number of Bengali Hindu refugees from East Pakistan. He took very active role in the resettlement of refugees in Assam. These refugees later labelled as foreigners by the Assam movement. The ideology of Assam movement made one all powerful villain another hero by ignoring the totality of socio-economic and political forces under colonialism and the role of masses, the real makers of society and history.