This attempt at some theoretical explanation is the idea to know the validity of Assam problem in the whole system. It does not necessarily mean the process of adjusting the problem in a framework. It demands some explanation and analysis on theory to explain its relevance to the occurrence of such a conflict in the system. Once a conflict takes place in the system, it leaves far-reaching effects in it and throws out a number of challenges to the system. These challenges, in turn, have a lot of influence on the developmental aspect of the system. The past experiences of the system and its capabilities together with structural differentiation try to ease out the tension which is created by the conflict. To set the Assam problem in particular theory with its indicators was not possible. The problem varied from economic exploitation to socio-cultural identity. Though sub-cultural problems are common for Indian political system the Assam problem was a straight question to the system directed at the system's development capability.

The theoretical explanation rests on the following hypothesis -

1. Political development of Indian political system grows out of stress and strain in the form of conflicts which
occur in fragmented civic culture and with strong sub-cultural identity. It leads to maximization of system awareness and reduces cultural lag, if the elite deals with the symbols of conflict in solving it.

2. Under the sub-cultural conflict like Assam’s, political communication related to the political socialisation, political recruitment and articulation function, which may be carried out by the leading group.

"Development, has been a feature of every society"¹ but its relevance and dynamics may often take different connotations depending on varied milieu and experiences faced by the system. The term development itself faces a lot of definitional, problem. Development acquiring a meaning in social sciences preceded by its relevance was more or less limited to economic development. The most important point about the idea of development to deal with "man as subject and agent, and with human societies and their aims and obviously evolving objectives."²

It is vital to know the conception of development related to the kind of society that we live in. In the western society, development is often linked with growth, progress, progressive society, etc. In economic context of the development, only quantifiable items are included but the real value changes and social development do not find place in it. Progress is a change in a specified
direction. The idea of progress has been differing in each historical event in different parts of Europe and elsewhere. Pattern of progress certainly differs in different societies with particular cultures of their own because, historical background of every society differs indefinitely. Need to set new standards and fresh means of updating the old values, without distorting then is the crucial problem of development.

Development is a progress in a desired direction towards the progress of the society as a whole. Development is a phenomenon of economic growth with social justice building and it takes place throughout the process in which people themselves participate, making a better man and sustaining nature.

Then, the development is set by the nation-state, which is the outcome of external or internal forces. On India, the leaders decided political development as an agent of over all development of Indian society. It has its legacies in British era. "Nationalism in its ultimate analysis is an abstract notion. It becomes an irresistible force with the help of various factors which gradually inject a sense of emotional unity, among otherwise scattered individuals and groups." Growth of Indian nationalism has been a product of British domination which had heavy repercussions on communal, cultural and economic development. So, the politics
development was the idea of socio-cultural development which in turn could influence the policies of economics, such as income generation and growth. India had opted for a developmental change in expectations, values and behaviour of the masses, the change which cannot be quantified in figures. Development of Indian system was a requirement of system correction, formation of ideology and patterns of political working. India's release out of the imperialist rule, was a prime factor guiding the attitude towards development. Mere economic development would not have been sufficient.

There is a need for political development for Indian society because, in the fragmented civic culture, the need for harmonious cultural values of nationalism was vital. The development has to reach the level of real unquantifiable values, beliefs and attitudes, to create a system awareness. The concepts like equality, liberty and universal suffrage could not be just distributed to the people. Firstly, the traditional social values of women's illiteracy, justified in Hindu law, her equal participation and development in all walks of life, joint family, caste structures had to be adjusted to create political responsibility within individuals. Individual's conception of freedom is sanctioned by a negative belief that if he did not exercise his franchise, he would be deprived of some benefits, if the candidate's caste background was favourable to his own. But his duty as a responsible citizen does not have much appeal.
Political development can be viewed from a variety of needs, but as far as India is concerned, it comprises of harmonization of scattered social structures and cultural secularization, through sub-cultural unity. The post-independence era, has made less concerned towards elections and other developmental affairs. Culture of the country itself took a provincial turn, with the reorganization of states on linguistic basis. Sub-culture loyalties became stronger and deep rooted. As the intellectuals drifted away from the politics and professionals entered, the electoral interests became more and more appeasement oriented.

"If political development is the politics of nationalism within the state institutions, then the constitution of infra-structure and organization of spirit of citizenship" came evident. In this way, political development had to include mass-mobilization and participation.

Political development in India should lead to participation. Participation aspect of process in which Assamese strove to maintain their identity in the broader framework of Indian nation state. In a way it is the participation through Agitation for identity and interest and only this aspect of development which has been given attention in the thesis. Popular involvement becomes necessary in politics. This participation is viewed as a form of growing discipline to convert masses to citizens.
Just the process of participation can satisfy the search for identity of large number of people. "A modern nation-state represents political application of all the technologies, attitudes and knowledge." So "the essence of nation building in new states is the search for a new sense of collective identity for an entire people."7

In Indian national identity building process, whenever there is an attempt to restore the value of belongingness to the nation, the subculture loyalties become stronger. It is taken up as an attack on their respective sub-group existence.

Salig Harrison observed that "... a new political environment would quickly bring to the surface a profound conflict between regional spokesmen and advocates of a strong central authority."8 Even in Assam, during the nationalist movement Assamese nationalism was kept alive by publishing a journal "CHETNA" in 1919.9 Value structure of the country then faces a negative movement, this causes a serious hindrance to the national development. In India, where there is a fragmented political as well as civic culture, political development depends on political socialization. Pressure is mounted on individuals as social and political units to restore the harmonious functioning of Indian society between value change and environmental pressures.
Need for participation in political development in India is important because it creates the national awareness and there by sets the country on a modernization path. But "this increased contact at the same time revived latest memories of a history in which Indian virtually fought Indian." This tendency generally came out at the mobility between the regions.

Participation increases the security of the masses about their place in the development and for that matter in the system as a whole. Gandhiji's idea of swaraj was the atmosphere free from any external political dominance, to develop freely. For him political freedom was means to achieve a harmonious social order, where the long cherished values for sacrifices for independence be maintained as future course of actions.

The kinds of input in form of demands, their leaning towards the kind of "politics whether national level or the consciousness at regional level, etc. come out only often the participation. Because, looking at India as a whole, it is certainly the heterogeneity that is striking." Problem does not stop here....from the vantage point of any single region, rural community or town, it is homogeneity that captures one's attention." In all the states the rural side represents a complete system of election and representation. Interest of the locals still remain attached
to their respective states. Sub-cultural attachment preceds their national indentity. This tendency is challenged by "the process of modernization, by providing incentives and opportunities for mobility, creates the conditions for increasing internal migration and .... the modernization process nurtures the growth of ethnic identification and ethnic cohesion." No doubt, the motility increases the assimilation, and contributes to national awareness, but "independence was an invitation to each language territory to come into its own, invoking the memory of golden age." Attachment to the respective sub-cultures categorises the Indian culture as fragmented civic culture. "Economic and demographic tendencies thus conflict with social, cultural tendencies."^15

In such situation, the expectation of the locals rise and the need to be recognized occupies prime importance. Their response to the system becomes conditional, i.e., only if the regional identity or interests are safeguarded then their consideration towards national identity comes as citizens. In such fluid situation, the gradual rise in frustration and deprivation begins. The events so exposed ask for a recognition from elite by expanding the scope of participation. The developmental explanation of the political system depends mostly on sub-system independence and secularization of the culture. "The political system includes
not only governmental organization, such as, legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures including family or social groups in their political aspect."16

This broadens the scope of political system from mere political context to wider boundaries of participation, performance and regulation.

Power works as a mover of participation. Participation here concerns political participation which broadly leads to the assertion of their desire to be recognized as a distinct force in the whole system. This comes through conflict in the form of agitation or movement against the elite, the pressed desire of identity. The sub-cultural conflicts generally relate to the problems of regionalism. As political system involves political institutions they are 'unnecessary'17 in the absence of social conflict; in the absence of social harmony, social institutions are impossible. It means there is a continuous process of conflict for the expansion of political processes. The conversion function of interest articulation and aggregation are bound to change. "Clashes of interests may lead to conflict and violence, which cannot but hamper democratic process."18 In democracy environment is so created that "Conflict will end ultimately with one's inner growth and development."19 "Roots of the conflict are in one's own self but we try to ignore them, because, when we are not able to overcome certain undesirable trails in our own being, we begin
to project them on our neighbours and begin to hate them, for we are not prepared to hate a part of our own being."  

As stated earlier, conflicts representing, Stress and strain, develop the political system. Political communication plays a very vital role of bringing harmony in Indian linguistic diversities. Need for communication arises because, "linguistic barriers and prejudices have proved to be stronger than economic or commercial links." This has given rise to the leadership with regional background. Bureaucracy has weakened due to their internal division based on regional elite's parochialism.

**ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN INDIA:**

Under fragmented civic culture, communication resocializes the masses, according to the national requirement. Political communication in India, largely depends on the qualities of professional communications. For communication to regulate the socialization and recruitment function. Indian communicators have to articulate on two levels. One category comprises of having direct socializing effect mostly on illiterate and politically ignorant and the other comprises of having re-socialization effect largely on educated but sub-culturally attached people. Political awareness is counted among literate non-voters. Expansion of mass media to increase system awareness has to be a supportive phenomena for a direct contact. In India, direct contact through speeches, appeals the
masses and helps in forming opinions about the system. Idea of communication in India is to create awareness and thereby to set priority to national identity.

'Non-political' packages developed by Hyman, can be applicable to the second category out of the two categories mentioned earlier. There, it is a problem of motivation towards a developmental behaviour. Therefore among educated class, there is awareness without participation.

In the first category, there is participation without awareness. Political communication has to find out new ways of Socialization. For that purpose, recruitment function has to be improved to have the representatives having national outlook, because "State elections bring into close relationship the style and alignments of village politics and the new forms of political behaviour." It concentrates in building up and expressing regional loyalties and have encouraged traditional social group to mobilize themselves for political action on a broader statewise basis.

"The widely recognized problem of creating political consensus ... is in part one of building new and more universal means of national communications ...... so that all segments of society can become more closely involved with each other." The part of political consensus is related to the deeply held attitudes and sentiments of the separate individuals
which emerge out of their accumulative communication experiences." Indian political development has been trying to unite the masses to have a consensus in the national affairs, especially in the policies that relate to economic growth and social and cultural change by changing the attitudes of the people. For instance, in economic field, much controversial is either plan allocation or balanced regional growth. Generally these issues are thrown out for consensus through news papers, magazines or debates. Soon, the opinion is expressed about the past injustices, and the real issue gets distorted, and creates an air of economic deprivation. Policy oriented work in communication, has to deal with the problems of changing attitudes and behaviour and with communicating across the barrier of differing sub-cultures in India. Apart from this people also have a desire to be identified with India, but with a technological advancement. For such complex expectations, the need for political communication, in a political system like India's is expected to do more than merely solving the problems, it must cope with insoluble issues and it must provide people with a sense of identity, and of fundamental membership in a larger community.

Indian system, largely self-centred in their sub-culture, became interrelated with the expansion of economic activity. New and more active national system is created. Political development was designed to ensure the economic
growth, expansion in social structures and secularization of culture. Economic development was adopted to ensure social welfare and thereby to help secularization through expanded economic activities resulting in mobility. In this setting the role of communication to explain the goals of national development and to minimize the possibilities of structural strains that usually cope with the development. The ownership of the communication facilities like radio and television remained with government but with full freedom of expression in India.

The required stage was still not enough for political development in India. Coming out of colonial clut hes people of India showed the need for an indigenous political authority but didn't keep in mind the necessity of national development. There was a considerable resistance from traditional society and its various values to follow the economic development. Wide spread illiteracy and ruralization, required the communication to be leased on direct personal contacts such as speeches rather than newspapers and radio. Mass media have to entertain a different section of people. The Indian political communication is highly dependent on the communicators. This stands true, not only on national scene but on the regional level also. Political socialization is the responsibility of the communicators too. Basically the Indian people have 'Heroworship' tendency and that is why under any conflict situation, leadership comes out to be spontaneous.
Development is also affected by the articulation of demands and its aggregation. If the individuals demand the preservation of their regional identity which often is called cultural identity; the accumulated frustrations find the outlet in the form of communal, ethnic or language riots. This strain on the system if not communicated well to the elite or viceversa i.e. if the elite fail to communicate well with the people, the whole idea of national development experiences a set-back. Here the role of communication not only crosses beyond consensus but the resocialization of the participating community becomes demanding. The masses should be made aware of their role as 'Nationals'.

Political communication has to catch up with the symbols which become identical with the sub-cultural conflict. In Assam, during the struggle to maintain socio-cultural balance, oil and the refinery had become major symbols of protest. "Oil has become the centre of Assamese aspiration and refinery has come to symbolize for the Assamese break through towards industrialisation and modernization."\(^{27}\) Deprivation grew up gradually from this very symbol "which is responsible for the tension in Assam's society as reflected in the disturbances."\(^{28}\)

Under such a conflict situation, with emotional base, political communication can become a whole some process
influencing socialization and recruitment with the purpose of interest articulation and aggevagation.

Conflicts are required for the system to grow, and the Indian political system has survived through severest regional problems. If the political elite succeed in reducing the system disorder through right selection of communication combination and achieve in minimizing the effect of such stress and strain; the sub-cultural units in India can slowly be drifted away from the dangers of regionalism.

Cultural secularization would be processed through reduction of cultural lag and driving the rising expectations of the people to create the system awareness and true rational identity.

As and on the opportunities of participation expand, the rising frustration of being neglected will be considerably minimised. Participation, not only means in the political affairs but it means securing a place in the system. It will also create awareness. Fragmented civic culture has to be brought on the plane of homogeneity. Communication in Indian system has to deal with expectations, frustrations and emotions of different people. Certain amount of strong imposition from elite is also required to curb the growing tendencies towards provincialism.
Group dynamics, served as basis of interest articulation, aggravation and shifts in decision making:—

In Assam, the circumstantial compulsion and psychological background determined the desire for an agitational change. The term 'Group' refers to two or more people who bear an explicit psychological relationship to one another. This relationship implies attitudes, beliefs and perceptions. Structural changes brought by any part of the group could be termed as dynamics. Attitudes, beliefs and perceptions which are motivational acts generally bring together the social emotions of the people. All social sciences (and the humanities) are concerned with the same theme - human behaviour. So varying in the experiences, the collective social emotions of a particular community are different within the same nation. It is generally difficult to deal with any single determinant of social emotions such as, values, opinions, experiences, socialisation or culture. In dealing with social emotions of the Assamese community, their long history of influx which they term as silent invasion comes in forefront. Their gradual development of emotions for societal maintenance can start from them need to preserve individuality. There was and is a strong desire to be recognized as 'Assamese determines the sense of a strong attachment to the 'Assamese' way of thinking and external
behaviour. This feeling takes its origin from the glorious past that Assam had before the British control over it in 1826. Assamese rulers had more or less maintained it as an independent unit. Though it faced a quite few invasions, but relatively remained free from major cultural upheavals. To that factor, Assam's geographical distance was the decisive reason. Even after 'Ahom' rule, Assam lived in independence but in isolation.

After the British occupation Assam's exposure to the mainstream came in the form of migration from various states for administrative facilities. Being a small group oriented people, the Assamese saw a cultural threat and social imbalance. Their own conception about culture became identified with language, dressing, and especially to the belief and attitudes against the presence of other migrated population, mainly Bengalis. It was their this feeling of resistance to confront to the assimilation changes produced by cross-cultural contacts. Assamese value- system became a spokesman of such past experiences "Value is a standard used by human beings in justifying or opposing a course of action."32 That has another reason too. Bengalis as another strong culture based force, resented the Assamese. Assamese desire to allow their language to be spoken in other cultural units, such as Bengalis, was almost not acceptable to the Bengalis. Occasional confusion
of many people about the Assamese culture, similar to Bengali, made them psychologically attached to Assamese culture. The long lived almost similar experiences regarding culture, built up the social emotions to proceed in a particular way. Their social emotions, did not exclude the demographic threat that came from migration of Muslims (before independence) and in post 47 phase, illegal migrations from E. Pakistan, (now Bangladesh). The emotions were the greatest pavement to give the opportunity to the AASU the leadership platform. The common social emotions of being invaded culturally and demographically were carefully organized by the AASU to fight for the cause. So far as beliefs and attitude are enduring cognitive organizations, they may remain with any individual and may be useful in solution of a number of different problems. Beliefs and attitudes become intrinsic part of individual's personality and they give continuity to his personality, and serve in his attempted achievement of various goals.

When in a society, over a period of time, people share almost same kind of beliefs and attitudes, the collective molar behaviour (involving needs and goals) of the people determine the way for an organized effort to satisfy the conflicting needs and demands. This can be identical with the Assamese—People's social psychology. Assamese people's molar behaviour was confusing. Needs and goals were
fused and the separating line was thin. Need to be a majority in their own state, in socio-cultural set up was also counted as a goal of the agitation. Goal, to have an organized struggle for its achievement was no doubt a need too. Nature of the target was multifarious: Social, cultural economic and political. It determined their behaviour and as a collective force influenced the group dynamics. Frustration was not only due to slow movement towards goal but also due to the political neglect. A typical unit of Indian style, of conflict, Assam agitation involved the fusion of social, cultural and political elements, in determining the roots of the disorder. Past experiences of Historical in nature generated the chargeable, emotional atmosphere.

"High tension in states of emotions and strong motivation may be facilitative in mobilizing in the person for stronger, more effective action."33

Under such a fluid situation where the past experiences of Historical nature, were the determinant factors for the articulation and aggregation of demands, the selection of unstructured non-political group was interesting, 'AASU, emerged as a force of social co-ordination. It is also applied that on one side, where molar behaviour was the foremost component of socio-cultural uprising, the economic factor was no less in the psychological fear.
It is possible to argue that as a society undergoes process of economic change and means of action which led to higher levels of political interest articulations will emerge.\(^34\)

The need for articulation of the Assamese people was emotional. AASU's choice was a good one. AASU not only was non-political in its organization, but the basis of its interest articulation shared the same history with the people. AASU, as a co-ordinated, non-political group can be referred as a group with psychological and social character.

"The effects of a man's group membership, of his experience with, Othermen, of his past and present interpersonal relationships reach into each of his psychological activities."\(^35\)

AASU as a lead group in the movement, did the process of shaping the general unrest in the form of strong social emotions to an organized public opinion. To begin with, it dealt with the establishment of group loyalties and identification. AASU conducted several unofficial meetings with the central government officials, governor and cabinet ministers, before the official start of the agitation, to convey the roots of the problem. Protests and rallies were conducted to form a public opinion in favour of a struggle for identity and to show the general apathy of the government to solve it. To organize the public opinion, AASU used the method of research of the several
issues related to the main demands. For example, the cut-off year 1951, Indian citizenship Act etc. were effectively used in leaflets, booklets, and other literature to support (demands) sanctions. To prove its own position relational, AASU measured the intensity of the opinions. Often the published literature said "A foreigner is a foreigner." "Foreigners must be deported." To such statements, the people reacted sharply and intensity. It was instrumental in influencing political opinion of the members. The desire for maintaining a different identity, had the historical base, as described earlier, involved its isolation as the main factor.

This isolation then became the most agitating factor. AASU was quick enough to understand this. It is because, AASU also shared the same historical experiences with other Assamese. Unlike, political parties which aimed basically to compose of a wide spectrum of communities, and diluted ideologies. This conveyed two things, AASU emerged as a true representative of emotional and psychological unrest and rejection to political parties by the masses for articulation of their demands. People wanted the true representation of their demands by the group which shared the same cultural and emotional upheaval.

Group identification was quite strong. From the issues of cut-off year, for detection deportation of foreigners it mobilized the strong public opinion against the government.
It was very vital for it. AASU organized the masses through mass participation in rallies, satyagrahas etc. Here the mass participation was not only a need to carry out the agitation but there was an equal need and desire to establish its (AASU) own credibility. AASU's own transformation from students organization to a goal committed lead group was remarkable. Composed only of students, its control over the planning and execution of the agitational programmes was notable.

It established itself as a standard representative of the reporter of incidents occurred. After any patch of violence in the participatory programme, the people always waited to read AASU's statements. AASU, strengthened emotional ties with the people. It gave the masses, opinion with information AASU, carefully allowed the frustrations to let out and grow too. After each negotiation, on failure of talks, blaming the government and other leaders, frustrated the people to keep the emotional germ alive. Changes in the style of programmes according to the situation, variance was important factor. With the rise in violent incidents, the opposite fours came more in sight. Bandhs and hantals were resorted more frequently to avoid any such clashes. People's expectations galloped much faster than AASU's calculation, which gave rise to regular violent occurrences. It experienced a severe below to its secular character.
It was influenced by the needs attitudes and beliefs of the people and its own function depends upon the dynamism of every programme worked out. Its importance is not only as a leading group in the agitation, but even as a group force which shifted its original character of students union and became a symbol of socio-cultural needs.

Social organization involves some kind of characteristics and that creates psychological sense of grouping. Attitudes pertain to demanding nature and often create tension. Assamese belief of socio-cultural identity preservation over the time, formed a strong pro-regional and anti-government attitude, which generated a lot of tension, during the agitational years. "When the beliefs are embedded in attitudes, they are thereby subject to special dynamic pressures."  

Main function of the AASU, then was the creation of a kind of security and belongingness within the people and shaping the actions designed to satisfy needs.

AASU realised very early the need of participation in every articulated style, because, "control over information is always a powerful tool for an interest group." Access to any political party was denied not only because of their ideological bias, but also due to their petty interests and shifting stands. It carefully avoided the use of physical violence. AASU, calculated the importance of influence and
persuasion as a means of articulation to avoid politicization of the whole proceedings.

Non-violent means were participatory and less prone to be politicised by any political party.

The basis of non-violent persuasion is mass participation, like Satyagraha, picketing, etc. In such programmes, in Assam, there was a less chance of violent repression by the government.

In mass-participatory programmes, the vested interests of various political parties stood a bleak chance. It is due to the organized feature of the programmes and a satisfying way of releasing the pressured emotions. Assamese people could not afford to use violence as their tool, and the AASU also wanted to be the master of the movement.

Due to different ideologies, political parties vary in their nature. Generally extreme leftists are denied by the people. Their relation with the agitation was found undesirable, also because, their political commitment to the audience could have affected the issues involved. Consequently, the split in the masses could have taken place according to their statements. People had also witnessed their opportunistic behaviour in the attempts to form the coalitional governments at the state level.
AASU, did the interest aggregation in traditional style to a certain extent but mostly of 'sympathetic-attention' oriented style. In this style, sympathy is generated by reminding of historic past and attention is brought about by direct participation. It is practised where the decision making is centralised.

Other subordinate organization which worked with AASU was AAGSP.

The AAGSP was composed of several regional parties like AJD PLP. There were minor differences between these two parties, AJD stood for unified and the PLP for the unified Northeast. Nevertheless, this did not come in the way of agitational proceedings. People attached themselves only with AASU. Its non-political character cannot be committed. Leaders of the AAGSP could not escape from their respective party leanings.

The elite response was slow and negative. From the beginning, bargaining style was evident. In India, when social disequilibrium challenges the political system in a conflict situation, for a solution, elite response has always been recruitment oriented i.e. the action is designed in such a manner that the vote generating capability is maximised and improved. It becomes appeasement to some section. This is true in Assam's case. The Congress government had always been in favour of holding the vote bank intact to ensure their
hold. Each issue which was negotiated, had involved various interests from the government side.

There was an opposite force from within Assamese communal set up. The AAMSU of the minority community (religious) and the tribal belt of PTCA proved very crucial in dynamics of AASU leadership, and the agitation as a whole.

AAMSU was the spokesman of the minority community in the region. Its role was effective in certain vital issues and at selected area. AAMSU mainly carried the religious minority with it, Bengali Hindus were a different force altogether. With the inclusion of AAMSU in the negotiations, its role was made recognized by the government. Sporadic violence, in the non-violent means, of persuasion, drifted the muslims away from AASU. AAMSU capitalised its recognition in the negotiations. Their insistence on 1971 as the base year for detection of foreigners clearly divided the Assamese community on communal lines. Hitherto harmonious communal balance was disturbed. It injected a feeling of insecurity amongst the minorities. AASU had to time and again assert that all minorities are not foreigners. It internally displeased its members as well as the Assamese community.

Even without the involvement of political parties, there was a division on communal lines. Government's job was
considerably eased out. Occasional clashes between the supporters of the two groups, AASU and AAMSU, created lot of frustration amongst the people. Bloody violence had resulted out of such frustration in 1983 Assembly polls in Assam.

Always a volatile conflict situation invites more and more outlet of long pressed desires of various sections. Tribals were another pull for the AASU's dynamics. PTCA with their Historical reasons, were against AASU and for that matter Assamese community as a whole. They revived their demand of an autonomous, state 'UDAYANCHEAL' and clearly confronted with the AASU. PTCA, which involved only a Section of tribals, supported the 1983 polls to Assam assembly which AASU had boycotted. There was a lot of violence between, the tribals and non-tribals.

Such developments were very costly for the AASU. It had to seriously think in terms of proving its credibility once again to remain in the lead. Certain relaxation in their original stands come about. Intensity of their programmes was considerably reduced. It comprised of mostly, Bandhs & observation of protest days, on very few occasions, in post '83 phase they designed mass participatory programmes. Frustration, worked as motivating force to violence, which was inevitable because there was no approach to lessen the social conflict. Accordingly AASU had to reshuffle and readjust their stands in successive negotiations.
In political development, system capability is put to a rigorous test, when cultural and social elements are dealt separately or both are ignored in finding out a political solution. This becomes a major pressure on the political system. The Indian political system basically operates on extractive and distributive capability. Due to the system's commitment to socio-economic goals, the political future of the parties depend on both these capabilities. Input demands in the society regulate the outputs of extractive and distributive transactions.

Out of various demands on the agenda, Indian political elite after viewing political benefits, the decisions are taken. The whole working of the system generates deprivation which can be of various nature. 'Deprivation' in case of Assam, which had social and cultural motivational factors is an example of imbalance of input and output of demands and supports. In an environment of rousing inputs of demands, and output corrections in form of supports conflict between the elite and masses is inevitable.

Conflict taking social and cultural roots, and if viewed as a developmental change then, the capability depends on system maintenance and adaptation, i.e. political socialization and political recruitment.
"The methods by which individuals are recruited into political roles will affect the capability of political system."39 Political recruitment in India is done through (free and fair) elections with universal adult franchise. Due to lack of vigilance and wide spread illiteracy among masses, quality of political recruitment is generally affected.

"The background of those who are recruited into political roles, is bound to have some effect on their performance of these roles."40 Political Socialization directly affects political recruitment. In India, primary group such as family plays an important role in political Socialization. Family background has strong cultural leanings and they determine political culture of the system. The sub-culture conflict determines the early experience of attitude formation, which have strong regional, linguistic and religious inclinations. In Assam, deprivation felt by the people was a reflection of long imperialist rule and its attitudes beliefs became more and more sub-culture oriented. Socialization process in Assamese sub-culture developed within fixed attitude of political and economic neglect. Assamese response to the cultural secularization, was affective oriented. Objects of political Orientation in India have been national loyalty and the Congress party's Socio-economic policies and not political policies. An attitudnal change and subject participation are the major challanges to the Indian political system.
Political communication in a sub-culture conflict of Assam, becomes a small sub-system, affecting political socialization and recruitment.

Communication between the leaders and the masses was remarkable in Assam agitation. Response generation and participation, was the idea of political communication in Assam. There always has been the case for a charismatic leadership in a conflict situation involving deep rooted deprivation. Communication served as one of the effective determinants of group dynamics. In a conflict, where several forces were acting to influence the situation AASU had to communicate with the masses not only for the organization of the supports but for its own survival as prime group. The instruments and channels through which demands are processed draws response from the elite. In India the response of the elite to the issue depends on the party affiliations of the groups involved in the conflict. The choice left with AASU was to influence the authority, by showing the strength of the group and its supporters and disrupting the working of the authority.

The communication exhibited in Assam agitation involved following structures :-

(1) Direct participatory programmes.
(2) Politically motivated groups from sub-culture.
(3) Informal personal contact.
Direct participatory programmes included various non-violent tactics such as picketing, non-co-operation, rallies, satyagraha, bandhs, blockades. Communication technique also remained attached emotionally with the masses with observance of certain days and response oriented programmes like poster campaign, ticketless travel, cycle procession etc.

Groups like AAGSP (Composed of various regional parties and AA3U, worked as a mediator between the elites and masses. Supporting role was played by the literary organization like AS3. IT adopted the role of social motivation through open demands of conflict solution.

Informal personal contact was provided by the local of newspapers and publication/ various booklets and leaflets, slogans like,

"SAVE ASSAM TODAY, TO SAVE INDIA TOMORROW." proves the sub-culture attachment to the main culture, but the neglect from elites produced emotional programmes. It was a covert message of belongingness and towards a strong social and culture preservation. Two elements can be inferred a till towards regionalism and a development of Indian system as a whole.
Political communication in Assam worked effectively in socialization and recruitment function within the small arena of a sub-cultural unit of Assam. Input came from the expectations of the masses, other anti and pro groups and supports came from all the sections and the people. The output was obviously a huge co-ordinated programme and sporadic violence from anti as well as pro forces of the movement. Due to the instability of state politics, a gap was created between the leaders of the movement and the central government. Opposition parties like CPI, CPI(M) Janata, BJP etc. were denied any kind of leaning by the AASU. High ideological bias of the parties and limited interest of aggregation made them unpopular in Assam. Another reason was that none of the parties even demanded the solution of the problem as a correction of system disorder but attached several interests to it. National commitment suffered a severe blow. Elite response from congress Government slow and complicated to analyse. Minority appeasement and vote bank concentration resented the masses. This kind of political socialization of the masses that resulted out of the conflict situation, made them selective in political recruitment. Violence eroded the whole state in 1983, when people resisted the elections to the state assembly showing their desire to recruit the office holders according to their choice.
Feed back to the communication system was provided by the violent incidents which occurred round the state for all the agitational years.

The group identification with AASU was great and that increased the real participation from the people. "We will give our blood...". The general feeling of insecurity and uncertainty was considerably minimised by the take over of AASU as a group.

The choice of P. K. Mahanta was not out of people's particular desire, but with his association with AASU, he emerged as a leader. His style was not possible to be categorised under a particular style but his leadership qualities as planner and co-ordinator were remarkable.

Other groups penetrating into the conflict situation considerably altered the nature of demands that they articulated. Slow but steady influence, of tribal groups like PTCA, minority unions like AAMSU determined the fate of violence. There by the AASU had to bear the burden of criticism from the government and the press. These external group forces created a lot of intra group tension in the AASU. A section of AASU resorted to violence in retaliation. This affected its secular membership. Tribals and muslim members tried to get away from AASU, to join their interests in other organizations. The pressure was also mounted on the leadership
for inclusions of various demands, and acceptance of some of the issues in altered way.

There was no dissidence as such. Thus the planning of the group was certainly under pressure and tension. Each round of negotiation became more and more frustrating and it was an important tool of bringing changes in the AASU.
NOTES

1. Pandey, Dr. Rajendra; Sociology of Development, concepts Theories and issues;
(Delhi Mittal Publication, 1985) p-87.

2. Perroux, Francois, A New Concept of Development,

3. Chandra, Sudhir, in, "The Participation in perspective," quoted in The Economic and Political Weekly,
Vol III, No. 22, 1 June, 1968.

4. "Political development" includes three aspects: (1) development of capabilities of the political system,
(2) development of the contribution of political system to overall development of the society, and (3) development of the responsiveness of political system. "Political development is a process by which a political system acquires an increased capacity to sustain, successfully and continuously, new types of goals and demands."


6. Ibid., p-79.

7. Ibid., p-79.


13. Ibid., p-3.


19. Ibid., p-208.

20. Ibid., p-208.

22. Non-political content within which political Communication is imbedded may thus make its own independent contribution to political Socialization and modernization. It is the attractive wrapper which captures the audience for political messages which are imbedded within the patterns of content of the Western Media.


24. Ibid., p-1166.

26. Ibid., p-10.

27. Oil and refinery as Symbols of Assam agitation: Dulal Sharma, a student agitator slashed his chest with a knife and scrawled on a road in Gauhati. "We will give our blood and not Oil." Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. III, No.30, 27 July, 1968, p-1166.

28. Ibid., p-1166.


30. Dynamics - Adjustive changes occuring in the group structure as a whole, as produced by changes in any part of the group. Ibid., p-19.


36. _Ibid._, p-368.

37. _Ibid._, p-152.

