"Immigration" and "migration" assume as synonym to each other, but literally there is little difference between the both. The word "immigration" means, to the people to another or from one country to another country, for the purpose of livelihood. On the contrary, the word "migration" meant the people who left one place or country for livelihood, and not for the purpose of living for ever. Thus, we find that these words literally connote almost the same meaning. For our purpose a migrant worker means one who has not been a local person but has come and settled here to live either temporarily or in a permanent manner. We have also used both the words in the same connotation.

From century to century, both the immigration and migration had taken place in the various corner of the world and it become a natural phenomenon. But the migration is a process which may take place suddenly and in millions it may transfer population from one country to another changing to very great extent the vital composition of original
population

There were so many causes and reasons behind the leaving. The principal cause is economic cause. The economic cause determines their livelihood. Migrants from the periphery moved to the core region to purpose low-paying jobs that indigenous population does not want. Such a pattern can be found in much of Western Europe, were low-income migrants are imported from the "periphery", countries of the Mediterranean, or in the United States in areas where Mexicans, Puerto to Ricans, or Blacks are employed in low-skilled, low-wages occupations.

Inter - State Migration in India:

Not only migrating the people in many countries of the world, but also have been migrating within the states of a country. In India, inter-state migration have taken place and had been increasing more and more numbers during the British administration in India. After Independence of India, the Constitution given the legal scope of migration and mobility of the citizens from one plane to another and from one state to another one.

The right to migrate within India is, moreover, guaranteed by the Indian Constitution, which specifies that all citizens "shall have the right to move freely throughout the territory of India" and "to reside and settle in any parts of the territory of India". (Constitution of India, article-19). The constitution also provides that those who move can retain their regional identity by permitting them to send their children to schools conducted in their own regional language.  

The following table shows the inflow of proportion of the migrated population of India:

Migrants by States of Residence (1961)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Numbers (Thousands)</th>
<th>Percent of State population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerla</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>1,563</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>1,063</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Weiner, Myron — Sons of the Soil, P.25
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Numbers (Thousands)</th>
<th>Percent of State population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madya Pradesh</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharastra</td>
<td>2,865</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1,352</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>2,859</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>5,438</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India*</td>
<td>23,705</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes immigrants from other countries such as Pakistan, East Pakistan, and Nepal as well as other States of India.4

The migrants moved for different sets of causes and motivation. The causes and motives were like marriage, seeking education, substantial low-income in search of

employemnt for the purpose of business, epidemic, oppression by rulers etc. But substantial lowincome and need for skilled labour were the vital causes and motives for migration in India.

**Flow of Immigrants: Entering Assam through Goalpara:**

There is very little immigration into, or immigration from the District. Some of the people who live near the boundaries are occasionally in the habit of removing to the neighbouring District, but this is mostly done when they are hard presses by their landlords for rent which they are unable to pay. After migrated from Bengal and Hindustan, as well as from Assam, some times come to Goalpara seeking employment, or for trading purposes; but their numbers are so few that this can hardly be called immigration.

With the beginning of the British administration, different types of people entered Assam. The new type of influx may be categorised as follows:

(i) immigration of the tea-garden labourers to Assam.
(ii) immigration of the Nepalees; and

Goalpara, P.P.45,46.
Now we will discuss the problem immigration from East-Bengal. The immigration generally increased in Assam and Goalpara District in particular in the last part of nineteenth century and the first part of twentieth century. Immigration was a welcome phenomena for labour-short, land-abundant Assam from the economic point of view. Landless immigrants from over-populated East Bengal during 1901-1951. of them some 85 percent were Muslims, found and eldorado in the jungle-infested riverine belt of Government Waste lands. remaining water-logged for many years used to an amphibious mode of living; they were industries and had enough to come up the Brahmaputra on steamers and boats and reclaim these malarial areas. All that they wanted waste land. Whom the pressed forward in search of new land to areas held by the sons of the Soil, conflicts with the letter began to take place.


Sources and reasons behind the immigration:

The immigration in Goalpara District and subsequently to the entire Brahmaputra Valley of Assam Province has a long episode and some undeniable facts and causes. These facts and causes led to disclose the attacking mission of immigrants that explained in the history of immigration in Assam. The short accounts, the sources, causes and facts of immigration in Assam with special reference to the Goalpara District remembered, below:

Effects of Importing Tea-garden labourers:

(i) The English merchants introduced tea-garden cultivation in the Province soon after British occupation. This at once necessitated the recruitment of laborers for the plantation as such labourers were not locally available. The tea industry was responsible for bringing these labourers in a planned manner as the industry developed since the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1886, the British Company took a policy for more production in various techniques of agriculture in the low lying damp places of Brahmaputra Valley. "Grow More Food" programme in Assam and subsequently imported Mymensinghia from Maymensing, Pabna, Noa-Khali, Sirajagani.
Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajsahi districts of East Bengal. The Bengal agriculturists known to have some techniques of production and also habitual in living with flood and minor calamities. They were skilled agriculturists; produce more and more crops in the pasting alluvial land of the Char areas of the Brahmaputra Valley. They had got the capacities and technique of a hard-labour in strong sun-tight and in heavy raining.

(ii) Migrants from Bengal districts of Mymansingh. Pabna, Bagura and Rangpur continued to come in small numbers. But as the century advanced this migration took the form of large scale influx into the Brahmaputra Valley. It is relevant to observe that the Bengal immigrants and their descendants furnished about Seventy seven percent of Assam Muslim population. As eighty five percent of them came from Mymenshingh, It was not surprising that the term "Mymensinghia," become synonymous with immigrants.

However, according to the District Administration Report of 1873-74 in an ordinary year, the production was estimated to about 135 Lakhs of mounds of rice of which 127 lakhs were exported, the remainders being consumed in the District. Further, it may roughly be estimated the money

value of the export as being used to wear the cheapest cloth on their own lands, used their own phrase. "Mota-Bhat, Mota-

Kapar." 9

The Western part of the District of Goalpara including South Salmara, Lakhipur and Bilasipara was the earliest and most affected. The number of immigrants till 1881 was 49,059. The population of District increased by one point four percent (1.4%) during 1881-91 and two percent during the next decade. But between 1901 onward. The men of Mymensingh advanced to Goalpara in large numbers.10

Zamindars and Jotedars brought the cultivators:

In Chapter I, we find there were two big Zamindares - Bizni and Sidli, both were degraded for Raja to Zamindar. Zamindari were created from the Bizni Estate and subsequently they assigned to as independent Zamindars. Once again, Goalpara "Taluk" (a big tenancy) created from a part of the Mechpara Zamindar but the Goalpara "Taluk" again sold to the original Zamindar. The other Zamindars were - Ghuria (Gauripur), Prabatjuar, Tarea, Karaibari, Bagribari. 18-34 portion of Chapar Zamindari). All the Zamindars divided

10. Kar, M.,- Ibid, II
their total land into various Parganas and each Pargana assigned (settled) to Jotedar. Again, the Jotedar settled some parts of its land to some tenants, Rayots, Adhiahs, Chukaniders (cultivated the lands of other on contract basis) etc. Some of them were not paid their payable revenue in due time to their immediate landlord. Hence, the Zamindars pressed on them again and again for deposit their revenues and crops in due time.

The local tenants were unable to pay revenues and crops in due time and defaulted again and again. Gradually, they surrendered their lands. But upto the third decade, there was no crisis of cultivable land in the District of Goalpara and in Assam. Therefore, the people paid bribes to the Lat Mondal for stopped more land settlement against their name. Sarat Chandra Sinha, former Chief Minister of Assam, recollected that his father prayed for relinquish own lands to the Lat Mondal.\textsuperscript{11}

Subsequently, at that time, only a fourth grade employee (Arkati) of the Steamer of the British-East India Company, about several hundred Bighas of cultivable and fertile lands of the Chapar Zamindar took settlement in his

own name and gave up the British Company's service. This fourth grade employee was Rashid Sheikh, later on, known as Rashid Jotedar. He hailed from Char area of Mymensingh district of East Bengal. Rashid Jotedar brought several hundreds of skill cultivators from Mymensingh, Pubna and Bagura district. He settled the cultivators in Char lands or Brahmaputra Valley as his subjects, tenants and adhars. It happened during the period from 1901 to 1911, when East Bengal and Assam Province was formed and Dacca made the Capital of this Province. There was no legal restriction of moving the people from one place to another within the same Province.

Varieties of crops production and tax paying by the cultivators was very much praiseworthy. They deposited their crops and pay land revenues to Jotedar in due time and Jotedar to the Zamindar.

So, the Zamindars of Chapar Estate instigated other Jotedars to bring more cultivators from


East Bengal. The more settlement of land to the cultivators brought the East Bengal cultivators with double inspiration. They were settled in the village Dhanirdanga, Futhimari, Bahadurkati (Boyjeralga part nine, ten and eleven) - under Chapar estate. The Zamindar, Kriti Narayan Choudhury instigated all other Jotedars, Talukdars and the big tenants to brought more cultivators from the district of East Bengal.14

The Zamindars of Mecpara (Lakhipur), Ghurla (Gauripur) Tarea, Borgibari (Foninaiane) also provoked in the same way to import cultivators for the same places and settled them in the vacant lands of their respective estate. The imperialist Government in Assam received revenues and crops from the Zaminders and Joteders in due time. The East Bengal cultivators produced verities of crops like rice, Jute mastered, wheat, vegetable etc. The peculiarity of producing crops of the East Bengal cultivators was that the two or three types of crops produced at a time in one plot of land. For example, that in the month of September, October and November Bowa (Amon), the pulse like Mahdali, Kehsar ydali putting one after another in one plot of land and harvesting one by one. The women of the respective families work hard during harvesting these crops. This was the spe-

cial characteristics of the immigrants cultivators which did not found in any other cultivators of Assam. So, the British Government in Assam provocated their Zamindars, Jotedars to import more and more cultivators from the same areas and same places until and unless vacant land of the Char areas filled up. 15

Other Relevant Factors of Immigration:

(i) East Bengal Zamindars oppressed, tortured and exploited on their subjects and people for paying higher taxes repeatedly. On the contrary the subjects denied to pay higher taxes and ultimately surrendered their lands. Zamindars tortured on them and driven out from their Zamindarships. The driven-tenants and other landless people left from that place and moved to the abandoning vacant land for livelihood and social security.

(ii) In 1982, a great earthquake surfaced in East Bengal. This caused heavy damage and lost thousands of lines, crops, houses, and cultivable lands. Immediately, a great epidemic spread and created a havoc among the people. The earthquake victims moved in the vacant land for their livelihood. They came to Goalpara District of Assam.

15. Source - Korman Ali Sarkar , - Ibid views; Mahanta Dr. P.,- Ibids, P.262.
an other adjacent district of East Bengal.

(iii) In 1847, steamer communication developed between Assam and East Bengal. Availing the developed communication, some East Bengal Muslims entered in Assam in search of livelihood. In 1882, "Assam -Bengal Line" also established which gave more facility for Muslims, entering Assam. The railway line extended to Moirabari no Nogwaon District; a Char area for better communication with the Jute product immigrant cultivators. The British Government in Assam arranged a family ticket of railway for entering Assam. The amount of the ticket was only Rs.5/-. It was the easiest way to entering Assam. And the boats was the common communication between Assam and Bengal.16

(iv) In addition to these, in 1885, Gunabhulam Saruah also expressed his views that there was available plot of land for 10,00,000 lakhs of outsider in Assam.17

This provoked the outsiders particularly for the land hungry people. The local people had no interest in the Charlands of Brahmaputra Valley which was abandoning year after year and did not bother about the new comers coming in and setting there. They found both land and social security in the District of Goalpara. Instead of hatred, the local people were so interested at the beginning and maintained social relation with the new comers. The new comers i.e. the new cultivators bought fruits, wearing cloths etc. from the local people found available buyers and they had benefited.18

The above said factors were mainly responsible for immigration of East Bengal cultivators to Assam, in various times. The western part of the District of Goalpara including South Salmara, Lakhipur and Bilasipara was the earliest and most affected. The number of immigrants till 1881 was 49,059. The population of the district increased by one point four percent during 1881-91. and two percent during the next decade. But between 1901 onward, the men of Mymensingha advanced to Goalpara in large numbers. The decade witness a natural population growth of fifteen point six percent.

18. Source - Sarat Chandra Sinha explained on this facts in a discussion in Ratnapith College, on 10 September, 1993.
percent. The number of immigrants rose 49,059 to 1,18,033 framing nineteen point seven percent of the actual population of Goalpara. The Census Report of 1911 was the first document on the extra-ordinary influx of farmers to the Chars of Goalpara from the Bengal district of Mymensingh, Pubna, Bagura and Rangpur. Soon, almost all the available lands of Goalpara founds suitable by the immigrant were covered. It was during the next decade that these Muslims spread to other district of lower Assam and the colonists lower and central districts. These Muslims, almost without exception from laborers and cultivators came at first as single adventure. But the next decade, the colonists began to settle by families and not singly. It was reported that the men generally came first to secured the land and built houses and then the families followed. About eighty five percent were Muslims and fifteen percent Hindus.18(A)

In 1911, the total Muslim immigrants numbered to 2,58,000 in the Brahmaputra Valley and 6000 in the Hills. In Goalpara, they formed nearly 20% of the population.19

The immigrants i.e. the East Bengal cultivators


made the Jangle-infested Char land a "Green filed" and abled to create "Green Revolution", in agriculture in Assam. They imported, developed an intensive agricultural technique to Assam. This was a great contribution of the immigrants. On the other hand, the local people cultivated only seasonal crops "Shali Paddy". In inspite of these, they maintained social relation with the local people.  

Considering his needs and the new environs full of hazards calling for great labour and scarifies a certain amount of roughness and intolerance was perhaps inevitable but admittedly, the immigrant became peaceful with passage of time. However, it is to be noted that two groups of people with different ancestries, religions, customs and habits, economic conditions, cultures and languages came face to face and some unpleasant memories of this initial contacts were not wholly unexpected. But thus memories were un-utilised at later stage foe the sake of political propaganda and politicalisation of immigrants in Assam in the subsequent years.  


Immigration, Created the Famous "Line System":

The British Administration, Zamindars, Jotedars, Talukdars and local inspirators brought the skilled East Bengal cultivators to Assam with the motives of growing varieties of crops, fruits, vegetables, exporting crops and revenues. The influx of cultivators had not stopped and all that they wanted land and began to encroach upon the grazing reserves, into the tribal villages the sons of the soil, driving the simple tribals out of their hearth and home. Conflicts with them began to take place to project the simple folks, administrative measures had to be devised to contain the conflicts. The Line System which, as an idea, was first mooted out in 1916 in Nowgong District and adopted in 1920 was such a device. That is, imaginary lines were drawn in the fields and immigrants were not allowed to go beyond this lines.22

The system was based on the principles of land classification as follows:

1) Land is which immigrants could settle free:

Mahanta Dr. P. - Ibid, P.263;
2) Land in which they could not settle at all;
3) Land in which they could settle only one side on the line which drawn;

In Villages situated on waste lands grants were specified into four types:
1) Exclusively occupied by immigrants;
2) Exclusively reserved for the Assamese;
3) Mixed villages for both groups;
4) Villages with a Line on the Assamese side where immigrants could not settle and acquire lands.

Tired in 1920 in Nowgaon District and the Barpeta Sub-Division to start with, the Line System had some satisfactory effects. However, it failed to contain immigrants intention.

Colonization Scheme:

A conference of District Officers, held at Shillong in 1928, decided that the number of "Lines" should be reduced, simplified and strengthened as far as possible with

the objective of allocating considerable blocks of land community-wise. In September 1926, an all party committee with A.W. Botham as the Chairman, conferred on this issue. The official note that was circulated advocated a positive colonization policy, mainly on revenue considerations. It argued that an administrative control over the process of natural immigration, so necessary for a planned settlement, was in any case preferable to haphazard squatting. The Committee consisted of four European and five Indian Members, including Saadulla and Nobin Chandra Bordoloi.

Politicalisation of Immigration:

The wordly support that immigrants received from the Assamese Muslim leaders was politically motivated. For example, on 16 March 1936, Khan Bahadur Naruddin Ahmed of Nowgong told the Council that the Line system had been preventing the immigrants from being absorbed into the

    Report of the Line System Committee (Shillong, 1938), Vol. 1, p. 4;
    Guha, A. - Planter Raj to Swaraj, P. 208;
    Guha, A., - E.B.I. Bhasani, P. 421;
    Chetiya, Anima - Ibid, P. 410, (Para 2);
Assamese society. So, he demanded the abolition of the Line System. Gradually, an autonomous leadership emerged within the immigrant community in Goalpara, when Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani entered in Assam in the year, 1928.

From 1928 to 1936, while still maintaining his contacts with Bengal, Bhasani used to move up and down the Brahmaputra to visit the riverside immigrant Muslim village in inaccessible areas of Assam and organised them on the basis of a peasant programme including the demand for land.

Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, moved against the exploitation, oppression and tortured done on the peasant in the Goalpara District. He also advocated for civil rights of the peasants of their cultivating land and organised among the peasant and otherwise. Subsequently, the right of the tenants of Goalpara District over his occupied and having Fatta on lands established by the Goalpara Tenants.


cy Act, 1929. Earlier, it had established through the Bengal Permanent Settlement Regulation, 1793. This act had given social and economic security of the tenants and other peasant. Once settled, the peasant never thought to leave or evicted from their occupied land. That social and economic security, guaranteed their livelihood. So, the influx of cultivators in the district entered. But this act abolished in 1951, in the name of "The Assam State Accuition of Zamindaris Act, 1951". This act came into force from 15th June, 1954.

As expected, the resolution was not acceptable to Immigrant Muslims. A meeting of the Assam Provincial League Council held at Gauhati under Bhasani's Chairmanship on 28 January, 1945 and attended by 525 representative, demanded total abolition of the Line System. Even the Assamese public opinion was adverse to the resolution because of a member built in loopholes.

27. Goswami, P.N. - "The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation, 1886 (Amended)", Published in 1938. Gauhati, P.9,11.


Trend of Immigration, 1901 – 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goalpara</td>
<td>211362</td>
<td>3,16,490</td>
<td>387701</td>
<td>464924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamrup</td>
<td>64627</td>
<td>1,11,546</td>
<td>240422</td>
<td>367522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darrang</td>
<td>20305</td>
<td>36,535</td>
<td>67503</td>
<td>120995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowgong</td>
<td>15689</td>
<td>70,582</td>
<td>177762</td>
<td>250113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 4, February, when armed police intervened in a clash between graziers, two of the latter revived gunshots. This was followed by communal tension in the district. In the mean time, the League-Congress coalition Government headed


by Saadulla, dissolved on 1 October, 1945. The next election scheduled to be held in the second week of January, 1946.

In the general election, Congress got the majority and formed the Second Bordoloi Government (11 February 1949 - 1950). The reissued an eviction order from grazing and forest reserves who were entered in Assam before 1st January, 1938. The communal feelings were running high, particularly since the observance of the Muslim League's "Direct Action Day" 16 August, 1946. Bordoloi wisely decided to slow with his policy and was able to keep the Province from communal riots.32

According to Government figures 2,74,455 Hindu refugees entered into Assam till 1951. This figures went up to 4,87000 till 1957 and to about 6 Lakhs till 1961. The Bengali Hindu refugees came from East Pakistan were spreading into the interior with the help of the Refugees Association, members of which were mostly non-refugees. These people began, to spread all sorts of wild stories which roused to the sentiments of non-Muslim population against the Muslims. The drive against the Muslims then started in an organised way and it spread like wildfire first in the

32. Guha, A. - East Bengal Immigrant and M. A. Hamid Khan Bhasani in Assam Politics, 1928 - 1947 P.449:

Mahanta - Ibid, P.P.277,278.
tribal areas and than into other areas.33

The number of Hindu Refugees in different districts of Assam, 1951.34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cachar</th>
<th>Goalpara</th>
<th>Kamrup</th>
<th>Nowgong</th>
<th>Darrang</th>
<th>Lakhimpur</th>
<th>Sibsagar</th>
<th>Darrang</th>
<th>(\times)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>93137</td>
<td>44967</td>
<td>42871</td>
<td>42066</td>
<td>18833</td>
<td>13965</td>
<td>7514</td>
<td>59468</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table gives an idea about the number of Hindu refugees, in different districts of Assam, upto 1951.

In 1950, "the immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act. 1950" was passed. After that the large scale expulsion of the immigrants was effected by the Government under the guidance of the Home and Revenue Minister, Bishnu Ram Medhi. This immediately raised a hue and cry in the Muslim camp and even Pakistan complained to India having pushed back Indian

34. Census of India, Vol.XII, Part-1.A,P.357, Choudhury Dr. T.K., - Demographic Trends in Assam (1921-71), Delhi, 1982,P.42.
nationals in the name of immigrants. Accordingly, Jawaharlal Nehru had discussion with Md. Liaquat Ali Khan and the two leaders signed an agreement on 8 April 1950, which later came to be known as the "Nehru-Lisqust Ali Pact". The pact provided for:

(i) The return to India of those East Pakistani Muslims who had been earlier pushed back to East Pakistan;
(ii) The return to East Pakistan of those Bengali Hindus who had earlier crossed over to India after the partition.

The Pakistani Muslim who had earlier intruded and were pushed back did not come back to India but the Bengali Hindus did not return to the country of their earlier origin but continued to stay on in India. 35

A dicadai Variation of population in Assam, since 1901 is given below: 36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>+16.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>+20.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1931</td>
<td>+20.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1941</td>
<td>+20.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1951</td>
<td>+20.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1961</td>
<td>+35.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. Baurah, Khanindra Chandra - Ibid. P.10
Adoption of Assamese by the immigrants as their language:

The language is a media through which man can exchange his feelings, willingness and views at may time. Man get rationality for exchanging their feelings and thinking with language. Particular language bears particular culture and tradition. So it has immense importance to mankind. The role of language and culture in the various part of the world is not unknown to us. Century to century, the language and culture has been playing a pivotal role in forming nation, nationality and nation-state in the world. It is a prima-facile factor of identification a race, nation and nationality. History of accorded that many states of the world formed and reorganized on the basis of the language and culture. No nation, race or nay community has ever divorce or surrender their mother tongue, language cultures and tractions or an established dialect. To prevent-these, there were so many chauvinist movement started for fear of losing, now it is the core factors of such like movement. In U.S.A., US. S.R. Europe or in Asia problem does exist but the problem has been mutual appreciation. But there has not any instance for surrounding their right to practice their own mother-tongue, culture and traditions and adopted another one in a body or a community, man, race and nationality is co-related or interrelated. It was not given up. 37

37. Taken reference from Weiners Myron "Sons of the Soil".
In India, it has happened in Nineteen fifties of the twentieth Century. The people of Goalpara District who are mainly depend on cultivation, came from East Bengal to Assam in search of cultivable land for their social and economic security. Gradually, they had been surrendering their mother-tongue, tradition and adopted the Assamese language and culture in the District of Goalpara of Assam. Goalparia is a dialect of Assamese language and culture. About Goalparian Assamese, We have to be discussed in the next chapter (Chapter-III).

The original mother-tongue of the East Bengali cultivators was Bengali, therefore, they have Bengali traditions, customs and conventions. Of them, about ninety-five percent, were illiterate. Cultivation was only the means of livelihood. Since 1757, the internal administration of Bengal was administered by Zamindars. Most of the Zamindars were Muslim. Due to the over population, there was a severe crisis of cultivable lands. In that circumstances, a great earthquake surfaced (in 1898), subsequently epidemic and economic crisis appeared. Several thousands of people caused death. The cultivators were unable to paid their high tax to

Mrinal Miri, - Linguistic Situation in North-East India;
Desai, M.P. - "Our language Problem"
the Zamindar. The Zamindars did not give any relief from tax paying. The Zamindars tortured on them to realise their payable in due time. The cultivators feared for further more torturing, oppression and exploitation. Social security became uncertain. Nobody gave them social security and peace. Ultimately the cultivators forced to leave the place and rushed to the vacant land in abundance. The Goalpara is an adjacent District of East-Bengal, found both land and social security. The settled mainly on the Char lands of Brahmaputra Bailey. When filled up the Charlands of Goalpara, they rushed to the other Districts of Assam. We have already discussed the main causes trend and nature of immigration of Goalpara District and in Assam in the same chapter.

About 95 percent of East Bengal cultivators were illiterate. Sparingly 5 to 10 percent of their children interested in school education. Of them, one or two percent had passed last High School examination. They taught in Bengali medium, had prevailed in the District. Of the immigrant cultivators and petty businessmen, 85 percent were Muslims by religion and only 15 percent were Hindus by religion. But the nature of immigration was changed, when Bordoloi formed his last Government (1946-1950) it turned into 15 percent Muslim and 85 percent Hindus of the total immigration.38

38. * Notes - S.C Sinha, Former Chief Minister of Assam:
The Muslim immigrants were not so akeen to their language and culture, except their religion and the religious culture. On the contrary, Bengali Hindus were more akeen to their Bengali language, culture and traditions. They never ready to divorce, surrender or adopted any other language and culture. Therefore, the Bengalis were tired their level best to imposed their language and culture in Assam. Once, they succeeded to impose their language in Assam but not last long. Again, the massive immigration of Bengalis from East-Bengal into Assam, the Sons of the Soil feared for losing and engulfness of Assamese Sanskriti (language, culture and traditions).

In the thirty's decade of twentieth Century, there was endeavored for educationally develop the immigrant community. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani took the leading part and brought some teachers from East-Bengal. He established some Madrassa and Schools in Hamidabad, a immigrant Muslim majority areas of Goalpara. Not only that but he also extended his endeavor to the entire Brhamaputra valley i.e. the other Districts of Assam. It is noted that primarily he started Schools in Bengali medium. In Madrassas Arabic subject was compulsory for every student.

former Minister Ali Sayed Ahmed (Tuku Miah) explained when asked question on the riots of Goalpara District during 1946-1951.
Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani and his followers advocated for mother tongue—Bengali, but the common immigrant people and some educated man did not respond for their mother-tongue, because they needed only land and social security and they found both of them in Assam. Instead of this, the educated immigrants were socially integrated with the people.

The process of Assamisation of the immigrant Muslims was started in 1917. The question of foreigner did not arise due to the acceptance of the Assamese language and culture. Osman Ali Sadagar started a Primary School in exclusively immigrant settled areas in Nowgaon District in Assamese medium. Gradually, other immigrants area, took the same path. Jyoti Prasad Agarwala highly praised for the process of Assamisation of the immigrants and named the immigrant cultivators as "Na Assamiya" and this industrious people can not be the burden of a country. In Goalpara Districts, they slowly accepted local language (dialect) and culture in large scale, Hence, the percentage of Assamese population raised from 19.4 percent in 1931 to 62 percent in 1951. Therefore, Assamese became majority by language and recognised as Assamese majority state.

reason behind the raising was that in 1951 Census the immigrants registered their mother-tongue as Assamese, instead of Bengali. The variation of percent of language between Assamese and Bengali shown with a statistical table given below:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1931 Community</th>
<th>1951 Community</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>1984 Thousand</td>
<td>4946 Thousand</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>1672 Thousand</td>
<td>1685 Thousand</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1905 Thousand</td>
<td>1398 Thousand</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,561 Thousand</td>
<td>8029 Thousand</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


For Assamisation of the people of the Charland, the Assam Shahitya Sabha played a vital role by welcoming immigrant to accept Assamese language and culture. In Goalpara District, Sarat Chandra Sinha also played a pivotal role for adopting the Assamese language and culture. In 1946-51, he was a member of Legislative Assembly and had done best for the District regarding language, and culture.

The 19th May, 1955 a remarkable day of the cultural history of Goalpara District. In that day, State Reorganisation Commission visited Dhubri for the study of the Resistance Movement launched by the people of Goalpara, spearheaded by S.C. Sinha. Before the Commission, "Immigrant Muslim Association of Goalpara District," headed by its president Bajlul Basti and Secretary Karim Abdul submitted a memorandum in regard to mother-tongue of their community. They claim that the Assamese was the mother-tongue of the immigrant Muslims. The Honorable Member of the Commission accepted their reasons of accepting Assamese and convinced Goalpara District as Assamese majority. The formal process of Assamisation of the immigrants then completed.

There were several grounds behind the acceptance. The following was the main reasons:

(i) The primary need of the immigrant Muslims were cultivable land and social security. Both found in Assam.
Hence, their language and culture became secondary and it be ready to give up in any circumstances. Therefore, they gave up their mother-tongue and adopted Assamese.

(ii) The immigrant Muslims did not regretted for giving up their mother-tongue and culture. There has religious teaching. Religion and religious teaching are another important philosophy, that they would sacrifice their life for the protection of them. Prophet Hazarat Mahammad \( \text{once} \) advised to their Sahaba (followers) that you should accepted the language and culture, where you live permanently. You assimilate with your environment. So, the adoption of Assamese language and culture, was a part of that advice and teachings.

(iii) The another important cause of acceptance of Assamese language and culture was social security of that time. In 1950, massive communal riots surfaced both East Pakistan and Assam. The influx of Bengali Hindu Refugees came from East Pakistan, on the contrary, about one Lakh of Muslims left Assam. The Bengali Hindu refugees spread the odd stories of riot among the local Hindus and created a war-like tension caused riot in the District of Goalpara. For avoiding tension and such rioting, the immigrant Muslims thought for integrity with the sons of the soil by accepting the Assamese language in 1951 through Census Report.

After 1947, the Bengali Muslims become de-facto
allies of the local people in their conflict with the Bengali Hindus. Bengali Muslim (immigrant Muslims) have been willing to accept Assamese as the medium of instruction in school and they have cast their votes in favour of Assamese candidates for the State Assembly and the Parliament. They declared Assamese their mother-tongue. In return, the State Government did not attempt to eject Bengali Muslims from lands on which they have settled in the Brahmaputra Valley.  

Though earlier Assamese leader had claimed that much of the settlement had taken place illegally. Moreover, Hindu-Muslim riots have virtually disappeared in Assam, a remarkable feat considering the long History of communal antagonism and the persistence of religious conflicts in other states where the proportion of Muslims to the population as a whole is smaller than in Assam.  

The local people embraced immigrant Muslims for adopting their language and culture. Due to the adoption of Assamese, the percentage of Assamese speaking people became majority. Having Assamese majority, the question of medium

41. Mahanta, Dr. P., - Assamiya Madiyabitta Srenir Itihas. 1991, P.P. 300, 301.  
42. Weiner, Myron. - Sons of the Soil, P. 124.
of instruction and official language in the district arose. A Map of "East Bengal and Assam" Province enclosed in Appendix - B. The neighboring Districts of Goalpara from where the immigrants both Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims interring Assam through Goalpara.