

The History and the Methods of The Ideas of Identity Formation in Assam: A Reflexive Phenomenon in Political- Discursive Space

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ABSTRACT

The history of Assam so far had been consciously delimited with a distinction which was recognized as the forceful incursion into the history and present of the evolution of the identity of the Assamese people and that distinctive category had been revolved since the 1940s only through a separate nationality which was nothing other than the East Bengalis or the Bangladeshis. It is to be meaningful to reiterate the point that the identity of the Bangladeshi as the hegemonic force of intervention has been reified as the supreme element of giving obstruction to the realization of a strong background of the Assamese nationality that has been struggling to form itself as the absolute point of reference in interpretation against all other existing points of reference. Since the anti-grouping agitation during the late phase of the British Raj in Assam, the forms of protests has been led by the middle class intelligentsia and the subgroups under the umbrella of that group of intellectual class through which a sense of crisis has been analyzed as the most inescapable reality of the derivatives of the hegemonic force as the Bangladeshis which has been regarded as organized force of displacing the indigenous groups from their own home. In general, three features of that force has been identified as the most exclusive denomination of the Bangladeshi in its intervening political space and those three features are, the consideration of the mobility of those immigrants in the potential act of labouring more disciplined and integrated with the productive base of the economy that could decrease the share of the indigenous, the second is the demographic potentiality where the language, culture and other features of their socialization of that particular force has been considered as quite dissimilar with the indigenous elements, the third is the fear of a crisis lest their increasing presence in the programme of democratic ideals particularly in the moment of elections to form government would become more difficult to handle against the interests of the indigenous. The crux of that point of analysis is that the history and the methods of those of identity formation has been given a shape where the organized and conscious presence of the ideology in its practices by the peasants and the workers have not been seen and a comparatively rich peasant group as well as the comfortably living workers and government officials have been giving voice to the space of crisis as imagined narrative of constituted phenomenon of an identity which is going beyond the reality itself. That reflexive presence of the influential class of people in the process of formation of identity as the distinct powerful nationality has been a great deviation from the actual practices of democratic ideals. The paper would analyze the trajectories of the history of the metanarrative of the Assamese identity as exclusive identity beyond the supremacy of the 'non-indigenous' in its political-discursive space of the present.

Key words: Identity, nationality, anti-grouping, act of labouring, language, culture, ideology etc.

THE INTENSITY OF THE NATIONAL PRESENT AND THE REGENERATION OF THE MASS SPIRIT

The process of the formation of the identity in a particular historical context has been based upon the recognition of the fact that there are forms of incompleteness in organization of the historical narrative of the nation as a semblance of idealized spirit of the masses in congruence with the changes in the forms of material foundation of culture. In order to understand and ritualize the necessity of a political space where the differences of normative categories of patterns of living are mediated through an autonomous zone of hegemony when a

consideration of the fraternity as principle are propagated in order to push forward the phenomena of some dynamic characteristics which are capable of identifying the latent spirit that is to be comprehended only through the mapping of the space and which is an anachronism to an harmonious past. The past is recognized so far as to the extent of creating a mobility in realization of the achievements in terms of cultural regeneration of the moment which was in distance before the specificity of the redefined character of the past. A cultural monologue and its ethical standardization are intelligible only to those people who have a voice in history. The metanarrative of the national present could be transmuted from one generation to another through the stereotyping of the essence of the politics of the nation-state since the beginning of the organized moment of production relation in a more wider and complex manner of expansion of the base of productive activities. When the regenerated spirit is forwarded to the stream of consciousness with the deconstruction of the prevalent notion of the hierarchy based around the ill formed category of the presence of the past there the context of the people's understanding of the relevance of their role is confounded as process of negotiation against the tide of time. So, there must the intensity of the national present by which it is meant to be understood where all the elements of the political mobility are present in the midst of the people. For example, during the pre-independence period that specific contours of the national present had not been structured nor it was brought into the moment of metaphor due to the lack of those elements through which that narrative could be given a spatial heterogeneity.

In the discourse of the national present the relevance of the spatial heterogeneity is given recognition only to the point of positioning the paradigm of an incongruous home which is unsettled and full of discomfiture in respect of rationalization of the phenomena of the home in the purpose of building an homogenized entity which is supposed to lose in the margin of history. That particular sense of heterogeneity was not conditioned in the struggle for freedom since the second decade of the twentieth century in spite of the presence of the heterogeneous elements in the imagination of the perspective of the identity as nationally contextualized moment of departure. So, in any conformity to the state of knowledge about the growth of consciousness about the specified entity of an identity based upon the generalized historicity of culture and language there is obvious connotation of the mobility in politics where the diverse texts of knowledge in its hybridity is given a form of inference to all standard bases of culture as centre stage. The philosophy of the national present is invoked when all other narrations of the cultural distinction of the living communities are brought into contradiction in the rationality of time as intervention in the previous narration of culture. In nineteenth century Assam, that moment of extraterritorial contradiction was not brought up into the discourse of the build-up of the historical forms of knowledge about the political space where the dominance of a more hybrid power centre was working to create a cleavage between the continuity of the presence of the past and the present. In the twentieth century, that sublime evocation of a national past could not bring into harmony against the idea of the homogenized location of the diverse cultural elements which had come into contradiction with the existing base of the previous mode of the location of culture. During the period of the national movement the emphasis was not put strongly upon identification of those sources of culture in consideration of the great objective of liberating the past of the nationhood from the clutches of the British imperialists. It was thought that the foreign imperialist rulers had been hijacking the continuity of that space of the past in its journey to the present and thereby gave a bad form to the whole narrative of development. Interestingly, the understanding and reflection over the diverse locality of culture brought through the intervention of the British rule had been made during the moment of orientation of the castes of nationalism.

The context of regeneration of the spirit of the mass had been created out of the segregated interests of the classes who were involved in the task of construction of the national present and the enthusiasts of that kind of spirit in the colonial period had been trying only in recovering the past from the present dominated by the other force which was an antithesis to the narrative of the new moment of the national objectivity. To speak about the mass spirit in the formation of the national movement is to redefine the varied interests of the groups who developed the consensus around the basic principle of nationalism and within that category all the necessities of the people's pattern of living had been subsumed. Thus, a new cauldron had been provided to the interpretation of the basic interests of the people that what was in need was not the redressal of the primary capabilities of the people. The new line of interpretation emphasized in mapping out a space identified in a strong heterogeneity of the mobility in the political space. If we make study over the phases and events of the national movement then it would be clear that the leadership of the prime national organization INC made efforts not to derive any potential clause of the protests of the workers and the peasants in the mainstream political space but in stead of that they tried to

hegemonize the moment of the protests of the workers and peasants through the glance of the immediacy of that political space where the identification of those protests had been rather minimal. In the Digboi Oil Workers Strike of 1939 the role of the Gopinath Bardoloi ministry was rather controversial and his silence in key issues of labour ultimately gave great courage to the Assam Oil Company to disregard the interests of the workers and led to the death of three workers. The issue of handling labour was always a great puzzle to the Congress leadership. The syndrome of essentialization of the narrative of a national moment whether in its centre and sub-centre was one of the legacies of the nationalism of the colonial period that has been given reality in the post-independent period too.

THE CASTES OF NATIONALISM AND THE GROWTH OF THE DETERMINISTIC NARRATIVE OF NATIONALISM

The thought that the language of nationalism has the unified rationality of narrating the traits of locality and there are no divisions of labour in the language of nationalism is too narrow observation in the sense that the discursive form of nationalism is fraught with the hyper reality which has fixed boundary of surrounding the people's will. Why the castes of nationalism has grown from the historical narrative of conditioning the space of political to the essence of the spirit itself? The basic reason of emphasizing the significance of the arrival of a particular group of people in the realm of spirit is that the denial of that form of arrival through which the historical comparison is made in respect of contribution to the culture and language of the political space. The denial is the cultural significance of those people who have arrived but that has not been culturally entwined with the mainstream cultural route. The castes around the legitimacy of nationalism has been developed in comparative recognition of the particular group of people and how they have been integrated more strongly or weakly in the basic forms of the national present through which the spatial content of the nationality is composed and stabilized. By principle, the gradual emergence of the discursive phenomena of nationalism is positioned as too deterministic when it comes in to the rationality of provision of derivatives to every living group within a particular space of the political. No doubt, the subjective territory of the demographic precedents have played a major role in providing derivative of arrival to a particular group of people. In the context of Assam, the demographic statistics have been giving major orientation to the location of the identity of the people as cultural link to the dominant mode of nationality and the decennial census undertaken since 1872 quintessentially negated any continuous and unavoidable genre of cultural milieu formed out of the interaction between diverse groups who have arrived due to various socio-cultural needs. How the notion of demographic transformation could play a pivotal role in history and methods of understanding about the identity could be gauged from the factual narrative of some scholars such as Myron Weiner who have analyzed the whole issue of migration as a threat mechanism to the sons of the soil in terms of language and population. How the analysis of demographic statistics could deceive the actual process of acculturation where the idioms of socio-cultural materiality could enhance the specificity of each of the group is another matter of serious concern. Professor Weiner has rightly analyzed from the perspective of transformation in the population of the original inhabitants 'Assam has been the fastest growing area in the subcontinent for the past seventy years. Its population has grown more than fourfold: from 3.3 million in 1901 to nearly 15 million in 1971, as compared with an increase of 130 percent for India as a whole. Approximately 11.4 percent of the state's population comes from outside the state, but in both the 1920s and 1930s the migrant population exceeded 20 percent' (Weiner, 1978, p.79). Again, that kind of demographic comparative analysis could epitomize the existence of the people in its particularity as full of danger and decline in their monopoly over the routes of cultural praxis: 'The presence of these migrants has shaken the foundations of Assamese social structure and created solidarity among the Assamese even while generating cleavages between the indigenous Assamese and the indigenous tribals. It has influenced the educational, social and economic aspirations of countless Assamese, determined their central political concerns, and become a decisive factor in the periodic restructuring of the state's boundaries.... In short, migration has been a force for social, cultural, economic and political change in Assam' (Weiner, 1978, p.81). Why such coming of the 'illegal migrants' made the whole trajectories of the border as contradiction to the fixity of the national boundary? In order to provide fixity to the notion of a border the language of border enforcement and strengthening of the surveillance with a legal framework has been provided as the antidote to the entry of those 'illegal migrants' as creating dystopia to the existing entity of citizenship. The substantial increase of the illegal migrants when it's considered as the active categorization through the agency of the state is rather not bulky. For example, in accordance with the Assam Accord 1985 the numbers of migrants who have been living illegally in the state the

government has identified up to the 31st of 2022 the number of 1,44,077 as illegal migrant but at the same time among those people only 30,014 have been sent back to their home country .The government has identified 31,634 persons who came to Assam illegally before the year of 1971 and in the post-1971 the number as identified increased to 1,12,443 (Atul Bora ,minister for the Assam Accord Implementation in his answer to a question raised by Ramendra Narayan Kalita in the Assam Legislative Assembly ,16 March ,2022 ,The Dainik Janambhumi ,March 17,2022). The assumption of the number of people who have made their settlement in Assam have been quite staggering and in some cases it has been raised to above fifty lakhs . The causes of the migration have been the land locked situation in the erstwhile East Bengal where density of population per square mile was abnormally high .For example , in 1961 the population of Assam was just below 12 million who lived on 47,000 sq miles with a density of 252 persons but in the East Bengal (Bangladesh)the number of 51 million population lived on 55,000 sq miles with a density of 925 persons . Again , the percentile of people living in the urban areas was 4.4 % in the case of East Bengal and that was 7.4% in Assam during the year 1961(Weiner,1978,p.100). The inequality in land relation as well as the concept of availability of land in Assam with better opportunities also encouraged the poor Bengalis to migrate and that process of migration was itself a colonial state initiative to give waste lands to the migrants with the hope of revenue collection and commercial crops like jute . The growth of the middle class in Assam had given rise to a new situation when they started to observe the context of the province of Assam threatened not only through the rule of the Britishers but also from the silent invasion of the Bengalis (both Hindu and Muslim) . In fact , the fear psychosis of losing their hold over their own language and culture has been posited as the serious concern of redefining the stranglehold of migrnacy as the specific unresolved problem and the inertia of the miya or the Bangladeshi has been providing resonance to the emergence and strength of the Assamese as the supposed homogenized entity with a defensive tone . That defensive tone of the homogeneity as the organized principle of the identity as threatened by the Miya or the Bengalis have been the justification of mass growth of political mobilization to safeguard the indiginity of the Assamese which has brought the condition of inventing tradition to simulate the reality to the streets. The National Register of Citizens which has exclusively trying to sort out a formula through the numbering of the population is facing a daunting task because although they have counted the 19 lakhs as the deregistered people who entered into Assam with no certain proof of their habitation but the inclusion of refugees since the 1960s to early 1970s created another point of difficulty to execute the real terms of the process of registration . The protest against the CAA-2019 again reverberated the notion of existential crisis of the periphery of the India where the debate raged around the legacy of partition vs the crisis of secularism . The progressive writers have given stress on the erosion of the secular democratic base of the politics which has led to the culmination of the passing of the CAA that could legalize the staying of the Bengali Hindu migrants in Assam and that is against the spirit of the India's constitution . On the other hand, the supporters of the Act tries to defend the rights of the people who have been staying without any citizenship right due to the atrocities they had to face in the countries from which they flew . A sizeable sections of the population particularly of the middle class have not given accent to the relevance of the Act but the polarity has occurred in respect of the religious issues which has made the issue of granting citizenship as delicate one. The passing of the CAA again brought into light the non-functional state of the Assam Accord which was signed by the Centre with the aggrieved party the All Assam Students Union in 1985 The signing of the accord was regarded by the leadership of the Assam movement (1979-85) as the 'akin to the moment of(India) gaining independence ; as if we got for the Assamese people freedom and rights over their homeland when they were sleeping past that midnight hour (Pisharoty, 2019,p.7). Basically , the Assam Accord established the fact that in particular weakening of the Assamese nationality ,the numerical strength could matter more than the social context of rehabilitation of the present in its dialectical enlightening of the features of production relation . From the terms of the accord it is also to be clearly understood that there had been the recognition of the perils of the Assamese nationality but at the same moment the prescribed solution to the causes of those perils was rather generalized with no specific analytical viewpoint. Through the end of the movement and the subsequent event in the post-movement period it has also become clear that there have been proliferation of those castes of nationalism in the context of Assam and the polarized identity in turn has created another debacle based on the ethnic issues .

THE MIDDLE-CLASS LED POLITICS AND ITS DERIVATIVES

The formation of the middle class in Assam had been the outcome of the colonialists' policy of organizing such a class through which their domination and power could be hegemonized with the consent of that class .With

the development of some primary industrial concerns like the tea industry the Assamese gentry tried to eke out a comfortable living through investments in tea estates and although a bare minimum of the representatives of that class had been successful in giving a shape to their fortunes but majority of the entrepreneurs had to face huge difficulties in terms of mobilization of the capital assets and other facilities of finance and labour. (Nath,2016,p.1)The existence of the managing housing agency system and their monopoly over the mobilization of the resources for furthering capital investment and labour almost demoralized the spirit of the Assamese gentlemen .Some of the educated youth also tried their fortune in law but due to the poor economy where the peasantry had hardly any choices and where the low level of urbanization and trading activity prevailed there was not much growth of the litigation where the activities of the barristers could be enhanced. The number of educational institutions during the colonial period was also not high particularly in aspect of the higher education. Due to the lack of the fully organized capitalistic growth in all sectors of the society and economy there the feudal attitude still prevailed and that incomplete rationality of the capitalism in the colonial context of Assam gave rise to a new peculiarity after the beginning of the twentieth century .It is very interesting that when the class struggle seemed to be grew up among the workers and the peasants against the monopoly of the agency of the colonial state system since the latter half of the nineteenth century ,the middle class in its mobility failed to give a critical inlook to the interests of the expropriated .There had been a certain irony of the fact that when the representation was made on the basis of the insecurity of the people of Assam it was not emphasized that all were not equal in aspect of wealth and power. The peasantry had been paying the pivotal role in different times of the modern history of Assam but their interests have been hardly fulfilled within that discursive form of insecurity and in certainty it could be said that insecurity to the peasants have arose due to the larger hold and domination of the big mercantile forces and the agency of the governance have failed to give proper inducements to the primary occupation of the agriculturists through which they could join more ably in the market forces. The supposed sense of insecurity in aspects of language and land have been giving a new twist to the definition and redefinition of the meaning of the Assamese as a nationality which has been at logger heads with the Bangal .To meet up the challenges of the twin antithesis to the centre of the Assamese the Central governing authority has been held responsible for not doing enough in safeguarding the interests of the Assamese. In this context of the struggle of the Assamese to get a definite space in the history and present of the national –political narrative of India ,there is the hierarchical distinctions of the interests of the illegal migrants and the natives and although the interests of the poor and the poverty stricken populace have been the same everywhere irrespective of the caste , ,race, ethnicity but it is hardly made into the matter of interpretation of the basic forms of the identity of the Assamese nationality .

The derivatives of the middle class led politics have been dominating the space of the discursive form of the social consciousness since the beginning of the modernity as half constructed vision in the context of struggle for hegemony in narration of the identity of the Assamese. The forms of derivation of the modernity in situating the politics of the middle class in contrast to the demands of the time not as aberration of the present where the idealized picture of the ghosts of existential crisis of a particular nationality could be shown through the invasion of the superior race also shows the modernity as the half way project of giving enlightenment to all segments of society. To make the whole spatial notion of the political as fraught with danger from the alien force is to impose fictive character of narration to the real interests of people and thereby the approval given to the hierarchical forms of the social structure . It is not true that only the middle class of the Assam due to its weak nature of formation have been feeling the sense of insecurity against the incursion of the alien cultural elements .That particularity of insecurity has been felt and given shape through the principles of modernity in a capitalistic set up to continue the hegemony of the hierarchical forms of production relation where the domination of the few elites could continue without any interruption .Myron Weiner writes with some examples of such sense of antagonistic attitude between the natives and the ‘foreigners’ : ‘ In Malaysia the Malaya speak of themselves as bhumiputra , or “sons of the soil”, in opposition to migrant Chinese , demanding that they be given special rights to employment , education , and land. In the Mindanao region of the Philippines the indigenous Moros have violently turned against the Christian settlers , demanded their expulsion , and called for the creation of a separate independent Muslim country’(Weiner,1978,p.16). If the discursive form of the nationality is a ‘cultural artefacts’ then it is also true how far the social environment has been shaped through varied cultural interactions.

The reasons of the sense of insecurity as the lack of defensive strategy has been explained as ‘a ‘weak’ nationality , because , apart from tea plantations , the society remained largely untouched by forces of modern capitalism

down to the 1950s . And plantations notoriously are enterprises of the ‘enclave’ type , and do not trigger development . The different ethnic groups owing allegiance to the overall Assamese way of life were not welded into a cohesive national group strong enough to be able to withstand outside pressure . There have been cases of defection or dissociation , especially in the recent past. It is also a weak nationality in the sense that it is materially and culturally backward compared to some other national groups in India .Lately it has occurred to the Assamese that they are not even in undisputed possession of the territory which they claim as their own . Hence there is a sense of insecurity among the Assamese which is deep rooted .Their fear of being overwhelmed is a powerful factor...(Gohain,1985,p.24) There is another characteristic as emphasized by the scholars such as Ptof .Udayan Mishra in respect of the dwindling rate of the population of the Hindus against the Muslims which in turn has the fear of turning the former into minority in their own space : ‘ The released figures of the 2011 Census have shown that while the Muslim population growth in the country came down from 29.52 per cent in 2001 to 24.6 per cent in 2011 , Assam recorded the highest growth of the Muslim population from 30.9 per cent in 2001 to 34.2 per cent in 2011, a 3.3 per cent rise. This growth rate has been substantially higher than that of states such as Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal . By contrast the Hindu population growth in the state has fallen from 32.88 per cent in 1991 to 29.52 per cent in 2001 and 24.6 per cent in 2011.The share of Hindu population stands today at 61.47 per cent , registering a decrease of 4.4 per cent during the period between 2001 and 2011.In the districts bordering Bangladesh , the rise in Muslim population has been much higher , with Muslims constituting a majority in nine of the twenty –seven districts of Assam. As per the 2011 Census , the total population of Assam stood at 3,11,69,272 while in the 2001 Census it was 2,66,38,407....Thus , the census figures of 2011 are being seen by many as an official acknowledgement of the apprehensions of the indigenous people that they may be eventually turned into minorities in their own homeland’ (Mishra,2017,p.9). These are two observations of the two scientific minds who have analyzed the juncture of the weak nationality and the fear of losing the identity of the indigenous people against the overwhelming force of immigrants and the dominant linguistic groups such as the Bengalis. No doubt, the analysis of those two scholars corroborates in some points but their critical comprehension of the issue of identity is totally different.

The issue of losing identity and turning the indigenous into minority or the foreigners in their own soil is one of the greatest discoveries of the modernity and its consequent political space. When the variation of the trends of material and cultural landscape have occurred due to the changes in the cultural artefacts particularly in aspect of knowledge as the harbinger of developing the concrete individuality in its ideological disposition to the nature of truth in its practices there develops the anti-revolving paraphernalia of a diminishing return. The addition of migrants in an economic base where the change and innovations in the productivity have been very marginal there occurs a context where additional input of population could create anomalies in the perception of the producing the artefacts of cultural space as a constant reflection of the loss of the foreground over the output of those artefacts. There ,the entry of the additional population could act as the destructuring the previous base of the cultural production of wealth but the resistance of the old base in absence of the strong structural revolutionary agenda mystifies the notion of that base as symptomatic of a form of cultural aggression. An aspect of servile sociality is grown up against the intrusion of the input as population where the dominant groups could idealize the past as free of such burden of history and the reification occurs in the context of the present and when the spatial narrative of the needs of the present has been obviated to the narrative of identity as the prime goal of enlightenment. It happens generally where two trends of the cultural production relation comes up in a situation of extreme inequality hidden under socio-cultural relics of the past and on the other hand , new forms of materiality of culture grows up without the transformation in the primary level of the productivity where the agricultural relation plays the pivotal role .The subsistence base of production in the primary level where the much extra inputs of innovation occurs in the external relation of that primary base there is the obvious development of the human agency which crisscrosses between the two variables one is primary and the other external but deeply correlated with the forms of the primary cultural artefacts. When the primary producers of wealth get distanced from the actual profit of the cultural exchanges there the monopoly is transferred to the classes of people who dominate over the interpretation of the causal effects of the basis of that medium of exchange.

The context of that medium has been perplexed through the inequality of the representation of the interests of the primary producers and the organic link which has been established in the space of that medium is largely hegemonized by the powerful representatives of cultural production relation and a psychosis of fear syndrome

which is getting the form of hysteria over the loss of supremacy in the production of those artefacts of cultural-materiality. When the specific fear syndrome is posited as the most conspicuous presence of the alienation from the realm of that production of the artefacts there the political hysterical moment is constructed in order to deconstruct the notion of culture as exchanged through the medium given by the superior agency of production. The text of the middle class criticism of the past as well as the present conditions of living in order to provide a new language of politics of identity have been consistently failing to give a respite to the woes and agonies of the poor brethren of this land of Assam. The conditions of the living standard have still been not improved and the perception of the middle class representation to the interests of the people is still centred around the supposed loss of the monopoly rights over the cultural production of wealth to the 'bahiragata' (illegal migrants) and it is not considered what the Bangladesh, the original homeland of those 'illegal migrants' thinks about Assam. To the people of Assam and the Northeastern region, their concerns about Bangladesh and Bangladeshis are far greater than the interest or concerns of the Bangladeshis about this area, which is little known there except as a poor and peripheral part of India. This may be a blow to the self-esteem and ego of many in Assam. But the fact is that economic conditions in Bangladesh are actually far better than those in the neighbouring Indian states. Bangladesh is described by the World Bank as a lower middle economy. Its effective transition rate of girl children who move from primary levels to secondary levels is a hugely creditable 91 per cent. In 2010, India was slightly ahead at 92.4 per cent, but the Bangladeshi figures are way ahead of Assam's which linger in the mid-60s. Life expectancy in Bangladesh is 72 years; Assam scores the lowest in India: it is 61 for men and 63.2 for women while the life span of an average Indian is 66.2' (Hazarika, 2018, p.167). How shall we interpret the continuous underdevelopment of the region in terms of the actual measure of development as the paradigm of giving real capabilities to the people? In the neo-liberal context of India particularly another form of economic disparity has arisen in respect of the different states and how they have been mobilizing the resources and there is the conclusion now that 'in the period of rapid growth of the Indian economy, regional inequality, as captured through interstate variations has increased significantly. In contrast to the emphasis on 'convergence hypothesis' that has been one of the cornerstones of the neoclassical optimism on market-led growth, empirical analysis, suggests that there is hardly any move towards convergence of any kind; most studies conclude that inter-regional disparities, as measured by interstate differences in growth performance have increased in the post-reform period' (Mishra, 2016, p.5). The lack of sufficient resource mobilization and unchanging economic base of production relation has given birth to some antisocial fissiparous tendencies which in turn has derailed the mass consciousness to the narrow sectarian political interlude. For instance, the spirit of the mass consciousness had been 'hijacked by the ethnic elite among the Axamiya Hindu middle class, which actively propagated the idea that 'sons of the soil' referred only to the Axamiya speaking Hindu community. At places, attacks took place even against other autochthonous indigenous and ethnic communities. The movement, purportedly one of civil disobedience, thus turned violent in pockets. Pogroms were staged against migrant communities—in 1983, thousands of East Bengali Muslims were killed in Nellie, a few kilometres from the city of Guwahati. Violence at other places such as Phulung Sapor and Gohpur targeted the Bodos. And in the final analysis, a movement that had begun on the basis of real felt grievances and had a mass base among all indigenous and non indigenous autochthonous communities of Assam became a turning point in defining the relations of the dominant Axamiya Hindus with all the other communities of Assam, indigenous and settler' (Goswami, 2021, p.6). The extreme level of preponderance of violating the rights of others who are also of the same economic background of poor quality of living could vitiate the principled features of the state system also and which could bring deterioration to the overall strength of the institutions of the state. That situation happened during the Assam movement when some of the basic law enforcing agencies failed to control the violence meted out to the minorities particularly the so-called 'miyas'. Makiko Kimura writes in this context of paralyzing of the authority 'the most notable difference is the role of the state government regarding the incident (Nellie). In this incident, the Congress government had a will to protect the victims but they failed, partly because the violence triggered by the student organization's boycott was so widespread, and partly because the local police was sympathetic to the movement and did not take action. In other words, the law enforcement authorities got paralyzed in the clash between the government and the powerful movement leaders, and there was a vacuum of authority in the state. It was in this milieu that the local people decided to attack their neighbours' (Kimura, 2013, pp.3-4). So, the crux of the matter of sense of insecurity if posited within the boundary of erasing the space of the real where the global capitalist failures to eradicate the varied forms of inequalities in terms of giving recognition to the voiceless the space of their autonomy and standard of existence in a good human condition there the insecurity could become an endemic feature of the national political praxis.

The question is how to get rid of the myopia of insecurity where all the discourses of human potential of a particular nationality has been revolved and simulated in the process of engendering the genetics of nationality and identity as the locus of all sentiments of political discursive phenomena. The time is to capture the moment of people's spirit in its social base of understanding as nearer to the centre of revelation.

THE PEASANTRY AND THE QUESTION OF IDENTITY

The rise of the middle class in the context of Assam as elsewhere has been formed due to their rootedness in unequal land relation where the feudal tendencies could play a definite role even in the absence of class consciousness among the peasants in giving a shape to the spirit of the particular social elements. In a situation of capitalistic underdevelopment the springboard of the centre of the dialectics of historical forces revolves around some of the anti-dialectical forces of negation which in turn upholds the legacy of the past social relations that was impregnated with a notion of suppression of the independent spirit of the masses where the bulk of the peasants were entwined and where the fate of the social elements had been determined by the ruling ideas with full growth of the repressive presence of the spirit of the peasants. The forces of the social mobility had been arranged with the philosophy of that orientation of the 'repressive tolerance' to use the term of Herbert Marcuse where the varied oligopolistic differentiation had been pursued in order to give stability to the regime under a particular class of the ruling ideas. During the colonial period also saw some changes in the land revenue measures the tendency of manipulation of the spirit of the masses for the interests of those oligopolistic features had been shaped in a new way which facilitated in the growth of the social relation that was anti-rational in dialectical movement of the historical forms of the human condition. The weak and stagnant nature of the agriculture stabilized the hierarchical norms of the social environment and in some specific aspects it now helped in the formation of new identities based around caste, community, religion, language etc. That accentuation of the mobility in respect of creating different egalitarian forms of social idealism in turn could give a social reality as distant from the essence of the transformation with the new imperatives of a will based upon the recognition of the space and strength of existence to the deprived population. There were series of peasant protests in the second half of the nineteenth century in Assam but the incipient form of the middle class as a whole failed to give any solidarity to the struggle of those peasants and thus the peasants had to face counter-violence at the hands of the colonial agency of power. One of the important features of rising political solidarity through the political organizations since the 1880s and particularly in the second decade of the twentieth century in Assam in particular had been subjugating the all interests of the poor to the essence of nationalism as the saviour from all tyrannies. That centralization of the spirit of the people in a political platform did not change the situation much and in many aspects the leadership of the dominant organization failed to give a touch of leadership to the socio-economic based protests of the people. The same tendency of objectifying the real goals of the poor has been given the subjective form of decentering the region of their politics and there is the idealization of a spirit of the nationality which is so far entrenched with the people's understanding of the real but in its totality the political economy of the peasantry has been remained untouched with the trajectories of development in a real sense. So, to situate the grievances of the poor peasantry in line with the sense of insecurity felt by the middle class would not be the real perspective of knowing about the deficiencies in the lives of the poor and it could on the other hand act as the hideous covering of straight jacketing the basis of the spirit itself in contradiction to the features of the present as force of intervention.

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