

# POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ASSAMESE PERIODICAL “AWAHAN”

MR. PLAVAN BHUYAN  
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR  
SIBSAGAR GIRLS' COLLEGE, SIBSAGAR, ASSAM  
PIN 785640, PH.N0- 70022288966

## ABSTRACT

The publication of “*Awahan*” was a great landmark in the history of Assamese literature and also in the history of journalism in Assam. The Assamese periodical “*Awahan*” was published from Calcutta under the editorship of Dr. Dinanath Sharma from October 1929, eight years after the non cooperation movement. It had a deep impact on the minds of younger writers of Assam. From the political point of view the publication of “*Awahan*” was very crucial on account of the contemporary political transition of colonial Assam. The writings of “*Awahan*” were more or less nationalistic in nature. Certain issues of contemporary times received great importance in the periodical “*Awahan*”

**Keywords:** - landmark, transition, nationalistic, crucial, periodical

## I. INTRODUCTION:

The publication of Assamese periodical “*Awahan*” heralded a new age in the history of modern Assam. “*Awahan*” reflected the aspirations of the writers of post Jonaki era. The journal stirred the hearts and minds of the Assamese intelligentsia for about one and half decades (1929-1945). It tried to deal with various current political issues and events. The impact of non-cooperation movement had noticed in Assam and the periodical “*Awahan*” discussed the issue in an analytical way. The issue of Cunninham Circular and its reaction remained the prime focus of the writers and editor of “*Awahan*”. The magazine did not hesitate to take over the issue of identity crisis and migration in the colonial period. A long debate was taken place in the pages of “*Awahan*” regarding large scale migration from various parts of India. By degrees the national consciousness became very strong among the people of Assam and the sense of nationalism also developed among the people. The celebration of *Jyomoti Utsav* was another one noteworthy aspect during 20<sup>th</sup> century Assam. during 20<sup>th</sup> century the trend of Assamese nationalism was mainly based on language and literature. The growing popularity of print media enhanced the sense of nationalism and unity among the people of Assam. Assamese national consciousness was projected in symbolic form in “*Awahan*”.

## II. AIMES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PAPER:

The main aims and objectives of the paper are:-

- (1) To analysis the growing trend of nationalism in Assam.
- (2) To study about the depth of contemporary political issues of Assam.
- (3) To assess the impact of non-cooperation movement in Assam.
- (4) To evaluate identity crisis and migration issue of Assam.

### III. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The paper is descriptive and analytical one, primarily based on primary and secondary data. The eight published volumes of Assamese periodical "*Awahan*" is used extensively. The secondary sources are consulted from the published materials in the form of books, research journal papers and the materials available in the internet. The details of the books, journals and other materials are given in the reference part.

#### IV. CUNNINGHAM CIRCULAR AND GROWING POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN ASSAM:-

The civil disobedience movement was a great landmark in the history of India. In the historic session of Lahore congress, it was declared that complete independence was to be the goal of Indian National congress. The congress decided to boycott the central and provincial legislatures. The working committee of congress that met on 2 January 1930 took active steps to implement the decisions. The impact of Civil disobedience Movement was very strong in Assam. The introduction of Cunningham Circular and the participation of students in the civil disobedience movement was a very significant incident in the history of modern Assam. Gandhiji started the civil disobedience movement which inspired Assamese people and students to participate in the movement. In order to evolve a new agenda of work for the students and to provide guidelines to them, a special session of the *Assam Chatra Sanmilian* was held in mid July at Guwahati. Charming youths like Hem Baruah and Omeo Kumar Das called for the whole hearted participation of the students in the national struggle. Stressing upon the significance of the movement against the Cunningham circular Omeo Kumar Das observed that "*Mr. Cunningham is a puppet in the hands of the British imperialism. The student movement is not against him. The aim of the student movement must be to expel the British imperialism from the soil of India. So long as British imperialism was not expelled from the soil of India, not one thousand of Cunningham will emerge*"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Due to the implementation of Cunningham circular throughout Assam, a strong grievance was witnessed. It became unfortunate for the people of Assam to face such an evil situations. Mr. Cunningham was the chief architect of the education system of Assam. It was quite unexpected for the people of Assam to face such a situation. It created great hue among the people of Assam because they were humiliated due to this circular which forced all guardians to sign in the circular without any delay. It would have been fruitful if the government withdraw the circular for the greater interest of Assamese people but at the same time it was stated that for a country like Assam it seemed impossible. Tarunram Phukan once expressed that if Cunningham was a responsible person of the education department then he would not have introduced such a strange circular in Assam. It was called as the first ever unexpected instance in the world history. It was suitable in India only because of the colonial rule. Otherwise at any cost it can't be accepted<sup>(2)</sup>. It has been stated in the editorial that, it was a meaningless thinking of those who thought that participation of students in politics would stimulate the progress of our country. It condemned government as well as the Director of Public Instructions (DPI) of Assam for introduction of such a reactionary circular. It was nothing but a political short sightedness of the Assam government. The Cunningham circular not only interfered in the rights of the guardians but also a discriminatory perception which was exposed to the students as well. It was explained in the editorial that it seemed quite impossible to keep the students force away from the politics for a long time but a doubt was raised regarding the effectiveness of the new circular in Assam and its response. Instead of prohibiting the tempo of the movement, these reactionary works of the government inspired the students to mobilize against the authority. Actually the circular seemed like a challenge to the students of Assam to show and prove the strength once again<sup>(3)</sup>.

It laid proper emphasis on the importance of the students' participation in the ongoing political movements. Students were considered as the backbone of the nation and source of all hopes and aspirations. References were made in this explanation that stated that the undefeatable student force changed the fortune of countries like-China, Germany, Persia etc. But the periodical shares its view that it would create a big havoc in the upcoming days. It was also said that the introduction of Cunningham circular was a secret move of the government to agitate the student community<sup>(4)</sup>. Students of Assam raised strong protest against such harmful discrimination of the government and as a result of this, picketing was done in various schools of Assam.

Even government adopted stern and severe measures to tackle with the situation because gradually the issue became serious. Various oppressive measures like lathi charge etc took place on the students. Actually, in the context of Assam, Cunningham circular was the main basis of the civil disobedience movement. But the story of success depended on the dedication and devotion of the people. Nobody was there to resist the power of the government did not mean that student force would abstain them from these activities. Thus appeal was made by all leading congress political leaders to the students. Vishnuram Medhi became the main student leader and centre of attraction during these days. Picketing took place in the Cotton College, Sonaram High School and Cotton Collegiate school. It was clear that due to the implementation of Cunningham circular, the Assam Pradesh congress committee could carry out the civil disobedience movement in a fruitful manner. Ruhini Kumar Chaoudhary expressed in the Assam provincial council; *“The congress in Assam Valley Division as far as I know, was poor of funds. They were unable to provide for volunteers. But the Cunningham circular enabled them to find some volunteers to help the congress movement”* <sup>(5)</sup>.

The civil disobedience movement in Assam was mainly spearheaded by the students section and Cunningham circular was the main milestone for them to carry out the movement. Appeals were made to the students to boycott foreign cloths, introduction of *Khadi* and to check the import of foreign cloths. It asked the students to give preference to the national interest apart from their traditional study order. It was not referred to go jail to show their dedication and patriotism towards motherland. But without going to jail, they could offer ample help to boycott foreign cloths and items and expansion of national education in Assam <sup>(6)</sup>. Under the initiatives of the common people, to counter the Cunningham circular, various national and non-governmental education institutions were established throughout Assam. Out of these, education institutions like *Kamrup Academy, Barpeta Vidyapeeth, Tezpur Academy, Sibsagar Vidyapeeth* etc. were prominent. The newly established *Kamrup Academy* became the first ever national school established to counter Cunningham circular, and it made satisfactory progress with an enrolment of having around 250 students. Even quality teachers were appointed in the school. It was indeed a progressive sign for our country <sup>(7)</sup>.

#### V. DEBATE AND CONTROVERSY ON IDENTITY AND MIGRATION:

Another one major aspect of ‘*Awahan*’ was its debate on language and migration which paved the way for the growth and development of national and political consciousness in Assam during 1920s-1930s. After the introduction of the British rule in Assam, in 1836 Bengali was made the official language and medium of instruction in the schools of Assam by the government of India. But after 36 years Assamese language was again restored as official language. After the publication of ‘*Jonaki*’ in 1889 the issue of language occasionally emerged in Assam. The founder of *Assam Sahitya Sabha*, Padmanath Gohainbaruah and Laximinath Bazbaruah condemned the Bengali people for the degradation of Assamese language and literature, but did not blame the British government for the same. As the economic hegemony of the immigrants began to tell upon the social and cultural life of the Assamese society, the nascent Assamese middle class became apprehensive about the role of the immigrants. Large scale immigration coupled with the incorporation of Sylhet, a popular Bengali speaking district, in to Assam in 1874, threatened to reduce the Assamese speaking people in to a minority in their own homeland. The emerging Assamese middle class viewed this threat to their linguistic identity, so much so that by the 1930s an influential section of Assamese middle class favored secession from India so as to *“Save the Assamese race from extinction”* <sup>(8)</sup>.

During the time of the freedom struggle leading Assamese leader Ambikagiri Raychoudhury worked relentlessly for Congress and at the same time, he kept on appealing to the Assamese people to protect their own identity. He feared that as a result of uninterrupted immigration, particularly from East Bengal and increasing influence of Bengali language in Assam, the Assamese would eventually lose their own identity. He believed that small nationality could save itself from extinction. He found the lack of national consciousness among the countrymen of Assam. With a view to raise the sense of Assamese nationalism among the common Assamese people, in 1926 he established *Asom Sangrakhini Sabha* to protect the interest of Assam and Assamese. This aggressive posture of Raychoudhuri on the issue of Assamese national identity led to a dominant section of Bengali intelligentsia of Calcutta to call Ambikagiri a ‘*Bengal Kheda Neta*’ <sup>(9)</sup>.

Along with the *Assam Chatra Sanmilan*, a special session of *Assam Sangrakhini Sabha* was also held in Guwahati. In the session president Nilamoni Phukon delivered a speech where he threw a light on the its



objective that “*Assam is for the Assamese*” which was its chief motto and objective of the *Sabha*. In the presidential speech Phukon appealed to the common of Assam people to accept this regional identity like other provinces of India. The principal aim and objective of the Assamese people is to provide a separate and unique identity. Ambikagiri Raychaudhury was the secretary and key figure of the newly formed *Assam Sangrakhini Sabha*. He wished that all people of Assam should feel the necessity of such *Sabha*. Eleven proposals were adopted in the *Sabha* where emphasis was made on the existence of the identity of Assam<sup>(10)</sup>. Apart from his presidential speech, Nilamoni Phukan stated that there occurred a rift which emerged between Brahmaputra and Barak Valley only because of language. For him language was the basic step for identity formation of a nation. But he lamented that many outsiders had adopted and learnt Assamese language and settled down in this region without any restriction. He ridiculed the outsiders of Assam who posed a serious threat to the identity of Assam and Assamese people. It was unfortunate that Assam has always welcomed all foreignness since ancient times<sup>(11)</sup>.

There was a controversy over language during 1930 which became a major concern for the people of Assam. Due to the large scale migration from various parts of India, particularly from East Bengal caused great sensation among the people of Assam. Gyananath Bora, a great educated elite of Assamese middle class, wrote various articles where he confessed about the changing demographic pattern of Assam with reference of census report of 1931. During 1930-31, 27 Lakhs people of Assam were non- Assamese. He opined that the decadal growth of population was 8 Lakhs where, more than Six Lakhs seemed to be outsiders. He also stated that within a very short span of time the amount of Assamese speaking people would decrease in Assam except Sibsagar. Many outsiders had started their agro-based works like cultivation and business. Mr. Borah regretted that, by taking the advantage and weakness of Assamese native people, the outsiders intercepted all potentialities of Assam. According to him, people of Assam nearly gave up agricultural activities. It was a great identity crisis for the people of Assam and asked all educated youth of Assam to revive their existence. He lamented that the people of Assam gave much interest in the Indian pursuits giving up their own ideas and ideals of the state. He expressed that it would be quite impossible for the people of Assam to sustain in near future if the migration of illegal outsiders continued to Assam in such a way. He analyzed the chief causes of the migration to Assam and concluded that due to the availability of waste land and its fertility they came to Assam. He advised all Assamese to stand against this large scale migration and for this he pointed mainly two reasons, firstly, he talked about the available waste land of Assam and Secondly opportunities in trade and commerce. He advised people of Assam to convert these facilities for the interest of the Assamese people<sup>(12)</sup>.

Nationalist sentiment was indeed very strong in Assam during this period and the periodical ‘*Awahan*’ left no stone unturned to deal with the issue of immigration. It was wished that only in Sibsagar district proper Assamese would survive. The concept Assam is for Assamese received widespread popularity during this period. People of Assam deserved for an Act which would check to sell land to the foreigners. To enhance the importance of such an Act references were made that throughout Europe and the world various laws were enforced to check such type of illegal migration. Thus, justification was made of such a fruitful Act in Assam. Contemporary leading intellectual of Assam, Gyananath Bora argued to keep waste land of Assam for the sake of the common people of Assam in lieu of outsiders settlement. He talked about a group of Assamese people to serve as a party and asked them to convert foreigners to Assamese. But it was an uphill task for the people and he realized about the active role of government. He talked about the foundation of regional branch of *Swaraj Party* in Assam. He appealed all people to inspire and motivate to overcome such an acute danger. Mr. Bora opined to establish schools among the non- Assamese people and would force them to learn Assamese. He hoped that this step would turn effective for Assam<sup>(13)</sup>.

Without a sound existence of a race, *Swaraj* is meaningless. In terms of Assam and Assamese people, they must make hard toil to prove their strong existence at that critical point of time. During the time of Bengal partition Assamese people were unaware about the concept of *Swaraj*. ‘*Awahan*’ suggested to the people of Assam to follow and inspire the ideas of Bengali nationalism. In the editorial of ‘*Awahan*’ it was well reflected that the identity crisis turned out to be the most crucial aspect for the people of Assam. From the side of the government it was cleared that it would become impossible for the outsiders to crush Assamese culture and language. Moreover, it was stated that both the governors of Assam Laurie Hammond and Michael Keane failed to cope up with the issue properly and showed their less interest to the problem<sup>(14)</sup>. Thus government was directly or indirectly responsible for the problem of migration and migration was not merely occurred from Bengal but also from Mymensingh. Meanwhile, the Bengali speaking people posed a great threat to the

indigenous people of Assam. During 1931, in the Assam valley, the total demographic strength of the Bengali people was more than 11 lakhs. Within these Bengali people, people of Mymensingh and tea garden workers were also included. It was analyzed and projected that the main cause of the migration to Assam was its fertility of land. Though on account of the Moamoria rebellion and natural disease like 'kalazar' the demographic strength of Assam decreased but large scale migration occurred particularly from Mymensingh.<sup>(15)</sup>

## VI. DEBATE ON SYLHET AND GOALPARA RETENTION

Another one very significant debate of the periodical 'Awahan' was the debate on Sylhet and Goalpara. In order to create administrative efficacy in Assam, a separate province was created under a chief commissioner on February 6, 1874. Although the area of the new province was very vast, it had a meagre revenue potential. To make it financially viable, the authorities finally decided, to incorporate the populous Bengali speaking district of Sylhet, which historically as well as ethically, was an integral part of Bengal. A memorandum protesting against the transfer of Sylhet on behalf of both its Hindu and Muslim inhabitants was submitted to the Viceroy on August 10, 1874.<sup>(16)</sup> Though such a provision was made, the people of Sylhet region was disappointed with the activities of the authority and they raised protest on the basis of cultural identity and historical association of Sylhet with Bengal. Goalpara was also incorporated to Assam province. The entire situation became tense due to various socio-cultural and political events. During the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the identity crisis of Assam was very acute and the growing sense of nationalism received a great momentum due to the non-cooperation movement. After the formation of Swaraj party in Assam they firmly united on the question of redrawing the provincial boundaries on linguistic basis. B.N. Chaudhury had moved a resolution in the third reformed council for the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal in 1924<sup>(17)</sup>. The amalgamation of Sylhet with Assam was very severely criticized by the contemporary educated Assamese people. It was said that the decision would harm the nationalist interest of the people of Assam. It was clearly stated that there was a big difference between the Assamese and the people of Sylhet. In the entire Assam valley, Assamese was the main language and on the other hand the people of Sylhet mainly spoke Bengali language. Thus, it became impossible to unite politically under any circumstances due to its socio-cultural differences. Montague-Chelmsford Reforms also expressed disappointment concerning such amalgamation. But in spite of this critical condition of these provinces prevailed government did not give least interest to solve the problem. Thus a demand was gradually raised in Assam to demarcate the boundary of Assam<sup>(18)</sup>.

Regarding the retention of Goalpara with Assam another one very important debate took place. The Zaminders of Bengal tried their level best to annex Goalpara with Bengal and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a movement was emerged in Cachar, Goalpara and Sylhet and the former two showed their interest to merge with Bengal. In fact Raja Prabhat Chandra Baruah, one great leader of the Assam Association and the other Zaminders of Goalpara had already raised the demand<sup>(19)</sup>. Most of the Goalpara Zaminders identified themselves with the Bengali culture and launched a movement for the transfer of Goalpara to Bengal. Their agitation persisted throughout 1920s and 1930s. Mukunda Narayan Baruah, a Zaminder of Goalpara, suggested in 1929 to the Simon commission that, "*the law, language and social customs of the area concerned justified the transfer of permanently settled parts of Goalpara to Bengal*"<sup>(20)</sup>. But it is well analyzed that though initiatives were taken time to time to merge Goalpara with Bengal by some zaminders but the ordinary people not at all showed their interest for the same. A contemporary zaminder of Goalpara Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury firmly stated that Goalpara was well developed under Assam. But if Goalpara is incorporated with Bengal, Rangpur and Kochbihar, the minimum potentiality would be ceased. It was not possible for the people of Goalpara to compete and accent with Bengali language and culture. Thus it was stated that it would be major blow for Goalpara if it would merge with Bengal. Emphasis was laid on the issue of conversation and food habit of Goalpara because it was not similar like Rangpur and Kochbihar. But instead incorporation Goalpara, arguments were made for the annexation of Rangpur, Kochbihar with Assam for its greater benefits. It was quite clear that Assamese people expressed their thoughts on the Sylhet issue and let it merge with Bengal but liked to retain Goalpara with Assam at any cost.<sup>(21)</sup>

## VII. CELEBRATION OF JOYMOTI UTSAV

During 20<sup>th</sup> century, the trend of Assamese nationalism was mainly based on language and literature. The growing popularity of print media enhanced the sense of nationalism and unity among the people of Assam. Meanwhile, the continuous freedom struggle paved the way to provide a unique and separate momentum to the nationalism in Assam. The sense of collective belonging came partly through the experience of united struggles. The identity of a nation is most often symbolized in a figure or image. This helps to create an image with which people can identify the nation. In the Indian context, the image of *Bharat Mata* was projected to develop the sense of collective belonging. The thought-provoking idea was also reflected in Assam and thinkers and literateurs of Assam wanted to project a female figure like *Bharat Mata* to develop nationalistic ideas. In the context of the growth of nationalism in Assam, various historical figures like Joymoti, Sankardeva and Chilarai played a very crucial role during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Assam. Meanwhile the freedom struggle was going on in full swing. To mobilize and inspire the common people of Assam with the nationalist ideology, celebration of *Joymoti Utsav* became a major socio-cultural development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The credit for the discovery or rediscovery of Joymoti Kunwari and of first bringing her to notice of Assamese people in print is usually given to a 19<sup>th</sup> century writer, Ratneswar Mahanta<sup>(22)</sup>. Many people apparently know her story from oral sources particularly those living in Sivasagar Rangpur where stories about her and Gadapani circulated, but they did not see her significance and potentiality in quite the way Mahanta did. The first celebration of Joymoti Utsav was held on 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1914 on the bank of the Joysagar, a large artificial tank near Sivasagar. The *Joymoti Utsav* was a celebration in commemoration of the death anniversary of Joymoti also known as sati Joymoti. According to a report almost 2000 people participated in the celebration where three to four hundred were women and girls. It was supposed to be the first instance in Sivasagar to arrange such a big and auspicious festival. Prominent scholar Padmanath Gohainbaruah was nominated as president to this celebration. Behind this celebration two reasons supposed to be played a vital role. At first, the growing sign of nationalism among the Assamese people and secondly, the sacrifices and the ideology of responsibility of Joymoti. A special thanks was given to Kamalalaya Kakoti, secretary of *Sivasagar Mahila Sanmilani*, for her impartial work for the great cause of Assam and Assamese people.<sup>(23)</sup>

Padmanath Gohainbaruah confessed about the great sacrifice of sati Joymoti for her ideology, contribution and progress of mankind. He termed Joymoti as an ideal Satyagrahi who well realised about the responsibility of a woman towards her motherland. The entire initiative was taken by the *Sivasagar Mahila Sanmilani*. Apart from Gohainbaruah some other delegates such as Padmadher Chaliha, Taraprasad Chaliha, Radhikanath Sharma, Kuladhar Chaliha, Rohini Kumar Baruah, Birbala Borah, Paragdhara Chaliha etc. attended the meeting and wholeheartedly participated in the Joymoti festival. A play '*Joymoti*' by Laxminath Bezbarua was also staged by the children with great enthusiasm<sup>(24)</sup>. In the latter half of the function, three proposals were formally accepted by the people. At first, Joysagar should be declared as "*Holy Site*" secondly, the establishment of a Joymoti temple and thirdly, to mend the collapsed bank of Joysagar tank. People from, Dibrugarh, Jorhat, Golaghat etc. also participated in the great celebration. Moreover a resolution was submitted to the government to declare *Joymoti Utsav* as state holiday for schools and government offices<sup>(25)</sup>. Actually the celebration of *Joymoti Utsav*, turned out to be a national festival of Assam and Assamese people. The festival was celebrated not only in Sivasagar but also in many places of Assam like Jorhat, Nagaon etc. The wide popularity and celebration of Joymoti Utsav throughout Assam was considered to be a major socio-cultural and political development. It was also celebrated in Calcutta but due to some unknown reasons the process was stopped<sup>(26)</sup>.

On the eve of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Joymoti festival had a great impact on the mind of the people of Assam. Padmanath Gohainbaruah, the first president of *Assam Sahitya Sabaha*, wanted to project Joymoti as the first non-violent "*Satyagrahi*" of Assam. He lamented that the great idealistic character Joymoti did not gain exposure and respect in national and international level. A book on Joymoti was very urgent to popularize her ideals and sacrifices among the people of Assam. Padmanath Gohainbaruah attempted to complete the course of Joymoti's deification by proposing to change the name of the festival from '*Utsav*' which mean a joyful celebration, to *Tithi*, the usual word used for death anniversaries, particularly of religious gurus. He felt that solemn mournful note was more benefiting for the occasion. He finally decided on a compromise '*Tithi Utsav*' as the word *utsav* had got inextricably associated with it<sup>(27)</sup>. He even wanted to make Joysagar a *Tirthasthan* (pilgrimage site) on the lines of Kamakhya and build a new temple there. In 1932, Nagaon Mahila Samiti organized Joymoti Utsav where they invited noted historian and writer Hiteswar Borbaruah as the main speaker. In his speech Borbaruah stated that the sacrifices of Joymoti enabled not only her husband but her



son and grandson to rule, thus saving the country from misrule and disaster Thus, an appeal was made to observe 'Joymoti Tithi Utsav' on a particular day. It was asked to celebrate 'Joymoti Utsav' as a religious festival like Sankardev and Madhavdev Tithi.<sup>(32)</sup> The role of Joymoti Kunwari, an Ahom princess in bringing about integration of the different section of Assamese sections of Assamese people in the period of nationalist upsurge. In the end it is not the historicity of Joymoti that is important but the way her image has been used as a potent cultural and literary symbol in the social and political life of the Assamese people in the nationalist movement.

#### VIII.CONCLUSION:

At length, it can be stated that "Awahan" was the only magazine of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Assam where contemporary political trend of Assam was openly discussed. The politics of Assam was not traditional like previous magazines of Assam, but it was progressive in nature. "Awahan" was the first news magazine of Assam which tried its best to link up Assam with the freedom struggle of India. The role of students in politics was also highlighted in the magazine in a logical manner. Problems like migration and demographic transition of Assam was also analysed by "Awahan". The news magazine also tried to focus on the debate of Goalpara and Sylhet.

#### REFERENCES:

- (1) Kalita, S (2005) - Lok Nayak Omeo kumar Das, Lawyers'Book Stall, Guwahati, p. 28.
- (2) Majumdar,P(Comp),2016 - Awahan, Vol.II, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, p. 875.
- (3) Majumdar,P(Comp) 2016 - Awahan, Vol.II, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, pp. 875-880
- (4) Majumdar,P(Comp) 2016 - Awahan, Vol.II, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, pp. 1090-91
- (5) Guha, A. 2004 - Planter Raj to Swaraj, Freedom Struggle to Electorate Politics in Assam, Tulika Books, New Delhi, pp. 73-74.
- (10) Majumadar,P(Comp)2016 -Awahan, Vol. I, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati pp. 662-663.
- (11) Majumdar,P(Comp) 2016 - Awahan,Vol. II, p.1282.
- (12) Baruah, A.K , 1991 - Social Tensions in Assam, middle class Politics,Purbanchal Prakashan, Guwhati,p 27
- (13) Sharma, S.N. 1986 - Ambikagiri Raychoudhuryir Pratibha, Ambikagiri Raychoudhury Rachanawali, p. 11
- (14) Majumdar,P (Comp)2016 - Awahan, Vol. VII, p. 496
- (15) Majumdar, P (Comp) - ibid
- (16) Majumdar, P (Comp)2016 -Awahan, Vol. VII, pp. 17-21
- (17) Majumdar, P (Comp)2016 -Awahan, Vol. VII, pp. 705-708
- (18) Majumdar, P (Comp)2016 - ibid.
- (19) Majumdar, P (Comp)2016 -Awahan, Vol. VII, pp. 17-21
- (20) Guha, A - op.cit. pp. 22-23
- (21) ibid
- (22) Majumdar,P (Comp)2016 - Awahan, Vol. IV, pp. 1084-87
- (23) Speech of B.N Choudhury
- (24) Smile Committee report p 11, N.C. Bordoloi Speech 21 July, APCL(1927)Vol.p,980.
- (25) Majumdar,P (Comp)2016 - Awahan,Vol. IV, op.cit.
- (26) Mahanta, A, 2008 - Journey of Assamese Women (1836-1937), Publication Board Assam Guwahati, p. 14.
- (27) Majumdar,P (Comp)2016 -Awahan, Vol II, pp. 740-41