

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Agrawal S. P. 1996, *Reorganization of North East India since 1947*, Concept Publishing Company, A/15-16, Commercial Block, Mohan Garden, New Delhi- 110059
2. Barbora S., 2005, *Autonomy in the Northeast: The Frontiers of Centralised Politics* in Ranabir Samaddar (Ed) *The Politics of Autonomy, Indian Experiences*, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi
3. Barpujari H. K., 1997, *Political History of Assam Vol-I*, Published by Government of Assam,
4. Basu A. and A. Kohli, (Eds) *Community Conflict and the State in India*
5. Barua, S. 1999, *India against itself: Assam and Politics of Nationality*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi
6. Bell Daniel, 1975, “*Ethnicity and Social Change*” in N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan (Eds.), “*Ethnicity: theory and Practice*”, Cambridge: Harvard University Press
7. Bhadra R. K. and Bhadra Mita, (Eds), 2007, *Ethnicity Movement and Social Structure, Contested Cultural Identity*, Rawat Publications, Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur-302004, India
8. Bhattacharjee Chandana, 1996, *Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement : Case of Bodo-Kacharis of Assam*, Vikas Publishing House
9. Bhuyan B. C. *Politics and Reorganization of North-East India*, Omsons Publications, Prakash House, 4379/4, Ansari Road, New Delhi.
10. Bora Bedabrat, 2013, *Prithak Rajyar Dabi : Asomar Janajati*, Sneha Publication, Guwahati-21
11. Bordoloi B. N, 1988, *Tribes of Assam Part-I*, Published by Tribal Research Institute, Guwahati- 781028, Assam
12. Bordoloi B. N , 1990, *Constraints of Tribal Development in North East India*, Published by Tribal Research Institute, Guwahati- 781028, Assam
13. Brass Paul R., 1991, “*Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and comparison*”, New Delhi: Sage Publications
14. Cornell Svante E., 2001, *Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethno political Conflict in the Caucasus* ; Richmond, UK: Curzon Press
15. Daftary Farimah and Stefan Troebst, 2004, *Radical Ethnic Movements in Contemporary Europe*, Bergham, Newyork, Oxford

16. Das Bhuban M., 1960, *Ethnic Affinities of Rabha*, Department of Publication, University of Gauhati, Gauhati: Assam
17. Dawar, J.L. 2003, *Cultural Identity of Tribes of North east India*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi.
18. Devi Lakshmi, 1968, *Ahom-Tribal Relations: A Political Study*, Assam Book Depot, Calcutta
19. Dutta P. S., 1990, *Ethnic Movement in Poly-Cultural Assam*, Har Anand Publications in associations with Vikas Publishing House,
20. Dutta P. S., 1993, *Autonomy Movements in Assam (Documents) (Edition-I)*, Omsons Publications T-7 Rajouri Garden, New Delhi-110027SS
21. Dutta Roy B. 1983, (Ed) *The Emergence and Role of Middle Class in the North East India*, Uppal Publication House, New Delhi.
22. Endle S., 1990, *The Kacharis*, Low Price Publications, Delhi-110052
23. Ganguly Rajat , 2002, *Autonomy and Ethnic Conflict in South and South-East Asia* (Asian Security Studies), Routledge Publication 1st edition,
24. Gassah L. S.,(Ed.) 1997, *Autonomous District Councils*, Omsons Publications, T-7, Rajouri Garden, New Delhi-110027
25. Gellner David, 2009, *Ethnic Activism and civil society in South Asia*, Sage publications, New Delhi
26. Gohain Birendra Kumar, 1993; *The Hill Lalungs*, Anundoram Borooah Institute of Art, Language, Art & Culture, (ABILAC) Assam, Tarun Nagar, Guwahati-781005
27. Gottlieb Gidon, 1993; *Nation Against State: A New Approach to Ethnic conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty*, Council on Foreign Relations
28. Grierson, G.A., 1904; *Linguistic Survey of India Vol-III Part -III*, Calcutta,(Reprint 1967: Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi,).
29. Hazarika Lohit, 2014; *Identity and Democracy: Autonomy Movement in Assam*, EBH Publishers (India) an imprint of Eastern Book House 136, M.L. Nehru Road, Panbazar, Guwahati-781 001(India)
30. Heintze Hans-Joachim, 1998, “On the Legal Understanding of Autonomy”, in Suksi, Markku (ed.) *Autonomy: Applications and Implications*, The Hague: Kluwaer Law International
31. Kundu Dilip Kumar, 2010, *Ethnic Movement in North- East India Volume- I*. A. P. H. Publishing Corporation.

32. Lapidoth Ruth 1997, *Autonomy: Flexible Solution to Ethnic Conflicts*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press
33. Mahanta Dr. Prafulla, 2014, *Janagosthigata Chetana: Atmapratisthar Prashna*, Bhabani Books, An imprint of Bhabani Offset Pvt. Ltd., Guwahati-781026, Assam
34. Medhi Birinchi Kumar, Athparia R. P., Jose K. SVD, 2009, *Tribes of North East India, Issues and Challenges*, Omsons Publications, 4379/4B, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi- 110002 ISBN- 978-81-907205-2-6
35. Meena Dr. Ram Sing, 2006, *Tribal Development Programmes, A Critical Appraisal*, Ritu Publications 28, Sita Rampuri, Amber Road, Jaipur-302002 ISBN- 81-87445-20-3
36. Macduff Ian and Ganguly Rajat, 2003, *Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism in South and South East Asia: Causes, Dynamics and Solutions*, Sage Publications, New Delhi
37. Nath Manoj Kumar, 2013, *Asomar Janajati Rajneeti*, published by Pranjal Kumar Mahanta on behalf of Aalibaat, Guwahati-19
38. Neelsen P. John and Malik Dipak, 2007. (Eds) *Crisis of State and Nation*, Manohar Publisher and Distributors, New Delhi 110002.
39. Phadnis Urmila, Ganguly Rajat (Revised), 2001, *Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia*, SAGE publications, New Delhi
40. Phinney Jean, 2003; “*Ethnic identity and acculturation*” in K. Chun, P.B. Organista and G. Marin (Eds.), “*Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement and applied research*, Washington D.C.: Americal Psychological Association
41. Safran William, Suarez Ramon Maiz, Maiz Ramon, (Eds) 2000, *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies – (Nationalism and Ethnicity; no.3)*, Routledge Publications.
42. Samaddar Ranabir 2008, (Ed) *The Politics of Autonomy*, sage Publications, New Delhi
43. Saikia Pahi, 2011, *Ethnic Mobilisation and Violence in North East India*, Routledge 912-915 Tolstoy House, 15-17 Tolstoy Marg, Connaught Place, New Delhi 110 001
44. Singh Bhupinder 2002, *Autonomy Movements and Federal India*, , Rawat Publications, Jaipur
45. Singha K. S., 2007 (Ed) *Tribal Movements in India*, vol-I, Manohar Publisher and Distributors, New Delhi 110002
46. Trimble Joseph E. and Dickson Ryan, 2000, *Ethnic Identity*, in C.B. Fisher and Lerner, R.M. (Eds), *Applied developmental science: An encyclopedia of research, policies and programs*, Thousand Oaks: Sage

47. Wicker Rudolf Hans, *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity*, ISBN 1859739261, 1859739318
48. Wolff and Weller, 2005, "Self-determination and Autonomy: a conceptual introduction" in M. Weller and S. Wolf (Eds.), 2005 "*Autonomy, Self-Governance and Conflict Resolution: Innovative Approaches to Institutional Design in Divided Societies*", published by Psychological Press

Articles in the Journals viewed in printed version and in website:

49. Hussain M. (May 16-23, 1992), "Tribal Question in Assam" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.27, No. 20/21, 1047-1050
50. Hussain M. (December 16-22, 2000), "State, Identity Movement and Internal Displacement in the North East" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.35, No.51, 4519-4523
51. Tsutsui Kiyoteru, 2004, "Global Civil Society and Ethnic Social Movements in the Contemporary World", *Sociological Forum (online)*, March, 2004, Volume 19, Issue 1, pp. 63-87, viewed on <http://link.springer.com> on 8/4/2015
52. Pathak Suryasikha,(2010), "Tribal Politics in the Assam: 1933-1947" *Economic & Political weekly*, 6-3-2010
53. "Tribal Identity and Ethnic Conflicts in North-East India: A Christian Response" in Manipur Online, viewed on December, 1st, 2012 in the website <http://manipuronline.com/research-papers/tribal1-identity-and-ethnicconflicts-in-North-East-India-a-Christian-response/2005/12/24>
54. Muni S. D. "Ethnic Conflict, federalism, and democracy in India" viewed in website, Web Address: <http://unu.edu>, Viewed on 4/12/2012
55. Bijukumar V. (July, 2013), "Social Exclusion and Ethnicity in Northeast India" *The NEHU Journal*, Vol XI, No.2, 19-33
56. Stuligross David, "Autonomous Councils in Northeast India: Theory and Practice" *Journal Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, October 1999, Vol. 24, No.4, 497-526, viewed in website- www.m.alt.sagepub.com, on 11/10/2014
57. Deori Navaneeta, "Ethnic Fratricide and the Autonomous Councils of Assam" *Yojana*, August, 01, 2013, viewed in www.yojana.gov.in, on 12/10/2014
58. Fleming Crystal M. and Morris Aldon, "Theorizing Ethnic and Racial Movements in the Global Age, Lessons from the Civil Rights Movement" published in *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, Vol.1 No.1, 105-126, web address- www.m.s.r.e.sage.pub.com , viewed on 25/12/2015

Magazines/ Souvenir:

59. Smriti Grantha, Nikhil Rabha Chatra Santha (ARSU), 1st Annual Conference held on 18th to 20th December 1981 at Boko, Kamrup (Assam).
60. “Hasong Siri” a Souvenir, Rabha Hasong Demand Committee (RHDC) 1st annual conference, 26th to 27th February 1994, at Bayoda, Goalpara (Assam).
61. “Singi Hurang” a mouthpiece of Nikhil Rabha Chatra Santha (ARSU) 2nd addition, published in 9th general conference of ARSU, 2nd to 4th April, 1999, Loharghat, Goalpara (Assam)
62. “Singi Hurang” a mouthpiece of Nikhil Rabha Chatra Santha (ARSU) published in 13th general conference of ARSU, 27th to 29th March, 2009, Dudhnoi, Goalpara (Assam)
63. “Pajar” a Souvenir, 8th biennial conference of Goalpara Jila Rabha Chatra Santha (ARSU) and Goalpara Jila Rabha Mohila Parishad (RWC), 9th to 11th January 2010, Goalpara (Assam).
64. “Borghuli” a Souvenir, annual general conference of Dudhnoi Purbanchal Rabha Samaj, 30th January to 2nd February, 2012, Amjonga High School, Dudhnoi, Goalpara (Assam).

Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished)

65. Nath Ramesh Ch., (1996); “*Growth and Development of Political Consciousness among Tiwa Community of Assam in the Post Independence Period*” unpublished Ph. D. thesis submitted in the Faculty of Arts, Gauhati University.
66. Goswami Mahidhar, (1996); *Tribal Movements in Assam its Dimensions and Solutions* unpublished Ph. D. thesis submitted in the Faculty of Arts, Gauhati University.

News Paper Articles:

67. Barua T. L., “Autonomous Council- a failed experiment”, *The Assam Tribune*, 21-11-2008
68. Dutta Anubhab, “Politics behind tribal autonomy”, *The Assam Tribune*, 24-2-2011
69. Mukhim Patricia, “Ethnic identity, conflict and responses” *The Assam Tribune*, 28-4-2011
70. Ravi R. N., “Assam: A State on suicide course” *The Assam Tribune*, 5-8-2012
71. Das H. N., “The politics of ethnicity”, *The Assam Tribune*, 9-9-2012
72. Various press reports on different dates, particularly in *The Assam Tribune* latest being on 5th, 8th, 12th and 13th January, 2013; Doinik Agrodut, 12 April 2013; Doinik Asom, 29 April 2013

Documents:

73. THE ASSAM GAZETTE, EXTRAORDINARY, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY, GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, Notification, 30th October 1995
74. Census Report of 2001 & 2011, collected from the Office of the Director of Census operations, Assam, Bhangagarh, Guwahati-781005.
75. List of constituencies of the Tiwa and the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council, collected from the Office of the State Election Commission, Beltola Basistha Road, Housefed, Dispur, Guwahati, Assam 781006.
76. Voters List specially prepared for the Tiwa and the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council elections, collected from the Deputy Commissioners office, Election Branch, in the districts of Nagaon, Marigaon and Kamrup.
77. Lists showing the Nature of Development Schemes prepared by both Tiwa and the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Councils collected from the Secretariate Office of the Tiwa and the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council.
78. Copy of documents showing the money received so far from the Government by both the Tiwa and the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council collected from the Secretariate Office of the Tiwa and the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council.

Memorandums and Other documents collected:

79. Memorandum submitted by the Rabha Hasong Demand Committee to the Chief Minister of Assam on 11th May, 1993 at Dudhnoi, Goalpara
80. Memorandum submitted by the Rabha Hasong Demand Committee to the Chief Minister of Assam on 10-11-1993 at Dispur, Guwahati
81. Memorandum submitted by the Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council to the Prime Minister of India on 14-4-1998 at New Delhi
82. Memorandum submitted by the Rabha Students Union, Sixth Schedule Demand Committee, All Rabha Women Council and All Rabha Sahitya Sabha to the Chairman, The Cabinet Sub-Committee, Government of Assam on 9th June, 2004 at Dispur, Guwahati
83. Election leaflet published by Rabha Hasong Joint Movement Committee (RHJMC) in 2013.
84. Memorandum submitted by the All Tiwa Students Union (ATSU), All Tiwa Women Association (ATWA), Tiwa Cultural Society (TCS) and Autonomy Demand Struggling Forum (ADSF) to the Chief Minister of Assam on 11th December, 2012, at Dispur, Guwahati.

85. Press release by the All Tiwa Students Union (ATSU), All Tiwa Women Association (ATWA), Tiwa Cultural Society (TCS) and Autonomy Demand Struggling Forum (ADSF) on 3rd May 2007 at Morigaon, Assam.
86. Annual Report prepared and submitted by the Secretary of All Tiwa Students Union (ATSU) in the 8th General Conference of the ATSU held on 8th, 9th and 10th March 2014 at Morigaon, Assam.