The Tale of NRC and Its Multiple Narratives: A Macro Level Study on Global and National Media Behaviour

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Abstract: With the extensive interplay of messages, media and language, multiple narratives pertaining to a single story and each narrative taking the entire story to a different turn of events are almost common occurrence. Almost all the issues currently dominating the national and international media have multiple aspects, which are not the sole determinants of the way the story is narrated but also how news stories could be manipulated for furthering propagandas. Media narratives unknowingly help readers construct their own imagination, build ideology and follow a particular perspective based on earlier narrative experiences. Likewise in presentation of truth too, there are two distinct categories, discursive and narrative. After years of rigorous work, the final National Register of Citizens (NRC) list of Assam was published on 31st August, 2019, which was publicly made available online on 15th September, 2019, and was found to have left out 1.9 million people. Earlier, the final draft NRC, published on 30th July, 2018, had excluded from the list 4 million people, and was subsequently subjected to further modifications. The recent media furor over NRC list of the state of Assam of India led to one such ripple effect and the manner in which the stories were narrated had a different outlook altogether. This paper will deal with such aspects and study the manner in which conflict, violence and governmental policies could be reflected differently through different national and global media houses.

Introduction

We are currently in the phase of media implosion where there are multiple narratives pertaining to a single story and each narrative takes the entire story to a different turn of events. Almost all the issues that are currently dominating national and international media have a multitude of aspects, which are not sole determiners of the manner the story is narrated, but it is the media which manipulates and twists a story to favour its interest. Media narratives, aid the readers to construct their own imagination, sometimes remaining loyal to their ideology and often following a particular style based on earlier narrative experiences (Diaz, 2009). In an observation, Martha Nussbaum (1992) makes the argument that reading literature can help us to expand our study of ethics because we can practice expanding our moral imaginations by engaging in narratives. She argues that with literature, the conjunction of the form and the content together allows a particular style to emerge that can prompt us to reflect on our own moral situations in a significantly different way than we can with philosophical ethical treatises. This leads to dilemma of ethics since narrative construction is inseparable from a readers search for truth, objectivity and credibility in the form and content of journalistic narrative.

Nussbaum (1992, p. 5), further explains that "certain truths about human life can only be fittingly and accurately stated in the language and forms characteristic of the narrative artist". As such, her more comprehensive and meaningful understanding of ethical life as well as society can be paved by adding balanced and authentic literature to our narrative (Heald, 1998; Bailey, 1997; Bennett, 2015).

Part of the basis of Nussbaum's (1992) claim is that the style of narrative is uniquely qualified to present what she calls a "view of life." She feels that "telling itself" includes the selection of genre, formal structures, sentences, vocabulary of the whole manner of addressing the reader's sense of life. It leads to "a sense of life and value, a sense of what matters and what does not, of what learning and communicating are, or life's relations and connections" (Nussbaum, 1992, p. 6). All of this, in addition to the notion that events are never experienced except through a human perspective (although there may ideally be omniscient narrators, we can never experience narratives except through a particular perspective) add to the fact that reading literature, according to Nussbaum, helps us to experience the world more fully. Life is never presented straightforwardly but always through the lens of a speaker, whose lens(es) may be or are likely to be very different depending on factors like intent, policy, topicality, economy and society, sometimes even laced with undercurrent narratives. Nussbaum (1992, p. 48) also argues that "literature is an extension of life not only horizontally, bringing the reader into contact with events or locations or persons or problems he or she has not otherwise met, but also, so to speak, vertically, giving the reader experience that is deeper, sharper, and more precise than much of what takes place in literature".

It is clear now that there are (at least) two different kinds of reasoning skills that we use and can develop. Without going into great detail about what the imagination can do in conjunction with this, lets say that the imagination plays a very important role in narrative reasoning and narrative meaning construction. Narrative reasoning and the capacity to imagine are mutually dependent, and both should begin to develop at an early age of a narrative. Imagination can help to facilitate causal judgments about how things might have turned out differently. Historians use this kind of speculation, as do philosophers in thought experiments. In a much more mundane sense, we do this in our everyday lives. This is, in fact, how we identify alternate ways things could have turned out and what we could have done or said differently to make those alternatives happen.

In case of particular discourses, it sometimes becomes clear that different actors are trying to promote different ways of organising society. This leads to an entirely choreographed social practice, which can appear so natural that we can hardly see that there could be alternatives.

NRC issue and media discourse:

Part-II (Articles 5-11) of the Constitution of India describes the various categories of persons who are entitled to citizenship (MEA). These were enforced on November 26, 1949, ahead of

the commencement of the Constitution on January 26, 1950. Article 11 empowers Parliament to regulate citizenship by law; the Citizenship Act was, therefore, passed in 1955. It has since been amended in 1986, 2003, 2005, and 2015 (Mustafa, 2018).

Since Assam, a state situated in north-east India, is bordered by neighbouring country Bangladesh, there has been a history of large-scale infiltration into the state. To tackle this unabated influx, there has been a consistent demand by denizens of the state to update the citizens registration of the state till the much debated upon date of 1971. To protect the social and cultural interests of Assamese people, the Indian Parliament enacted the Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act in 1950, under which the central government could order the removal of any person who had come into Assam from outside India, and whose "stay… in Assam is detrimental to the interests of the general public of India or of any section thereof or of any Scheduled Tribe in Assam" ("Immigrants (Expulsion From Assam) Act, 1950," n.d.). However, the aftermath of the Partition of India, including the failure of the two-nation theory that was manifested in the birth of Bangladesh, and the nature of the topography and porous border in the east, saw continued huge infiltration into Assam — which triggered an agitation in the state that ultimately led to the signing of the Assam Accord[1] on August 15, 1985. The 1986 amendment to the Citizenship Act, 1955, inserted Section 6A under which all persons of Indian origin who entered Assam before January 1, 1966 and been its ordinary residents were deemed to be Indian citizens; those who came after January 1, 1966 (Mustafa, 2018), but before March 25, 1971, were to get citizenship upon registration at the expiry of 10 years after their detection as foreigner; and those who entered after March 25, 1971, upon identification under the Illegal Migrant (Determination by Tribunal) (IMDT) Act[2], 1983, were to be deported. In view of this the National Register of Citizens (NRC) was formulated to arrive upon a conclusive decision by the government. As stated in the Assam Government website,

> National Register of Citizens, 1951 is a register prepared after the conduct of the Census of 1951 in respect of each village, showing the houses or holdings in a serial order and indicating against each house or holding the number and names of persons staying therein. These registers covered each and every person enumerated during the Census of 1951 and were kept in the offices of Deputy Commissioners and Sub Divisional Officers according to instructions issued by the Government of India in 1951. Later these registers were transferred to the Police in the early 1970s. National Register of Citizens (NRC) updating means the process of enlisting the names of those persons (or their descendants) whose names appear in any of the Electoral Rolls up to 1971, 1951 NRC or any of the admissible documents stipulated (NRC Assam, 2014).

After years of rigorous work, the final draft of NRC was published on July 30, 2018. The final draft though was subject to further modifications, with its list excluding 4 million people. After

the period allotted for modification, more than 1.9 million people in Assam were excluded from the final list of NRC released by the government on August 31, 2019, while over 3.11 crore persons were included out of a total of 3,30,27,661 persons who had applied for inclusion of their names in the updated list of NRC Assam (India Today, 2019).

The present status of these 1.9 million people has been covered in national and global media highlighting different aspects. It was expected that a larger number would be excluded from the final list. But, we analyzed the situation and media narratives when it was suddenly disclosed that 4 million people's names were not included in the draft NRC in 2018 in this paper. These 4 million people were not enlisted in NRC owing to reasons like unavailability of documents, errors in the documents filed, technological error as well as lack of evidence pertaining to being citizen of the country. This list of non-inclusion of 4 million people led to a number of reactions. In most cases, the reactions were compelled by coverage of the story maneuvered to suit the interests of the respective media houses, some motivated by ideology, some by political affiliations.

The media furor over NRC list of the state of Assam of India led to one such ripple effect and the manner in which the stories were narrated had a different outlook altogether. Without veering into these domains, the main purpose of this paper is to identify the multiple narratives and conduct a content discourse analysis on the text, discursive background along with social alliance.

Conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis on the Media's NRC Coverage

The purpose of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to analyze "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Al-Duleimi, 2017). Now as evident from the study of CDA, the dimension into which a text is analysed can be divided into discourse-as-text, comprising the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse. Like the use of vocabulary (e.g. wording, metaphor), grammar (e.g. transitivity, modality), cohesion (e.g. conjunction, schemata), and text structure (e.g. episoding, turn-taking system) should be systematically analyzed. Even passive verb forms in news reporting, can have an obscuring effect on the agents of political processes.

The second dimension is discourse-as-discursive-practice, i.e. discourse as something that is produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). The third dimension is discourse-as-social-practice, i.e. the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is a feature (for CDA's use of the theories and concepts of Althusser and Gramsci, see below). Hegemony concerns power that is achieved through constructing alliances and integrating classes and groups through consent, so that "the articulation and rearticulating of orders of discourse is correspondingly one stake in hegemonic struggle" (Blommaert & Bulcaen).

For historical reasons the use of systemic-functional linguistics is prominent, but categories and concepts have also been borrowed from more mainstream discourse analysis.

The process of updating the NRC has many significant challenges in the backdrop of India's partition, which is considered "as a period of absolute terror, which, by some estimates, saw more than a million killed, and over 14 million people forcibly relocated" (Dalrymple, 2015). Approximately 14 million refugees (Perkins, n.d.) came to take shelter. A fragmentized society was built up with religion based clashes; the socio-political fabrication of society got further complicated with the continuous infiltration through geographically open borders. Aftermath of the situation for north eastern part of India has similarities with many countries although the context varied. While the effects of partition and infiltration into north-western India has been a much-researched area for historians, demographers and social scientists, the situation in the north-eastern part of India received far less attention from researchers, despite the fact that a new nation Bangladesh was born in 1971, and the region again had to witness socio-political challenges.

The media definitely has a role in presenting such human crises. What media exercise basically is about is the power to represent the world in certain definite ways. And because there are many different and conflicting ways in which meaning about the world can be constructed, it matters profoundly what and who gets represented, who and what regularly and routinely gets left out; and how things, people, events, relationships are represented. Our knowledge about society is interpreted the way it is presented to us and social norms and policies designed accordingly. Even the generalization of British Muslims despite their heterogeneous nature and different ethnic backgrounds is a part of such narrative (Poole 2002). Modood (2005, 2006) further notes that this heterogeneity is further complicated by political, cultural and socio-economic factors.

Walter Lippmann's reference to 'pictures in our heads' (1922: 2) has been a guiding factor in establishing a crucial conceptual paradigm in the social sciences – the social construction of reality – to which this study of Muslim websites is indebted. Lippmann argued that individuals' perceptions of reality were as important, if not more important, than facts on the ground (Urbanski, 2012).

In this study, we were subjected to the following question, at the beginning:

RQ1: What dominant themes have been highlighted while covering the NRC issue and what kind of role has the regional, national as well as global media played in dissemination of information pertaining to the NRC exercise in Assam?

To answer the proposed research question, a discourse analysis was carried out to identify the prominent coverage styles by the different mediums. The analysis deals with:

1. The international news discourse in contrast to the regional news discourse

2. Identifying narrative patterns which have a greater tendency to remain in the conscious minds of people.

3. Through "analysis of surface structures", study of the variations is required

4. Looking at a text for its functionality, meaningfulness, coherence of discourse and goal directedness.

There are generally three kinds of analysis, the micro, meso and the macro analyses. Since there is a lot of literature, there would be little scope to conduct a micro or meso level analysis. Hence the researcher would undertake a meso as well as macro level analysis. This would lead to a better understanding of the language domination as well as language interplay and inequalities of language.

I.   **The first narrative: Transforming stories into victims-based narrative and magnifying the humanitarian crises**

It has been observed that international media institutes are adopting the news narratives that focus on individual experiences to amplify the severity of the issue. Here arises the questions of authenticity, credibility and reliability of texts, which talks of million people with observation on a few case studies. Narratives below are some of the inscriptions taken for consideration in this study.

> **BBC:** Among the residents are Bengali- and Assamese-speaking Hindus, and a medley of tribal people (Biswas, 2018).
>
> A third of its 32 million residents are Muslims, the second-highest number after Indian-administered Kashmir. Many of them are descendants of immigrants who settled under British rule………A six-year indigenous protest - during which hundreds of people were murdered - led to a 1985 pact between the federal government and protesters………… The latest move to make millions of people stateless overnight has sparked fears of violence in what is already a tinderbox state. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which rules the state, has insisted in the past that illegal Muslim immigrants will be deported.
>
> **Alzjazeera:** A retired army officer who served for around 30 years has found his name missing from the final draft. "I'm hurt. This is what I had to see after serving the nation for three decades. I have no words to say," said Azmal Haque, 50, a resident of Chhaygaon in Kamrup district, who retired as a junior commissioned officer (JCO) in 2016…………..There are several objections. The update process was being done under the supervision of the Supreme Court but it was unfortunate to see the intervention of the state government on several

occasions. We will approach the court later," Islam told Al Jazeera………………
(Gani, 2018).

In the BBC report Human rights activist Suhas Chakma dubbed the NRC list the "biggest exercise for disenfranchisement in human history"……… The National Register of Citizens is the biggest exercise for disenfranchisement in human history. This NRC has few parallels such as expulsion of 3,00,000 Indian origin persons by General Ne Win of Myanmar in 1960s, expulsion of over 80,000 Indian origin people by Idi Amin of Uganda, the denial of citizenship to over 5,00,000 Indian origin Tamils by successive governments of Sri Lanka and in the last three decades, the expulsion of Rohingyas by Myanmar," Chakma, Director of the Rights and Risks Analysis Group, said in a statement (Biswas, 2018).

The story emphasises on the residents as primarily Bengali and Assamese speaking Hindus, undermining the existence of the tribal people who are the original inhabitants of Assam and comprising of a sizeable population. According to census 2001, the population of scheduled tribe population is recoded to be 12.4 percent (Census of India, 2010). The story again emphasises on the aspect of religion bringing in the discursive logic of being the home to the second highest Muslim population after Kashmir, despite the fact that the NRC was not designed keeping in mind the religious context and the element of "otherness" has been introduced. Another line in the story again mentions the protest as a six decade long strife where hundreds of people have been murdered. This "summarising" of the protest into one that that has led to bloodbath is also very unmethodical in its approach, since the violence was a fallout of the identity crises fuelled by separatism demand. This was followed by inclusion of the youths into militancy and a continuous clash with the authority.

The second article from Al-Jazeera begins with a story of a man who has been left out of the list. The note starts with, "I'm hurt. This is what I had to see after serving the nation for three decades. I have no words to say". The final draft of NRC is not the final verdict and the officials have repeatedly mentioned through advertisements and appealed that this draft is subject to modifications and the draft has been listed out in cases where there are no sufficient papers, but the news story emphasizes more on the humanitarian crises and seeks to overlook the fact-based nuances of the NRC. In course of the article, there is a discursive alignment towards bringing an analogous comparison with the expulsion of 300,000 Indian origins persons by General Ne Win of Myanmar in 1960s, expulsion of over 80,000 Indian origin people by Idi Amin of Uganda, the denial of citizenship to over 500,000 Indian origin Tamils. This itself takes a shift from the earlier objective of the NRC and overlooks the prolonged process of formulation of the draft that separates this from the other stories. There has been a steady attempt to classify this draft with that of the violent expulsion of humans from the countries mentioned above.

Indian Express: If anyone can claim credit for the completion of the draft NRC, it is the coalition of regional political forces in Assam — notably the AASU (All

Assam Students' Union) and the AGP (Asom Gana Parishad) — for relentlessly pushing for it since the days of the Assam Movement. Their decision to turn to the judiciary can only be seen as a positive step. In Assam, there has been much praise for the coordinator of the NRC, Prateek Hajela, and his staff for successfully and competently bringing this enormously complex exercise to near completion (Mustafa, 2018).

CNN: If anyone can claim credit for the completion of the draft NRC, it is the coalition of regional political forces in Assam — notably the AASU and the AGP — for relentlessly pushing for it since the days of the Assam Movement. Their decision to turn to the judiciary can only be seen as a positive step. In Assam, there has been much praise for the coordinator of the NRC, Prateek Hajela, and his staff for successfully and competently bringing this enormously complex exercise to near completion………………………. Only a naïve legalist would expect the Supreme Court to magically settle Assam's vexed foreigner question — a profoundly political question that is ultimately about the birth of the republic itself (Suri, 2018).

This narrative brings into light the actual workings of the NRC as well as brings out the historical mention of the "Assam movement" whereby the article mentions again on the completion of the draft NRC as well as acknowledge it as a 'complex' problem. The story of CNN again quotes the statement 'Only a naïve legalist would expect the Supreme Court to magically settle Assam's vexed foreigner question' which acknowledges the complexity of the process and at the same time recognizes the insolubility of the issue in certain cases.

II.   The Second Narrative: Peace retains in the valley.

Telegraph: The publication of the complete draft NRC on Monday evoked a 'mixed response' from different organisations and political leaders in south Assam's Barak Valley (Bhattacharjee, 2018).

> All the three major towns of Silchar, Hailakandi and Karimganj wore a deserted look on Monday. Markets were relatively empty. Traffic was also comparatively less. Elaborate security arrangements were made by the administration. Common people without money and knowledge of documents are out because of no fault of theirs. I feel it is insensitive to distribute sweets and celebrate while lakhs of people are left worried and scared…….There were no crowds at the NRC seva kendras (NSK). An official working at an NSK in Hailakandi said most people opted to check the list online……..Paul, whose wife Archana's name was missing from the final draft NRC, said human or technical errors were possible.

This statement tries to underplay the impact of the NRC outcome. It has not maintained a polarised view of the NRC impact, rather it works on the words like 'Mixed response' which is like approaching a very neutral stand on the NRC. The article refrains from using catastrophic terms and stated that the traffic was 'comparatively less'.

In the very next statement it writes how common people have been out of the list primarily due to issues like lack of money and knowledge of documents bringing the focus on the subject to some of the core issues that have been responsible for absence of names from the NRC.

Another statement again dismisses the demonic character of the NRC with the statement that 'Paul, whose wife Archana's name was missing from the final draft NRC, said human or technical errors were possible'

The story has brought into notice some of the vital factors of the exclusion of the names from the NRC list and has stated reasons that are primarily responsible for this elimination.

The third narrative: An analytical understanding of the root of the NRC and its aftermath

i.   Counterview: Tracing the roots of Assam's NRC politics to the 1947 partition of Sylhet is misleading (Deka, 2018).

ii. The missing 4,007,7070, Can democracy permit so many to be in a state of liminal legality? The NRC posses social and moral questions (Baruah, 2018).

> **Scroll.in:** Thus, it was not the "Sylhet partition'' but the colonial annexation of Sylhet into Assam. The "Assamese" were unhappy and insecure about it, seeing the addition of a populous Bengali-speaking district as a threat to their "language and culture".

This shared history points to the complexities of a region that is built on essentially eclectic and syncretic foundations. The significant cultural commonalities that still exist are a legacy of this shared past. No matter how much one dislikes nationalism based on language, one cannot ignore that in a resource-scarce "colonial hinterland" language was (and continues to be) a source of both identity.

The portal pointed out that the growing numbers of Bengali speakers and their position of "dominance" in the colonial administration was precisely why the Assamese felt their language and culture were under threat. A rejoinder to "how the 1947 Sylhet partition led to Assam's politics of the foreigner" could very well be "how the 1826 Yandabo annexation led to Assam's tryst with demographic engineering''

The partition of Sylhet is a story of great loss; multitudes were forced to relocate at short notice, often without adequate compensation and left to penury. But one must recognise the uncomfortable truth that it was part of a cycle of tragedy triggered over a century back and crafted brick by brick by the whims of colonial rulers, who began by victimising some at the cost of privileging others, only to "swallow them all" eventually. Although loss has no hierarchy, there perhaps is a chronology to it.

The NRC debate has opened up the prospect of engaging with some of the most complex, yet underexplored facets of the subcontinent's history. But the first challenge is to figure out the right vantage point to unpack the complexities. Without it, one would feed on narratives that are presumptuous, uniformed and misleading.

This article takes an entirely historical perspective on the NRC and the take of language nationalism of the people of Assam, which has not been dealt in depth by the other coverage. By referring to the historical connotation of the NRC as to how it wasn't , "the "Sylhet partition'' but the colonial annexation of Sylhet into Assam. The "Assamese" were unhappy and insecure about it, seeing the addition of a populous Bengali-speaking district as a threat to their "language and culture". This in short clarifies the stand of the NRC and reinstates that there has been a lot of 'parachute journalism' with regard to the NRC coverage by both the national as well as the regional media.

It traces the treaty of Yandaboo and the growing dominance of the Bengali language when Sylhet was made a part of the erstwhile Assam, and talks about how the "1826 Yandabo annexation led to Assam's tryst with demographic engineering.'' Narrative explanation does not focus only on how one event is produced or effected by another but also on the more subtle transition from beginning to end in terms of explanation and plot construction. The explanation involved in narrative is not merely a series of events that happen to a unified subject.

What makes a narrative distinctive are the clues that help readers to account for the change that happens between the beginning and end to make the explanatory gap into a coherent story. Narrativity is the ability to account for the change that happens between the beginning and end to make the explanatory gap into a coherent whole.

Findings

This macro study have observed the following behavior of media in terms of narratives on NRC

Categories

Transforming stories into victims based narrative and magnifying the humanitarian crises	Peace retains in the valley	Analytical understanding of the root of the NRC and its aftermath
i. Creation of "otherness". This otherness was based on communities like Assamese and Bengali , religion like Muslim in dominant text phases ii. Credit for implementation of NRC was focal either for regional parties or demands of student organization. No focus on Government initiatives or the stands of Supreme court of India, even when talking about the legal and humanitarian crisis iii. Individual case studies are overriding	i. No polarized view of NRC impact. Use of words like 'mixed response' ii. Absence of name in the NRC list is been correlated with financial limitations, which according to the process of filling up of the form is untrue.	i. Bringing 'Sylhet partition in context', though it dates back to partition of India. No referral to *Indara Mujib* treaty ii. High voltage of 'parachute journalism' was observed for national and international media. iii. Bringing sensitive issues on the foray in the narratives like ' threat to language and culture' iv. Interpretative journalism seems to be playing with the narratives

Conclusion:

From the international media perspective, it has been observed that the media has been premature in its approach and the kind of headlines and titles have been projected have been more judgemental and less detailed in terms of the historical evolution of the news story. With the Al Jazeera's story reporting on the exclusion of 4 million, the story clearly failed to mention how the report isn't the final draft and the that the situation is the state was a far cry from the genocide and anarchic environment that was made to look from its very coloured narrative.

The formation of the NRC has been a long drawn process, the BBC's use of terms like xenophobia as well as creating a parallel with that of the Rohingya issue has been prejudiced and an attempt to pitch a square peg in a round hole.

The undercurrent ideological labelling in course of its narration has been apparent in the manner in which both these international media have attributed the outcome of the NRC as a product of the ruling party while fairly and squarely targeting the minority community.

Similar reporting style has been witnessed in terms of the coverage by the CNN which also has drawn parallel with Rohingya leading to an image of war like situation in the state whereas the situation has been quite contrary.

The fact that not a single case of conflict was reported post the publication of the NRC has been precariously absent. Even the national media highlighting the West Bengal's Chief Minister, Mamta Banerjee's comment which was targeted to trigger unrest, threatening "Civil War" and "Bloodbath" as an aftermath of the NRC was quite insignificant and undermined the state's peaceful and reconciled situation.

This implied the fact that the national media has also been biased and did resort to parachute journalism on a number of counts. From the discursive analysis, it has also been observed that there were media outlets while were clearly supporting and arguing the NRC as legal process identifying that the unabated flow of the illegal immigrants threatened the security and demography of the nation. Analytical reports by media houses have also exercised vague perspectives on the outcome of the NRC which implied of strenuous relationship between India and Bangladesh without clearly going through the historical study.

Quite contrary to the international reports, the local media however has exercised restrain and has spoken on the peaceful measures undertaken by the government to avoid conflict. Also there were analytical edits on the progression of the NRC formation from erstwhile times and at the same time defined the entire process of application of NRC in case of refilling of a lot of people, quoted the administration stating that this was just the draft NRC and at the same time creating hope for future inclusion in the NRC list.

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Endnotes

[1] A six-year agitation demanding identification and deportation of illegal immigrants was launched by the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) in 1979. It culminated with the signing of the Assam Accord, which was a Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) signed between the Government of India and the leaders of the Assam Movement in New Delhi on 15 August 1985.

[2] The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) (IMDT) Act was an Act of the Parliament of India enacted in 1983 by the Indira Gandhi government. It was struck down by the Supreme Court of India in 2005 in Sarbananda Sonowal v. Union of India.