Three Terms Congress rule in Assam Vs. Three Terms BJP rule in Gujarat, MP & Chhattisgarh

Comparative Study on Socio-Economic Achievements

By
Ram Prasad Tripathy

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation
Foreword

It clearly emerges from this report that, in the last fifteen years, Assam has faced tremendous neglect in terms of development, infrastructure and basic livelihood amenities for the vast majority of the ordinary people of the state. BJP President Amit Shah, in his public rallies across Assam, has in fact, pointed out at this neglect of basic development indices in the state which is so strategically poised and is so full of potential.

Had Assam's development been undertaken in all seriousness in the last 15 years much could have changed not only for the state but for the entire region as a whole. It has been a wasted 15 years - primary education, roads, electricity, availability of potable water, condition of tea garden workers, infrastructure - are areas that have faced acute neglect. The situation is difficult to explain away considering the fact that out of these 15 years at least 10 years saw same party rule both at the state and at the Union level. Assam's true potential remains suppressed and only a change can lift the state and its people out of the morass they find themselves in.

Politics in India today has gone a sea change. Aspirational India looks towards a performance and accountability oriented politics and lends its support to those formations and leaders who best articulate and effectuate that change. The Congress government in Assam, in the last 15 years, clearly seems to have belied that hope.

The study seeks to compare the development achievements of those states that have seen BJP led governments at the helm for three terms of five years each with 15 years of Congress rule in Assam and it clearly emerges from the analysis done by Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathy that on the development front Assam has lagged behind with its potential untapped and its people neglected. When talking of models of development - the Assam model of development as seen in these years is a model that stands discredited. While Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh have moved ahead and performed and have run a result oriented government for over fifteen years, the development graph in Assam seems to have reached a nadir.

I commend the effort put in by Mr. Tripathy and hope that the report shall generate further debate and discussion while bringing out the successful approaches to governance and also the other approach which neglects and ignores it altogether.

Dr. Anirban Ganguly
Director, SPMRF
New Delhi
Three terms Congress rule in Assam vs. three terms BJP rule in Gujarat, MP and Chhattisgarh

The Assam legislative Assembly is unicameral and consists of 126 seats. The State has 14 Lok Sabha seats. As per the Election Commission data, from 1946 till date 16 governments have come to power in the state out of which 13 governments were formed by the Congress party. Three governments were formed by the Janata Party and Assam Gana Parishad (AGP). (Noteworthy, in the 6th Assembly – (1978-79), the Janata Party in alliance with the Communist Party of India formed the government in the State. In the 8th Assembly- (1985-90), the Asom Gana Parishad got full majority and formed the government and in the 10th Assembly –(1996-2001) the Asom Gana Parishad in alliance with the Communist Party of India and United Minorities Front formed the government in the State).

President’s rule was also imposed on four occasions in the State since independence. Till date the Congress party has ruled the state for more than 60 years and since 2001 the Congress party has been in power for three consecutive terms in the State under the Chief Ministership of Mr. Tarun Gogoi.

Similarly since the general election in 1951-52, out of 16 parliamentary elections for Lok Sabha, 15 elections were held in Assam (Owing to internal disturbances the Ninth General Elections in 1989 was not held in Assam.) and barring few occasions the Congress party dominated in almost all the elections. Out of 15, the Congress party got majority of the Lok Sabha seats from the state on 13 occasions.

Only in the eighth Lok Sabha elections held in 1985 the Assam Gana Parishad and in the last 16th Lok Sabha elections the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged as largest parties, wining majority of the seats in Assam. In the 2014 Lok Sabha election, the BJP under the leadership of Shri Narendra Modi had won seven out of 14 seats, upping its tally from four in 2009. The Party won the entire Upper Assam belt known as the Tea belt constituencies like Jorhat, Lakhimpur and Dibrugarh – liquidating Congress’s dominance of decades in these regions.

As per the Statistical data, Assam was among the five most prosperous states after Independence but it is now among the five least developed states.
If we compare the socio-economic statistics of the state with other states in India then we can easily come to the conclusion that the state’s progress has been relatively slower under successive Congress governments.

As a matter of fact, after 60 years of Congress rule in the state the incidence of poverty in Assam is among the highest in India, per-capita income levels among the lowest, infrastructure is non-existent in large parts of rural Assam and the economic growth has become almost stagnant in the recent decades. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi is completely right thus, when he says that, “Congress rule has pushed Assam to poverty and backwardness.

If we analyze the Statistical data for the state, it is evident that after ruling the state for 13 terms since independence, and three consecutive terms under Tarun Gogoi, the Congress party has pushed the State to being among the five poorest states in the country today.

Data also reveals that very negligible economic development or industrialization has happened under Congress rule. Unemployment is severe, forcing most of the working age population to migrate to other states and to metro cities in India.
During the last 15 years of Tarun Gogoi rule, villages have lagged behind in electricity and drinking water facilities. This is in stark contrast to the BJP ruled states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, which have made considerable progress in electricity and rural drinking water supply.

Notwithstanding its poor track-record in governance and economic development, the government led by Mr. Tarun Gogoi has managed to survive by encouraging illegal infiltration into Assam and by treating the infiltrators as a vote-bank reversing the state’s development. Government of India’s 2011 Census Report also attests to this fact and shows alarming rise of population in Assam. According to the 2011 Census Report, Assam witnessed largescale infiltration and rapid rise in population, especially among Muslims, between 2001 to 2011. During this period the Muslim population in the State rose up to 34.2 percent. This is way above the national average of 13.4% in 2001 to 14.2% in 2011. This sudden spurt can only be explained through the illegal infiltration in the State.

So far as economic development is concerned, Assam under the 15 years of Congress party rule has become the most backward among the ‘BIMARU’ states.

This report on the “Three terms Congress rule in Assam vs. three terms BJP rule in Gujarat, MP and Chhattisgarh” makes an honest comparison between the three terms rule of Congress party in Assam since 2001 under the stewardship of Mr. Tarun Gogoi with the three terms rule of BJP in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

The statistical data used for comparison of performance of these states are based on primary data collected by various departments and agencies of the government of India from time to time.

The data collected and analyzed on various Human development parameters and Socio-Economic indicators prove that the people of Assam needs a drastic change in order to revert to the path of rapid economic growth and all-round development.

The BJP has successfully demonstrated that it is the only national political party for governance after lifting erstwhile backward states like Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Jharkhand out of the vicious cycle of poverty and backwardness.
This comparative study of socio-economic development in Assam vis-à-vis Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, takes into account the following broad indicators:

1. Poverty Estimates (Below poverty Line percentage) during the period from 2004-2005 to 2011-2013
2. Access to quality Drinking Water (Rural & Urban households) till 2012
3. Infant Mortality Rate from 2001-2015
4. School Dropout Rates of all category of Students from 2010-11
5. Access to Electricity for Rural Households till 2011

Tea Tribe in Assam
Statistical data and detailed explanatory notes on the Socio – Economic indicators of respective states

1. Poverty Estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2004-05</th>
<th>2011-12</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Planning Commission

The above data table on Below Poverty Line shows the figures of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh since the years 2004-05 to 2011-12.

The source of this data is the planning commission, Government of India.

This chart reveals that in 2004-05 the BPL population in Assam stood at 34.4% as compared to 49.4% in Chhattisgarh, 31.8% in Gujarat and 48.6% in Madhya Pradesh respectively. However, as of 2011-12 Assam registered only a very negligible decrease of 2.4% in its BPL population.
On the other hand, the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh registered a sharp decrease of 15.2%, 16.9% and 9.5% in their respective poverty ratios for the corresponding period. This goes to show that the Congress led government in Assam has performed miserably when it comes to reducing the incidence of poverty in the state.

2. Accessibility of Drinking Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE/UT</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table on accessibility of quality Drinking Water for rural and urban households shows the figures of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and All India figures till the year 2012. The source of this data is the NSSO & Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.

All the States in India have been trying to achieve the goal of making safe drinking water available through various sustainable water solutions. But it seems from the above data table that Assam has lagged behind in providing safe drinking water. While the Water Resources Department of Assam claims to enhance quality of life of the people of the state by ensuring sustainable safe water facilities besides promoting hygienic practices according to peoples’ affordability and the State Government has announced this as the mission of Assam government, on the ground the scenario remains far from satisfactory.

This table reveals that out of 1000 households in rural areas of Assam only 580 households, or approximately 58% of its rural population have access to quality drinking water and in urban areas it stands at 663 i.e. 66.3% of its urban population have access to quality drinking water.

The relative achievement of BJP ruled states like Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh on this front is much better than the state of Assam.
On a comparative scale, out of 1000 households, 905 & 901 i.e. 90.5% and 90.1% of rural and urban households in Chhattisgarh; 94.1% and 83.1% rural and urban households in Gujarat; and 90.8% and 88.5% rural and urban households in Madhya Pradesh have access to quality drinking water.

3. Infant Mortality Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>53.21</td>
<td>25.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>51.93</td>
<td>37.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Govt. of India

Assam Report
The source of this data is the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.

Infant Mortality Rate of the states is a major indicator to analyze the status of public health and hence the performance level of a government.

Lowering of infant mortality rate (IMR) or the rate at which children under the age of one die is a critical priority of the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and was part of the UN millennium development goals that India is committed to.

This data table on Infant Mortality Rate covers the figures of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and All India from 2001 to 2015.

In Assam the IMR was 74 per 1,000 live births in 2001 and the state was supposed to bring it down to 25.33 by the end of 2015. But, as estimates suggest, till the end of 2015 the IMR in the state stood at 53.21 per 1,000 live births.

More than a decade after India committed to a national health policy to provide improved access to healthcare, there is growing inequality in infant health across the country.

However, states like Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, MP, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra have improved their performance in bringing down the IMR resulting in better health outcomes while poorer performing states like Assam have slid. Even at the national level, IMR of India has declined from 57 per 1,000 live births in 2006 to around 40 per 1,000 live births in 2015.

4. Dropout Rates of all category of students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States/UTs</th>
<th>Classes I-V</th>
<th></th>
<th>Classes I-VIII</th>
<th></th>
<th>Classes I-X</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India.

Assam Report
The source of this data is the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.

Dropout Rates of all categories of students of a state is another major indicator to show the performance of a government.

This data table on Dropout Rates of all categories of students shows the figures of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and All India for 2010 and 2011.

If we consider one section i.e. Dropout Rates of students from class 1 – X, around 77.4% students (including boys and girls) dropped out during the year 2010-2011 in Assam.

According to the data table during the same period, 58% students dropped out in Chhattisgarh, 57.9% in Gujarat and 51.1% in Madhya Pradesh respectively. The comparison shows an abysmal situation in the field of elementary education in Assam.

The report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) for the year ending March 2011, also attests the above findings.

The report says, Assam recorded a declining trend in enrolment and saw a high dropout rate of students despite incurring an expenditure of Rs. 12,631 cr. during the five-year period from 2006 to 2011.

The report showed that 78 schools in the State went without enrolment during 2006-2010 but the reasons for non-enrolment were not analyzed by the Education Department.

Schematic and other funds to the tune of Rs. 303 crore were lying unspent/undisbursed with District Elementary Education (DEE) authorities as well as seven selected districts for periods ranging from three months to more than 33 years resulting in resource gap in providing necessary interventions.

The report also said, that “Inadequate infrastructural facilities in schools, shortfall in opening new schools in accordance with norms, inadequacy in training of teachers, poor management of mid-day meal scheme including other health interventions, absence of effective mechanism of tracking and enrolment of “out of school children,” uneven deployment of teachers, high pupil-teacher ratio and irregular supply of free text books were some of the audit findings”.

Though the target year for achieving the Universal Elementary Education (UEE) goal was 2005, the report revealed that even at the end of March 2011, as many as 1.25 lakh children remained “out of school in Assam.”

The report says, “Out of 77,874 habitations in the State, 22,046 habitations
were still without primary schools. The eligible children in the uncovered 22,046 habitations were required to walk longer distances to avail schooling facilities”.

The report further adds that, “Neither the DEE nor the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Mission had conducted any survey during 2006-2011 for identification of Below Poverty Line (BPL) students enrolled in the elementary education sector. Moreover, although the audit called for records on a number of BPL students, no records were made available for audit by the seven selected districts”.

The above findings and the report of Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) on the state of education in Assam expose the neglect meted out to the education sector in the state.

5. Access to Electricity for Rural Households till 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2001 (%)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Census*

The source of this data is the Census reports of 2001 & 2011, Government of India.

Access to Electricity for Rural Households till 2011 is another key indicator to show how far the governments have delivered on the basic necessities of the people.

This data table on Electricity for Rural Households shows the figures of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh till 2011.
As per the data, when CM Mr. Tarun Gogoi came to power in Assam during 2001, only 17% of the rural population of the state had Access to Electricity.

During that same time 46% of the rural population in Chhattisgarh, 72% of Gujarat and 62% of rural population in Madhya Pradesh had Access to Electricity.

However, things did not change much after a decade of Congress rule in Assam.

As per the 2011 Census data, only 28% of rural Households in Assam had access to electricity, which was one of the lowest in the country. In comparison, during the same period, about 58% of the rural population in Chhattisgarh, 85% of Gujarat and 70% of rural population in Madhya Pradesh had access to Electricity. Even the national average of 55% was much ahead of Assam.

As per the Census report 2011, though nearly 92.7% of households use electricity in urban areas, only 55% per cent of households in rural India have access to electricity.

States like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Odisha rank the lowest in terms of using electricity for lighting in majority of households. The state of Assam ranked the lowest in 2001 as well.
Most states in India have shown progress in household access to electricity since 2001, while states like Assam, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have shown very little improvement over the decade.

As per the report, in urban Assam, only 37 per cent households have access to electricity, while a large share of 61.8 per cent use kerosene as lighting. The situation is grimmer in rural areas, with only 28.4% per cent of households connected to electricity.

6. **Gross Power Generation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State (lSPUs)</th>
<th>2009-10 (Actual)</th>
<th>2010-11 (Actual)</th>
<th>2011-12 (Prov.)</th>
<th>2012-13 RE</th>
<th>(MkWh) 2013-14 AP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1711.12</td>
<td>1707.58</td>
<td>1792.67</td>
<td>1707.58</td>
<td>1792.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarh</td>
<td>13545.43</td>
<td>14057.7</td>
<td>12982.78</td>
<td>14057.7</td>
<td>12982.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>28332</td>
<td>27775.34</td>
<td>28471.13</td>
<td>27775.34</td>
<td>28471.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>16909.47</td>
<td>16716.36</td>
<td>18320.74</td>
<td>16716.36</td>
<td>18320.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Planning Commission

The source of this data is the Planning Commission, Government of India.

Gross Power Generation of a state is a key pointer which indicates the seriousness of a government for electrification of households and for providing the basic requirements like electricity for lighting.

This data table on the Gross Power Generation for five years, from 2009-2014, compares the power generation figures of the states of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh.

As per the Planning Commission data during the entire five years period from 2009-2014, Assam had registered 1792.67 Mkwh Power Generation in 2014 which is more or less the same as in the previous four years. The BJP ruled states like Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh on the other hand have done extremely well on this front.
As the data reveals, in 2014 total Power Generation in Chhattisgarh was 12982.78 Mkwh, which is around seven times more than Assam, in Gujarat it was 28471.13 Mkwh which is about 25 times more in comparison to Assam and in Madhya Pradesh it, was 18320.74 Mkwh which is more than 11 times the production of Assam.

7. Gross State Domestic Product

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>14.95</td>
<td>8.39</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>6.78</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>9.23</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>12.47</td>
<td>9.56</td>
<td>11.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSO, 2014

The source of this data is the Central Statistical Organisation, Government of India.

State Gross Domestic product or State GDP is the major pointer on the direction and economic progress of a state.

To analyze the economic progress we have taken the state GDP index for six financial years i.e. from 2005 -2014 for the states of Assam, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh.
So far as the GDP of Assam is concerned it varies from a low of 3.40% in 2005-06 financial year to a high of 5.87% in 2013-14 financial year. As reported by the Business Standard, while presenting the budget for 2014-15 in the Assembly, Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi accepted the fact that Assam’s Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) saw a slower growth of 5.87% in the year 2013-14 at constant prices (2004-05).

On the other hand during the corresponding period, BJP ruled states like Gujarat registered a GSDP growth of 14.95% in 2005-06 financial year and recorded 8.50% growth in 2013-14 financial year. As we know, the base of Gujarat is much higher than Assam and a high growth rate on top of a higher base has resulted in a much higher per capita income in Gujarat as compared to Assam.

The index also shows the exceptional increase of State GDP of Madhya Pradesh during this period. In 2005-06 financial year the state GDP growth was 5.31%. But it registered a double digit growth of 11.08% in 2013-14 financial year notwithstanding the fact that the state was among the most backward regions of the country only a decade ago.

Conclusion

This analysis comprising of seven different sectors for the states of Assam, MP, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat, evidently shows that during the last 15 years the state of Assam has gone from bad to worse with economic development taking a back seat resulting in widespread poverty and infrastructural backwardness.

The quality of life of the people in Assam stands at the bottom today as compared to rest of India despite 15 years uninterrupted rule of the Congress party in the state. The Congress model of governance thus hardly inspires confidence, especially because of its neglect of those fields which make a positive difference in the life of the ordinary citizens.

The 15 “Lost Years” have proved costly for the state of Assam; the State with immense potential has slid in the graph of growth and development. Time is opportune for Assam to join the fast paced development that is sweeping India by decisively expressing itself in support of change.

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Acknowledgement:

The author of this study acknowledges with gratitude the support extended by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation (SPMRF), New Delhi. The author is also thankful to www.microstat.in team for providing with necessary statistical data for the Comparative Study.)

(The views expressed & the data compared in this paper are the author’s responsibility.)
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