



Interestingly, the early settlers and numerically the most predominant group of the region i.e. the Rajbansis could not enter into the electoral politics massively taking the reservation facilities from village Panchayat to union board and from district level to legislative assembly till the seventies of the twentieth century despite the fact that during colonial period their representative organization, Kshatriya Samiti contested in the electoral politics against the nationalist parties viz. Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India, Swarajya Dal etc<sup>3</sup>. But since the seventies the number of representatives of the Rajbansi community increased phenomenally although even today a section of educated Rajbansi express their grievances by arguing that, though Constitution have helped them to represent their community in the assembly or parliament, yet their participation is 'miniscule' in numbers even the fact that a large number of Rajbansis are spreading over the entire North Bengal<sup>4</sup>.

Another interesting fact that had taken place in the region is that the migrant tribes had been participating in the politics since the implementation of reservation politics in the tribal populated areas though it has to be mentioned that in the tea plantation areas Panchayati system had started in a later phase. It is interesting to note that most of these tribes had come from Chotonagpur and Santal Pargana during colonial period as labourers in the plantation areas and as cultivators and agricultural labourers in the cultivation areas. With the passage of time they became the permanent inhabitants in their adopted lands with the implementation of election system on the basis of reservation of seats for the scheduled tribes they became empowered and gradually established their holdings in the politics of the area<sup>5</sup>.

Another interesting factor is that unlike in colonial period when the contestant must had a minimum educational qualification as the criterion for participation in the election, in the post colonial period such provision had been lifted and with minimum or without educational qualification (only with thumb impression) leaders of the backward classes became able to contest in the election. Thus in this way political empowerment of such backward groups and communities have been taking place.

## II

It has stated by the leaders of various movements in the region who had long been associated with their respective caste solidarity movement, that, the provisions of the constitution with regard to the special facilities to the scheduled castes and backward communities provided by the Constitution as well as by the Govt. of India had not been implemented accordingly in toto in this region. They particularly mention about the land related policy of the West Bengal Govt. both during the period of United Front Govt. and Leftist Govt. (the land ceiling policy of the Left Govt. and its consequences etc. are beyond the period of our study). According to them the land acquisition policy of the United Front Govt. was responsible for the unprecedented misery of the Rajbansi Jotedars and land owners of the region<sup>6</sup>. It has found in the autobiography of Manibhushan Majumdar, an eminent social reformer of the community, that the big Jotedars and land owners did not distribute their lands to their offspring and kept those lands under their own individual holdings<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, land excess to 75 Bighas was confiscated by the Govt.

It has been argued by a number of scholars too that the abolition of Zamindari in 1953 brought an unprecedented situation to the life and

activities of the Jotedars and Big land-holders of the region. Most of the Jotedars and land-lords were the Rajbansis. It is worth mentioning that though the abolition of Zamindari Act was passed in 1953, yet in North Bengal the acquisition of land by the Govt. started comparatively later<sup>8</sup>. It was stated that the lands more than 75 bighas will be declared as Khas or Vest lands. It has been argued by the Rajbansi Jotedars that at that time most of the Jotedars were illiterate and they filled the return form taking whole assistance of the lawyers, Govt. employers in the land development offices etc. who were not at all acquainted with the condition of their lands. Therefore the illiterate Jotedars could not understand that which lands were going to become Govt. vested or Khas lands and which will remain under their own holdings. At the time of recovery of land by the State Govt. the Jotedars surprisingly noticed that the 'good' lands i.e. high yielding lands went to the Govt. and the 'bad' or low productive lands remained with them. As consequence a large number of Rajbansi land-lord and Jotedars became more or less landless soon after the recovery of such lands by the State Govt<sup>9</sup>. Here one point may be raised that in the Colonial period particularly during the thirties of the twentieth century a good number of Rajbansi Jotedars compelled to sell off their lands due to the economic depression and subsequent economic crisis to the Marwari money-lenders and other high caste Bengali Hindu businessmen etc<sup>10</sup>. Thus they became landless and in this way their lands were transferred to the Marwari, high caste Bengali Hindus etc. It has found from the autobiography of Upendra Nath Barman that in Cooch Behar the bureaucrats in the revenue department became owners of lands taking the Izara in their names. As results Jotedars were "forced step by step down from Jotedar to Chukanidar, then to Darchukanidar, some times as far as Dardar Chukanidar with an ever

increasing rent pay”<sup>11</sup>. Although the ownership of lands had changed, most of the cultivators belonged to the Rajbansi community, it has found in the district-wise Census Reports of 1951, (district handbooks) that in almost all the districts of North Bengal the cultivators belonged to the Rajbansi community. But after independence there was qualitative change in the ownership of land. Particularly after the recovery of lands there was the question of distribution of those lands to the landless cultivators. Like other parts of West Bengal the Govt. was busy to give priority to the cause of rehabilitation and problems of the refugees<sup>12</sup> which became a burning problem to the then Govt. of both State and the Center. Therefore most of the vested lands were distributed to those landless refugees<sup>13</sup>. It deserves mention here that at this time the Rajbansi Kshtriya Samiti in its meeting at a village named Chechakhaj in Alipurduar sub-Division in 1955 under the president ship of Upendra Nath Barman one of its resolutions stated that the Govt. should give priority at the time of distribution of those surplus of lands which the Govt. recovered after the abolition of Zamindari Act. to the Rajbansi landless cultivators as they are the original inhabitants of the region and depending fully on land. It also recommended for the inclusion of one representative from the Rajbansi community in the land distribution committee<sup>14</sup>.

So far as the problems of the Rajbansi Jotedar were concerned their situation had phenomenally deteriorated because unlike the Zamindars of eastern and central Bengal they did not engage themselves in other economic enterprises. They did not show any interest to give their offspring education, or involve in trade, commerce and industry etc. instead, land was their sole source of livelihood<sup>15</sup>. A good number of Jotdars from Rangpur became

landless after partition and settled in North Bengal districts. They also had to face unprecedented miseries. It has been argued by scholars in this field that the land acquisition policy of the United Front Govt. created a fear amongst the Jotedars and big land owners of the region because land was not only their source of livelihood but also a symbol of high social status. Another interesting point is that though a few Jotedars kept in hidden a few lands<sup>16</sup>, yet in a long run they could not retain such lands with them. The reason behind such act was that within a very short span of time the land-price increased and they again sold off their lands to the refugee migrants for more profit, because they could not cope with the rapid change that had taken place surrounding them due to their laziness and age long dependency on fate<sup>17</sup>. According to the sociologists migrants always are vibrant; this became true with the refugees of North Bengal.

Another noticeable fact mentioned by the Rajbansi leaders of the region is that most of the leaders of the land grabbing movement were the refugee 'Bhatias' of east Pakistan, now Bangladesh. Moreover during this time the poor Nepalis from eastern Nepal migrated and began to settle in the Khas lands of the plain Terai and Duars. Thus at the time of distribution of the vest lands to the landless cultivators the opportunity of occupying Khas lands was taken by the 'outsiders' compared to the landless Rajbansis<sup>18</sup>. So a sense of deprivation among the landless Rajbansis developed and discontentment however started among them<sup>19</sup>.

It was under this background the Jotedars of the region started an ethnic based movement named Uttarkhanda Dal movement in 1969 which demanded separate state on the basis of separate ethnic distinctiveness. The

significant leaders of the Uttarkhanda Dal were Kalindra Nath Barman, Wazuddin Ahmed, Panchanan Mallick, Suma Oraon, Satinath Roy, the priest of Jalpesh Temple where the movement was originated, Sri Jogendra Nath Mandal etc. after the formation of the Uttarkhanda Dal it demanded the inclusion of the members of the Uttarkhanda Dal in the North Bengal Development Council which was established by the State Govt. to tackle the issues of North Bengal<sup>20</sup>. This demand was however opposed by the Congress leaders. As a result confrontation with Congress broke out and as consequence the Uttarkhanda Dal contested in the Assembly Election in 1972 and the party got a defeat. After the defeat the Uttarkhanda Dal began to disintegrate. It again participated in the Election of 1977 from the constituencies of Dhupguri, Mainaguri, Jalpaiguri, Raiganj, Madarihat, Phansideoa, Cooch Behar and Mekhliganj<sup>21</sup>. It seems from the constituencies that the influence of Uttarkhanda Dal was limited to the northern districts of North Bengal viz. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and the plain areas of Darjeeling. It has been viewed by the scholars that Uttarkhanda Dal got defeated in the election due to the fact that there took a radical change in the ethno-caste composition of the population during this time. Along with the refugees from then East Pakistan, a large number of poor Nepalis from Nepal and the expelled Nepalis from Meghalaya, expelled Bengalis from Assam as result of Bangal-Kheda Andolon had come and settled in the districts of North Bengal. Therefore political ideology also had changed<sup>22</sup>.

Thus a dichotomy regarding the implementation and application of the provisions of the Constitution is noticeable, where we find that though the Constitution of India does not allow caste based political movements or

parties, yet an ethnic based political movement and party came into existence by a constitutionally approved scheduled caste group of the region.

Percentage of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population to total population in the State and districts of North Bengal:-

Serial no.	State/ district	Total population	Scheduled caste population	Scheduled tribe population	Percentage of SCs to total population	Percentage of STs to total population	Percentage of SCs & STs to total population
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	West Bengal	44,312,011	8,816,028	2,532,969	19.90	5.72	25.62
1.	Darjeeling	7,81,777	98,277	108,586	12.57	13.89	26.46
2.	Jalpaiguri	1,750,159	595,424	428,595	34.02	24.49	58.51
3.	Cooch Behar	1,414,183	665,020	10,611	47.03	0.75	47.78
4.	West Dinajpur	1,859,887	429,578	221,317	23.10	11.90	35.00
5.	Malda	1,612,657	265,697	130,715	16.48	8.11	24.59

Source: Census of India 1971, Series- 22, West Bengal, Part II-C (i), Social and Cultural Tables (Tables C-VII and C-VIII), by Bhaskar Ghosh, p. 66.

### III

Another area of discontentment was the rapid change in economic life of the people of this region, as it has already mentioned the people of this region are basically peasants and agricultural labourers that mean they were/are dependent on land. It has already mentioned earlier that the local Rajbansis were under scheduled caste category. Moreover the refugees who came during the seventies of the twentieth century particularly after 1971 equally were peasants-cultivators and also under scheduled caste category. In the pre-independent period no significant change in the agricultural field was found in the region due to the availability of land. But it was after the coming of the huge number of landless cultivators and their settlements over the whole of the northern region a significant change had taken place with regard to the quality and quantity of the production. At the same time pressure on land increased phenomenally<sup>23</sup>. The migrant peasants brought almost all the cultivable as well as barren, fallow land under cultivation. They applied modern agricultural technology viz. chemical fertilizers, pesticide, high yielding seeds, proper irrigation etc. not only that they took the opportunities of agricultural loan granted to the peasants by the State and Central Govt., as a result within a short span of time a radical change took place so far as agricultural produce was concerned. As results the production underwent a revolutionary change that had ever taken place in the region<sup>24</sup>. Consequently the lands inhabited by Namasudra refugee peasants' viz. Kharibari, Batasi, Phansideoa, Dhupguri, Haldibari and so on soon began to cater/supply the demands of almost the whole of urban areas of North Bengal. On the other hand the Rajbansi peasants, though depending fully on land did not utilize the opportunities provided by the Govt. to the cultivators

for a long time after independence. Therefore among the two communities of scheduled caste category, both of who were land-dependent, a disparity regarding the economic condition came to be noticed within a very short period.

On the other hand the Namasudra refugees who settled in the urban areas took education and became able to avail the opportunities of Govt. services reserved for the scheduled caste category people. Thus they became triumphant over the local people in all competitive examinations and services and went a step forward than the 'indigenous' people<sup>25</sup>. It deserves mention that the Rajbansis of North Bengal were backward with regard to education since Colonial period. Though the region came under colonial hegemony long after the rest of Bengal, it has mentioned earlier (Chapter-3) that they had an apathy towards taking education though after the Kshatriya Samiti movement gave specific emphasis on the spread of education among them that the rate of literacy began to increase. Whatever may be the reason the fact was that the Namasudra refugees were more advanced in taking the benefits provided by the Govt. than the local Rajbansis. In the non-agricultural sector the percentage of participation by the Namasudras all over West Bengal is 26.45% and the by the Rajbansis all over West Bengal 14.23%<sup>26</sup>.

The region is backward so far as industrialization is concerned both during Colonial and post Colonial period. Moreover after independence more other communities had been brought under reservation category through the recommendation of various commissions viz. Kalelkar Commission (1955), Mandal Commission (1979) etc. As the scope of inclusion under reservation

category increased therefore a number of communities put forward their demand for the inclusion under reservation category<sup>27</sup>. For instance the Chains of Malda district demanded for the inclusion of their name under scheduled caste category though their demand was recognized after the period of our study. Similarly the Nagar, Dhanuk etc. communities demanded scheduled caste status. In the hill of Darjeeling also the Tamang Buddhists started movement for getting scheduled tribe status. It is interesting to note that most of the communities in the hills who were already under scheduled caste category had started demanding scheduled tribe status from the Govt. But all these movements came into existence after the publication of Mandal Commission Report. What is more important in this respect is that though the number of people with reservation status increased, the scope of employment had not been increased to the required level. Another important fact is that due to the absence of any training course or infrastructure of such institutions in the region the local people could not succeed in competitions for various examinations and the 'outsiders' and the refugees became able to get such opportunities<sup>28</sup>. Therefore an unprecedented conflict had been started among the scheduled caste groups' people themselves. This type of discontent is distinct from other parts of West Bengal because it has already mentioned in earlier that in other areas particularly in the southern Bengal where the refugees settled largely next to the North Bengal districts, the scheduled caste refugees and scheduled caste indigenous people belong to the same origin i.e. Indo-Aryan, but the scheduled caste refugees and indigenous scheduled caste people are ethnically of different stock. The latter belong to the Indo-Mongoloid origin. It has viewed by scholars that it is due to this ethnic difference the conflict took the shape of confrontation<sup>29</sup>. The indigenous people formed a number

of organizations since 1966 viz. Uttarbanga Sanskritik Parishads' Movement, Hamar Sangh Movement, Bharatiya Tapashil Mission Movement etc. the leaders of the movements propagated that the refugees have been encroaching on their due share of opportunities in all aspects from agriculture to education to Govt. services in rural and urban areas of this region<sup>30</sup>. All these associations and organizations reflected the same grievances and discontent of the indigenous people.

Next to Uttarkhanda Dal movement another significant movement was launched by the educated youths of the Rajbansi community named UTJAS or Uttarbanga Tapashili Jati O Adivasi Sangathan. Though the movement started in 1979, the seeds of the movement germinated during the period under study. It was actually an extended organization of the Rajbansi and other backward classes' students i.e. Uttarbanga Viswavidyalaya Tapashili Jati O Adivasi Chatra Sangathan. It was founded to deal with the 'problems of admission, stipend and misbehaviors from the upper caste students'<sup>31</sup>. The leaders borrowed the idea from Uttarkhanda Movement though its appeal was wider. It has to be mentioned that during this period the number of scheduled caste students was very few and they called themselves as Dalit students. The success of the students encouraged them to extent its activities on a broad platform and thus Uttarbanga Tapashili Jati O Adivasi Sangathan came into existence in 1978. They argued that since independence all the facilities provided by the State as well as Central Govt. to the scheduled caste people had been availed by the scheduled caste refugees as they were more efficient compare to the 'indigenous' people. They alleged that had the refugee not come to this region the benefits of reservation would have been availed by themselves. Therefore they began to agitate against the refugees,

at the same time they alleged the State Govt. for allowing such infiltration particularly after 1971 and providing them support and land<sup>32</sup>. In this connection they put forward their demands to the Govt. for the denial of citizenship of those refugees who came after 1971. They even started demanding special safeguards from the Govt. for the indigenous people particularly for the Rajbansis of North Bengal<sup>33</sup> and gradually this demand increased to the demand for separate state by them which is however beyond the purview of our study.

#### IV

One thing has to be noted here that this kind of ethno-political movement took place and spread in and around the northern districts of North Bengal. The reason behind such development was that in Malda the Rajbansis were not very numerous. In Dinajpur as it has mentioned earlier that due to the partition in 1947 eastern part of Dinajpur went to East Pakistan, naturally the habitation of the Rajbansis faced a change and the number of Rajbansis decreased in the western part of the district. Not only that the educationally advanced Rajbansis resided in the eastern portion, and the western portion was comparatively backward and politically less conscious. Moreover after the inclusion of Islampur sub-Division with the western part of the district one problem arose there centering on the language. Before the inclusion Islampur was under Bihar Division and the language of most of the people was Suryapuri, Hindi, Maithili and other non-Bengali languages. Since the 80s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these people demanded the recognition of Suryapuri language. So, it was not at all caste or ethnic movement. On the other hand, as it has mentioned earlier that, in the hill areas of Darjeeling there developed a number of movements by a number of low caste groups and

communities which demanded scheduled tribe status from the Govt. since the eighties of the last century.

So far as the picture of the hill people is concerned, in the colonial period All India Gurkha League had established which demanded the recognition of the Gurkhas domiciled in India as minority community. The All India Gurkha League expressed its frustration on the ground that being loyal to the British Indian Govt. and despite rendering military service to the Colonial Govt. in and outside the Sub-Continent the Gurkhas were not considered as minority community and thus remained ignorant at the time of granting constitutional safeguards, where as the other minor groups had given the same<sup>34</sup>. The League in its conferences repeatedly lamented for not granting to them the constitutional safeguards in the Govt. of India Act of 1935. It becomes clear from the deliberations of the leaders of All India Gurkha League in its several conferences that the League had a desire of getting reservation in the electoral seats so that the Gurkhas would be able to establish on firm base in economic life and at the same time their own socio-cultural tradition may restore, otherwise they expressed their fear of losing their own language, tradition etc. So unless and until their very existence in India was established on the basis of constitutional recognition they will not be able to reside in India with legitimate rights<sup>35</sup>. On the other hand the British Indian Govt. in order to make the hill areas of Darjeeling a separate administrative unit declared the area as Backward Tract by the Montague-Chelmsford Act of 1919 and as Excluded Area under the Govt. of India Act of 1935<sup>36</sup>. It means the Govt. had kept the hill areas different from other parts of plain Bengal. According to scholars this type of separate

administration had made the hill areas different from plain Bengal with regard to the socio-cultural life also<sup>37</sup>.

Immediately after independence in 1949 the All India Gurkha League made its resolution in favour of forming a separate “Uttarkhanda Pradesh” consisting of Darjeeling, Duars, Cooch Behar State and Sikkim. In the proposed province the leaders of the League wished that due to the Indo-Mongolian similarity among most of the inhabitants of the mentioned areas they will live better than with the Bengalis in Bengal<sup>38</sup>. So a new kind of solidarity movement on the basis of racial integrity took place among the members of All India Gurkha League, though there was diversity of opinion between the All India Gurkha League and other associations of the hill people. On the other hand the Uttarkhanda Dal leaders inclined to the All India Gurkha League after the refusal of the Congress leaders to include the representative of the Uttarkhand Dal in the said North Bengal Development Council<sup>39</sup>. After 1977 election however the Uttarkhanda Dal movement had lost its importance and as it has already mentioned that a number of movements on the line developed in the region.

Thus from the above discussion it can be surprisingly noticed that the reservation facilities provided by the Govt. particularly to the scheduled caste people instead of redressing their long drawn grievances/problems it rather has created and still creating a new crisis amongst the backward people themselves of this region. It will not be irrelevant to state that the scheduled caste groups’ people are fighting against each other which had taken deep rooted shape of movements for separate State. We do not find any such crisis regarding the share of lands, power and employment

opportunities by the refugees and indigenous people in Rarh Bengal or central Bengal. It is interesting to note that historically there was no relation of eastern Bengal from where the refugees migrated after the said partition with Rarh or central part of Bengal. Moreover northern part of Bengal was geographically adjacent to the eastern Bengal and historically these two areas shared the same socio-cultural tradition in many cases. So, after being displaced they preferred to settle in northern districts of Bengal. So we find a paradigm shift in the caste movement of this region in the post independent period.

#### **Notes and references:**

1. Ashok Mitra- 'Amar Desh', West Bengal Govt. publication, 1954, p.14; Durga Das Basu- 'Shorter Constitution of India', Fifth edition, 1967, Calcutta, p.712-714.
2. Nairanjana Roychoudhury Bhattacharya- 'Caste, Reservation and Electoral Politics 1919-1937', Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1992, p.2.
3. Personal interview with Sri Prasenjit Barman, former Member of Parliament, of the community from Cooch Behar, taken by Prof. Ananda Gopal Ghosh in January 1990.
4. Nalinii Ranjan Roy- 'Koch Rajbansi and Kamtapuri : The Truth Unveiled', Guwahati, Assam, 2007, p.106.
5. Shiv Lal- 'Indian Elections Since Independence', Part II, The Election Archives, New Delhi, 1972, p.8, 171. The distribution of seats as well as the list of elected candidates both in Legislative Assembly and in the block level proves the fact.

6. Haripada Roy- 'The Genesis of Uttarkhanda Movement' in Sukhabilas Barma (ed.) Socio-Political Movements in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract), vol.1, New Delhi 2007, p.115.
7. Manibhushan Roy- 'Kiccha', (autobiography of the author) in Rajbansi, in "Degar", a half yearly journal of North Bengal Academy of Culture in Rajbansi, editor- Nikhilesh Roy, June- December 2004, p.85-86.
8. Ananda Gopal Ghosh-'Uttar-Swadhinata Parber Uttarbanger Asthiratar Utsa O Sahitya- Shilpa- Samskritite Tar Pravab'(in Bengali) in Titir (a Bengali literary and research oriented journal), editor Sanjay Saha, Cooch Behar, 8<sup>th</sup> year, No.1, November 2009, p.111.
9. Harimohan Barman- 'Rajbansi Samajer Seikal Ar Eikal', in "Degar", vol.1, no.2, January 2004, p.12.
10. Ananda Gopal Ghosh- Manishi Panchanan Barma O Uttarbanger Krishak Samaj, in "Kirat Bhumi", vol.21, No.11, 2007, 1413B.S. p.11. Partha Chatterjee- 'Bengal 1920-1947 The Land Question', Calcutta, 1984, p.156;
11. Upendra Nath Barman- 'Uttarbanglar Sekal O Amar Jibansmriti', Jalpaiguri 1392 B.S., p.60-61.
12. Home (Poll Deptt), Confidential Files, 1947, File No. 149/47 coll-2
13. Madhab Chandra Adhikari- 'Ethno-Cultural Identity Crisis of the Rajbansis of North-Eastern Part of India, Nepal and Bangladesh 1891-1979' Ph. D. Thesis, North Bengal University, 2010, p.208; Arabinda Poddar- 'Udbastu Srot O Paschimbanglar Janajiban' in Swapan Basu, Harsha Dutta (ed.) 'Bish Shataker Bangali Jiban O Samskriti', Adhyapak Shankari Prasad Basu Sammanona (felicitiation) Grantha, Kolkata 2000, p.176-177.

14. Trisrota, a Bengali daily/weekly news paper from Jalpaiguri, 6.1.1957, (collected from personal library of Professor Ananda Gopal Ghosh).
15. Ananda Gopal Ghosh- 'Upendra Nath Barman O Tatkalin Uttarbanger Samaj O Rajniti', in Bengali in Uttarer Haoya, Pratham Barsha, Sankshya-18, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1999, p.3; Professor Ranjit Sen- Sessional discussion on Agrecultural Economy and Peasants condition in Bengal during colonial and post colonial period on 25<sup>th</sup> January'11 in the 27<sup>th</sup> Conference of Paschimbanga Itihas Samsad at Calcutta University, Alipur Campus.
16. Dinesh Dakua- 'Uttarer Galpa', Kolkata, 2005, p.3
17. Dinesh Dakua, ibid, p.25-26.
18. Arjun Das- 'Kamtapur Movement: A Study Under Historical and Media Perspective' in Dr. Shailen Debnath (ed.) 'Social and Political Tentions in North Bengal (since 1947)', National Library Publications, Siliguri, Darjeeling, 2007, p.194-195.
19. Arjun Das, op.cit. p.194-195.
20. A.G. Ghosh- 'Uttarkhanda Andoloner Aitihisik Prekshapat', in Bengali in "Itihas Anusandhan", edito- Gautam Chattopadhyay, vol.5, 1990, p.511
21. A.G. Ghosh, op.cit. p. 511.
22. Bishnudayal Roy- 'Bibartaner Dharae Dooarser Abhibasi Samaj 1864-1979' in Itihas Anusandhan-19, Paschimbanga Itihas Samsad, Kolkata, 2005, p.339-340; Marcus Dam- Bhutanese Refugees and the Indian Game Politics, in The Statesman, 2.02.1996, p.7.
23. Biman Samaddar- 'Udbastu O Sarkar: Prasanga Paschimbangla' in Bengali in Paschimbanga: Fire Dakha ed. by Rahul Roy, Kolkata 2003, p.198.

24. Dinesh Dakua, op.cit. p.24-26.
25. Arjun Das, op. cit. p.195.
26. Computed from 'The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes of West Bengal: Programmes, Facts and Figures by Amal Kumar Das et.al, Cultural Research Institute, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Welfare Department, Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1978.
27. According to the Census of India 1981, Series 23, since 80s of the twentieth century total number of Scheduled Caste community in West Bengal was 59,
28. Papiya Dutta, 'Swadhinata-Uttar Uttarbanger A-Barna Samajer Rupantarar Chitra: Sanghat O Dwandwa 1947-1977'in Bengali in 'Itihas Anusandhan', No. 25, published by Paschimbanga Itihas Samsad, Kolkata, 2011, p.461.
29. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, op.cit. p.110.
30. Naren Das- 'Uttarbanga Tapashili Jati O Adivasi Sangthan (UTJAS): A Dalit Student Movement' in Sukhabilas Barma (ed.), Vol-1, op.cit. p. 141.
31. Naren Das, p.cit. p.142.
32. The publications of the resolutions of the third and fourth Annual Conference of UTJAS in 1985 and 1991(Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar) respectively found in Madhab Chandra Adhikari -Ph. D. Thesis op. cit. in appendix portion, North Bengal University, 2010.
33. Madhab Chandra Adhikari, op.cit. appendix portion.
34. Letter furnished to the then Viceroy and Governor General of India Lord Linlithgow from D.S. Gurung, General Secretary, All India Gurkha League dated 12<sup>th</sup> August 1943, in The History of All India

- Gurkha League 1943-1949, ed.by Bhai Nahar Singh, Bhai Kirpal Singh, New Delhi 1987, p.8-9.
35. G.B. File No.-255/31(2-3), Government of Bengal, Political Deptt. Political Branch;Bhai Nahar Singh, Bhai Kirpal Singh, op.cit.p.9.
  36. Barun De and others- West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling, 1980, p.94-95; Basant B. Lama- 'The Story of Darjeeling: The Land of Indian Gorkha', Darjeeling, West Bengal 2008, p.175.
  37. Ananda Gopal Ghosh-'Shashtha Tapashil: Itihas, Bastabata O Rajniti' in Janamat (a renowned literary and research oriented journal in Bengali), ed. by Mukulesh Sanyal, Sharad Samkshya, 1413 B.S., 83<sup>rd</sup> year, p.25-26
  38. Bhai Nahar Singh, Bhai Kirpal Singh, op.cit. p.93.
  39. A.G. Ghosh, op.cit. p.513; Basant B. Lama, op.cit. p.95.