

Ethno-Regional Movements At Sub-State Level The Bodoland And Kamtapur Movements

Abhirupa Majumder

***ABSTRACT:** The linchpin of the present paper is an endeavor to comprehend the nature of the ethno-regional movements in India. Henceforward, the present paper attempts a comparative analysis of both the Bodoland and Kamtapur movements, on the basis of some resemble traits, in terms of their historical context. Besides the issue of political process and development of both the states i.e. Assam and West Bengal, which obliged both the aboriginal communities to assert their voice against their centuries old political system and the respective governments and thus claim for a separate state, has also taken into consideration which in turn constitutes the crux of the present paper.*

Key words: Ethno-Regional movement; Bodoland Movement; Kamtapur Movement; Movements at Sub-state Level and Movements for separate statehood.

1. Introduction

The present paper, basically an exploratory work, strives to illuminate the innate nature of the ethno-regional movement in India by comparing the demands of two such movements i.e. the Bodoland demand in Assam and the demand for the Kamtapur state in West Bengal. The ethno-regional movements, in a plural country like India consisting of numerous cultural-linguistic communities, have nowadays become one of the most sensitive and burning issues. Perplexedly, in this era of globalization, on the one hand when we are consciously moving towards the concept of global village which is characterized by economic and cultural homogeneity by eroding the national barriers, on the other hand the various cultural-linguistic local communities have become much more assertive and thus endeavour to revitalize their distinct cultural-linguistic identities than before. Moreover, it seems that the main objective of every local

community is now to have a distinct territorial identity on the basis of their distinct cultural-linguistic identities. Their relentless struggle is not against the concept of globalization rather they are against the cultural-linguistic homogenous arrangement, by the Centre, at the cost of their heterogeneous cultural-linguistic features. Thereby, the perceptible fact is that the more we are moving towards the homogenous universal identity the more we are finding ourselves restrained by the barrier of heterogeneous indigenous local culture than before.

Henceforth, the term 'ethno-regionalism', on the basis of its cultural and territorial aspects, is believed to have expressed and served the very purpose of such movements led by the local communities. The suffix 'regional' helps to distinguish these movements from the so called national movements which are characterized by the demand of sovereignty. Ethno-regional movements seek to create a separate state within the federal structure of a country. According to Iqbal Narain it is difficult to distinguish the regional territorial identity from the cultural-ethnic identity, because of their overlapping features, in a country like India. He further contends that in this country besides territory other factors like linguistic identity, caste, historical past, administrative history and economic interest are also playing a significant role as a source of regionalism which is basically a psychological sentimental issue. Thereby, to Narain here exists a very thin line of difference between the ethnicity and nationalism and the regionalism as well (Halder, 1999, p.31). In India, these movements operate both at the sub-state as well as the multi-state level. As a result of which scholars have time and again felt the need to uphold the issue and thereby work on the multiple dimensions of this issue in myriad ways. Likewise, the present paper is just an attempt to make a comparison between these two movements as it is believed that such comparative study facilitates to have better comprehension of the nature of such ethno-regional movements respectively. Both these movements possess some common elements, for instance, both the regions belong to plain areas in the foothills of Himalayas and adjacent to each other. Economically, both the regions are being figured out as the most backward and deprived one. Culturally and linguistically, both the Bodos and the Kamtapuris are dominated by the Assamese and the Bengali upper caste people. From the persisting contemporary situation in various states of India, it appears nowadays that the regional movement has become equipment

in the hands of the deprived, peripheral communities in their endeavour to correct all the injustices done to them, by the centre, particularly at the cost of cultural-linguistic heterogeneity.

2. Bodoland Movement:

2.1. The Bodos and Their Demand:

The Bodoland movement of Assam considerably remains confined among the schedule tribes of plains of Assam. They mainly reside in the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra comprising of Dhubri, Kokrajhar and Goalpara district in the west and Dhemaji sub-division of Lakhimpur district in the east (Baishya, 2009, p.13). Bodo, the once predominant major group turned into a minority after the incursion of the non-tribal people in Assam. It can be stated in this context that "The problem faced by the Bodo people is in essence the problem of all less developed community when they are living with comparatively advanced group of people under a common political system" (Prabhakar, 1974, p.2097). After being dominated and exploited in the hands of the sanskritised Assamese upper caste people, in 1967 the plain tribes of Assam for the first time raised their voice for a separate state "It was time for the tribals and aboriginals to seek freedom from the illegal occupation of Assam by the so-called Assamese" (Baruah, 1999, p.173). But the demand of the Bodos and other tribal people was articulated politically after the emergence of the Plain Tribal Council of Assam, in 1967, which placed their demand for an Autonomous Region to the then President of India Zakir Hussain, by putting forward a memorandum considering the issues of alienation, unemployment, exploitation and preservation of tribal language, culture, customs and traditions (Datta, 1994, pp. 41- 44). Later on, in 1973 the demand for an Autonomous Region by the PTCA was replaced by the demand for a Union Territory. In 1979 the split group of PTCA i.e. the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (Progressive) came into being. And thus, gradually, the tribal as well as the Bodo movement in Assam began to lose its relevance due to the clash between the split groups i.e. the PTCA and PTCA (P). However, thereafter the later split group PTCA (P) was dissolved in the convention at Harisinga of Darrang district in Assam (Baishya, 2009, p.64). Meanwhile, the United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF) was formed under the chairmanship of Binoy Kungur. The UTNLF submitted its memorandum of a separate Union Territory twice in the years of 1984 and in 1985, to the then

consecutive Prime Ministers of India Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. But unfortunately, later on the party also had split into two groups, one was the UTNLF and the other was the UBRLF (Baishya, 2009, p.64).

More importantly, once again the demand for a separate state 'Bodoland', with a slogan "divide Assam fifty-fifty" (Hussain, 2000, p.4521), was elevated by the All Bodo Students' Union during the rule of the Assam Gana Parishad in 1986. The ABSU under the leadership of Upendra Nath Brahma had decided to achieve a separate state by 1990s. It is needless to mention here that during this phase the demand for a Union Territory was replaced by the demand for a full-fledged statehood namely 'Bodoland' in the conference at Bashbari of Dhubri district of lower Assam in 1988 (Baishya, 2009, pp. 66-67). In 1989 the negotiation between the ABSU and the state and central government was considered significant because of the decision, which was taken in the extended session of 8th round tripartite talk, by the government. "The government of India is deeply concerned about the problem of the Bodos and other plain tribals of Assam and it is committed to their proposed that three member committee of experts may be set up to determine the areas of Bodos and other plains tribal of Assam to the north of Brahmaputra river and make recommendation as to the autonomy, legislative, administrative and financial powers that may be given to them. The committee will consult all groups concerned and submit its report in five days to the government of India" (Mosahary, 1992, p.11). The recommendation of a three member expert committee, appointed by the then Ministry of Home Affairs in 1991, for more autonomy was ultimately rejected by the ABSU.

Thus after a long period of struggle, some success came their way with the formation of the Bodo Autonomous Council in 1993. Accordingly, Rajesh Pilot the then Union Minister of the state for Home signed the memorandum of settlement on 20th February, 1993 with the aim of resolving the long persisting problem of the Bodoland movement in Assam (BAC, 2003). The BAC was formed with an intention of providing maximum autonomy to the Bodos in all spheres like social, cultural and economic etc. (BAC, UCDP: The Bodoland Autonomous Council Act,1993, 2014). But the problem was that the BAC was formed without any demarcated

boundary and more importantly, comprised of mainly the non-Bodo population like Asomiya Hindus, Asomiya Muslims, Rabhas, Na-Asomiya Muslims, Bengali Hindus, Santhals and Nepalese etc. In order to remove the malady relating to the non-Bodo population, ethnic cleansing process was adopted to resolve the problem but the Bodo people kept themselves completely aloof from that process. Thus the desire of establishing an autonomous council, for providing maximum autonomy, remained in the papers only. More importantly, no such initiative was taken on the part of the government, in a true sense of term, to implement the Bodo Accord in accordance with the MOS (Baishya, 2009, p.71). However, the BAC, due to various reasons, was unable to fulfil the expectation of the Bodo people and thus consequently reinvigorated the demand for a separate statehood (BAC, 2003).

On 19th March, 1996 the All Bodo Students' Union under the leadership of President Swambla Basumatary submitted a memorandum to the then Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao for accomplishing the task of creating a separate state for fulfilling their own purpose (ABSU, 1991, p. 27). And as a result, for one more time, the memorandum of settlement was signed on 10th February, 2003 in the tripartite talks between the Government of India, Government of Assam and the Bodo Liberation Tigers regarding the formation of an Autonomous self-governing body namely Bodoland Territorial Council within the state of Assam and thus the Bodoland Territorial Council came into being under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution in the year of 2003 (Baishya, 2009, p. 73). The BTC was provided the Constitutional protection under the Sixth Schedule for developing the economic, educational condition of the Bodos and preserving their distinct linguistic and ethnic identity. But like the BAC, the BTC was also unable to transfer the prevailing discontent condition of the Bodos.

Hence, the inability of the two consecutive autonomous councils had made the ALL BODO STUDENTS' UNION, the BODO PEOPLES' PARTY and the BODO LIBERATION TIGER to reiterate their earlier demand for a separate state within the federal structure of India. But interestingly, the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF BODOLAND (NDFB) had rejected

the second Bodo Accord and at the same time demanded for a sovereign state instead of any separate state (Baishya, 2009, p. 86).

2.2. Government Response:

So far as the attitude of the Assam government was concerned, it was apprehended by the Plain Tribes that the behavior of the Assam government, towards them, was basically rigid as well as arbitrary in nature. They resisted the Assam government mainly for its anti-tribal and chauvinistic mode of behavior as well (Baishya, 2009, p.98). This has been exemplified from the fact that the government had never taken any initiative on its own in order to redress their grievances instead there had always been a tendency on the part of the government to suppress the rising dissenting voices of the agitators even in some cases by using force (Baishya, 2009, p.99). However, once the government tried to resolve the perpetual problem by forming the autonomous self-governing bodies like the BAC and BTC with an aim of providing maximum autonomy to the plain tribes in every aspect of their lives respectively. But ultimately it failed to serve the very purpose. Hence, the inability of the Assam government to provide maximum autonomy as an alternative to the separate statehood demand in turn helps in perpetuating the later demand in Assam i.e. the demand for separate statehood.

2.3. Linguistic-cultural and Economic Issues and Causes of the Bodo Demand:

The cultural-linguistic domination by the upper caste, chauvinistic Assamese people has always been perceived as a main reason behind their resentment and affront. The Bodos are generally acknowledged as a distinct ethno-linguistic community with a language and culture of their own. They are believed to be the part of the Indo-Mongoloid group of a Tibeto-Burman language family (Baishya, 2009, p.13). But the Assam government, according to the Bodos, instead of making any attempt to protect their language and culture, always strove to impose the Assamese

language and culture upon them. Thus the Bodos gradually became antagonistic and developed an anti-Assamese feeling (ABSU, 1991, pp.15-25).

In other words, The Bodo people always considered the Assamese people as well as the Assam government, due to their apathetic and indifferent attitude, responsible for their deteriorated and miserable condition (ABSU, 1991, p.15). On the other hand, the language policy of the Assam government was another major cause of animosity among the Bodos. Inevitably, it is believed that Assam had never been a state of the Assamese people alone. Since the eleventh century onwards Assam began to be known as a highly multi-lingual state consisting of the Bodo, Assamese, Bengali and other tribal and ethno-linguistic communities. The heavy influx of Muslim immigrants from the neighbouring country, over the time, had increased the number of the Assamese speaking people. The Muslim immigrants had adopted the Assamese language and thereby began to declare themselves as Assamese respectively. Accordingly with time, the total number of the Assamese speaking people gradually crossed over 50 per cent considerably, as per the census report of 1951 (Nath, 2014). And on the basis of numerical strength of the Assamese speaking people, the Assam government declared the Assamese language as an Official Language in 1961 which was strongly opposed by the Bodos (Roy, 1995, p.52-53). Later on, as a mark of protest they abandoned the Assamese script and demanded for a Roman script. In 1974-75 the Bodo people under the leadership of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha led the movement for a Roman script. After having confronted some initial obstructions, finally the Assam government since 1988 began to accept the use of the Roman language for the purpose of an officially sponsored publication (Prabhakar, 1974, pp. 2097-2100).

Economically, they are also known as the most vulnerable section of the society. Majority of the Bodos, approximately 78 per cent of the Bodos as per the census report of 2001, live below the poverty line (Baishya, 2009, p.42). There are many reasons behind their miserable economic condition as well as the exploitation. For instance, the arrival of the Kaiyahs, Barpetiahs and the Marwari traders was no less responsible behind their present economic status. The Bodos of Udalguri, Darrang and the northern foot hill areas were completely depended on the forest products for their livelihood and also used to trade those forest products, trees and timbers in a

small quantity. But the entire trade of these areas was transferred into the hands of the Kaiyahs and Barpetiahs after their arrival. And consequently, the Bodo community as a whole in these areas turned into wage labourer. "With little cash and less enterprise the Bodos were now facing extreme economic hardship" (Roy, 1995, pp. 26-27).

The role of the village Mahajans and businessmen was detrimental indeed, in this regard. The unscrupulous village Mahajans and business men exploited the plain tribes economically by taking an advantage of their ignorant and backward condition (Bordoloi, 1986, p. 23).

The money lenders used to exploit the plain tribes through their ambiguous money lending policy. The poor needy tribal people used to borrow money from the village Mahajans and businessmen. There was no question of interest but the only condition was that the money should be repaid in kind. Ultimately the borrower had no other option but to relinquish their land to the Mahajans as they were unable to repay the due amount (Bordoloi, 1986, p.24).

Chronic indebtedness was another most considerable cause behind the deteriorating economic condition of the plain tribes which acted as a major hindrance in the way of their development. Mainly the low per capita land holding and the practice of brewing rice beer were responsible behind their indebted condition. "Indian villagers are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt" (Bordoloi, 1986, p.106).

Along with the above stated reasons, various rituals and socio-cultural traditions and religious practices were also considered to be as responsible as the other mentioned factors behind their wretched economic condition. For instance, the habit of drinking Zou (national beverage) had made them economically exhausted (Bordoloi,1986, pp. 21-23).

Unemployment was another significant reason behind their economic depression. In effect, the newly emerging educated Bodo youths were not getting an adequate government job according to their ability irrespective of the fact of an existing Constitutional provision for providing job reservation to the tribal people. The provision, however, was not implemented in case of the

plain tribes in Assam was concerned. Regarding the prevailing government policy on employment, the ABSU took a firm stand by raising a question that "Are the Bodos and other plain tribal people so inferior that they are not fit even for Grade two and four jobs?" (Bordoloi, 1986, pp. 22-23)

But amongst all, the foremost reasons behind such degenerate and contemptible condition were the land alienation as well as the immigration which had an adverse effect on the lives of the Bodos. "Land Alienation is one of the major problems among the tribes of Assam and in fact it is the primary cause of deteriorating economic condition of the tribals" (Bordoloi, 1986, pp. 101). To the Bodos, land is considered to be the mainstay for maintaining their livelihood. More than 98 per cent of the Bodo people used to live in the villages and thus amongst them 90 per cent of the Bodos were completely depended upon agriculture for their sustenance. But the irony was that this 90 per cent Bodos were basically landless labourers (Bordoloi, 1986, p.28). Suffice, the problem of land alienation, howsoever, had implicated the lives of the Plain tribes in a major way (Bordoloi, 1986, pp. 20-22). The heavy influx of refugees from the neighbouring states and countries like Bihar, Nepal and Bangladesh caused large scale land alienation. In order to protect the land, tribal belts and blocks were created but still the land alienation continued to take place both inside as well as outside the belts and blocks. But the government of India, in effect, did not enact any law to protect the tribal lands from the large scale alienation. As a result of which the tribal population, inhabited in the tribal belts and blocks, apprehended the sense of being deprived by the Assam government. In 1947, the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation (Amendment) Act, which was known as the Assam Act xv of 1947, was enacted to protect the land but howsoever, it was unable to fulfill the need as it was meant for serving the purpose of some specific classes (Baishya, 2009, pp.46-47). Consequently, large scale alienation continued to occur without any hindrances even after the adoption of the above mentioned arrangements by the government (Bordoloi, 1986, pp.101-104).

Apart from this, the vulnerability of the immigration process should also be taken into account in this regard. Heavy influx of refugees from Bihar, Nepal and Bangladesh proved to be conducive in causing the large scale land alienation. The plain tribes, as a consequence, were being isolated

from their indigenous lands and thus reduced to a minority group which has been manifested from Mr. Lord's Census Report of 1921 "In 1911, few cultivators from Eastern Bengal had gone Goalpara.....In the last decade (1911-21), the movement had extended for up the valley, and the colonists now form an appreciable element in population of all the four lower and central districts..... In Goalpara nearly 20% of the population is made up of these settlers. The next favorite district is Nowgong where they form about 14% of the whole population. In Kamrup, waste lands are being taken up rapidly, especially in the Barpeta Sub-division. In Darrang exploration and settlement by the colonists are in an earlier stage. They have not yet penetrated far from the bank of the Brahmaputra..... Almost every train and steamers brings parties of these settlers, and it seems likely that their march will extend further up the B. Valley and always from the river before long"(Bordoloi, 1986, pp. 28-29).

In addition, an initiative on the part of Sir Syed Sadulla, during his rule, of motivating the landed hungry Muslim peasants, in the name of the policy of 'grow more crop', to enter this part of India freely, without having any hurdles, from the East Bengal ultimately proved to be detrimental also far as the economic condition of the plain tribes was concerned (Baishya, 2009, p. 51). Such large scale immigration can be comprehended by the fact that "the population of the Brahmaputra Valley rose from just 9% in 1881 to 23% in 1941. In Barpeta sub-division (now a separate district), which hardly had any Assamese Muslim population and had a very large presence of Muslims to total population was just 0.1% in 1911 and the same rose to as high as 49% in 1941, a 490 fold increase in just 30 years!"(Roy, 1995, PP. 32).The then Viceroy of India Lord Wavell's statement "Sadullah's 'Grow more food' campaign was really a 'Grow more Muslim's campaign" explicitly represents Sadullah's intention of helping the Muslim peasants of East Bengal in migrating to India and thus settling in the Bodo inhabited lower Assam districts, in the name of the campaign of 'Grow more food' which actually was initiated in accordance with the instruction of the Government of India for producing more food in 1942 when the Japanese troops entered the eastern frontier of Assam (Roy, 1995, PP. 32). Later on, the Assam government, due to public demand, had introduced the 'Line System' under which an imaginary line was drawn in the districts with an intention of distinguishing the tribal indigenous people from the non-tribal population (Baishya, 2009, p. 47). And thereby all the villages were

being divided into main three categories - a) open villages; b) closed villages; and c) mixed villages. Open villages were actually meant for the immigrants whereas the closed villages were mainly for the real inhabitants in order to protect their interests. But as far as the mixed villages were concerned, both the foreigners as well as the aboriginals were allowed to co-exist by maintaining the territorial demarcation which was made to keep them separate. But it is inevitable to mention here that ultimately such arrangement was unable to yield any positive result mainly due to the administrative inefficiency. And for the very obvious reason the poor insolvent tribal peasants had no other way to sustain but move towards the further north along the northern foot hills (Roy, 1995, pp. 33-34). Similarly in the field of education, they also had to confront many impediments since 1963 when they introduced the Bodo language at the primary level till the year of 1995 at the time of opening of the diploma and the P.G course as well in Bodo language in the Guwahati University (Bashya, 2009, pp. 91-93).

2.4. Discriminatory Sixth Schedule:

The discussion of the Bodoland movement would remain incomplete without mentioning the feeling of perceived discrimination among the Bodos mainly regarding the Constitutional arrangement of district councils under the Sixth Schedule which is applicable only to the hill areas (tribes) of North East India (Baishya, 2009, p. 81). The well-known fact is that an initiative had been taken by the founding fathers of the Constitution of India to provide some safeguards to the tribal population of India through the Fifth and Sixth Schedule under the Art 244 of the Part X of the Indian Constitution. But the plain tribes of Assam, who constituted a significant segment of the Assamese population and thus a substantial portion of the entire tribal population of the country, were not being considered within the scope of the Constitutional safeguard. Though under the Sixth Schedule, the Constitutional safeguards had been provided to the hill tribes only, excluding the plain tribes. Top of all, an anti-tribal attitude of the Assamese people as well as the Assamese government towards the Bodo tribes was no less responsible behind their hostility. The Bodos have now sought freedom from the Assamese sub-national formation after being exploited and deprived all the way for so many years and thus being treated as an enemy by the Assamese people who have denied them their distinct identity on the basis of their

distinct features. Apparently, it can be stated that nothing can stop them but only a separate state (Baruah, 1999, p. 173).

3. KAMTAPUR MOVEMENT:

3.1. Rajbanshis of North Bengal:

Another movement, which the present paper deals with, is the Kamtapur movement of West Bengal. The Kamtapuris in general and the Rajbanshis in particular have exalted their demand for a separate Kamtapur State comprising of mainly the six districts of Darjeeling, Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Malda, North and South Dinajpur in North Bengal (Haldar, 2000, p. 35). Amongst the six districts, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar, which are being regarded as a cradle place, have become very significant considerably. Besides, the Rajbanshis constitute a substantial portion of the total population in Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar districts. The SC and ST population, according to the records of Directorate of Census Operations 2001, accounts for more than 60% of the total population of the district (Jana, 2008, pp.100-101). In addition, the dominant demographic status, once enjoyed by the Rajbanshi community in North Bengal, is also apparent from Charu Chandra Sanyal's writing "the area excluding forest and tea estates and the hills of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is an open country where the Rajbanshis live..."(Jana, 2008, p.108). Like the Bodos, the Rajbanshis also once constituted a significant segment of the population in this region, with a distinct cultural-linguistic identity. But gradually with time they were reduced to a minority and began to be alienated from their own land mainly after an illegal intrusion of the non-Rajbanshi people. Apart from the demographic changes, the present status of the Rajbanshis was the consequence of two other factors. Firstly, they had to lose the possession of their land to the state because of their inability to pay the required taxes. And secondly, the manipulative money-lenders like Marwaris, up-countrymen, Kabulis, greedy merchants and the middle class Bengali immigrants had alienated them from their own land. Moreover, after 1947, the heavy influx of refugees from East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, to West Bengal had made the Rajbanshis meager numerically. On the other hand, the Rajbangsh is turned into the sharecroppers and agricultural labourers particularly after the decline of their stable economic

condition. In addition to this, tea gardens or plantation, Teesta Barrage Project and the process of urbanization inevitably contributed to the phenomenon of the loss of land by the Rajbangshis.

3.2. Identity Problem (Kshatriyaization to Kamtapuri Identity):

Besides, since the late 19th and the early 20th century the Rajbangshi community suffered from the chronic problem of an identity crisis (Mukhopadhyay, 1999, pp.137-138). They were regarded as Sudras and even till the present day they belong to the schedule caste community respectively. But the lower social status was not acceptable to them and therefore asked for a Kshatriya status under the leadership of Thakur Panchanan Barma in the early 20th century. This is known as the Kshatriyaisation process, a form of Sanskritisation for the purpose of elevating the lower social status of the Rajbangshis (Mukhopadhyay, 1999, p.136). It is inevitable to mention here that since the late 16th century the tribal descendants of the Koch-Rajbangshis began to cast off their tribal rituals, practices and adopted the Hindu rituals, habits and manners. Thus they attained an identity of royal lineage and began to be acknowledged as Rajbangshi. After having realized the lower social status, the Rajbangshis with the help of the Kshatriya Samity, a caste-based organization, demanded for an upward social and caste mobility. Their main objective was to attain a Kshatriya status and accordingly led the Suddhi movement, in other word a reform movement in order to attain some brahminical values indeed. And accordingly, they began to consider themselves as bratyakshatriya. “As a step towards Hinduization, they also declared themselves as bratyakshatriya (fallen kshatriya), while from 1911 they began to boast of a pure Kshatriya origin. Interesting enough, they constantly changed their identity and for that matter asked for different names in different Census : from Koch to Rajbansi (1872), Rajbansi to Bratya Kshatriya (1891), Bratya Kshatriya to Kshatriya Rajbansi (1911. 1921) and Kshatriya Rajbansi to only Kshatriya (1931).” (Mukhopadhyay, 1999, p.133).

Gradually with time, the leaders of the Kshatriya samity realized that the social reform movement in terms of assuming sacred thread and brahminical values would not help them any

more in achieving the desired upper social status due to their stereo type age old backward economic condition. Therefore, with the hope of ameliorating the backward economic condition they finally accepted an institutional arrangement of 'protective discrimination' under which they are now receiving 'preferential treatment' mainly in the spheres of education, legislature and employment etc (Mukhopadhyay, 1999, pp.134-135). Thereby, the Rajbangshis at the same time agreed to accept the schedule caste status for themselves mainly for elevating their overall condition economically (Mukhopadhyay R. , 1999, pp. 347-357). What is noteworthy, is the Koch Rajbanshis amazedly, in Assam, do not belong to the schedule caste category respectively. Rather in Assam, in the year of 1967, they claimed for the Schedule Tribe status in lieu of the Schedule Caste and OBC status through the proceeding namely 'retribalization' which the Assam government could not refuse to grant at all (Mukhopadhyay, 1999, p. 138). Furthermore, an international forum of the Koch-Rajbangshi demanded for uniform legal Schedule Tribe status in India as well as the adjoining country like Nepal.

At present the educated Rajbangshi elites use to call themselves as Rajbangshi and not as Kshatriya. In other words, they assert their territorial identity respectively, instead of an upper-caste identity. Thus emerges a new identity namely the "Kamtapuri identity" which upholds the quest of the Rajbanshis for consolidating a distinct identity outside the cultural-linguistic spheres of the Bengalese. The Rajbangshis have now considered themselves as a part of the Hindu society whereas some poor Rajbangshis still like to retain their original tribal rituals and practices. But till today the Bengali Hindu society is unable to accept whole heartedly the Rajbangshis as Kshatriya. As a consequence, a tussle of ego still persists between the Bengali Hindu society and the Rajbangshis. And both the communities use to address each other by some derogatory names. For instance, the upper-caste Bengalese use to call the Rajbangshis by the name of 'Bahe'; and the Rajbangshis use to reckon the Bengalese with the name of 'Bhatias' (Haldar, 2000, pp. 61-62).

In a word, so far as the nature of the Kamtapur movement is concerned, it has been described as an ethno-regional movement by the present paper because of its emphasis on two types of

identities one is ethnic and the other is the regional which is related to the concept of territory. In spite of being one of the most backward regions, here the demand for a separate state has been articulated on the basis of cultural-linguistic mobilization in lieu of economic consideration. The leaders of the movement after having abandoned the Kshatriyaization process began to embark upon a new identity i.e. the Kamtapur identity, a kind of territorial identity in order to mobilize the Kamtapuri people on an ethnic line. Worthwhile to mention here that besides the Rajbanshis, the Kamtapur identity embraces all other tribes like Bodos, Meches, Koibartiyas, Totos, the lower castes and local Muslims of North Bengal (Haldar, 2000, p. 61). In other words, basically the inhabitants of North Bengal who can speak the local Rajbanshi dialect as well as share common local culture and practices are generally considered as Kamtapuri. Accordingly, since long back myriad political parties particularly the Uttarakhand Dal, the Kamtapur People's Party and the All Kamtapur Students' Union sought to mobilize the Kamtapuri people and thus to articulate their political demand on the basis of their cultural-linguistic identity. In addition, it is competent to say that the KPP was, in effect, craving for amalgamating the ethnic-cultural identity with the territorial identity (Haldar, 2000, p. 61).

Besides, Kamtapur was the kingdom ruled by Khan and Koch kings in Northern part of Bengal and Western part of Assam. And the capital of Kamtapur was located in the present Cochin district. The kingdom was destroyed by the Muslims but revived once again during 15th –16th centuries (Haldar, 2000, p.82). The educated Rajbanshis, however, strive to identify themselves with the glorious kingdom. Thereafter, it can be contended, without any hesitation, that the Kamtapur movement is basically a political movement where the leaders seek to achieve their goal of a separate Kamtapur state on the basis of their cultural-linguistic identity. Besides, the Kamtapur movement, on this basis, can also be considered as an ethno-regional movement where the transformation from the cultural-linguistic identity to the process of achieving the cultural-territorial identity has taken place and the process continues till date.

3.3. History and Growth of the Kamtapur Movement:

Initially the demand for the separate state was upheld by Jogendra Nath Mondal on 4th May, 1947 in a public meeting at Khoribari in the district of Darjeeling (Ghosh, 1997, p. 1). He was the leader of the East Bengal Schedule Caste Community. In his proposal he demanded for a separate state namely 'Rajasthan' comprising of Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Purnea district of Bihar, Goalpara district of Assam and also certain portion of Rangpur and Darjeeling district but bewilderingly he excluded the Cochbehar district from his proposal. It is essential to uphold the fact that Cochbehar, at that time, was a Princely state and a substantial portion of Rajbangshi people used to reside there. Besides, a dilemma arose regarding an indecisive issue of including Goal Para and Rangpur district of the present Bangladesh and the Purnia district of Bihar within the proposed Kamtapur state. The historical context of both these regions where the traces of using Rajbangshi language could be found and the fact of the present parts of Assam, Bangladesh and Bihar, which initially were under the Khan and Koch kings of the medieval kingdom of Kamtapur with Cochbehar as its capital, was justified enough for including both the districts in the proposed Kamtapur state. In the post-independence era, a new problem arose before the princely state of Cochbehar whether to merge with India or Pakistan. Some people opined that Cochbehar should merge with Pakistan but the king Jogaddipendra Narayan personally preferred India more than Pakistan. After a long discussion, an agreement was signed between the governments of India and the princely state of Cochbehar on 28th August, 1949 and finally Cochbehar merged with India.

But the accession of Cochbehar to India could not suppress the desire of the people of having a separate state. Again the question was raised regarding the status of Coochbehar whether to remain isolated as a separate state or to merge with some other state. According to some people, the princely state of Cochbehar should have a distinct identity and henceforth opposed the accession of Coochbehar to the West Bengal on the basis of their cultural-linguistic differences. Accordingly, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, after having seen the long standing public demand of a separate status for the princely state Coochbehar, once stated "On the handing over of Coochbehar to control administration, I sent to its people my best wishes and assurance on behalf of the government of India that so far, their interest and welfare will claim our close and intimate attention, I am fully aware of the many problems, political and economically which affect the

state and I am confident that with their cooperation we would have success in solving them in the best interest of the state and country of their happiness and prosperity” (Das, 1973, p.553).

It is interesting to know that the aboriginal inhabitants were never in favor of merging the princely state of Cochbehar with West Bengal rather they resisted since the very beginning. After having observed and heard the public opinion for the princely state Coochbehar Sardar Patel in 1948 sent the then Governor of Assam A. Hyder to investigate the matter over there and accordingly in June, 1948 he submitted the report where he upheld the fact that the people of Coochbehar was strongly against the merger of Cochbehar with West Bengal (Halдар, 2000, pp. 42-43). In addition, in the context of increasing opposition to the merging of the culturally as well as linguistically distinct Cochbehar with the state of West Bengal, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru contended that “the question of merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal would be decided according to the wishes of the people” (Das, 1973, p. 413). Nehru further advocated for a fresh plebiscite as a device for resolving the issue with the aim of redressing the grievances of the local inhabitants. The Cochbehar Hitasadhani Sabha, a small and local organization, demanded for a separate state and later on wanted Cochbehar to be declared as a centrally administered territory. After that they believed that Cochbehar should be assimilated with Assam and not with West Bengal. The people of Dooars wanted to assimilate with Cochbehar by forming a new state namely Greater Cochbehar and in order to achieve the goal once they decided to launch a movement namely National Movement in this regard (Halдар, 1999, p.44).

But ultimately in 1950, by pouring water on all expectations of the people, the princely state of Cochbehar merged with West Bengal (Das,1973, p. 547). Once again the asserted demand for a separate Uttarakhand state by the West Bengal leaders as well as the claim of the state of Bihar over Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar districts were being terminated by the States Reorganization Commission when in 1953 it was being given the task of considering the question of redistributing the states and the demand for a separate state comprising of North

Bengal districts, Western part of Assam and some parts of Bihar as well. However, Coochbehar remained within the state of West Bengal (Chakraborty, 1984, pp. 24-26).

Later on with the formation of the Uttarakhand Dal in 1969, the separate statehood demand got a concrete shape. It is necessary to mention here the name of the Uttarakhand Dal for its attempt to mobilise the Rajbanshis on an ethnic and regional line on the basis of their distinct identity. In the words of Mukhopadhyay, the movement led by the Uttarakhand Dal can also be regarded as a social movement (Jana, 2008, p. 115). The movement for a separate state got a complete new dimension with the formation of the Kamtapur People's Party in 1995. Its main purpose was to protect and promote the interests of the Kamtapuri people and to mobilise them on an ethnic line. Besides, the KPP sought to revitalize the Kamtapuri language and culture. In other words, "the language issue has, in fact, been the single biggest factor behind the Kamtapur movement." (Mukhopadhyay, 2005, p. 261) According to Mukhyopadhyay "like many other ethnic movements, Kamtapur movement also sees cultural self-determination as a prerequisite to the attainment of the desired political freedom and distributive justice" (Mukhopadhyay, 2005, p. 260). Remarkably, the KPP in its struggle for a separate state received full support from the political parties like CPIML (Santosh Rana Faction), UKD (Uttarakhand Dal), and UJSS (Uttarbanga Jharkhand Sangram Samity) in its welfare programme (Mukhopadhyay, 2005, p. 261).

Besides, few other important organizations, which are remembered as well as mentioned here for mainly their significant contribution in different phases of the movement, are the UTTAR BANGA TAPASHELEE JATI-O-ADIVASI SANGATHAN (1979), the ALL KAMTAPUR STUDENTS' UNION (1994) and the UTTAR BANGA UNNAYAN SANGRAM (1996). The UTJAS, a caste based organization started its journey since 1979 with the aim of fighting against and thus reducing various political, cultural and socio-economic discriminations (Halder, 2000, p. 49). The purpose of the AKSU, an educational front of the KPP formed in 1994, was to improve the educational status and to protect the interest of the students in North Bengal. In addition to this, the AKSU expressed its concern in terms of protecting the rich heritage of

composite culture and distinct language of the Rajbanshi community from the adverse effects of alien Bengali culture and language “..... Otherwise, the rich cultural heritage of the Rajbanshis will ultimately face extinction because of the onslaught by the alien Bengali culture” (Mukhopadhyay, 2005, p. 261). Besides, the developmental organization UUSM ,which came into being in 1996, advocated for an ‘autonomous development council’ and the formation and implementation of a separate socio-economic plan for the betterment of the condition of North Bengal (Halдар, 2000, p. 55).

At present few changes have taken place so far as the movement is concerned for instance, the KPP has been divided into two separate groups because of the split that has occurred within the party. And one of the split groups is known as the Kamtapur Progressive Party which, under the leadership of Atul Roy, has taken over the responsibility of perpetuating the movement in order to achieve the goal of a separate state. The other group is led by Nikhil Roy (Jana, 2008, p.122). Meanwhile, a new organization, namely, New Cooch Behar Association, which is basically a developmental organization, came into being and its main objective was to form a separate state comprising of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and parts of Assam (Jana, 2008, p.122). The Kamtapuri Progressive Party has joined hands with the other two political parties namely Greater Cochbehar Democratic Party and the All Koch Rajbanshi Students’ Union to carry forward their separate statehood demand and thus to protect the interest of the Kamtapuri people.

In addition, it is also believed that the KPP has some linkages with the Kamtapur Liberation Organization. The KLO, which came into being in the year of 1995, is basically a militant organization. But in terms of demands, the KLO differs from that of the KPP. The KLO seeks to attain a separate state outside the federal set up of India and thereby has adopted violent method to achieve the goal of a separate country consisting of parts of North Bengal and Assam whereas the KPP seeks to create a separate Kamtapur state within the federal structure of the country of India (Mitra, 2001). It is also heard that the KPP has at present extended its support to the party like Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha.

It seems indispensable to mention here the various demands of the Kamtapur movement in this context considerably. The Kamtapur People's Party presented a long list of myriad demands which is known as the 'Eleven Point Demands' (Haldar, 2000, p.64). The demands by the KPP are believed to have constituted an integral part of the separate statehood movement significantly. The demands are as follows:

- i. Creation of a separate state namely 'Kamtapur' within the federal set up of the country, comprising mainly the whole North Bengal and the adjoining Kamtapur populated areas in India in accordance with the Art (3) of the Constitution of India;
- ii. Inclusion of the Kamtapuri language in the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India;
- iii. Expulsion of the illegal foreigners from the Kamtapuri dominated areas of North Bengal;
- iv. Imposition of the Inner Permit Line in order to curb the illegal influx of immigrants in North Bengal and the adjacent Kamtapur dominated areas;
- v. Erection of the 'Berbed Wire' on the borderlines of India and Bangladesh with a view to restraining the intrusion of the illegal foreigners;
- vi. Inauguration of the Fulbari Doordarshan sub-station centre for telecasting various cultural programs of Kamtapurians;
- vii. Declaration of the Teesta Irrigation Project as a National project for the all-round development of North Bengal;
- viii. Broadcasting different types of cultural programmes of the Kamtapurians through 'All India Radio, Siliguri' at par with the daily programmes of the Nepalese in 'All India Radio, Kurseong';

- ix. Establishment of a Central University namely 'Roy Saheb Thakur Panchanan Barma University' in the district of Cochbehar;
- x. Exchange of the enclaves between India and Pakistan without any delay;
- xi. Publication of a 'White Paper' regarding the economic status, culture, population and an ethnical identity of the aboriginal people of North Bengal. (Haldar, 2000, PP. 64-65):

3.4. Cultural-linguistic and Economic Issues:

It is believed that the cultural-linguistic domination by the upper caste Bengal hegemony as well as the Bengali community has given a thrust to the demand for a separate state. Like the Bodos, the Kamtapuris also claim to have their own culture and language which are completely different from that of the Bengalese. But what is really noticeable is that the distinct Kamtapuri culture and language have always been underestimated by the Bengali hegemony. Besides, the status of the Rajbanshi language remains a matter of controversy for its indecisive character of whether it is a dialect or a language. The Kamtapur language is believed to have been reduced to a status of dialect of the Bengali language. According to the language specialists Sunity Kumar Chatterjee and Sukumar Sen "the spoken language of North-East Bengal is Kamrupi dialect of Coochbehar, which at present describe as Rajbanshi or Kamtapuri, which is a local dialect of Bengali original language" (Haldar, 2000, p. 94). Most significantly, Thakur Panchanan Barma, who wrote many books and articles in Bengali language, had regarded the Kamtapuri as a dialect of the Bengali language (Haldar, 2000, p. 97). But on the contrary, the Kamtapuri people consider the Kamtapuri as a language and not a dialect and as evidence they provide many literatures written in a Kamtapuri language. Therefore the task of an educated Rajbangshis appears to restore the past glory of the Kamtapuri language. According to Art 29 and 30 under the part three of the Constitution of India every ethno-linguistic community has a right to protect and preserve their own culture and language (Bhattacharya and Roy, 1999, p. 77). From this perspective, it can be stated that the Kamtapuri people are being deprived of enjoying the fundamental right by the West Bengal hegemony.

On the other hand, economically, the region of North Bengal is generally regarded as a less developed one. The economy of this region is agro-based in nature. Agriculture in this region is believed to have constituted the backbone of economy. Besides, industrially also the region is unable to leave any sign of development and besides the lack of sufficient industry is in turn responsible for such an excessive dependence of the region upon agriculture. In North Bengal during the period of late 19th and early 20th century most of the landlords belonged to the Rajbangshi community. But gradually due to various reasons like lack of sufficient irrigational facilities, flood control measures and mainly the lack of any initiatives on the part of the government, the monopoly of the Rajbangshi community, in the field of agriculture, began to decline. Thus gradually the once dominant agricultural status of the Rajbangshi is turned into a landless wage labourer.

Besides, an unwanted intrusion of the immigrants was, in major way, responsible for transforming the once affluent Rajbangshi jotedars into an insolvent poor peasant. The miserable condition of the peasants under the semi-feudal jotedari system also provided a blow to the agricultural system as a whole. The degenerate condition of the peasants in Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar districts even after independence has been analysed by V. Xaxa "The adhi system (share-cropping) was still firmly entrenched and in 1960, 46 percent of cultivated area (39% of total plots) was under the share-cropping arrangements.... In contrast, only 27% of cultivated area was under family farm system of cultivation, although it covered as many as 43% of the total plots. More spectacular was the growth of the class of agricultural labourers, which was hitherto numerically insignificant in the district. In 1960, 33% of the land and 18% of the plots in the district were being cultivated with the help of hired labourers" (Jana, 2008, p.103).

It is worthwhile to mention here that the agricultural labourers at present constitute one-third of the total working population in North Bengal. Accordingly it would not be exaggerated to contend that both the factors like chronic economic backwardness as well as the lack of an adequate developmental measure have in turn generated the separate statehood demand.

Moreover, though North Bengal is an outwardly agro-based in terms of its economy but ironically the deficient irrigation facility acts as a major hindrance in the way of economic well-being of the region. And consequently, Teesta Barrage project could not be completed. Besides, the region confronts major difficulties due to its insufficient flood-control measures (Mitra, 2001). To Human Development Report, 2004 North Bengal still remains backward and placed at bottom in the hierarchical order of human development. For instance, on the basis of this report Malda district ranked at 17th out of 17 districts; Dinajpur is at 16th; Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar respectively are at 10th and 11th position. Comparatively, Darjeeling achieved the 4th position and therefore comparatively is in a better position. The above stated ranking and the position of the districts uphold the present status of this region in terms of its education, income and health considerably (Jana, 2008, p.105).

3.5. Effect of Government Policies:

In addition, the Left Front government's much publicized two policies were considerably responsible behind their degenerate condition. One of them was the land reform and the other was the decentralization policy. The main notions of the land reform policy were – a) ensuring the tenancy rights to the sharecroppers through the tool of 'operation barga'; b) distribution of the government lands, obtained by the abolition of the class of intermediaries and the land ceiling; c) reducing the power of the big land-owners i.e. jotedars in the rural society which in turn had adversely effected the Rajbangshi jotedars in North Bengal (Jana, 2008, pp. 101-102). The declining power of the jotedars also proved to be vulnerable for the cultivators working under them whereas the refugees who were working as a sharecropper under the landowners were benefited and accordingly gained the permanent tenancy right. Moreover, the land distribution policy of the Left Front government also proved to be beneficial for the refugees and immigrants as well. The refugees and the immigrants thus attained a fertile piece of land as a consequence of the land distribution policy. On the contrary, the Rajbangshis were being alienated from their own land. Consequentially, according to the West Bengal Human Development Report, the policy of 'operation barga' began to lose its relevance since the end of 1980's. The Panchayat, on the other hand, through the decentralization policy has become an instrument in the hands of the Left Front party leaders for fulfilling their vested interests and implementing the party policies instead of serving the purpose of the Kamtapuri people.

Moreover, due to over-politicization and criminalization the rural people are completely reluctant to attend the meetings of the Gram Sansad and Gram Sabha. According to the West Bengal Human development Report ".....average attendance at Gram Sansad and Gram Sabha meeting has been relatively low and declining in recent years."(Jana, 2008, p.106)

The spheres of education and employment have also been monopolized by the educated, modernized immigrant refugees in general and the upper caste Bengalese in particular. The above stated grievances together have pursued the Kamtapuri people to such an extent that they insist upon a demand for a separate Kamtapuri state particularly on the basis of their distinct cultural-linguistic identity.

4. After having compared these movements i.e. the Bodoland movement in Assam and the Kamtapur movement in West Bengal, it can be stated without any doubt that both the movements possess some similarities in terms of region, culture, language and financial status. Both the movements have considerably been regarded as an ethno-regional movement for their emphasis on carving out a separate state, on the basis of their distinct cultural-linguistic elements, within the federal structure of India. In both cases, there are some common factors which are believed to have coerced both the communities to express their resentment and thus to raise their voice. Both the communities, the plain tribes in Assam and the Kamtapuris in North Bengal confront the cultural-linguistic domination and economic exploitation in the hands of the upper caste Assamese and the Bengalese respectively. Both the aboriginal communities have been alienated from their own land due to an unwanted illegal land alienation as well as immigration process and thus turned into a landless and economically insolvent section of the society. And as a result, even after so many years of independence both the communities are still considered to be one of the most backward sections in the following states of Assam and West Bengal. Besides, the spheres of employment and education have also been monopolized as well as blocked by the upper castes communities. Moreover, the use of various kinds of repressive measures on the part of both the Assam as well the West Bengal hegemony toward these indigenous communities have added a fuel to their long drawn movement. As a consequence the condition of these both communities have been deteriorated to such an extent that has compelled them to utter and

uphold the demand for a separate state as a only means to appease them and to ameliorate their condition as well.

From the above stated depiction an inference can be drawn that these both movements i.e. the Bodoland movement of Assam and the Kamtapur movement of West Bengal should be considered as a political rather than a social or cultural movement. As in both cases political power has been perceived as a main reason behind the persisting age old grievances and resentments among these both backward indigenous communities. Political power is generally considered as an apparatus to protect and promote the distinct cultural-linguistic identity along with the assurance of securing the employment as well as economic facilities for the aboriginal people. But in both cases it has been seen that the political power, as a means of an overall development, is entirely regulated by some different cultural-linguistic communities who are being perceived as aliens by these both aboriginal communities. And top of all, according to both the plain tribes and Kamtapuris, these extraterrestrial communities are completely apathetic and indifferent to their miserable socio-economic condition. Consequently, both the Bodos and the Kamtapuris struggle relentlessly since long back in order to grab the political power which alone can ensure better development and amelioration. Henceforth, it can be deduced that the state power, which is believed to be the only key for the condition of overall development and modernization, is a major originating cause behind such ethno-regional movements. At last it seems relevant to refer here that very recently the long drawn demand of a separate Telengana state, another ethno-regional movement, after an incessant struggle has been able to achieve the central government's approval to fulfil the need. However, such central government's assent to the formation of the Telengana state once again helps in regenerating and thus in the persistence of such separate statehood demand by other communities and two of them have already been discussed and dealt by the present paper i.e. the Bodoland Movement of Assam and the demand for the Kamtapur state in West Bengal.

Bibliography:

ABSU. (1991). All Bodo Student Union: Cries and Agonies of the Bodos. Kokrajhar, Assam, India: ABSU.

- ABSU. (1991). All Bodo Student Union: why Separate State of Bodoland, Second ed. Kokrajhar, Assam, India: ABSU.
- BAC. (2003, December 7). *Landmark developments Culminating in the Interim Bodoland Territorial Council*. Retrieved from satp.org: <http://www.satp.org/tracking/Goto.asp?D=65>
- BAC. (2014, January 09). *UCDP: The Bodoland Autonomous Council Act, 1993*. Retrieved from ucdp.uu.se: <http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/peace/India%2019930220.pdf>
- Baishya, L. C. (2009). The Bodoland Demand for Autonomy: A Study of Development of An Ethno-Regional Movement In Assam. *np*. Siliguri, University of North Bengal, West Bengal, India: Unpublished Mphil Dissertation, np.
- Baruah, S. (1999). *India against itself: Assam and the Policies of Nationality*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bhattacharya, M. & Utpal Roy. (1999). *Indian Government and politics*. Calcutta : Book Syndicate Private Limited.
- Bordoloi, B. N. (1986). *Alienation of Tribal Land and Indebtedness*. Assam: Tribal Research Institute.
- Chakraborty, S. (1984). The upheavel Years in North-East India (A Documentary in Depth Study of Assam Holocausts)1960-1983. *Nehru-Pant-Jyoti Basu Correspondence Released*. Calcutta, West Bengal , India: Sree Saraswati Press Limited.
- Das, D. (1973). *Patel's Correspondence 1945-55*. Ahmedabad: Navajiban Publishing House.
- Datta, P. S. (1994). *Settlement of Bodoland: A few points to Ponder: North East India as I see it"*. New Delhi : Omsons Publications.
- Ghosh, A. G. (1997). Uttarakhand Movement: A Historical Perspective. *np*. Siliguri, West Bengal, India: np.
- Haldar, I. (2000). Ethnic Regional Mobilization In India: A Study Of The Kamtapur State Demand In North Bengal . *np*. Siliguri, University of North Bengal, West Bengal, India: Unpublished Mphil Dissertation, np.
- Hussain, M. (2000, December 16). State, Identity, Movements and Internal Displacement in the North East. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 4521.
- Jana, A. K. (2008). Development (?) And Identity Politics in West Bengal: The Kamtapur Movement in North Bengal. In B. Brar, & A. a. Kumar, *Globalization and politics of Identity in India* (p. 108). New delhi: Pearson Longman.
- Mitra, J. (2001, February nd). *Kamtapuri agitation: Lack of development gives rise to separatist sentiments*. Retrieved from cpiml.org/liberation: <http://www.cpiml.org/liberation/year2001/february/60%20special%20report.htm>
- Mosahary, R. N. (1992). The Tripartite Bodo Talks: Circumstances, Proceeding, Observation. Imphal, Assam, India: Proceeding of North East India History Association, 11th Session.
- Mukhopadhyay, R. (1999, July nd). Contradiction and Change in Social Identity of the Rajbanshi. *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society*, p. 133-138.
- .Mukhopadhyay, R. (1999, July-December nd). Kshatriyazation among the Rajbanshi: An appraisal. *Man in India*, pp. 347-357.
- Mukhopadhyay, R. (2005). A Note on the Cultural Background of Kamtapur Movement in North Bengal. In R. K. Das, *North East India: In Perspective Biology, Socio-Cultural Formations and Contemporary Problems* (p. 261). New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.

Nath, K. B. (2014, January 25th). *The Change of religion and Language Composition in the State of Assam in Northeast India: A Statistical Analysis Since 1951 to 2001*. Retrieved from Citeseerx.ist.psu.edu: <http://www.citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/.../download?>

Prabhakar, M. S. (1974). "The Politics of a Script - Demand for Acceptance of Roman Script for Bodo Language", *Economic and Political Weekly* 21 Dec, Vol.-IX, No.51, p. 2097-2100.

Roy, A. (1995). *The Boro Imbroglia*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publication.

.

.