

CHAPTER - V

UTJAS : SUB-NATIONALISM AND ITS ARTICULATIONS

The aspirations of regional identity and related politics in the states were often used to get expressed in secessionist, separatist terms. The conventional approach of the Indian leaders on the issue of national integration precipitated such response of the regions. Any regional socio-cultural demand was deemed as inimical to unity and harmful for nation building. The Indian elites also upheld this attitude towards the demand for linguistic states, reallocation of areas on cultural basis, recognition of language at sub-region level, etc. From such an attitude actually, one could designate the tribal demands for homestate as "Communal subnationalism", through such developments of local nationalism at various levels are natural in a country or among communities which have lagged behind in the past and are now marching forward at a quick pace.

The economic deprivation, backwardness, sense of being exploited are posed as being the inherent feature of a community, ethnic. So, they tend to get organised on ethnic, communitarian lines. The devastation of the economy and natural resources brought forth by the centralised development programmes of the nation-state left no option for them but to uphold the traditional ties. Since this could enable them to assert the traditional rights on local natural resources.¹ In course of discussing various aspects of ethno-politics, we have already given data of such devastation in North Bengal area the demand of "kamtapur State." The identity factor in the Kamtapur movement in the forms of "Rajbanshi" or "Sons of the Soil", and UTJAS movement in the form of "weaker Sections" symbols have also been dealt with. These trends in

offering a nomenclature of regional expressions have been continuing till the recent past.

The recent secession call of the Gorkha National Liberation Front chief Mr. Subhash Ghising, against the centre and state, betraying its commitment to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and not providing the promised funds for the region's development is timed with the consolidation of Dalit Organisation to arrange a state-wide stir on December 6, 1995 particularly in Malda and Dinajpur districts in North Bengal may be taken as a symptom of possible perennial movement in North Bengal that was quiet for the last few years since GNLF.

The history of the uprising of the local ethnic and the original inhabitants of Assam, Tripura and Maghalaya in North-east India shows that the neglect of the unbridled influx from the outside state, who captured the trade and commerce of the region resulted in the uprising. The communities resented the encroachment into their land and planned to strike by organizing small forces, as seen in the different North-eastern states. It is stated that North Bengal seems to be gradually moving towards such state of affairs. At present, UTTARBANGA TAPASHEELI JATI O ADIVASI SANGATHAN is operating in North Bengal articulating and creating more and more platforms to voice their grievances. Besides, the UTJAS, there are mainly 8(eight) ethnic organisations operating in North Bengal. They are: i. the Uttarakhanda Dal; ii. the Kamtapur Gana Parishad, iii. All Kamtapur Students Union; iv. North Bengal Jharkhand Sangha, Pro-CPI (M-L); v. Jharkhand Sangharsh Samity; vi. Jharkhand Kalyan Samity; vii. Gorkha Sanjukta Morcha of Nepali and viii. Manob Adhikar Surukha Committee. Most of these ethnic organisations were formed when the Government (Centre and State) as well as district administration failed to meet the "weaker sections" people's grievances.

The Jharkhand Kalyan Samity emerged in 1992 in Jalpaiguri district, particularly in tea belt of the Dooars. A year later, in 1993, another organisation, called themselves the Jharkhand Sangharsh Samity emerged. The members of the group comprising of tribal youths, were organised by the former Naxalite leaders of both the factions of Mr. Kanu Sanyal and Mr. Santosh Rana.²

Agitations and Actions

In the secretarial speeches at the 2nd central conference of the UTJAS which was held at Cooch Behar on 18-19 and 20 February, 1983, the following aim of actions were resolutioned during the agitation year of 1981 and 1982 as under :

i. To protest against the assault of Mr. Moral Roy, resident of Mathabhanga, Cooch Behar, 9(nine) schools' students called forth 10 days Bandh.

ii. Over the demand for "6 points" on June 17, 1981, a 24 hours "Bandh" was called forth in front of administrative offices both Subdivision and district levels of North Bengal. The number of agitators were about 6700.

iii. To protest against demolition the Panchanan Srimiti Bhawan at Tufanganj, Cooch Behar on September 23, 1981, about 792 agitators were arrested.

iv. Over the demand for "Several Issues" a number of seven thousand women's deputation was submitted to the District Magistrate of Balurghat by leadership of Mrs. Ranjana Roy and Ms. Sunity Hassdar.

v. The leaders were attacked and wounded by cadres of CPI(M), when a procession of UTJAS was marching around the Tufanganj town.

vi. To observe a 'Black Flag Day' on December 6, 1981 during the visitation of the Chief Minister of West Bengal at Tufanganj and Cooch Behar respectively in protest against alleged atrocities and discrimination perpetrated on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

vii. To protest against illegal transfer of Professor of the Balurghat Junior B.T.College a mass petition was submitted to the D.M. by Mrs. Ranjana Roy participating with about six thousand agitators.

viii. Through out North Bengal a demonstration movement was launched in protest against the alleged the " Fire on" the huts of the SC/ST people at Itahar.

ix. To observe "Shahit Debash" on april 21, 1982, "Civil disobedience" was launched before the all sub-divisiain offices of North Bengal.

x. On June 17-18, 1982 to launch a 8 points of demand, a mass picketing was held at every sub-divisional officers of North Bengal.³

A few number UTJAS delegations, led by the Secretary, Mr. Provat Barman submitted a detailed Memorandum to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Srimati Indira Gandhi on August 21, 1980. It was the first time in Delhi, the UTJAS's delebrative held discussion with the Prime Minister of India for 25 minutes on the following points of basic demands.

i. Demand for judicial enquiry on the issue of Naren Das who was assassinated by police firing at Tujanganj when UTJAS procession was marching towards town and articulating for granting financial aid to the families who were both wounded and assassinated and proceed the punishment to the police who were engaged in operation.

ii. Demand for introducing the industrialization in North Bengal on national products.

iii. Demand for to open the IAS and WBCS examinations centre and Cricuit Branch at Siliguri.

The secretary of the UTJAS, Mr. Provat Barman urged the Prime Minister of India to immediately invest an official emissary of the central Government of India to Tufanganj for verifying the present issues and depriving condition of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.⁴

The second step of the UTJAS's agitation was a memorandum addressed to the President of India, with copies to the Prime Minister of India, Home Minister of India and respected opposition leader of parliament of India on March 29, 1984 by the President of UTJAS complaining with the imaginary genocide of SC/ST and apparthied by the West Bengal Government against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people in North Bengal and launched for the comprehensive developoment of North Bengal articulating with 10 point charter of demands.⁵ The area of North is enriched with Tea gardens, Forestry, Mango gardens, Orange gardens and Agricultural lands. Upto 1962-63 is produced surplus food grains and presented the nation crores

of Foreign money through Tea, Timber, Tobacco, Jute, Fruit Juice etc. Since 52 years of independence, no development programme has been made in North Bengal and thus became an internal colony of exploitation by Delhi and Calcutta. This area is already over loaded by population growth. During the last two decades its population is already increased in double. The cause of the population growth is not normal population growth but due to a heavy number of foreigners infiltration from Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, which has been threatened the existence of indigenous people in respect of their cultural, social, economic and political life and it also threatened communal harmony. UTJAS articulates, "violating the laws existing in the Nation, lakhs of foreigners have been deliberately enlisted in the voter lists" with submitting complaints several times to the Election Commission without any result.

UTJAS alleges that they had submitted several memorandums to the Government relating for granting of facilities of SC/ST; stoppage false certificate and socio-economic development of North Bengal. In spite of they have been shudering to be burning of houses of local people; denying work to local people, and snatching away the vest lands from the SC/ST people which would be distributed in favour of the foreigners - among have proved that North Bengal is passing through a critical phase.⁶

The West Bengal Government is worried over certain developments in North Bengal was alleged by UTJAS.⁷ Claiming such issue, a three-days demonstration from the September 24-26, 1985 by members of the Uttarbanga Tapashelli Jati O Adibasi Juba Chhatra Sangathan at Esplanade East in Calcutta and outside various States Government offices in North Bengal. The demonstrations were protesting against the step-motherly attitude of the Government towards the Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes of North Bengal.

A deputation handed over a memorandum, containing a 15 point charter of demands, to the Minister for Land Reforms, Mr. Benoy Chowdhury, during the day.⁸

A three day Fasting and picketing by members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the UTJAS was organised at the court premises of Siliguri participating with 35 members including 9 women. The demonstrations were launching for- i. granting reservation quota according ratio of inhabitants of the SC/ST; ii. 60% seats reserved for SC/ST in admission in the North Bengal Medical College and Engineering College and other professional course of educations and iii. minimum limit of Rs. 400 per 40 kgs of jute price and others.⁹

Another led by Santosh Rana, joint secretary of the Sanjukta Dalit Sangrami Morcha about 142 volunteers, including 11 women, courted arrest at Esplanade East in Central Calcutta on September 26, 1985. At a street corner meeting different speakers demanded that the reservation quota for the scheduled castes and tribes should be filled, the Mandal Commissions report implemented, hostel grant for the SC/ST students increased and special attention given to the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in North Bengal. Civil disobedience programmes, in support of their demands, were held during the day in all the district head quarters.¹⁰

The Uttarbanga Tapashilla Jati O Adivasi Sangathan will launch a major movement for the comprehensive development of North Bengal if its 15 point charter of demands is not conceded by the State Government. Talking with reporters in Calcutta on 30th October, Wednesday, 1986 Mr. Naren Das, General Secretary of the organisation charged that the people of North Bengal

have been neglected for years and the economy of the region was in poor shape. Ministers were making "Misleading Statements", creating an atmosphere of uncertainty in North Bengal. Large-scale infiltration from Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and Tibet into five districts (at present six) of North Bengal has become a concern for local inhabitants, Mr. Das claimed the organisation which had been trying to draw the Government's attention to the deplorable economic condition prevailing in the region, was the largest organisation for the backward people of the region. The fourth annual conference of the Sangathan would be held in Alipurduar on November 10 1987 where the future course of actions of the organisation would be discussed.

Referring to the Uttarkhanda movement, Mr. Das said it has not made any impact on the region other than making a few Ministers raise a hue and cry over it. He also claimed that the "So called Kamtapuri Movement", did not exist at all. Replying to a question on the Gorkhaland Movement, he said the present situation would not have arisen if the government had taken steps earlier to redress the grievances of the hill people. His organisation was not "supporting or opposing" the movement. He suggested that there was need for a dialogue between Mr. Jyoti Basu and the GNLFF leaders and for the State Government to take some initiative regarding the matter.

Regarding members of North Bengal scheduled Castes and Tribes and Tribal organisation at a rally at Esplanade East, Calcutta on the 30th October 1986 Wednesday, the staff-reporter adds, in protest against the State Government's "Apathy" towards North Bengal, members of the organisation held a demonstration at Esplanade East. The rally was attended by members of listed castes and tribes from all the five districts of North Bengal. Two

memorandum, addressed to the Chief Minister and the West Bengal Governor, were submitted by the organisation. The memoranda contained a 15 point charter of demands as follows :

i. The main demand is 60% seat reservation for the students of North Bengal in the medical college, engineering college and other higher education institutions in North Bengal.

ii, Demand to step for stoping the infiltration of foreigners into North Bengal;

iii. They also demanded that the names of all foreigners who came into North Bengal after 1971, be struck from the electoral rolls.

and

iv. They called for the introduction of modern and scientific methods of agriculture and the setting up of more small industrial scale and medium scale.¹¹

The members of the organisation had assembled earlier at Howrah and Sealdah railway station before proceeding to Esplanade East

“You may be member of any political party which is not hindrance, as a scheduled you have been exploited day by day, deprived of constitutional rights and privileges, discriminated in social injustice our endeavour for developing the socio-economic condition of the North Bengal it is warning that feneral development is basis end of UTJAS but not sectorian review.....” is main manifesto of the 4th annual conference which was held on January

10, 1987 at Alipurduar Court premises.¹² It was the day of 60 thousand delegated conference from different parts of North Bengal including ladies.¹³ It was a painful and undemocratic event to assert when a public procession was marching towards conference, in the mean time a brutality attack came across on it by anti-social elements.¹⁴ This drastic attack has been come upon it by CPI(M) and Congress, UtJAS doubts it, as a result 100 delegates were wounded and many young maids were assaulted in different ways was followed next day also by beating to 500 delegates, stopping truck who were going to shelter place. Unfortunately rate of tortures and humiliations and enhances on the members of the organisation that had fructified the remembrance that day administrative officers (SDO) was absence and a few attendance of police power was remarkable. As a result, the delegates had been thwarting both from administrative help and social kind perusal also.¹⁵

Regarding Alipurduar tragedy, on January 17, 1987, the then Irrigation Minister, Mr. Nani Bhattacharjee said at an interview of press at Matharihat, "He would produce a report to the Chief Minister, Mr. Yoti Basu about it." He also said, in the procession of the UTJAS, members of the organisation used perverse and exciting speeches and slogans were result of occurrence and that was pretence of local congress leaders.¹⁶ On the other hand, Mr. Biswaranjan Sarkar, the local Congress leader, articulated that the CPI(M) and RSP played the occurrence. the president of Pradesh Congress, Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi asserted that the Alipurduar tragedy was proved that North Bengal has been suffering from all administrative proceedings and social injustice.¹⁷

Being abortive and sterile from vengeance and injustice of the political party (both ruling and opposition of the West Bengal), on February 9, 1987, UTJAS laid siege to all North Bengal's national High roads for 12 hours from

6 a.m to 6 p.m, in protest against the state government's "apathy" towards North Bengal, members of organisation held a conference on January 10-11, 1987 at Alipurduar Court premises. It also articulates for judicial enquiry, arrest to the criminals, grant in compensation to the wounded and judicial punishment to the criminals.¹⁸

To create a permanent third force or national political party, UTJAS shall have to endeavour tenaciously to bring all the parties namely karnatak Raja Roykoth Sangha; Dalit Sangharsh Samity (Karnatak); Uttarkhanda Sangharsh Bahini (U.P.); Samatha Sangathan and Yuba Satra Sangharsh Bahini, professing equality together on the platform of Democratic socialism - a conference was held on November 13, 14 and 15, 1987, at Bengalore. Building up of the third force is going to be a long term process and it will occur in a phased manner starting with the programmatic alliance with a view to forgoing an ultimate unity on the basis of definite socialist ideology, most suitable to Indian conditions.¹⁹

The principles of third force alliance, the 5th Central Conference was held at Kaliaganj in 1989 was vested in the UTJAS platform.²⁰ In the 6th Central Conference which was held at Falakata, where it decided that Krishan Mazdoor Sangathan would be politicized by fighting in election. In 1994, to achieve the goal of alternative structure of society and state, Mahila, Uttarbanga Tapashilee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan and Krishan O Mazdoor Sangathan allied at Jalpaiguri Central Conference.²¹ Going to put the year 1994, the year of corruption, capitalism, communalism and criminalization, behind and welcome the year of 1995 by unfurling Samajwadi Jan Parishad flag with green, red and blue colours and symbols of plough and wheel in it. The foundation

conference was held on the 31st December 1994 and 1st January 1995 at thana, Maharashtra.²² It is homage to appeal to all the political organisations striving for equality to consider the concept of the third force based on socialist ideology, instead of pursuing illiusory and temporary alliances.

Charter of Demands and Articulations

The agitation and violent activities which has gripped the North Bengal, in the name so called Tapashilee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan has attracted the National attention in the form of following charater of demands :

1. The constitution makes various special provisions for the protection of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But, the members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes have been discriminating in the field of social, economic and political. The major demand of the UTJAS is for proper implementing the constitutional provisions of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and making special provisions of the amelioration and advancement of all "Backward Classes" and "other Backward classes (OBCs)" which are enlisted in the Mondal commission Report."

2. The people of North Bengal has been victimizing of drought, flood, famine and failure of crops since pre-independence. August 15, 1996 marks India entering its fiftieth year as an independent nation. This is a long time in the life of a nation, but it has been long enough to see dramatic changes in all areas except North Bengal. After independence, India has met eight (NINE) successive five year plan but almost ignored such North Bengal's problems. Both governments (central and state) is unable to tackle the problem of such natural calamities, whether as every year lakh - lakh people loss their lives and properties. There is not permanent solution to meet the problems. In this connection, organisation asserts its final and permanent solution to control flood, erosion of soil by making embankment both sides of rivers.

3. Land Reformation Act should be implemented in proper way. UTJAS asserts the property shilling must be ascribed on urban livings, buildings, industries and plantations on the basis of current market values.

4. In North Bengal, agricultural irrigation should be improved the mode of production with in ten years. It is demand that small and middle range of irrigation should be envisaged in every successive five year plan.

5. It is demand to declare North Bengal as a "Backward Area" and to develop it should need to envisage the action of plan into the plan period. Whereas, the sixth plan (1980-85) recognised the need for balanced growth and necessity prepare schemes for Backward Area Development as part of general development. A National Committee for the Development Backward Area (NCDBA) was framed in 1980 to examine and identify backward areas and also to review the working the existing schemes for stimulating industrial development in backward areas such as concessional finance, investment subsidy, transport subsidy etc. but such programme totally escaped the backward area of North Bengal.

6. The vague monetary policy of the Government of India is the result of poverty of the cultivators of North Bengal. They cannot recover the loan. So, all cultivators should be extricated from all kinds of bank loans.²³

7. The important sociological difference from South Bengal is that the population consists of tea garden labourers, refugees populations, farmers, large groups of landless and migratory labourers, forest villagers etc, who are ethnically divergent and such there is always a potential for conflict and

resultant decrease in the possibility of effective user-group management. Moreover, from management point of view, because of existence of high valued forest with long rotation, the benefit-sharing management can become a problem, because of the long gestation period. The Government policy, therefore, is different from that of South Bengal, so far as, sharing arrangements are concerned. The tables I and II will show that the progress in formation of the Forest Protection Committee (FPC) is not very encouraging so fine.

Table - 5.1

(Regn. April '92 - March '93)

Name of Div division	No. of FPC	Area under protection	Tota No. of members	FPC members land ration in Ha
CoochBehar	28	5805	2653	2.58
Jalpaiguri	14	6525	4703	1.39
Kalimpong	1	492	322	1.52
Kurseong	1	107	225	0.47
Baikunthapur	9	2042	1207	0.59
Buxa T. Reserve	20	5490	3194	1.70
Midnapore(East)	40	2084	1852	1.12
24-Parganas	10	240	118	1.86
Bankura(South)	25	1544	2058	0.75
Birbhum	68	6933	4881	1.42
Bankura (North)	116	7146	9145	0.78
Total :	332	38408	30358	1.29

Table No. 5.2 (Total no. of FPCs till March '93)

Name of the Division	No. of FPC	Area under protection(Ha)	Total no. of members	FPC Memb. forest land ratio.
Baikunthapur	9	2042	1207	0.59
CoochBehar	10	1237	244	5.06
Buxa T.Reserve	20	5430	3194	1.70
Kurseong	1	107	225	0.59
Kalimpong	1	492	322	1.52
Bankura(North)	609	60038	60027	1.05
Bankura(South)	259	21941	17689	1.24
Midnapur (E)	439	61547	54216	1.12
Midnapur (W)	341	50619	30814	1.64
Purulia	415	55904	41805	1.35
Birbhum	68	6933	4881	1.42
Burdwan	31	11584	6146	1.88
24-Parganas	10	240	118	1.86
Total :	2213	278114	220888	1.25

Source: Annual Report (April '92 to March '93) : West Bengal Forestry : Ministry and Evaluation Cell Forest Department , Govt. of West Bengal, pp.3-5.

UTJAS asserts such differences between South Bengal and North Bengal in the sector management of the forestry are main cause of maldevelopment of the heart of North Bengal's socio-economic condition.²⁴

8. Despite rapid industrialization in recent years, North Bengal is still a primarily agrarian area. Besides, the prices of foodgrains and agricultural raw materials hold a key position in the price structure of the country. A rise of fall in the general price level. The Govt. lays not able a lot of stress on prices in the agricultural sectors. The Government policy should keep in view the need to provide incentive to the producer for adopting improved technology and for maximizing production and the likely effect of the price policy on the rest of the economy, particularly on the cost of living, on wages, industrial cost structure etc. Agriculture in India is seasonal and supply of agricultural goods is subject to serious fluctuations. Agricultural prices may rise faster at times and fall rapidly at some other time due to a temporary imbalance of supply and demand. Fluctuations in the prices of foodgrains and agricultural goods have serious consequences for the producers and consumers and could be exploited easily by the middlemen. So, UTJAS asserts, the problem of stabilisation of of prices of agricultural goods, especially foodgrains becomes significant.²⁵

9. UTJAS says that what we are seeing today in the name of economic reforms is actually western domination and erosion of our sovereignty. The fears of domination by western powers through the economic route, are not without basis. It was nature that questions about Swadeshi economics should have arisen, more so because the policies of the World Bank in opening economics and imposing reforms ended in failure in many other countries and have put them on paths of improverishment.

The recent charges against Multinational Corporations (MNCs) have listed in a paper MNCs; India strategy needs rethinking prepared by the Conferation of Indian Industry (CII). Its Director General, Tarun Das, accused

MNCs of wanting to make quick profits and stated that they were not interested in long term commitment. MNCs were interested in selling products by exporting them from their home countries rather than investing in manufacturing facilities here. They were, moreover, interested in bringing in absolute technology, which had lost its utility abroad, while joint ventures were sought for to gain entry, the companies soon wanted to acquire controlling interest by buying out the Indian partners, killing the domestic industry in the process. Indian managers were not hired by them and they preferred to get people from abroad.²⁶

10. Illegal land transformation from the tribes should be stopped. It also asserts, Bargadar destruction should be stopped and methods of transferring of the cultivated land into uncultivated land for using as means of tea garden, brick field - should be stopped for general interest of North Bengal.

11. To solve unemployment problem, there should need introduce small and middle range industries on the basis of indigenous products and to stop the process of automation and computerization.

12. To develop the mode of life there should need the fixation of minimum rate par-mon (40 kgs) Rs. 400/- and Rs. 100/- per kg. of the jute and Tobacco respectively (demand at central Conference; Jalpaiguri, 1994).

13. It is demand to recommend the Right to work as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution of India.

14. To open the training centre of workmanship, mechanical skill, artistic skill at every Block levels to develop the means of living.

15. The problem of immigrants is the serious and acute of West Bengal especially in the area of North Bengal. It is demand that the problem should be treated as a National problem of India and demand for initiative measures.²⁷

16. UTJAS articulates, to decay in Defence outlay and to increase the expenditure on social welfare projects and socio-economic development.²⁸ Whereas, on paper, that would be an increase of nearly 9 (nine) percent over the budget estimate of Rs. 25,500 crore for 1995-96, but when compared to the revised estimates to a mere Rs. 919 crore, or a 3.4 percent hike. Announcing his allocation of Rs. 27,798 crore, Mr. Chidambaran, Finance Minister said, "I assure Hon'ble members that if required, more funds will be made available to equip and keep our armed forces in fighting fit condition" - in para 72 of his 78 paragraph "Part A" presentation.²⁹

The present policy of Government should be rejected. As a means of medium, English should be avoided. Mother tongue should be introduced as a medium in all levels of education and administrative businesses. It is demand to increase the educational outlay in the plan period to be introduced free residential secondary levels school for the benefits of poor students. In the Hindi Area, the schools and colleges should be established on the basis of Hindi Medium.³⁰

18. The Historical palace of CoochBehar should be reformed and protected through the Archaeological Department and used it as a tourist spot, and demand for introduce "Kamtapuri cultural Academic Centre". UTJAS asserts, the Regional languages - Santhal, Kumali, Kurukh, Mundari, Kamtapuri and Shadri should be studied by framing respective Departments, under the North Bengal University. In the regional languages, the Daily news and cultural programmes should be announced in Radio and T.V.

19. 60% seat should be reserved for the students of North Bengal in the North Bengal Medical and Engineering College. For the protection of interest of North Bengal Backward students, the separate Joint Entrance Examination and the Board of Secondary Education should be opened as early as possible.

20. Following the Mondal Commission Report, the Backward classes list should be published in West Bengal and it also obeyed in all educational institutions. The licentious should be punished. All backlogged posts of Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be filled up immediately.

21. All profits should be invested for the upliftment of North Bengal which have been collected from all means of public Tax collection and private collections also. The priority should be given to the agrarian sectors. All kinds of Banking system, Insurance and Balance of Payment should be produced through the Branches of North Bengal.

22. The area of Tea garden and Forest should be included under the Panchayat or Democratic Decentralization. One day relief with pay in a week should be regularized.

23. All kinds of Central Head Offices of the Tea gardens should be transformed at North Bengal's local places and Auctions and sellings method vested locally. Siliguri, demand it declares a 'Dry port' (Internation Taxation City).

24. Demand for "Autonomy Council" is the present trend of agitation of UTJAS - to develop itself socio-economic condition of North Bengal.³¹

Those who are crying horse that the state governments autonomy should be curtailed, should not fail to bear in mind that the problems of terrorism, insurgency and the like, are the result of political expediency. Had the Indian states been given real autonomy and adequate sources of revenue of implement welfare schemes, much of bitterness and distrust would not have arisen at all? Any curtailment of State government's autonomy is the negation and repudiation of the constitution which clearly states that India is a federation of states with sufficient economic and political powers.

"Socialistic commitments"

The newly formed "SAMAJWADI JAN PARISHAD" with a programmatic alliance with a view to forging an ultimate unity on the basis of definite socialist ideology, will be strong enough to fight the twin dangers - of multinational capitalism and Manu - smriti obscurantism. It is the firm faith of the socialists that the trinity of Liberty - Equality and Fraternity are deeply rooted in the developing societies and the instruments of state and market must be used effective to give security to, and ensure social justice to have nots.

In our country the struggle for equality assumes an important dimension because of the ugly and dehumanizing caste system perpetuated during many centuries through the demeaning concept of chaturvarnya based on birth, creating a hierarchical social system opposed to the very idea of equality of man. The socialists worth the grain will have to fight against this social inequality and shelter the present fabric of the Indian society. To form a New Socialist Party based on a redefined and ever evolving dynamic ideology of socialism suitable for land without trying to emulate any other model, even if it is available elsewhere. It is new ideas, concepts and developments in science and technology, from any part of the universe but, it shall mould them to suit the Indian situation and the people.³² There can not just one single tool of thought to meet the diverse situations, too intricate to get analysed by any particular methodology.

1. The caste-system in India is too particularized to be blindly analysed by the dogmatic method of class analysis, which many tried and failed. The ship of class has wrecked on the rock of caste system many a time. Marxim analysis of history is also without trying to apply it to all and sundry. Feminism and Environmentalism are new powerful movements in the world. The socialists can ill afford to neglect them as they are powerful instruments of social change and equality.

ii. The concept of patriarchy is a forceful weapon of analyse all the literature including scripotures, rituals, modes of behaviour, norms of morality, mindsets about male and female roles and the all pervading sub-ordinate role given to half of the population. Shri Vinayakrao Kulkarni, an elder socialist, says that equality of woman and man would be a fine touchstone and final test of the struggle for equality. Capitalism tasks upon women either as

consumers or models for advertising their products. This perverse attitude must be opposed and is opposed by the socialists.

iii. Capitalism tries to commercialise nature by ignoring the vital relationship between man and his environment. The whole link between the animate world and inanimate things is very crucial and vital for the existence of humanity and its futures. Capitalism looks upon the nature land, water, forests and minerals as marketable commodities and tries to exhaust them at the earliest, in order to mint money without bothering about the needs of the future generations. The deposits of petroleum, gas and coal will be exhausted before the end of the next century because of the wasteful use of nature's gifts through its inhuman production pattern. The socialists will have to opt for sustainable development system.

iv. Technology is central to any development pattern. Capitalism opts for that technology which is suitable for the centralised mode of production conducive to the growth of multinational corporations determined to control people and use them as instruments, instead of enabling them to participate in the process of development. Socialists will have to opt for the appropriate technology which will try to give employment to all and which would ensure dispersal of industry to the maximum number of rural centres.³³

The third force has to be based on the support of Dalits, women, Adivasis, OBCs, Nomads and Poor-minorities. To mobilise these classes, its ideological perception has to be very clear and it shall try to assume the role of catalysts for bringing together all the forces striving for equality, and endeavour tenaciously to bring all the parties, professing equality, together on the platform of democratic socialism.³⁴ The special features of the process of the formation of this new socialist organisation may be discussed as follows:

1. The most important thing is that it is not an instant party like many others, as it took many years of patience, perseverance and persistence of many comrades in a continuing dialogue.

ii. The role of many activist socialist groups is very significant is this process.

iii. It will find that the majority of the friends gathered today are quite young who have dedicated themselves to the cause.

iv. It is going to be a party of workers and not a pocket party of any leader.

v. Members are eager to create a new political culture where there would be unity between words and deeds "KATHANI AANI KACHANI' They are aware that it is not a good which can be easily achieved, but they try to achieve it.³⁵

Implementing such objectives, the image of Samajwadi Jam Parishad would be established through its programme:

a. Programme of woman - should convene an all Indian conference of deserted women to press for the demand for equal property right.

b. Progress of youth - should organise a massive satyagraha for the inclusion of the Right to work as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution.³⁶

It is hope to make it a flag of socialism of equality and social justice, of the socialist third force and of all the oppressed sections of the society of the UTJAS.

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