

ETHNO - POLITICAL ASPECTS OF REGIONAL MOVEMENTS :
A Study in the Context of some Regional Movements in the
Plains of North Bengal.

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS) IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

1999

*North Bengal University,
Library
Raja Ram Mohunpur*

Dhirendra Nath Das
M.A., B.Ed., BLIS.

UNDER THE KIND SUPERVISION
OF
PROF. PRADIP KUMAR SENGUPTA, PhD.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL
RAJA RAMMOHUNPUR,
DARJEELING - 734 430.

STOCKTAKING - 2011

Ref:

320.954/4

D 229e

132212
17 AUG 2000

PREFACE

It is generally admitted that regionalism has become a fairly widespread phenomenon in contemporary Indian politics. A region is defined as "a territorial unit including particular language, ethnic groups, particular social setting and cultural pattern." Thus a region is a kind of social aggregation for multiple purposes.

Many theories have been advanced by social scientists for exploring the causes and the nature of regionalism. While some theories are based on social considerations, others seek to analyse the economic base, cultural factors or linguistic issues.

So far as the Indian scenario is concerned, a wide variety of the manifestations of regionalism can be discovered. The issue is complex and no single theory can explain the root and the exact nature of such movement. It has been very correctly observed that one of the most significant aspects of the Indian polity is that it is an aggregation of regions and sub-regions.

Generally speaking, the important cause behind the rise of regionalism is the uneven social and economic development within the state. Secondly, there may be issues connected with the cultural aspect of the people of a particular region. In many cases, it has been noticed that the people of a particular region suffer from what is known as "identity crisis". The very concept of national integration in India has failed to produce the optimum result since in many cases, integration has become another name for assimilation. Moreover, the so called 'main-stream' concept has also alienated a number of ethnic groups as it is feared that in the name of main-stream of national life, a total

absorption of all would take place. This has given rise to another kind of regional feeling.

Besides, the rise and growth of 'linguistic regionalism' in India has added a new dimension in this sphere. In a multi-lingual situation like India, this aspect has assumed serious proportion. It was thought by the policy-planners that a division of the country on linguistic basis would solve the problem of regionalism. Accordingly, in India states were recognised on linguistic basis. But that also could not satisfy the aspiration of the people of different regions and now it is felt by some that such a step has acted as an agent of further regional feeling.

Another form of regionalism has appeared on the Indian scene. A number of regional movements are launched to create a separate state for the people of a particular region, generally tied by ethnic, cultural or other bonds. It is generally believed that this type of regionalism gained momentum after the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis.

The present study, while making an analysis of the different approaches, meaning and nature of regionalism, seeks to explain this phenomenon in terms of some specific regional movements in the plain region of North Bengal. A number of regional movements can be seen so far as this particular region is concerned. The area, as will be noticed, has a long historical background. It has vast natural resources and man power. The region is full of tea plantation areas. But it is lagging far behind in terms of industrial progress. The economy is essentially agricultural in nature. The result is obvious. The scope for absorbing unemployed youth is very limited. It has created a generation of dissatisfied young people. In other words, the general economic condition of the people in this region is very bad. Moreover, the area being a border region experienced a heavy influx of refugees, which created a very explosive situation so far as the issue of cultural

identity is concerned. Coupled with this is the strategic location of this region as a gateway to Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh.

Against this backdrop, the present study takes into account all the important socio-political and economic variables with a view to examining the general nature of such movements. Not only that, the study also highlights the possible impact of such regional movements on the growing process of the state.

Needless to mention, any study of on-going movements has some limitations. As the movements proceed, newer and newer forms take place, strategies undergo changes and sometimes goals are refixed. As a result, the conclusion that one may draw is bound to be tentative. The present study while admitting such limitations, has tried to provide a tentative projection of the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The study seeks to examine the mobilization pattern of an old, yet new ethnic community, the Rajbanshis/Kamtapuris, in the multiethnic area of North Bengal. It addresses both to the subjective and the objective aspects of Rajbanshis/native ethnicity, describing and evaluating the Rajbanshis perceptions of themselves as a beleaguered native people threatened economically, politically and culturally by more advanced sections of the community. The study is based upon extensive use of documentary evidences, interviews and data collection from the memorandums resolutions, letters, folk elements and the like.

In preparing this study, I have greatly benefitted by the wise counsel and most invaluable suggestions from my revered teacher, Dr. Pradip Kumar Sengupta, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Commerce and Law, University of North Bengal, Raja Rammohunpur, Darjeeling, who had very kindly helped and guided me through different stages till its completion, without whose guidance, encouragement and painstaking supervision this work could not have been possible. I sincerely convey my indebtedness to him.

I wish to record my deep sense of gratitude to my revered teacher Prof. Dyutish Chakraborty, Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal who greatly encouraged and helped me to at the initial stage of my work. I convey my heartiest gratitude also to Prof. Manas Chakraborty, Department of Political Science and all my teachers for their inspirations. I am thankful to staffs and librarian of the University of North Bengal Library for assisting me with books

and documents for the study. I want to record my sincere thanks to the authorities of the National Library, Alipore; the Cooch Behar State Library and the Information and Cultural Centre , Cooch Behar and Pioneer Club Library, Dinhata where I collected the materials for my work. Sri Provash Singha Sastri, President of UKD and Sri Provat Barman, Secretary of UTJAS have helped me by providing necessary materials for this research. My colleagues, Krishnabindu Chanda and Ramchandra Saha have devoted their time in discussing the thematic scheme of this research with me and reading the manuscript for its improvement and Asish Nag deserves thanks for his neat and prompt composing of the manuscript.

I also thank the Dinhata High School, Administration including Headmaster, Anil Kr. Debnath for providing me time and opportunity to complete the work and finally, the Education Department, Government of West Bengal, for permitting me to carry on the field research during vacatioins.

Dhirendra Nath Das
12-12-99
Dhirendra Nath Das

Department of Political Science
University of North Bengal
Raja Rammohunpur
Darjeeling-743340
1999.

GLOSSARY

Political Parties and Terminologies

A A S U	= All Assam Student's Union
A I P P	= Asian Indigenous People's Pact
A K S U	= ALL Kamtapur Student's Union
C I T U	= Centre of Indian Trade Union
C M K S	= Cha Mazdoor Kalyan Society
CPI (M)	= Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CRYO	= CoochBehar Rajbanshi Youth Organisation
D S S	= Dalit Sangharsh Samiti (Karnataka)
F B (S)	= Forward Bloc (Socialist)
G L N F	= Gorkha National Liberation Front
G S M N	= Gorkha Sanjukta Morcha of Napali
I N T U C	= Indian National Trade Union Congress
J K S	= Jharkhand Kalyan Samity
J S S	= Jharkhand Sangharsh Samity
K G P	= Kamtapur Gana Parishad
K M S	= Krishan Mazdoor Sangathan
K P P	= Kamtapur People's Party
K R R S	= Karmatak Raja Roykoth Sangha
M A S C	= Manab Adhikar Surakha Committee
M N C S	= Multi National Company (ies)
N B C A	= North Bengal Cultural Association
N B J S	= North Bengal Jharkhand Sangha
N S C N	= National Socialist Council of Nagaland
N U M M S	= Nari Utdhar Nari Mangal Samiti

R S P	=	Revolutionalist Socialist Party
S C / S T	=	Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe
S J P	=	Samajwadi Jana Parishad
U K D	=	Uttar Khanda Dal
U N O	=	United Nations Organisation
U N P O	=	UN Represented Nations and People's Organisation
U S B	=	Uttar Khanda Sangharsh Bahini (U.P.)
U T J A S	=	Uttar Banga Tapashilee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan
U T J A J C S	=	Uttar Banga Tapashilee Jati O Adhibasi Juba Chhatra Sangathan
U U S M	=	Uttar Banga Unayyan Sangram Marcha
V S P	=	Vasha Sahitya Parishad

Terminologies

Bhatiya Kheda	=	Drive the Refugees out.
Dungdhori Mao	=	Holding a Staff mother
Dowhik Sakti	=	The policy of intellectuality rather than capability of doing
Naya Danda	=	Symbol of Balance
Upbita	=	Sacred thread

CONTENTS

	Pages
Preface	
Acknowledgement	
Glossary	
List of Charts, Maps and Tables	
Maps	
I. Chapter - Introduction - The Problem - Conceptual Framework	1
II. Chapter - Backgrounds and the Origin of the Regional Movements : In the Context of UKD	37
III. Chapter - The UKD - The Political and Idological Basis	66
IV. Chapter - UTJAS : The Political and Idological Basis	117
V. Chapter - UTJAS : Sub-nationalism and its Articulations	139
VI. Chapter - Monument Movement - Its Social and Cultural Dimensions	165
VII. Chapter - Ideological Aspects of Some Important Movements for Socio - Economic Developments of North Bengal - An Analysis	190
VIII. Chapter - Concluding Observations : Imperatives of an objective Assessment	230
Appendix	I-V
Select Bibliography	I - X

LIST OF CHARTS, MAPS AND TABLES

CHARTS

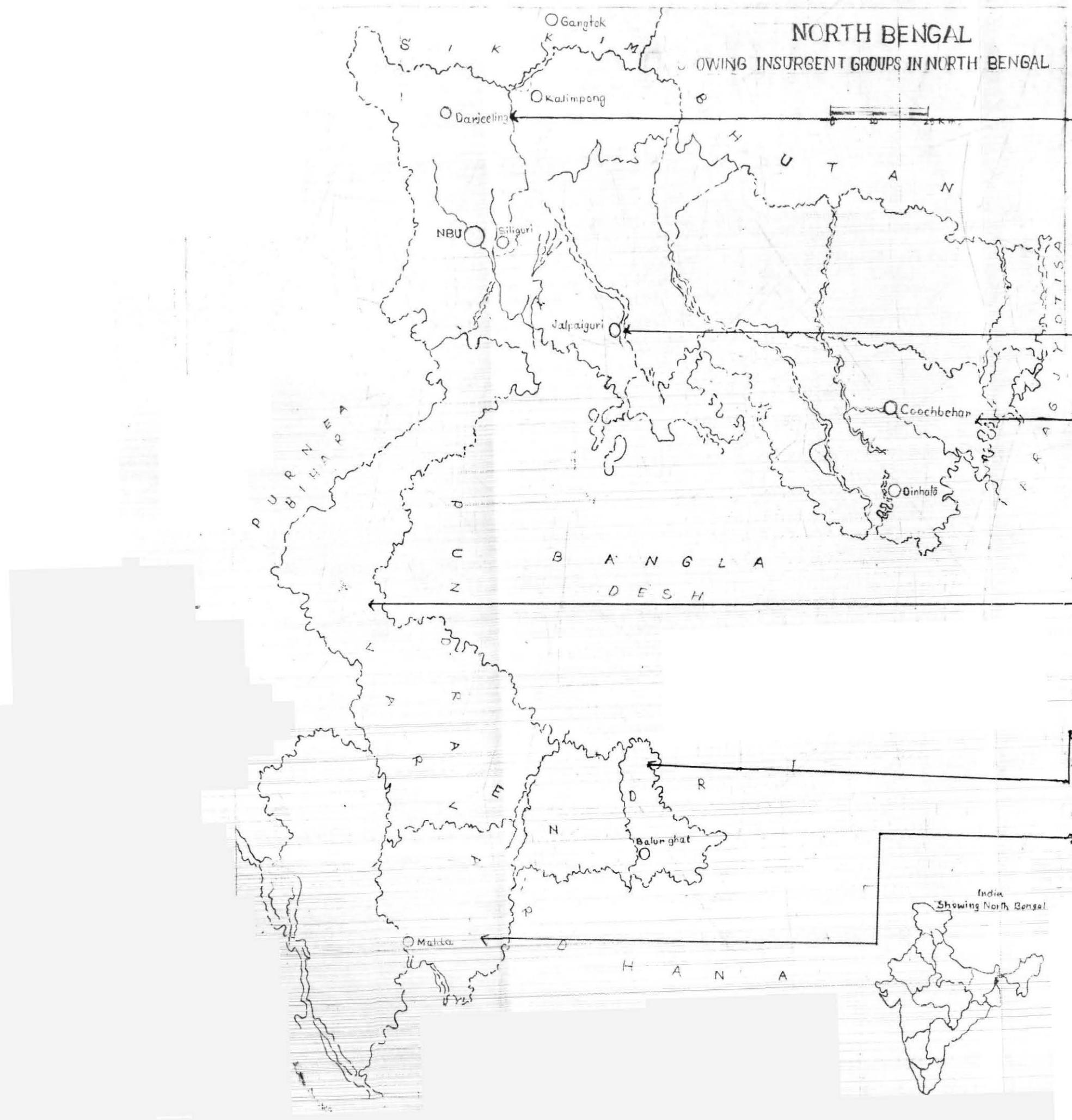
		Pages
1.1	Legacy / Factor - Movements - Form / objectives	- 16
3.1.	As in The Original Constitutions, 1949	- 89
8.1.	League table for districts agricultural developments	- 253

MAPS

2.1.	Sketch Map - Kamata State, (Rajya) - 16th Century	- 41
6.1.	Cooch Behar Sketch Map 17th Century	- 182
6.2.	Cooch Behar Sketch Map after year of 1773	- 183
7.1.	Proposed Kamtapur State Map	- 199
7.2.	Jalpaiguri Sankosh Cannel	- 217
8.1.	Sketch Map Kamtapur Port	- 238
8.2.	Geographical Boundary Demand of GNLF	- 261
8.3.	Immigrant Invasion Identification	- 265

TABLES

1.1.	Distribution of Population, Sex ratio, growth rate and density of population of districts	- 25
1.2.	Percentage distribution of Total population of the members of SC / ST in State / District in 1981	- 26
5.1.	Regn. (April' 92 - March '93)	- 152
5.2.	Total No. of FPCs till March ' 93	- 153
8.1.	All India Tea Crop.	- 256
8.2.	Estimated Crop During and upto December 1996	- 256
8.3.	Indian Tea Exports in Million Kg.	- 257.a
8.4.	How Much Migvahin takes place in India? And where?	- 262



THE FOLLOWING MAJOR INSURGENT/MILITANT GROUPS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED :IN NORTH BENGAL:

1. DARJEELING :

- (i) Gorkha Sanjukta Mancha of Nepali (GSMN); (ii) Manab Adhikar Suraksha (MAS); (iii) CPI(M.L); (iv) Pro-CPI(M-L); (v) Uttarbanga Jharkhandi Samiti; (vi) Ahmedkar Vichar Mancha; (vii) Kamtapur Peoples' Party (KPP); (viii) All Kamtapur Students' Union (AKSU); (ix) Uttar Khanda Dal (UKD); (x) Uttar Banga Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan (UTJAS); (xi) Kamtapur Gana Parishad (KGP); (xii) Kshatriya Samiti; (xiii) Kamtapur Bhasa Sangathan.

2. JALPAIGURI :

- (I) Kshatriya Samity; (ii) Jharkhandi Sangharsh Samiti; (iii) Kamtapur Gana Parishad; (iv) Kamtapur Peoples' Party (KPP); (v) All Kamtapur Students' Union (AKSU); (vi) North Bengal Jharkhand Sangha; (vii) Uttar Banga Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Manab Adhikar Suraksha Committee (x) Jharkhand Sangharsha Samity; (xi) CPI (M-L); (xii) Uttar Banga Unnayan Sangram Mancha (UUSM); (xiii) Kamtapur Bhasa Sangathan; (xiv) WBJCC.

COOCH BEHAR :

- (I) Hitasadhani Dal (HSD); (ii) Uttar Banga Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan (UTJAS); (iii) Uttar Khanda Dal (UKD); (iv) Khatriya Samiti; (v) Kamtapur Peoples' Party (KPP); (vi) All Kamtapur Students' Union (AKSU); (vii) Rajbanshi Youth Association; (viii) North Bengal Cultural Association (NBCA); (ix) Uttar Banga Unnayan Sangram Mancha (UUSM); (x) CPI (M-L); (xi) Pro-CPI(M-L); (xii) Kamtapur Bhasha Sangathan (KBS).

4. UTTAR DINAJPUR :

- (i) Manab Adhikar Suraksha Committee; (ii) Kamtapur Peoples' Party; (iii) Kshatriya Samity (iv) All Kamtapur Students' Union (AKSU); (v) Uttar Banga Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan(UTJAS); (vi) Samata Sangathan; (vii) CPI (M-L).

5. DAKSHIN DINAJPUR :

- (I) Kshatriya Samity; (ii) Uttar Banga Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan (UTJAS); (iii) Samata Sangathan; (iv) CPI (M-L); (v) Uttar Jharkhand Sangarsha Samiti; (vi) Manab Adhikar Suraksha Samiti; (vii) Kamtapur Peoples' Party (KPP); (viii) All Kamtapur Students' Union. (AKSU).

6. MALDA :

- (i) Manab Adhikar Suraksha Committee; (ii) North Bengal Jharkhand Sangha; (iii) Samata Sangathan; (iv) Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan (UTJAS); (v) Kamtapur Peoples' Party. (KPP).

NORTH BENGAL
Showing Archaeological Sites

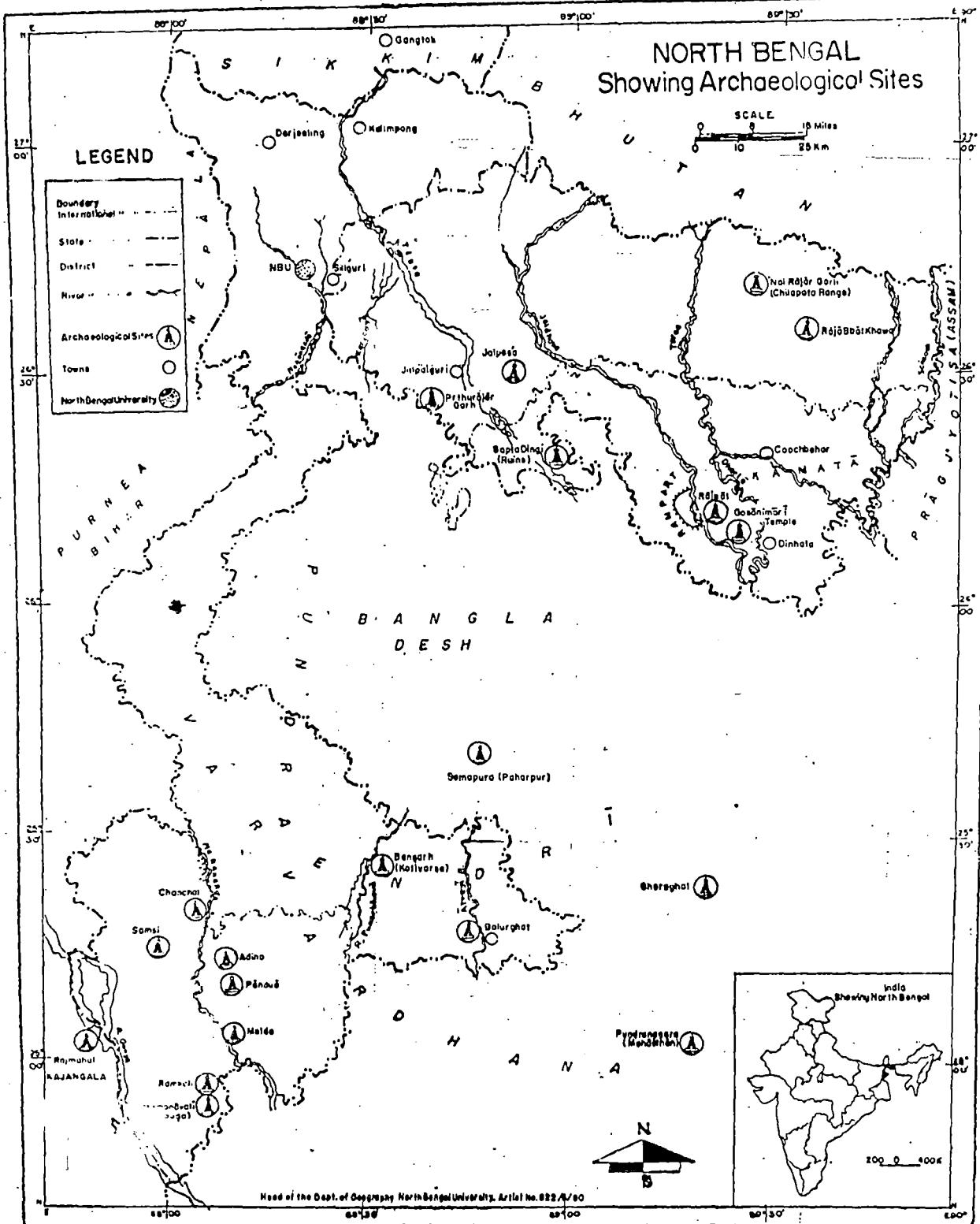
80° 30'

E 90°

SCALE
0 10 Miles
0 16 Km

LEGEND

- Boundary International
- State - - -
- District - - -
- River - - -
- Archaeological Sites A
- Towns O
- North Bengal University ○



CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION - THE PROBLEM-CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Regionalism is a fairly widespread phenomenon of Indian politics. Inspite of the political re-organisation of the country on linguistic basis we take note of this surprising fact that as more and more development programmes are carried out by the Central and State Governments, regional disparities become more and more marked and engender a sense of cumulative deprivation in the minds of the people of certain areas called "regions". Movements going on for the creation of a separate unit by curving a part of the existing state or states draw sustenance from the factor of ethnicity or socio-economic grievances. One may also take note of agitations for substituting existing arrangements (like Regional Committees or Development Boards or Autonomous Council or, Council for Development) by some appropriate agencies for the betterment of the lot of the people living in a particular area described as a 'Region'. Thus, "a region acquires an altogether new dimension in the states spectrum of politics and government.

The term 'region' leads itself to a multiplicity of meanings, the only common thread which runs through them is a basic cultural assumption that it is relatively smaller in size than the area in the context of which it is used.¹ It may mean a part of a state or states looking like a zone or a large tract of a land specially distinguished by special features like climate effect, cultural make up, linguistic pattern etc. A region is marked by maximum homogeneity within drawing sustenance from language, dialects, social

composition, ethnicity, demographic composition, geographical continuity; cultural pattern, economic life, historical antecedents, political background, psychological make up or recognised consciousness of group identity etc. The essential point is that a region is characterized more than anything else by a widely shared sentiment of 'togetherness' in the people, internalised from a wide variety of sources which might even include common prosperity, comaraderie developed in a common struggle etc. and, what is more, a separateness from others. In short, the facts of 'diversity' and 'disparity' feed and sustain regionalism.

Regionalism

Regionalism has wider and narrower connotations. In the former sense, it covers the case of a movement directed against 'centralism'; in the latter sense, it refers to the attachment of the people with the interests of local or tropical significance and in that respect it becomes analogous to localism or sectionalism.² It is true that regionalism is fed or sustained by many factors - social, economic, political, topographical, demographic, cultural, etc. not one but several of them in combination play their part in this direction. The factor of 'diversity' makes the people of a particular area of region distinct from others and the factor of 'disparity' inculcates in their minds a sense of social and economic injustice. The twin effect is that the people feeling bound to certain ties come out to fight for the sake of their 'regional' cause and their behaviour in this regard illustrates constructive as well as destructive dimensions of the case of regionalis. The regional concept has two sets of components :

(a) Objective

and

(b) Subjective.

Objective components include territory along with physical and man-made environments. It may be regarded as a segment of geography content. Subjective components, on the other hand, include historical background, traditions, beliefs, languages and ways of living. It may be regarded as a "Social Trust" content.

DETERMINANTS OF REGIONALISM

The determinants of regionalism may be classified :

- i. Man-made environment complex;
- ii. Historical forces;
- iii. Cultural identity;
- iv. Political pulls;
- v. Linguism; and
- vi. Differential socialization

The groups in regions become disaffected by various factors. They are :

- i. Expanding educational output and limited job opportunities.

- ii. Impact of egalitarianism, activating divisive primordial sentiments.
- iii. Adult franchise freezing and strengthening existing parochialism.

We have a vast sub continent as a geographical entity. It is natural to have different regions integrated by national boundaries, and inhabited by people with long histories, having their own languages and with different ways of living. Further they have different stages of economic development and variegated political ecology. We recognized this factor of diversity very early in our national struggle. The Congress Party had its own linguistic provinces as their basis and had adopted Hindi or Hindustani with Devnagri and Persian scripts as their official language. In the post-independence period, however, under the stress of various political and old historical urges, we resorted to the formation of linguistic states, and yet tried to popularize Hindi in Devnagri script as our national language. In order to satisfy the linguistic 'lib' of our people, we have also a schedule of other national languages. All our States and Union Territories, which may assume statehood later, are bound together by a unified political system working under a changing constitution infused with a determined will to keep the Centre strong and to keep intact the physical unity and social integrity and at the same time recognizing the States as the basic units on which the edifice of nation-state would stand.

Regionalism militates against nationalism in many ways specially when a country is in the process of transition from the old to the new ways of development. In Indian regionalism did develop more after independence and has led some problems particularly :

- i. Linguism and culture-centredness which strengthened the tendency

to preserve and promote the language and culture of the area;

- ii. Increasing assertion of State's rights as opposed to the Union Government powers, resulting sometimes into sub-national groups developing confrontation between the Union and the States and between States and states on political and economic issues;
- iii. evolution of regional parties with regional programmes leading to inter-regional rivalries;
- iv. Propagation of 'Son of the Soil' theory - a discriminatory type of regional ethno - centrism. The potential dangers of regionalism have been inherent and the partition gave us sufficient warning on this point. We have taken care of the danger of further secessions of regions while framing our constitution and have tried to plug the gaps through the recent constitutional amendments. Nevertheless sub-surface potential dangers are still alive and are raising their heads. We may be able to contain regional parties and reduce regional tensions to an extent, but we cannot eliminate them together, particularly on account of the regional variations and consequent degrees of social mobilization and economic development. It is difficult to say if we can easily confront with the linguistic cultural loyalties, Centre-State disputes and "Sons of the Soil" theory.

The problem of identity crisis arises because,

- i. There are no fixed spatial boundaries of language and culture as they interperse into each other, after leaving some segments of linguistic minorities into other large units.
- ii. One cannot ignore economic inroads into cultural unity, leading

to a wide gap between two sub-nations of the rich and the poor.

iii. There is no ready fit between the area of a State and the identity of a specific community. No one community of language, caste, culture, way of life is fully contained into a well-defined area.

iv. In the process of rapid development, there is always a tendency on the part of the small community to withdraw from the race as it cannot keep pace with the rate of development of more prosperous communities.³

In some cases, regionalism is enmeshed with sub-regionalism and infra-nationalism. There may be a region within a region and when the demands of regionalism are satisfied the demands of sub-regionalism surface themselves. The Telegu-speaking people struggle for a separate state and their own and they could get Andhra Pradesh after cutting a part of the Madras State in 1953. So, the movements for a Gorkhaland and Kamtapur after cutting a part of West Bengal or, of a Bodoland after cutting a part of Assam, or of a Jharkhand after cutting parts of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal may be termed as sub-regional expressions. The dimensions of the politics of regionalism in our country are informed by these important factors :

First, India is a very big country having marked social and cultural diversity that has its essential impact on the political and economic condition. The fact of regional economic imbalance enables the leaders of a particular region to raise demands for the creation of a separate State. To a very large extent, regionalism is linguistically bound.⁴

Second, imbalanced economic development plays its own part in this direction. The regional leaders exploit this factor and launch a movement

as Kamtapur for the kamtapuris, or that all foreigners' should go out of UTTARBANGA.

Third, the factor of social injustice plays the same part. The social backwardness, coupled with that of economic degradation, inculcates in the minds of the suffering people a sense of struggle for the cause of their own area or region. For this region, scheduled castes (Rajbanshis) and scheduled tribes and Native Muslims of North Bengal, demand Kamtapur, or, the Gorkhas of the Darjeeling area demand Gorkhaland.⁵

ETHNIC SEPARATISM

Ethnic separatism within nation-states has been a spectacular global phenomenon in the last quarter of the 20th century. The break up of Pakistan, the disintegration of the soviet Union, the ethnic conflict in Russia, and the fragmentation of Yugoslavia are only extreme examples of the manifestation of this centrifugal force in contemporary national and international politics. On a somewhat lower scale, it is present in Iraq and Turkey, Northern Ireland, Canada, several African States including Nigeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, Zaire, Sudan and Rwanda-Burundi; Indonesia, Philippines, and even among the indigenous populations of the USA and Australlia. Nearer India's borders, separatist ethnic movements exist in Pakistan, China, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma and Sri-Lanka and in some cases overlap with segments of India's domestic polity. An analysis of field data in most cases of ethnic separatism across the world tends to show, however, that mere ethnicity is seldom the only cause of the separatist ethnic movements. In every case, there has

been a deep sense of historical injustice, including political domination, economic exploitation and cultural oppression. Ethnic identity has generally acted only as a cementing force for organized resistance against perceived injustices historically meted out by the nation-state.

Another important lesson of global ethnic separatism is that the appeal to nationalism, or even the use of force, no longer succeeds in permanently suppressing subnational ethnic resistance. Where a sizeable ethnic population has a strong sense of deprivation for a long period of time, the centrifugal push of separatism often proves to be stronger than the centripetal pull of the state. Due to several historical reasons, ethnic separatism cannot be suppressed by brute armed force in today's world as easily as in the past. The first is the decline in the ideological appeal of nationalism, brought about by the technological shrinkage of the global and the growth of political consciousness throughout the world. Another reason is the global revolution in information technology, which makes the international community instantly aware and critical of major human rights violations anywhere in the world. The information revolution also enables the separatist ethnic communities to establish contacts with similar movements in neighbouring countries, as well as with foreign governments and non-governmental organizations. Resistance is also facilitated by the easy availability of sophisticated weapons in the clandestine international arms bazar, which flourishes under the nearly unconcealed approval and encouragement of the major arms selling states. Finally, the fear of UN sanctions or peace-keeping operations acts as an ultimate deterrent to states using excessive force against its own people.

India's problem of ethnic separatism has deep historical roots in the

oppression and exploitation of all non-Aryan peoples, including the Mlechchhas in the North West, the Nishadas and Shavaras in the forests, and the Kiratas in the hills, by the Brahminical civilization of ancient India. In some ways the present ethnic tension in India is a continuation of this historical tension between the centre and the periphery throughout the ancient, medieval and British periods. In other words, there is a large historical legacy of oppression, exploitation, and alienation of peripheral ethnic minorities in India. Be that as it may, ethnic separatism in India today cannot be considered in isolation from the general global trends. Some of the separatist movements may contain secessionist trends within themselves, as among sections of people in Kashmir, Punjab and the North East. Some others may be centred around the more moderate demands for statehood within the Indian Union, such as the movements for Gorkhaland, Uttarkhand/Kamtapur, Jharkhand etc.⁶

Traditional identities of communities were a multilayered. No single definition would exhaust the complex self description of a community organised on caste, region and sectarian lines. This sense of tradition or what Sudipta Kaviraj describes a fuzzy identities would not simply permit the communities to inhabit a conceptual world from where they would contemplate action on the basis of the numerical strength of its members, 'Enumerated identities' which emerged for example with the introduction of the census was to change this idea of multilayered identitied decisively. Neologism which followed the redescription of caste identities shows how colonial policies were able to single-mindedly direct the energies of the communities to reassess their position within the social hierarchy in terms of the numerical strength of its members and the economic advantage which would accrue from it.

The question of identity formation is a matter of great political importance since 'redefinitions of the collective self involve drawing of lines of enmity and alliance in politics on very different points of the social world.' The text raises an important point that it ought to have been a major concern of political scientists to ask why people in Telengana believe "that they were primarily poor peasants in the late fifties and primarily residents of Telengana twenty years later", because depending on who they choose to be people decisively change the course of political movement and the density of nation particularly in the Third World.⁷ Dipankar Gupta's essay on "Ethnicity and Politics" show how different mode of identification communal regional, linguistic and nativist have significantly given rise to the separatist movements along these lines in different parts of India. In the mid-fifties Congress had sought to demarcate India administratively on linguistic lines. Before the sixties was over "the sons of the soil" began to demand they be given the major right to work on the soil of their linguistic state and reap economic benefits therein without interference from people belonging to other linguistic communities." The Shiv Sena of the sixties and seventies, Assam movements of 1985 and Kamtapuri/Uttarkhand movements of 1980 belong to this genre of nativist movement.⁸ KPP's campaign for a separate state for the Rajbanshis for the constitutional recognition of the Kamtapuri language has found many sympathisers.⁹ The nativist movements demanded that the so called "sons of the soil" of a particular province should be given overwhelming preferences in jobs and other economic opportunities over those who had migrated to that province (or State) from another part of India.

On the issue of the nature of the Indian State, indeed on the nature of nation states as such, there have been contributions by many. Noteworthy

among them are Achin Vanaik (1990), Gupta (1990), Oomen (1990), Bhatt (1989) and Madan (1987). Achin Vanaik has probably paid the greatest attentions to this subject, through his views , as well shall see, are close to Gupta's which appeared around the same line.¹⁰ Vanaik begins by quoting Benedict Anderson who argues that nationalism is a "Collective State of mind", and it would be unwise to link it, as Stalin did, to a gross objective factor like language. But in India, Vanaik points out, the "Linguistic community as a linguistic community" did not so much precede the rise of nationalist consciousness and nationalist struggle as develop along with and through it. In other words, according to Vanaik, the political awareness of belonging to a linguistic community came into its own under the aegis of the national movement. On the other hand, language has not spurred such demand for separatism or, for the establishment of sovereign nationhood, as for most Indians, linguistic consciousness co-exist non-antagonistically with national consciousness.¹¹ Therefore to call a linguistic community a nationality gives a "principled character to the general conflict between centre and the states. It also makes it appear that the nation states should collapse along the lines that demarcate linguistic regions.

Anderson's work, *Imagined Communities* has recently given a fillip to this line of thinking. The imagining of India as a national community, Vanaik believes, is also a state of mind. Sub-national identities too exist but these subsequent identities," like casteism, regionalism, linguistic identity, etc., are "often of as recent vintage as the national identities they are supposed to oppose. Instead of seeing the conflict between the centre and the state in cultural and ethnic terms, it should rather be examined as an economic and political problem. Dipankar Gupta argues similarly, focussing on the fact that in the linguistic movements and in the sons of the soil agitations, the

centre was never really threatened. Indeed, for Gupta the recent round of regional movements should not be seen in solely cultural terms though the centre would perhaps like it to be viewed thus.¹²

As a matter of fact Paul Brass made a strong and pointed critique of the position as opposed to the primordialist one.¹³ The distinction in Brass between the primordialist and the instrumentalist point of view is very important. Brass had earlier criticized Francis Robinson when the later states that the two nation theory out of which Pakistan emerged was in fact embedded in Islamic religion. In other words, the outcome had to be so - there was just no other alternative. Brass, on the contrary believes, that religion by itself does not exercise such a determining influence over politics. Quite on the contrary, one should instead study the manner in which religion is used very instrumentally by political agents. This criticism by Brass of Robinson could apply to Juergensmeyer as well.¹⁴

Brass draws our attention to the fact that ethnic identities are variable, and hence his larger anti-primordialist point: there is nothing inevitable about an ethnic conflagration. Traditions are invented by elites, who, to use Lasswell's understanding, are "those who get the most of what there is to get." In Brass's view, the military officers, professionals, the landed and urban middle classes, are all members of the elite category. When ethnic identities are created and released by these manipulating elites, the identities are not pristine in character but are significantly distorted for combative purposes. The elites manipulate beliefs and values and distort them in order "to select only those which are politically useful rather than central to the belief system of the people in question." A little earlier he made the telling comment : "Elites seeking to mobilize the ethnic group against its rivals or against the

centralizing state, strive to promote a congruence of multiplicity of the group's symbol. Ethnic identities are thus consciously created and therefore they are also reversible.¹⁵

Communalism has been regarded by some as a force of tradition while others have attributed it to modernity. The text reproduces T.N. Madan's well-known and controversial essay, "Secularism in Place", which had triggered off the debate about the viability of a secular state in a predominantly religious society. If one accepts Brass's position, even in its barest outlines, then the consequences of this view are considerable. It is not only goes against Madan's argument the religion determines politics, but states rather forcefully that the religious or ethnic makers of identifications that are politically relevant are outcomes of elite manipulation. In a curious way, we have, with Brass, Politics subsuming and encompassing religious and culture. Brass also shakes the earlier anthropological notion on the durability of cultural traditions. There are however, some problems with Brass's views. To begin with Brass does not have anything to say of the manner in which the state ethnicizes issues. This perhaps an unkind out for elsewhere Brass does attention how centralization and "unprincipled intervention", have made the Punjab issue so much worse. But this matter is not theoretically integrated into his analysis. Secondly, his understanding of the elite is far too commodious and wide - almost everybody is an elite. The focus should perhaps have been on how some people become political elites through successful manipulation of ethnic symbols.¹⁶

The text is an attempt to cover up the insufficiencies that arise when the deterministic models of political theories are applied in understanding large and complex problems like the crisis of Indian state. Reliance on multi-

causal explanation is offered as the only answer for an adequate understanding of Indian politics. There has never been an unanimity about what constitutes the crisis of Indian state; while Marxists have viewed the crisis as a failure of capitalism and democracy, scholars like Rajni Kothari have thought about the rise of violence and "criminalisation of Politics" as weakness of Indian State.¹⁷ Atul Kohli's work written from the perspective of political economy emphasizes on the "growing incapacity of political institutions to meet political demands from various assertive groups."¹⁸ Authors like Francine Frankel view the frequent challenges to Indian state in the form of separatist movements and armed uprising as the sign of the crisis of Indian state.¹⁹ But, a question that is left out is about the instrumentality of Indian state itself particularly in relation to civil society. While in Europe civil society emerged because the social groups demanded the lessening of state control over society, in India social groups came together to demand more attention from the state thereby demanding a strong state. Some of the demands for regional autonomy has been virtually a complaint against the state neglect rather than against excessive state control. Atul Kohli's ideas on the nature of Third World State as interventionist in character is however a good attempt to capture this paradoxical character of the weakness of an excessively strong state.²⁰

In extreme cases, there the deprivation of ethnic communities has a long history and verges on domestic colonialism, even total independence cannot be completely ruled out in theory. Whether secession and independence are justified in a given case would depend on empirical field data rather than any supposedly sacrosanct theory and practice of nationalism, or an emotional commitment to "national unity and integrity". The size of the given ethnic population need not necessarily be large, if

geographically conditions are satisfied. For about 35 sovereign members of the UN are microstates with a population of less than one million each. But a deeper political problem lies elsewhere. Although separatist ethnic movements do struggle for their collective independence or autonomy, few of them have any radical programmes for the egalitarian restructuring of their societies. Most of these movements are led by professional politicians and elite groups motivated more by the prospect of a large share of the national cake for themselves than by the urge to create an egalitarian and just human society. The central power of the state often finds it convenient to co-opt the professional politicians and elite groups in a newly formed state, or an old state with special constitutional status, into the existing political system, thus leaving intra-ethnic conflict as well as economic distress at the grassroots level largely untouched. This appears to be the main reason for the residual ethnic separation in Kashmir, the North-eastern states and North Bengal.²¹

Hence, neither autonomy nor independence by itself can be regarded as the ultimate solution to the existential distress and desolution of the ethnic minorities. But the issue of intra-ethnic justice is related to the broader question of justice in human society as a whole, and should not be used as an argument for denial of autonomy or independence to oppressed, exploited and alienated ethnic communities in India and other nation-states of the world.

West Bengal University
Library
Raja Rammohun Roy

132212

17 AUG 2000

LEGACY AND FORMS OF REGIONAL MOVEMENTS

To make the case of Kamtapur agitation theoretically understandable, we may design a typology of regional movements with the content, form and background factors leading to such movements following with Dr. Sajal Basu's 'legacy and forms of regional movements.' We have already designated some common traits of ethno-lingual, nativist movements. Let us now frame these in a comparative way with reference to other regional movements that is shown in chart No. 1.1.

Chart No. 1.1

Legacy/Factor	Movement	Form/objectives
1. Pro-British background	Dravisthan Azad Punjab Khasi-Jaintia Federation. Kshetriya Andolon	Casteist/Secessionist Communal/Secessionist Communal/nativist Casteist/Nativist
2. Weak Nationalist Link	Dravidaland Azad Punjab Punjabi Sabha Jharkhand Bangla Kheda Free Nagaland Mizo Union	Casteist/Secessionist Ethnic Ethnic Communal Secular/Nativist Communal/Nativist Tribal / Secessionist Ethnic Tribal Autonomy
3. Economic Issues	Jharkhand Telengana Mulki Kamtapuri Uttarkhand Shiv Sena	Parochial/Ethnic Development. Communal/Nativist Ethnic/Nativist Secular/Ethnic Existence Ethnic/Nativist

4. Identity	Punjabi Khalistan Bangla Kheda Anti-foreigners Jharkhand Gorkhaland Kamtapuri	Ethnic/Communal Domination Nativist/Ethnic Domination Ethnic/Cultural Resurgence. Nativist/Ethnic Recognisatioin. Nativist/Ethno-Cultural
5. Anti-outsider sentiment	Jharkhand Gorkhaland Mizoram Kamtapuri Assam Movement	Economic/Ethno- Development. Ethnic/Nativist Nativist/Economic Economic/Nativist Cultural/Domination Economic/Ethnic Domination.
6. Area Boundary Disputes	Linguistic State Demands Accession of Areas Resistance to recognition Border.	Cultural/Ethnic Solidarity Economic/Ethnic Linguistic Ethno-lingual/Communal
7. Politics and Cultural viz., weak trade Union movements, Weak exposures, Lack of reform.	All the regional sub- regional movements.	Ethno-lingual/Communal.

The legacy/factors as pro-British background and weak nationalist link of some movements have already been specified. The identity aspirations, or symbols of identity taken up in a movement may often be used with economic issues and factors of deprivation. similarly, anti-outsider nativist sentiments may be mobilised in the context of economic demands. Such mixed use of symbols and identity with economic factors also taken place of different stages of the movement. Hence, treated separately having various forms and objectives. There has been interchange and overlapping in the form-objective of the movement and its factors. We may note that the same movement while categorised in different frame, e.g. identity and economic issues, has been given different content in its objective and nature. This could be possible since the concerned movements at different levels improvise symbols and issues that cut across the lines of ethno-religious, economic factors. And thereby overlapping becomes a common phenomenon.²¹ the Kamtapuri movement may be cited for classification. The movement involves economic, identity, nativist, ethno-linguistic as the components.

Nativist movements, whether in Bombay, Assam, North Bengal exhibit some common featurers. Weiner and Katzenstein survey this field and point out the importance that demographic imbalance and migration play in stoking nativist fires.²³ The So called "nativist" whether they be Maharashtrian in Bombay, or Assamese in all of Assam, or Kamtapuris in all of Kamtapur/ North Bengal, feel threatened by the sheer magnitude of migration which make them into numerical minorities in what they consider to be their own home. The most agitated of the natives are those who belong to the middle

domination class and they take the lead in these nativist movements. This is certainly true in the first phase of a nativist uprising, but gradually other socio-economic appeals, though in the initial articulation of the respective nativisms, there was little in them to motivate either the proletariat of Bombay or the rural populace of North Bengal.

While the modalities of the Kamtapur movement spread to rural areas is less clear, the fact that the Kamtapur agitationists turned much of their venom from the Bengali middle class to the Bengali Muslim migrants from Bangladesh, certainly played a decisive role in taking the movement to the villages in North Bengal, states of West Bengal. The migrants from Bangladesh were agriculturists and this, in all likelihood, threatened the native Kamtapur peasants, who saw large tracts of land going over to the hands of "outsiders."²⁴

It is important to take into account the socio-economic factors at each state in the career of such nativist movements, and in deed, of all ethnic movements, for they demonstrate all too clearly the mutability and transitory nature of the so-called ethnic phenomena.

GENERALISATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

Effective administration has never extended to the areas of North Bengal. The Rajbanshis, the Koches, the Native Muslims maintained the existing levels of isolation and have largely refrained from interfering with the traditional factors and forces operating in the community environment in the region. It is a matter of convenience and administrative expediency

that they successively adopted a flexible policy. Communication facilities and contacts with other regions were intentionally kept at a minimum. It was only at the time of British India consolidation of the area, particularly during the 1940's, that the significance of the region was appreciated. Early attempts after independence - towards effective integration was thwarted by the absence of favourable transportional and communication networks and linkages, general economic backwardness and greater awareness. Initial efforts were resisted which gradually transformed into situations of socio-political instability. Continuation of the tension has had the potential to spread spatially across the region with substantial mobilisation (which it did). Elements in the social and political establishment provided adequate justification for the inherent conflicts in the society of the region.

This has compelled the central establishment to strive for systemisation and re-orientation of administration and development which constantly kept the specific nature of the problems of North Bengal. Initially, these moves were hesitantly received and were viewed as a step towards domination. Emergent responses enabled the sectional elements to accelerate the demands for separation; those are suggestive of the resistance for alternative centres of authority and decision-making. These indicate periodic fusion and fission between alternatives centres of authority, control and decision-making. Inroads made by administrative a development measures have revealed the inadequacies in the form of adequate and necessary resources in a major part of the region. It is at this point that the balance between the centre(s) and the periphery(ies) is struck. This is a favourable platform on which integrative factors operate through political and economic measures. One can clearly discern function and operation of centrifugal tendencies which constantly polarised the inhabitants and territories. As a result, region frequently convulsed and succumbed to the

designs of forces of extreme sub-nationalism.

This situation as it developed indicated the role of destabilisation processes in eroding the administrative, politico-economic and territorial fabric. Administrative/reorganisation not only accentuated the existing disparities and inequalities in distribution but also highlighted the complexities and inadequacies of the territories. This encouraged inter and intra-formation differences and led for the cycle of mobilisation, confrontation and resolution vis-a-vis within, between and outside. This suggested that the policies and the associated process/fell short of imperatives. Statistic considerations transformed local and regional dimensions. This calls for a re-appraisal of the perspective on which the notion of regionalism is based and as applicable to the region of North Bengal.

In this context, quote R. Gopalakrishnan have successfully argued the need for reviewing the existing territorial arrangements from the point of view of size, social cohesion, effective administration, efficient centre-state relations leading to better development possibilities and so on. These aspects were reinforced by the fact that power was a great modifier of positions particularly in regard to regional accommodations. The threat of assertion of identities at the local level, came from population groups though distinct were assumed to have been assimilated in the dominant regional strains. Today, with the pattern of implementation of policies and the processes of political competition and participation alongwith penetration of the centre have opened up possibilities of assimilation through politicians. But, those have led to building up a separate identities that have led to rising expectations. Under the present set up, these demands cannot be accommodated for fear of greater fragmentation. Instead, these have given

way to fractionalisation and fragmentation of the society.

These demands have found frequent expression in the respective political force, organisations and related activities, who put forth claims for region-based territorial group identity at the cost of other variables and conditions. Thus, today, the scenario in the North Bengal clearly indicated the revival of primordial factors rather than one of class politics that results from development. The resultant ideological positions adapted by the different groups proved to have inadequate support base to cope up with the pressure exerted by their respective territorial locations and resource endowments. This had compelled quite a few groups to adopt a rigid stand and extreme positions. What was in fact required by these groups was autonomy that sought resolution to the economic problems with wider politico-territorial and social ramifications.

This then suggested that the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious characteristics were superimposed on the complex geographical setting of North Bengal. These exhibited several layers of identity and expressions. Each of these contained potentials to encourage fissiparous tendencies as well as scope for effective consolidation and accommodation. These aspects revolved around how, whether, and to what extent metamorphosis from social and geographical plains to political expressions had taken place in North Bengal. It is then obvious that :

(a) ideologies and organisations exerted continuous influence on the polity'. As a result, their reactions and perceptions were radically transformed. This introduced competition in political and economic spheres and had impact on the individual sub-groups perception about itself and

those surrounding it;

(b) this intensified demands and expectations for man power and other resources. The pressure to extend and expand welfare, educational governmental jobs and other developmental activities along with increased assistance to non-productive sections had consistently enlarged its scope. The marginal increase in infra-structural facilities had corresponding influence on development ; and

(c) there has been multiplication of efforts to mobilise the localities, regions and the peripheries against natural centres of power.

The aforesaid aspects and their explanation to account for the differences across the region and provide a broader perspective on which the federal accommodations and aspects of integration at different scales can be arrived at.²⁵ The following concluding section is an effort towards this.

The post independence situation in the North Bengal of State of West Bengal has been dominated by ethnic resurgence, strengthening of accessibility conditions, developmental activities and administrative reorganisation, among others failed to check this tendency. It then becomes obvious to seek answers for questions like : why has there been a resurgence of ethnic identity ? In normal circumstances, the answers were usually bound with the explanations of political and economic situations and of inequalities and sub-regional disparities. In addition to this, for the complex geographic mosaic of North Bengal, explanations included the impact of the historical patterns, integrative processes and the politicisation of ethnic elements. This

has been compounded by the emergence of a distinct middle identity as a factor in political, social and economic relations in North Bengal.

GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF NORTH BENGAL

Located between 27°13' N to 24°40'20" N latitudes and between 89°54'35" E to 88°47'40" longitudes, North Bengal region (the study area) comprises the districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Malda, South dinajpur and North Dinajpur. It has an area of 22316 sq.km. and a population about 120,36,292, male population is 62,36,108 and female population is 58,00,118. The density of population in North Bengal is 560/sq.km. The density of population is the highest in Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal is 560. The density of population is the highest in Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal (Census 1991) and lowest in Darjeeling district. The most number of population is Rajbanshis in CoochBehar and lowest in Darjeeling. 86% of population locates at rural and only 14% at urban area. the most of the population living stands on rural base. Only 31.19 percent population is scheduled castes and 10.47 percent population is scheduled tribe of total population of North Bengal. There are 59 sub-castes list of scheduled castes and 38 sub-castes list of scheduled tribes. The highest number of population is Rajbansi of the scheduled caste stands 17,43,646 (census report 1981). The highest number of population is the Oraon is followed by the munda of the total scheduled tribes.²⁶ The distribution of population, sex ratio, growth rate, density and percentage of SC/ST in State has shown in Table No. 1.1 and 1.2.

Table No. 1.1
Distribution of population, sex ratio, growth rate and density of population of districts

Sl.No.	State/Dist.	Population			Sex ratio female per 1000 males		Density of population per km ²		Decimal growth rate of population		Literacy of total population		
		Persons	Males	Females	1981	1991	1981	1991	1971-81	1981-91	Persons	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
West Bengal	67982732	35461898	32520834	911	917	615	766	+23.11	+24.55	32719340	20053418	12665922	
Koch Behar	2158169	1115169	1042172	935	934	523	637	+25.28	+21.28	811456	522619	288837	
Jalpaiguri	2789827	1447106	1342721	910	928	356	448	+26.55	+25.96	1046127	675407	370720	
Darjeeling	1335618	694687	640931	888	923	325	424	+31.02	+30.40	683,360	392,224	291,136	
W.Dinajpur (North and South at present)	3132374	1622679	1509695	937	930	449	585	+29.31	+30.25	1006380	653,534	352,846	
Malda	2633942	1358989	1274953	949	938	544	706	+26.00	+29.63	751115	495829	255286	

Source : Census of India 1991 ; West Bengal provisional population totals; Paper I, of 1991 H. Chak Nasny, Directory of Census Operations, West Bengal.

Table No. 1.2

Percentage distribution of total population of the members of SC/ST in State/District in 1981

State/District 1	% of SC/ST to total population 2	% of SC to total population 3	% of ST to total population 4	Total SC Population			Total ST Population		
				Persons 5	Males 6	Females 7	Persons 8	Males 9	Females 10
West Bengal	27.62	21.99	5.63	12000768	6231795	5768973	3070672	1559288	1511384
Koch Behar	50.46	49.85	0.57	883084	455877	427207	10105	5310	4795
Jalpaiguri	56.81	34.61	22.20	766498	398945	367553	491791	252842	238949
Darjeeling	29.00	14.25	14.75	145942	76653	69289	151073	77889	73184
W.Dinajpur (North & South at present)	33.39	28.57	10.82	687094	335006	332088	260160	132915	127245
Malda	24.43	16.89	7.54	343089	176019	167070	153300	74956	78344

Source : Census of India 1981; Series 23, W.B. Part IIB, Primary Census Abstract; S.N.Ghosh of Indian Administration Service, Director of Census operation, West Bengal.

ECOLOGICAL SETTINGS AND INTERACTION

Location, accessibility and geographical setting played a significant role in shaping the pattern of interaction in North Bengal. Diversity in human geography displayed two important traits in the interaction processes - one that applied to the inhabitants of the region and other that applied to the elements from the outside of the region. This moulded the perception of the inhabitants over space and time. Traditional characters alongwith forms of religious practices reinforced political and social orders in terms of organisations, institutions and ideology. These developed in isolation. Salient features of the inhabitants can be summarised as to represent.

- (i) different terrain conditions, lack of accessibility and limited resources potentials and actual ;
- (ii) primitive and low level technology applications indicated by large scale shifting cultivation, suggested its impact on the development of political, social and economic organisations of the native population groups and sub-groups. This exerted significance influence on structural and hierarchican content of the respective systems and sub-systems ;
- (iii) isolation and inaccessibility led to limited level of contacts and interaction with elements outside their respective environs;
- and
- (iv) distinct nature of dependence and constant struggle to maintain a constant source of replenishments.²⁷

In today's India regional political identities are clearly manifested. A coalition of regional parties in the present government at the centre, demands for separate states, acceptance of Uttarkhand by the Prime Minister, armed confrontations in the North eastern region are glaring examples.²⁸

Such a sectarian attitude of intolerance has percolated even to the sphere of languages. The principles of formation of linguistic states was adopted by almost all the parties. However, several languages and dialects, used from generation to generation within the states, were not given recognition and necessary support for natural development.²⁹ The languages and dialects of the dominant sections were imposed on the others against their will. similarly several ethnic and religious groups did not get recognition and support from the state authorities for their economic prosperity, cultural development and security.³⁰

Research Questions :

The demand for creation of a "Kamtapur" state is concerned with identical economic factors and inputs giving rise to deprivation sentiment which are conventionally said to be responsible for raising the nativist, anti-outsider movement do not always behave in a parochial way. The study seeks to answer the following questions :

- i) Why do demands of the Uttarkhanda Dal on the one hand and the Uttar Banga Tapashellee Jati O Adivasi Sangathan on the other differ when projecting regional grievances ?
- ii) What are the causes behind the emergence of demands for creation

of a "Kamatapur"?

iii) What was position of Hita Sadhani Sabha's movement on issue 'MERGERING' of Cooch Behar ?

iv) What was the nature of political support base ?

v) What have been the Historical compulsions behind the 'Kshatra' movement?

vi) To what extent have social issues been sources of this movement?

vii) What are the economic considerations that have led to the emergence and subsequent consolidation of the movement ?

viii) How far have the opposition parties been able to direct this movement towards their own advantage?

ix) What is the nature of leadership problems within this movement ?

(x) How far has the movement been successful in implementing its demands ?

Objective of the proposed study :

The proposed study attempts to analyse the reasons behind the movement and relate them to the historical and developmental context of India, specifically, it attempts to investigate :

- i) Historical as well as ethno-linguistic and caste factors ;
- ii) The socio-economic background of the movement ;
- iii) The ethnic, linguistic and identity factors have given rise to the emergence of this movement;
- iv) The role of the government policies and the impact of political leadership;
- v) The overall impact of these movements on the governance of the country.

The scheme is therefore a multi-factor instead of a single-factor analysis. It seeks to examine the following issues in the context of "Kamtapur" or "Uttarkhand" movement;

- i) Constellation of forces that are operating behind such movements.
- ii) Growth of regional movements coincides with uneven development that generates a feeling of deprivation.
- iii) The relevance of the theories of Colonial economic order and development, alienation from basic sources, institutional structure and conflict managing role of the political parties.

Overview of the Existing Literature

Generally speaking, there are some important works on ethnic and regional movements in India by some foreign and Indian scholars. But there is no specific micro-level study on this specific subject. Hence, the present study seeks to bridge a long standing research gap in this very vital aspect which affects the socio-political process at this region.

Of all the studies, the following works deserve special mentioning :

The politics of Developing Areas by G.A. Almond and James Coleman, Region and Nation in India by Paul Wallace (ed), Sons of the Soil : Migration of Ethnic Conflict in India by Myron Weiner, Modernization and Development, The Search for Alternative Paradigms by S.C.Dube, Ethnicity and Political Development by Enlse (ed), Political Order in Changing Societies by S. Huntington, Rethinking Development : State Against Democracy by Rajni Rothari, Strong Societies, weak states, state-society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World by J. Migdal, Social Movements and Social Transformation by M.S.A. Rao, The State and poverty in India by Atul Kohli, Class, Caste and Politics: An Empirical Profile of Social stratification in Modern India by Atul Bhatt, Reactions to Reservations for other Backward Classes: Mandal Commission Report by R.K.Hebsur.

It should be mentioned that most of these works deal with the problem from a general macro level perspective. A general kind of theorization has been sought to be made. But the present study seeks to analyse the issues from a micro-level position. Hence, there will dearth of secondary source materials on this issue. Not only that, the present problem has to be analysed in a proper historical and contextual setting. It has a number of peculiarities which cannot be found elsewhere. Quite obviously, greater emphasis has

been placed on the primary source materials and the works done by the local leaders, essentially those who have observed the problem from a close quarter. Information and data for the present study have, therefore, been collected from the published and unpublished documents, party resolutions and other related documents.

NOTES AND REFERENCES .

1. J.C.Johari, Indian Political System : [A Critical Study of the Constitutional Structure and the Emerging Trends of Indian Politics]. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1996, pp. 267-68.
2. As Hedwig Hintze says : "In a general way, regionalism may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggerated or aggressive form of centralisation. It must not, however, be considered solely from the viewpoint of political control or governmental administration. Regionalist problems arise only when there is a combination of two or more such factors as geographical isolation, independent historical traditionalism, racial, ethnic, or religious peculiarities and local or economic class interests." Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by E.A.R. Seligman, 1967 Ptg., Vol.7, p. 209.
3. Ziauddin Khan, NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDIA ; ISSUES AND DIMENSIONS; Associated Publishing House, New Delhi 1982, pp. 15-18.
4. An American writer remarks that regionalism of India is linguistically bound. If one flies from the city of Bombay to Delhi and on to Calcutta and Madras, one will hear at the airports at least four different languages : Marathi in Bombay, Hindi (or Urdu) in Delhi, Bengali in Calcutta and Tamil in Madras.

If the traveller had linguistic ears, he probably would overhear a dozen or more other languages or major dialects spoken by persons who were residents near each of these cities." India's Political System, p. 41 S See Bhjaratan Kumarappa (ed); Linguistic Provinces by M.K.Gandhi, pp. 14-15.

5. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, "Uttarakhand Agitation : Viability of Small States" in The Times of India, New Delhi, 19 April, 1995.
6. So. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, emeritus Professor of International Relations, Jadavpur University observes : "Ethnic separatism is not fundamentally a problem of law and order, but one of collective existential alienation. It would, therefore, be wrong to try to suppress it by force". See his paper "ETHNIC SEPARATISM: Global Lessons For India", in The Statesman, Calcutta, 14 February, 1997.
7. Shamita Basu, Rediscovering Politics: In review of literary on 'Politics in India' edited by Sudipta Kaviraj. Basu says, "Politics in India brings together exerts from some of the well known writings on Indian society and culture in an attempt to explore the undeniable links that exist between politics and sociology...." in the Statesman, 23 March, 1998.
8. Dipankar gupta, Political Sociology in India : CONTEMPORARY TRENDS, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, India, 1996, pp. 47-49.
9. Ethnic Parties a threat to LF in Jalpaiguri, News Service, The Statesman, 23 July 1999, p.4.
10. Dipankar Gupta, "Political Sociology in India", 1996, p. 49.

11. Anchin Vanaik, "The Painful Transition : Bourgeois Democracy in India, London : Verso, 1990; pp. 5-7.
12. Dipankar Gupta, "Political Sociology in India," 1996; p.50.
13. Paul R. Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism : THEORY AND COMPARISON, Sage, New Delhi, 1991, p.16.
14. Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Logic of Religious Violence", in Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol.22 (N.S.) pp. 65-88.
15. Paul R. Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism : THEORY AND COMPARISON, 1991 , pp 14-17.
16. T.N.Madan, "Secularism in its Place", in the Journal of Asian Studies, 1987; Vol. 46, pp. 247-59.
17. Dipankar Gupta, "Political Sociology in India : Contemporary Trends," Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1996, p.56.
18. Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent : India's Growing Crisis of Governability, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.4.
19. Frankel Francine and M.S.A.Rao, eds Dominance and State power in Modern India : Decline of a Social Order in 2 vols. Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1989, 1990, p.3.
20. Atul Kohli, 'Democracy and Discontent : India's Growing Crisis of

Governability, 1990, pp. 5-7.

21. Jayantnuja Bandyopadhyaya, Ethnic Separatism. Global Lessons for India, The Statesman 14 February 1997, p.6.
22. Sajal Basu, REGIONAL MOVEMENTS : Politics of Language, Ethnicity - Identity. Indian Institute of Advanced Study - Shimla; Monohar, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 20-23.
23. Weiner, Myron and Mary Katzenstein, 'India's Preferential Policies, the middle classes and Ethnic Equality, Chicago : Chicago University Press, 1981; pp. 3-4.
24. My interviews with leading Rajbanshis and other intellectuals in North Bengal , 17 April 1994 to 11 July 1999, confirm this finding.
25. R. Gopalakrishnan, Socio-Political Framework in North-East India, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1996; pp. 1-19.
26. Ajit Kr. Danda, "uttarbanga sanskritik uttaradhikar (IEAFLET) - READ AT A SEMINAR AT DINABANDHU mANCHA, sILIGURI, oN bHASA AND sANSKRITI ON 27 & 28 June 1998.
27. Census of India, 1991, India. 1.7 paper I of 1991; 1.7 Paper II of 1991 Rural and Urban Population.
28. R. Gopalakrishnan, Socio-Political Framework in North Bengal, 1996; pp.27-45.

29. Subhendu Dasgupta, A question of identity, in review of literacy on "The Assam Movement ; class ideology and identity", edited by Monirul Hussain. Mr. Dasgupta finds in the book a number of interesting issues in the sphere of analysis of regional movements which are still relevant in the Indian Scenerio. It is well researched and a eminently readable" in the Statesman, 25 July 1997.
30. Sunil Bhattacharya, UNITY OF INDIA : Meeting a Daunting Challenge." He observes : "the erstwhile Sovient Union, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Afghanistan - all these countries have come to grief because of a single reason : their ruling elites denied equality and freedom to all alike. The sense of exploitation was allowed to build up to stage of explanation. Will India avoid this?" in The Statesman, 5 October, 1997.

CHAPTER - II

BACKGROUNDS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE REGIONAL MOVEMENT : IN THE CONTEXT OF UKD.

Development has been the foremost aspiration of all human societies. Development is intended to raise the socio-economic standard and the life style of the people, particularly of the deprived sections of the society. The ultimate aim of development should be to improve the quality of life of the people and to insure social justice. A healthy process of development in a society calls for constant planning and monitoring of development programmes with a view to harmonising the desired objectives of the society with the available resources.¹

Infact, present era is an era of movement par excellence, for developing the socio-economic condition and life style of the people of North Bengal, "Uttarkhanda Dal" was formed on the 5th July, 1969 with the demand for a separate state, named as 'Kamatapur' or, 'Kamatabehari' state within Indian Union curved out of six districts of North Bengal viz, CoochBehar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur and Malda.² North Bengal is a 'Region of India' which is the home of the Koch - Rajbanshis and inhabited by more than 65 percent Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. After the attainment of independence, it was expected that due - care would be taken to develop the region for the benefit of the indigenous people who are weak and poor, basically farmers. But, it has painfully been noted that Government permitted free influx of people from outside into this regions threatening the social cultural, ethnic identity and economic conditions of the original inhabitants, all

these have affected the very survival of the indigenous people inspite of their past heritage and continuing contributions to India.³ With these few words, the UKD desires to lay down the grounds for its demands for a separate state within the Indian Union.⁴ The grounds may be grouped under following heads, viz - (i) Historical, (ii) Social, (iii) Cultural, (iv) Economic, (v) Political and (vi) others.

HISTORICAL GROUNDS :

From the historical point of view, this part of country has been wanting to be brought under a separate state viz Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Uttar (North) Dinajpur, Daskshin (South) Dinajpur and Malda districts in North Bengal along with a vast area of land now included in Bangladesh, in the state of Assam and Bihar in India and in Nepal. The demand for a separate state of Uttarkhand is not only of the UKD, but it was also Bihar's demand for Uttar Khanda State. In the second week of May 1955, Dr. Kunzru and Dr. K. M. Pannikar (Towards September 1953 the Government of India decided to appoint a high power ' States Recorganisation Commission' consist of Justice Fazal Ali as chairman and Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru and Dr. K.M. Pannikar as members to consider the question of redistribution of provinces) came to Darjeeling to hear West Bengal leaders' views on Behar's claim over the three districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar and creation of a new state to be known as Uttarkhand. The absence of a direct link with Malda was given as an additional ground by Bihar for cession of it with Bihar as a counter of West Bengal's demand. Dr. Roy discussed with members of the Commission for 90 minutes and submitted a supplementary memorandum on the question of reconstructing West Bengal's boundaries by adding some parts of Bihar

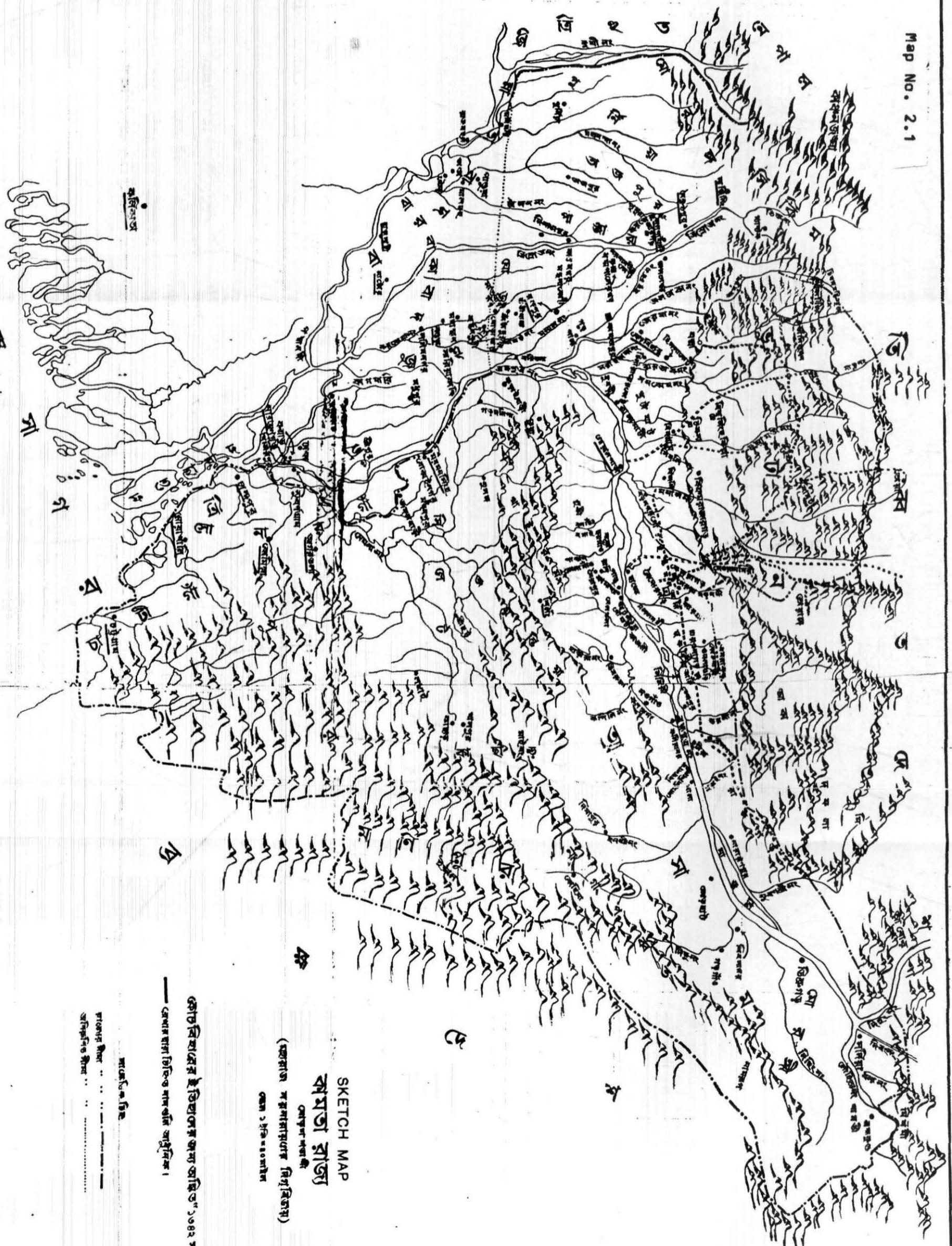
and Assam. Regarding Bihar's claim for creation of a few state to be known as Uttarkhanda he pointed out that the total population of three districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar was about 20 lakhs in which the Nepalis numbered only 1.35 lakhs where as Bengali speaking population constituted 61 percent of the total population of the area. On the basis of these statistics he rejected the case of Bihar for the creation of an Uttarkhand state and Malda continued to remain as the gateway of Bengal, by establishing a direct link with North Bengal districts by means of acquiring necessary territories from Kishangunge and establishing the road-cum-rail Farakka Bridge.⁵

The history of the North Bengal started with Naraksura of the mythological era. His descendant Bhagadutta was brother-in-law of Durjodhana of the Kaurava dynasty of the Mahabharat age.⁶ It had accepted by the International History Conference held at New Delhi on 16-17th December, 1979, the battle of Kuruskhetra was a historical fact and hence the personalities involved in the battle of Kuruskhetra were historical personalities, Bhagadutta participated in the Battle of Kuruskhetra on the Kaurava side and hence he was a historical personality and was the King of Prag - Jyotishpur the then name of the Kingdom ruling over this area. The dynasty of which Bhaskara Barman was the most renowned king and was contemporary to the emperor Harsa Vardhana. The great Chinese traveller Hiew-en-Tsang visited his kingdom and its Capital and spoke very highly of it. The Barman dynasty ruled till 619 AD. Where after the Kingdom went to the hands of a dynasty known as 'Kamateswara', the founder of the kingdom named as Kamatapura with its capital at Gossanimari now near Dinhata, the Sub-divisional town in Coochbehar district. The ruins of the capital and the great barrier built by the Kamta Kings around the capital are still there to attract travellers. The Kamata Kings ruled

over the area till 1528 AD. When the Kingdom changed hands and the Koch dynasty became the ruler. The Koch dynasty continued to rule the Kingdom in its different sizes,(once its jurisdiction extended upto Nowgong and Darang districts in Assam in the east, upto Sylhet and Bogura district in Bangladesh in the South, upto Purnea district in Bihar in the West and upto Bhutan in the north), Which was shown at Kamtapur Political Map,^(2.1) till 1864 when the then Koch King accepted the suzerainty of the British crown maintaining its separate identity though in a very small area compared with its past glory. But it maintained its separate identity nonetheless. The small Kingdom of CoochBehar continued to survive till 1949 whereafter it accepted integration with India in keeping with the tides of time.⁷

At the request of the Government of India, the then Maharaja of CoochBehar handed over the CoochBehar State of Central Administration of India for the happiness and prosperity of the 'Praja - Mandal', i.e. the people of Cooch Behar on the 11th September, 1949 through a special agreement.⁸ On the basis of the said agreement, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the then Home Minister of India, on behalf of the Government of India sent a letter to Chief Commissioner of CoochBehar from Camp-Birala House, Malabar Hill, dated Bombay, 11th September 1949 which stated....." on the handing over of CoochBehar to Central 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 economical 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 the country of their happiness and prosperity. Unity and mutual adjustment between the constituent element, of the population are

Map No. 2.1



essential pre-requisites. Without such resources and personnel as we may be able to spare for them would avail little.

I hope, therefore, that the people of CoochBehar will work single mindedness and devotion to duty as a united team for their own betterment and to achieve their due place in the political and administrative setup of India.

To accept transfer of territory from a ruler is no small responsibility which we feel on this occasion. To give up sovereignty over territory is no mean sacrifice. I am grateful to him for the spirit of accommodation and understanding which he has displayed and the prompt manner in which he accepted our advice.

May he and his people be happy and prosperous under the new dispensation which is being inaugurated today." ⁹

The people of CoochBehar were sure that the government of India would be able to solve the various problems of the people of Cooch Behar if Cooch Behar would be administered as a ' Union Territory.' ¹⁰ On the basis of the wishes of the Mahāraja and the people of Cooch Behar, Government of India decided to keep Cooch Behar under Central Administration. But, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal requested the Government of India to merge Cooch Behar with West Bengal. But, on the basis of the request of Dr. Roy, Sardar Patel deputed Mr. Akbar Hyder Ali, the than Governor of Assam to Cooch Behar to verify the public opinion of the people of Cooch Behar on this merger issue. Mr. Ali discussed the issue with the people of Cooch Behar and submitted a report to Sardar Patel on 29th June, 1948

from Guest House, Sillong.¹¹ On the basis of the report as well as the wishes of the people, Sardar Patel sent a letter to the Government of West Bengal. Considering all evidences and reports the Cooch Behar people's association stated that the merger with West Bengal is locally 'unpopular'.¹² Even, on the basis of the agreement, since 1949, assurance of Government of India as well as the report of A.K. Hydar, dated 29th June, 1948, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India declared in a public meeting in Calcutta that the question of Merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal would be decided according to the wishes of the people"¹³ On the basis of the declaration of Pandit Nehru, it is clear that he wanted to take Plebiscite in Cooch Behar to solve the merger issue. But, under such circumstances, Dr. Ray wrote some letters to the Government of India to merge Cooch Behar with West Bengal immediately.¹⁴

On the day of merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal (1.1.1950), Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on behalf of the Government of West Bengal, assured the people of Cooch Behar that the Government of West Bengal will take all necessary action to eradicate all ill conditions of the people and to bring about such improvement as are found necessary ..¹⁵ (it has discussed in details in the next chapter). But, the Government of West Bengal did not take any proper plans and schemes to ameliorate condition of the people of Cooch Behar. The Cooch Behar People's Association states that the Government of West Bengal is duty bound to set up necessary industry and to develop agricultural production.¹⁶

SOCIAL FACETS OF MOVEMENT

The sociological factors include the social structure of a community including various institutions such as the family, caste or class structure religion, traditions, attitudes, belief, political structure, etc. In fact, it is difficult to compartmentalize human factors into economic and non-economic, since development is the result of interplay of these factors. A comprehensive understanding of the problems of under - developments calls for a multidisciplinary analysis of the process of economic development, including sociological analysis.¹⁷ As determinants of economic change, the social factors can have either salutary or inhibitory effects. Many development economists including Sirman Kuznets explain slower economic growth in under developed countries in terms of the lack of a stable but flexible political and social framework, capable of initiating and accommodating a rapid structural change and resolving the conflicts that it generates while encouraging the growth promoting groups in the society.¹⁸

In case of North Bengal social factors as promoters of economic development, social customs and traditions are issues to establish the identity of a people. The people inhabiting this area have customs and traditions distinctly of their own. There the social ceremonies observed during birth, marriage and death are different so much so that only priests from Assam can perform the rites as observed by the people of the area. These customs have their origin in the semi - tribal way of life used to by the people and got very much to do with their physical and mental formation. Evidences, overwhelmingly go to show that they are of a different stock; the Aryans may be an admixture of Aryans with the aborigines of the area. The mode of wearing cloths, of displaying jewelleries, of gathering at social functions and of eating and drinking there have no semblance of similarly with other people of North Bengal,

Gods and Goddesses they worship, the idols and images they create; the bands and pipes played at the puja have no similarity with any other else where.¹⁹

These dis-similarities do not always bring favourable social change. Instead of diminishing social strife, it may on the contrary, have the effect of disturbing relatively stable social relationships of stimulating desire and envy and of precipitating class, racial or religious conflicts in the area of North Bengal. Development of North Bengal, UKD says, is also deplored on the ground that it is dependent upon and perpetuates, inequality in the distribution of income and wealth. Because, it becomes lopsided when it fails to percolate into the whole labyrinth of the society, leaving quite a few sections of the society outside the gamut of development. Such a lopsided development of a few sections of the people of North Bengal leads to increasing social tensions and polarisation of classes. For example, inspite of considerable economic growth in North Bengal during the last five decades of planning, inequality in the distribution of income is still glaring.²⁰

LITERATURE AND CULTURE

North Bengal is a distinct region. The people inhabitating this area have a distinct culture based on distinct language which are not in any way inferior to any other culture in India. The language spoken by the people residing in this vast area with slight variations from place to place does not bear any distinct name of its own though it has got a vast treasure of literature dating back from the mineteenth century. It is not a local dialect of the Bengali language from which it has got wide difference in the use of words, vowels and

verbs. The negative in this language as in Hindi is used before the verb as distinct from Bengali. Thus, "I shall not go", when translated in the kamta Behari language gets "MUIN NA JAIM", "HAM NAHI JAYEGE" IN Hindi and "AMI JABA NA" in Bengali. The Bengalies, learned and illiterate, derisively call language of the local people, 'the bahebhasa', by which they display their own ignorance and show of haughtiness and an expression of hate complex to the local people as "Bahe" is only a word to address an esteemed person on an unknown personality.²¹ UKD asserts that no language in the world is or can be named after only one of its words used as address to one another. If some of the language as Bengali or Oriya is named after the names of their states, then the language may appropriately be called Pragiyotishi, or Kamprupi, or Kamtapuri, or Kamata Behari' language. By whatever name it may be called there can be no denying the fact that this language with slight local variations are used by not less than 25 millions of people residing in the six districts of North Bengal, in the districts of Goal para and Western part of Kamrup in Assam, Rangpur, East Dinajpur and parts of Bogura and Mymansingh districts in Bangladesh and Purnea district in Behar. Some of the old literatures in this language as 'Gopiganer Gan', 'Jogir Gan', Manasha Gan', 'Charjugar Gan' and Bhasan Geets have already been published and saw light and some are being published. The greatest man of literature in this language is Shrimat Sankara Deva, the great exponent of Suddha Vaishnavism, who was one of the jewells in the court of the great king Naranaryan of Kuch Behar.²² Shri Deva was famous in the history; he wrote many books from the Ramayana, the Mahabharat, the Bhagabat and the Puranas in Cooch Behari language. These books and its manuscripts are valuable assets of Cooch Behari literature as well as Assamises and Bengali literature. But, due to negligence of the government of West Bengal, the Cooch Behar peoples association claims,

these books and manuscripts so far have been kept in Cooch Behar palace library were already removed while some of them were destroyed by some persons with a view to destroying the glorious history, culture and literature of Cooch Behar.²³

In the field of music and songs, this culture had developed a school of music known as 'Bhawaiya Sangeet' of which the most successful exponent at present is Mrs. Pratima Pande (Nee Barua), the niece of the great cinema artist and director, the late Pramthesh Barua. Her songs are regularly broadcast by the All India Radio centre at Gawahati. Likewise this Bhawaiya geets by a galaxy of North Bengal artists are regularly broad cast by the A.I.R. centre at Siliguri. Like its music, its musical instruments are peculiar to its own and will be no where found in other parts of the Country. In short, if Bhatiali is a specialty of East Bengal (Now Bangladesh) Kirtan and Baul of West Bengal, Bougeet of Assam, Bhojpuri Kawali in Bihar, it must be admitted that Bhawaiya is the special preserve of the kamtapuries.²⁴

ECONOMIC GROUND

Agriculture being the backbone of the economy of this area, all economic activities naturally centre around agriculture. At the apex of the agricultural organisations was king himself under whom there were several jotedars who have their Counter parts in Jagirdars and Jamindars in other parts of the country. The Jotedars let their land to tenants who again let them to sub-tenants who actually cultivated the land either by themselves or by their share croppers i.e. Adhiars.²⁵ unlike, however, in other parts of the country, the actual tillers of the soil or the adhiars had never been very much poverty rid-

den nor were they looked down upon. This was due to two facts :

One, the actual tillers were by birth of the same caste with their high ups including the all powerful monarchs, and, two, they supplied the man power needed to defend the kingdom from aggression.

Infact, the second factor made the inhabitants of this area, one of the martial races of India, and many of their children still now make themselves fine men in different branches of the armed forces in India. Their fighting spirit has produced a great General, Sukladwaj Narayan, nick named, Chila Rai because of his chila like speed(incidentally Chila is bird of prey known for its speed and cunningness in snatching away its prey) who can be compared only with Sivaji.

In addition to agriculture, the area abounds in forest products of different varieties and have potential deposits of mines and minerals awaiting exploitation after proper survey. It produces a few cash crop and contributes largely to the National Exchequer by way of excise and other duties. it produces one of the finer varieties of tobacco, flavoured tea, coffee and fine fabrics of Jute.²⁶

POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES

Kingship is the only political institution known in this area from time immemorial till the advent of independence. They did not know or have any form of government other than kingship, UKD says it. Their feelings for the king and their loyalties to him were so much deep rooted that even after they ceased to be the subjects of the Kuch King, they showed respect to him and

did not tolerate slightest show of disrespect of the Kuch King. Because, of their deep rooted sympathy towards the King, most of the benevolent despots with whom the people were bounded by the same thread of ethnical origin, caste and culture, the people could not easily take up the thread of democracy and as a consequence have now to suffer as will be evident from the subsequent details.²⁷

In view of the fact that the 'Kamtapuri' people with a past heritage of valour, victory, glory and prestige, with a developed language, literature and renowned culture, which help them to stand out as a people of special ethnic identity, have been socially, economically and politically exploited and reduced to lower than second class of citizens in poverty, illiteracy and decades of neglect of those who rule them. They find that nothing less than their freedom from the Calcutta based politicians and exploiters can save them. By the constitution of the separate 'kamatapur state' within the previsions of the constitution of India, they think, can save them as a people linguistically and culturally developed and ethnically preserved.²⁸

OTHER LEVELS OF VIOLENCE

Prior to independence, the people living in this area had homogeneity tied by a common bondage of history, language, culture, social and political institutions and economic activities so much so that the Goal para Tenancy Act had to be enacted to bring the people of Goal Para district in Assam in conformity with their own brethren living in the then North Bengal when feudalism and permanent settlement prevailed.²⁹ This homogeneity received a rude shock after independence. The political partition of Bengal divided the people

overnight into two nations : India and Pakistan. The vast number of people in Rangpur, East Dinajpur, Bagura and Mymensingh had to be separated. This was, so to speak, a death to their homogeneity. After the partition came the integration of Cooch Behar which had to throw its lot with West Bengal, because of political pulls and pressures prevailing them. These two events of partition of the country and integration of Cooch Behar with West Bengal, brought effects of far reading impacts, widely shattering the homogeneity of its people and its culture.

The immediate effect of the partition, is now known was the huge influx of refugees from the then East Pakistan other states in India adjoining East Pakistan namely Bihar, Orissa and Assam had their reservation in the matter of acceptance of number of refugees and their rehabilitation. But, West Bengal had to throw its border open and its arms of welcome wide received the West Pakistan refugees as they were known as one nation, viz. the Bengalees, during the prepartition days. West Bengal could not protest or shirk its responsibility. Hence North Bengal which happened, because of a chance of historical circumstances, to be part of West Bengal could not also raise its voice of objection and had been forced by the command of history to fall in line with West Bengal in its endeavour to accmmodate the refugees. As a result North Bengal had to live with a ckunk of alien people to its customs, language and culture.³⁰

The hidden factor of a close examination of demographic statistics proves conclusively that it is not the refugees from Bangladesh but the influx of migrants from neighbouring Indian states that has not only caused of West Bengal population problem but also of North Bengal. As a result, the magnitude of

such migration to West Bengal is a subject for speculation, its impact on the past, present and future demographic, socio-economic condition of the state can not be denied.

There are many major reasons advanced for the illegal, clandestine movement are the lack of security in their place of origin and better economic opportunities in the place of destination. According to one estimate about 13 lakh illegal migrants had crossed the Indo-Bangladesh international border during 1981 - 91, the decade under review. As far a more distant past an International Labour Organization estimate suggests that about 70 lakh Hindus left East Pakistan immediately after partition (1947-51) and well over 20 lakh moved into West Bengal during 1951-56. The 1980 decade which witnessed resurgence of Bangladeshi migration is an important phenomenon from the demographer's point of view principally because of its quantitative palpability when pitted against the low rate of natural population increase in West Bengal during the period. Needless to say the proximity of the sending and receiving countries, the linguistic and cultural similarities of the people have contributed to such movements. Interestingly, the Bangladesh migration has generally become progressively independent of the political factors that had originally caused it.³¹

In the event of such flows, once they have started, the Government faces enormous difficulties in controlling them and the indiscriminate entry of non-nationals has led to economic insecurity, a mounting wave of crime, various health and social problems despite periodic raids and forced repatriation of illegal aliens. During the recent years, the most notable change in the policy objective of the Government is to gain control over the illegal flow of migrants

across the international boundaries. It adopted a wide range of measures to deal with them: repatriation of persons viewed as being economically motivated migrants rather than political refugees, and even obstruction of entry, the barriers that have been created to keep foreigners out create a lucrative economic niche for those determined in promoting illegal movement for profit and black market in migration has evolved. Against a premium of the operators of this underground market provide a range of services to the infiltrators. These included clandestine transport to desired destinations, counterfeit documents and visas, labour contracts between employers and migrants, and even arranged marriages between migrants and legal residents.

According to the Sample Registration of Vital Statistics of the Registrar General of India the annual average increase of population in West Bengal during 1981 - 91, in the absence of migration, would have been between 2.0 to 2.2 percent. But the recorded growth rate is 2.5 percent, which is clearly in excess of the natural growth. The additional growth can only be attributed to the gross of both internal and international migrations to the tune of 16 to 17 lakh that have taken place. The estimates of such a large size of migrants are suspected not represent true long term movements of population; a considerable number of them is likely to have moved several times between places of origin and destination. Such covert and fluid movements have in all probability escaped the notice of the officials adding uncertainty to the estimate of growth rate or even inflating it.

As it is well known, the colossal influx of refugees from East Pakistan caused a phenomenal rise in the annual growth rate from a meagre 1.3 percent to 3.3 percent through the 1941 - 51 decade and the 1951 - 61 decade. In

the next few decades the rate reduced and stabilized mainly because of relatively less migration from across the Indo - Bangladesh border. The other contributory factor to the growth process has always been labour migration from neighbouring states. Be that as it may, the higher rate of population growth during 1981 - 91, compared to 1971 - 81, cannot be explained away by the state's natural rate of increase alone. It implies a renewed spurt of migrants, legal or other wise, in this decade. Among other things, family reunification, refugee resettlement etc., must have played a part.

Interestingly, the 1981 census population size of Bangladesh fell short of what it should have been according to the estimates made by the Bangladesh Government and the United Nations. Since censuses almost always suffer from under counts, the shortfall in the reported population size should not be considered as only due to migrating from that country and in the context of controversies regarding ethnic composition of illegal migrants to West Bengal and other bordering states. A set of valuable data provided by Professor Surya Sankar Roy and the Bangladesh census reports of 1974 and 1981 may throw some light. According to these reports the minority Hindu population in Bangladesh increased in the chittagang hill tracts, Srihatta, Mymensingh and Bogura districts, on the other hand it decreased during the same periods by less than one percent in the chittagong Division and the districts of Noakhali, Kusthia and Rangpur. However, a study on the infiltration problem prepared by the centre of South Asian Studies reported a decline of the minority population in Bangladesh in 1991. It further reported that in sharp contrast to a steep rise in Muslim population the Hindus experienced negative growth rates in several districts of Bangladesh. The corresponding growth patterns of the ethnic population of West Bengal are not immediately available form the 1991

Indian census. An estimation of volume of influx and a full understanding of Contemporary migratory processes can not be achieved without comparing the growth rate and their components in the two regions.³²

The spurt in the refugee movement from Bangladesh in the wake of the 1971 war of liberation, when some 75 lakh took shelter in West Bengal, was temporary. About 60 lakh of these refugees are reported to have been repatriated to the newly formed State of Bangladesh within a year. It is however suspected that a large number of them than is reported somehow overstayed and got mixed with the mainstream population. These people have actually been staying in West Bengal illegally since 1971. Again it is not unlike that some earlier refugees and immigrants returned home after liberation, perhaps compensating for the influx to a degree. As a matter of fact, 1971 is a cut - off point since the situation before was different as the massive immigrant population, mostly Hindus, from what was then East Pakistan were treated as refugees and later given Indian citizenship.

Since natural increase registered a decline, illegal migration is obviously held responsible for the relatively higher decennial growth rate (24.6 percent) in 1981 - 91 as compared to the previous decade (23.2 percent); it is thus though by many that the districts in West Bengal bordering Bangladesh have experienced higher growth rates than other districts. Going by the Indian census reports this is not true for most of such districts. Out of 18 districts 7 have an international border with Bangladesh. Two such districts - Cooch - Behar and Jalpaiguri - show uniformly a declining rate of growth over the period 1961 - 91. Nadia and Murshidabad, the two other border districts, also show lower growth rates in 1981 - 91 than in 1971 - 81. In the case of North 24

- Paraganas and West Dinajpur the rates of growth have significantly decreased from the high 4 plus level of 1961 - 71. Among the border districts of Malda registered a slight increase; even this rise may not be due to any Bangladeshi migration and can be accounted for by the differential levels of enumerations in the consecutive censuses. So, the political interpretation that infiltrations in the border districts have contributed to "silent demographic invasion" of the state is untenable.

A close scrutiny reveals that the estimates of illegal migration are, perhaps, motivated by exaggerated. This becomes clear when placed against internal migration i.e. migration from the other States. As mentioned earlier, the estimates are based on the differences in the overall growth rates and the rates of natural increase. The fact that West Bengal is under considerable migratory pressure is obvious and according to the place of birth statistics from census reports, 65 percent of the total population of the State were born within the State itself, 14 percent in the other states of India, while the remaining were foreign-born. In the last category only less than one per-cent were born in Nepal and the rest in Bangladesh.

Sizable migration flows from the different states to West Bengal, a factor often cunningly overlooked, should be recognised as an important component in the over all migration to the State which has been attracting industrial labour migrants from Indian States, particularly the neighbouring ones, over a long period of time. Although the general belief is that such migrants have been on the wane in recent decades, supposedly for industrial stagnation. The real picture is different.

A break up of the estimated total immigrants of 16 lakh or so during 1981 - 91 reveals that the share of the Bangladeshi migration to West Bengal was 9.1 lakh. The rest i.e. 7 lakh constitute inter state movements. In other words an annual average at 91 thousand Bangladeshi nationals might have crossed the international border during the decade, but how many of them were identified and pushed back is not known. It is possible that a portion of these immigrants returned on their own to their place of origin.³³

On an average 1,000 Bangladeshi cross over to India illegally every day a recent home ministry survey reveals. A senior official of the ministry said, the survey found that on an average three lakh Bangladeshi infiltrators enter India annually and according to a rough estimate, the total number of illegal Bangladeshi in India is between 1.2 crore to 1.5 crore.

He said the survey was being carried out considering the ground reports from all parts and indepth analysis of the Bangladeshi census report and their demographic profile. The official said after 1971, about 15 to 20 lakh Bangladeshi had entered illegally in Assam. The cut off year as per the Assam Accord was 1971, although was far greater before the Bangladesh war. Bangladeshis in Assam are in a position to influence the outcome of an election forcing all political parties to maintain a Bangladeshi appeasement policy in the state.³⁴

One thing stands clearly from this examination of the phenomena of migration to West Bengal, especially in the area of North Bengal, even if there were full - proof restriction on international movements, the population of the State would continue to grow more than the natural increase for sometime to

come. The reason lies in the sustained flow of population, not necessarily all labour migration, from other States. We must also distinguish between two circuits of international mobility - the movement of the Bangladeshi nationals to West Bengal and the reverse flow of these infiltrators to Bangladesh. The former flow, however, still outnumbers the latter movement, accelerating in part the population growth.

In this connection mention must be made of two historical injustices perpetrated on the people by the then power that would be at Delhi at the instance and advice of those at Calcutta:

- i) Which consent of the people were obtained in the matter of decisions if Sylhet would go either to Pakistan or remain in India because the population there were almost equally divided into two major religions, (a) the Hindus, and (b) the Muslims - no need for such consensus was thought necessary in the case of Rangpur district though as at that time 60% of its population were Hindus. This superficial treatment gave a shattering blow to the homogeneity of the people living in this vast area.
- ii) While our Government professes democracy, no attempt was made to obtain the consent of the people of Cooch Behar prior to its integration with West Bengal. The will of king, obtained through various political pulls and pressures, was thought to be fate accomplished for the people of Cooch Behar. This has put the last straw on the back of the proverbial camel.

These two political decisions taken ex parte without any kind of consultations with the people UKD claims whatsoever had produced effects which are going to demolish and destroy a culture and heritage, break the backbone,

economic and political, of a people which had been enjoying the fruits of independence and saw many ups and downs of its chequered history of 3500 years. The people have now found out its past and want to shape its future as it deem fit and proper in keeping with its rich past.

Leaving apart the fact of partition which can not be undone let the people of North Bengal detail out the impacts of the huge influx of refugees. Whatever might have the refugees said while they crossed the border, the fact remained that many of them came here not wholly destitute but with wealth left by their fore - fathers, earned by themselves during their life times and procured by them selling their properties at whatever prices they could. All the refugees never came penniless. On coming here, they received the hospitality of the Government of India generosity by way of the refugee loans very little of which were rapaid later. Thus, the refugees were doubly benefitted. They had coppers in their hands taken away from East Pakistan and substantial sum of money given by the Government of India by way of loans. With these money in their hands they began to search out for suitable properties and professions. The impact of refugees was the scarcity of goods because of fall in production resulted in rising prices. As one may remember for about a decade after independence food grains were items very scarce in the market. The illiterate local people who were used to lead easy lives were puzzled at this sudden change of situation and found no other alternative for survival to the selling of their landed properties. Taking advantage of their helpless position the sharks among the refugees began to purchase landed properties from the simple minded and hospitality laden local people in some cases even taking recourse to deception and fraud.

With the passage of time the refugees driven by the dire necessity of survival began to corner every possible means of earning money and in the process pushing the local inhabitants to backward places. These activities of the refugees were supported and backed by the government and the business community at Calcutta who felt it obligatory to render all possible helps to the refugees partly because of their own feeling of kinship with the refugees and partly because of hulla-ballus raised by the Calcutta based news papers. This process of business activities had acted as catalytic agents in economic fields which had rooted out most of the indigenous people from all towns and had taken away all business from them. This so happened because the Calcutta centred business community stood at the back of the refugees at the cost of and with sheer neglect of the local people. As a result during 52 years of independence the indigenous population of the area irrespective of their caste, creed and religion, have become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the refugees who are now lording it over the original people so to speak.

The refugees brought with them an air of culture and linguistic superiority though majority of them was illiterates. This superiority complex which was totally false and baseless produced in the refugees an attitude of haughtiness and arrogance which the local people, because of their simplicity and indifference had to suffer silently as any kind of protest was expected to bring about rude behaviour from the refugees resulting in some cases in bitter quarelling and rowdyism. The indigenous people have now to pass their days in a state of constant fear and terrorism which has increased many fold during the misrule of the United Front Government, UKD alleged it.

In keeping with the trend in political and economic thinking the

institutions of Jaminders and Jotedars had been abolished and a ceiling of land holdings had been prescribed. This was very good in principle, but it left many loopholes in its practical execution. As a result the cohesive village economy was destroyed on the one hand and vast area of land was cornered by the benamders on the other much to our consternations the number of landless people and pauperism increased many fold.

In view of the above the people had become displeased and rest less because of their genuine fear of extinction socially, politically, economically and culturally and feel in their hearts of hearts that the only way to come out of this sorry state of affairs is to organise themselves in a separate state under the name and style of "Kamotapur" or "Kamata Behari" state within the Union of India, UKD demands it.

It is, therefore, demanded to the government of India that a separate state comprising of the six districts of North Bengal, namely, Cooch-Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur and Malda be set up with in the Union of India without any further loss of time and any further delay, UKD demands, may cause irreparable loss and damage and extinction of valuable cultural heritage.

In this respect, mention must be made of the fact that though it is the sacred duty of any civilized Government to preserve its past relics with all earnestness and sincerity, the so called superior civilized government based at Calcutta had embarked on a gradual process of bringing the old relic of the vast area to utter ruins. This process of gradual annihilation of old relics had been undertaken by the West Bengal with the hidden objects of doing away

with a rich heritage of culture and great tradition so that the successors to the present ruling camp may shout from their house tops that this area had been under completed drakness and in a primitive stage of development and it was only through the generosity of their forefathers that they had seen the light of civilizations.³⁵ This would be very sad day for the aboriginal people of this area indeed !

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. M.V. Srinivasa Gowda, "Social Facts of Economic Development, Employment News, Vol. XVI No. 52. New Delhi - 28 March - 3 April 1992.
2. My interviews with leading UKD prominent leader, Mr. Probhash Chandra Singha Shastri on the 15th March 1992 confirms this finding.
3. Minute of the proceedings of the second conference of the Bharatiya Koch-Rajbansi Kshatriya Mahasabha held at Panchanan Peeth, Burirhat, Cooch-Behar, on 23 and 24 February, 1986, under the president of Dr. Purna Narayan Singh, President of Mahasabha in Chair.
4. Under authority from the executive committee of the UKD as envisaged in its Resolution dated 17-8-81; UKD, Head Office, Kantivita, Darjeeling.
5. Saroj Chakraborty, The Upheaval Years in North-East India (A documentary in depth study of Assam Holocausts) 1960-1983, Nehru-Roy-Pant-Jyoti Basu correspondence released, Sree Saraswaty Press Limited, Calcutta 1984, p.p. 24-26.
6. Mahabharat, Sabha Parba - 30
7. A representation, which is address to Sreemati Indira Gandhi, the hon'ble Prime Minister of India, New Delhi sent by Mr. Panchaman Mallick, Chairman of the Presidium, UKD, Bhangarhat, Jalpaiguri on 24 August, 1981, p.p. 2-3.
8. Another a representation, which is addressed to Srimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, New Delhi sent by Mr. Probhash Chandra Singha Shastri, the Cooch-Behar people association on 28th April, 1984 states with "AGREE-

MENT MADE THIS Central Government of India and Maharaja of the Cooch-Behar on 11th September 1949."

9. Durga Das, Patel's correspondences 1945-55 (Compiled) Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Vol. 7 p. 553.
10. A representation, which is addressed to Prime Minister of India sent by Mr. Prahbash Chandra Singha Shastri on 28th April, 1984 p.1.
11. Durga Das, "Patel's correspondences 1945-55."
12. A representation to Prime Minister was sent by Mr. P.C.S.S. on 28-4-1984.
13. Durga Das, "Patel's correspondences 1945-55", Vol. 8. p. 413.
14. IBID. Vol. 7. p. 547.
15. A representation, which was addressed to Smt. Indira Gandhi hon'ble Prime Minister of India, New Delhi sent by President of Cooch-Behar People's Association on 28-4-1984 stated with the prayer for consideration" Nonfulfilment of the assurance of the Govt. of West Bengal."
16. IBID.
17. M.V. Srinivasa Gowda, Social Facts of Economic development, Employment News, (weekly) New Delhi, 28 March - 3 April, 1992, Vol. XVI No. - 52, p. 52.
18. IBID

19. A representation, which is addressed to Smt. Indira Gandhi sent by Panchanan Mallick on 24-8-1981, p. 3.
20. IBID.
21. IBID, p. 4
22. A representation, which is addressed to Smt. Indira Gandhi sent by Panchanan Mallick on 24-8-1981, p. 4.
23. A representation - prayer for constitutional demand for status of Union Territory for Cooch-Behar by P.C. Sastry is addressed to the Prime Minister of India.
24. A representation, is addressed to the Prime Minister of India sent by UKD on 24-8-1981; p. 4
25. IBID, p. 5
26. IBID
27. IBID
28. Moynaguri Declaration of Bharatiya Kamata Rajya Parishad, on behalf of Dal, Mr. K.K. Barua, President of BKRP sent a representation to the President of India and other dignitaries of India on 8-8-1986, p. 2.
29. A representation, is addressed to the Prime Minister of India sent by UKD, 24-8-1981. p. 6.
30. IBID

31. Samir Guha Roy is with the Indian statistical Institute, Calcutta; the true story behind "Bangladeshi" Immigration'; A close examination of demographic statistics proves conclusively that it is not the refugees from Bangladesh but the influx of migrants from neighbouring Indian States that has caused West Bengal's population problem". See his paper "The Hidden Factor" in the Statesman (Miscellany), Calcutta, 11 September, 1994, p. 4.
32. IBID. "The estimates of illegal Bangladeshi migration are, perhaps, motivatdly exaggerated.
33. IBID. "A break-up of the estimated total immigrants of 16 lakh or so during 1981-91 reveals that the share of the Bangladeshi migration of West Bengal was 9.1 lakh. The remaining 7 lakh constitute inter-state movements.
34. 1,000 Bangladeshis enter India every day : Survey (United news of India), The Statesman, 23 August, 1999.
35. A representation, is addressed to the Prime Minister of India, sent by Panchanan Mallick, UKD, 24th August, 1980, p.p. 6-9.

CHAPTER - III

THE UKD - THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BASIS

The UKD movements of various colour and objects are well known in North Bengal. The Kshyatra movement of older vintage than the UKD played tremendous role in the area to sanskritize the Rajbanshi into Kshyatra on 1891, when governmental order was served to fill up the column of religion (caste) of the census of India by entitled as 'Koch'.¹ This insidious trend of the government of India was bound the Rajbanshi to take the way of insurgency under the platform of "Rangpur Brhathya Kshatriya Jatir Unnyati Bidhayani Sabha" which was led by Harmohan Roy (Khachanchi), Zamminder of Shamatapur Rangpur (Presently in Bangladesh) challenged with deputation to the Magistrate, the district of Rangpur on the 10th February, 1891. Realising the situation, the then Magistrate of the Rangpur district made up decision conveying with tribune, Maha Mahopadhyaya pandit Raj Jadhabbeswar Tarka Ratna, president of Rangpur Religious Association that the Rajbanshi was Aryan descendent Kshatriya who were without religious practices and ritualistic manner because "Brhathya Kshatriya" since long.² The two successive censuses processed distinct identification in the column of caste respectively the Census Report of 1891 and 1901 of the Rajbanshi. In time, a mediative, impressible benevolent personality arose who was called as Roy Saheb Thakur Panchanan, whose nature was that of an individual who on one side was always emphasising and developing his individual being to the extent of his power, but who was also driven by the idea and truth within him to unify himself with others if his species, to join himself to them or agglutine them to him, to create human groups aggregates and collectives. His tributary role of Kshatriya agitation influenced

the situation and gave identification as "Kshatriya". He started the Kshatriya agitation at the grass-root level of the Rajbanshi to sanskritise by offering Uppahita (sacred thread) and re-introducing ritualistic norms on the one hand and to change their Surnames by entitling as Singha, Roy, Barman as well, repatriated them at the third Annual conference of the Kshatriya Samiti which was held on the western bank of the Karotoya river, village-Poralbari, police-station-Diviganj and district Jalpaiguri (Present Bangladesh) on the 27th March, 1319 B.S participated by about one lakh people.³ After solemnization, the day of 27th MAGH regards as the 'Kshatriya Dehash'. In 1911 census, O. Mally, Superintendent of Census of India says, "the former request was granted without hesitation, as there is no doubt that at the present day irrespective of any question of origin the Rajbanshi and the Koch are separate caste."⁴

HISTORICAL GLANCE OF KOCH

The 'Koch', the name of an ethnic group of peoples; new under the Hindu fold of Indian Society, is actually a race, though superficially new, wrongly taken it to be a 'caste'.⁵ In Bhagawata Purana, the following descriptions in respect of the 'Pani' are available and translated it runs, "in the Rasotola (lower region of the South bank of the river Indus), a branch of Daityas and Danavas were known as the Panis, otherwise, called Nivata-Kavachas and Kalakeyas live in Hiranyapura. They were hostile to the Gods. So, the valiant and ever resplendent Hari-the adored one vanquished them by his power and forced them to live like snakes (dwellers of the caves).⁶ It was ordered to the Panis not to close or mixed up with the vedic Aryans or would not even acknowledge their suzerainty. But, it was maintained independence by retiring on the other side of the Karotoya ever of ancient Kamrupa, where they, even today, the fag

end of 20th century use their title as 'Pani-Koch'. The using title of 'Pani-Koch' also found in various parts of greater Assam, Bengal, Bangladesh, South India also, where the descendants of earliest Panis are known, today, as Paniar or, Panikors, Ambikachoran choudhury, general secretary of the All Assam Koch-Rajbansi Kshatriya Sanmiloni, says, referred with the Bhagawata that the Nivata-Kuvaches are a branch of Panis known as Pani-Kovacha.

Ultimately Pani koches had also been abbreviated as simply 'Koch', in eastern India. A branch of Pani-Koches immigrated to Kamrupa i.e. east of the Karotoya river, also entered and settled in the hilly areas of lower hill region, comprised, by now of modern Bhutan and Tibet i.e. northern region of Kamrupa. Subsequently, those koches of the Northern regions came down to plains portion of kamrupa. Then they were identified as 'Utkoches; or 'Uttar Koches' (Koches from the north), administered under reigns of Ghataka. Ghataks were staunch followers of Mahadeva alias Siva- a popular God of the non-Aryans and non-sacrificers (individuals who do not perform yanga) were known as 'Kiratas-Kirantees assembled under the family clan name "Ghataka' by Aryan writers. So, the Aryan writers, subsequently, termed those mighty and adventurous Koches as Canavas, Asuras, Kuvachas, Mlechaches, Kiratas respectively worshipped and established matriacial system of society also under the name of 'Kamakhya; who's temple situated on the hill top of Nilachal near modern Gwahati. Besides, Lord Siva, was the family God of the Koches. They erected Siva-Lingams in every Siva Temple worshipped as family deity to some extent that they had to procure, manufacture, import, keep store houses for supply of Siva-Lingams in many places especially nearest river ports and navigating points. The Koch traders also established a store house in Jalpesh temple of modern Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal.⁷ As a matter of fact all Koches

under different class names like Kirate, Ghataka, Asuras, Denavas, Narakes, Lord Siva was their father and Goddess Kamakhaya was mother respectively, Maharaj Naranarayan, the vikramaditya of Kamrupa of the 16th century was known as 'Saiva' and was last the greatest Koch emperor.

In every village of North-east India and Deccan where the descendants of the old Koches were and are still largely found 'Pithas' (spot of worship) of 'Bura-Buri', 'Thakur-Thakurani', 'Siva-Parvati', Mahadeva, Gossani, Lingam and Yoni etc under various names are even prevalent in these days of scientific advancements. As the Phoenicians were the migrated Koches from ancient India, they kept the tradition of worshipping 'Baal' as a symbol of Lingam (Siva-Linga) and Ashtarte (perverted from Adyasakti) the symbol of Yoni. "The worship of the female along with the male principle was a strongly marked feature of the Phoenician religion.⁸

The Koches, once upon a time, settled and established colonies in and around the Saurastra-Kombey, Kutch-Karachi, Sindh provinces of Pakistan, Koyeta, Kabul, Kandahar, Kirghis, Hindu-Kush mountain range and it expressed upto Kospian, Babylone, Egypt and Greece. These ancient Koches alias Pani-Koches also moved upto Salem (Jeruzalem). The Koch religious priests used to control the religious field of the locality, who were called as Melche-dezaks, associated with the life of Jesus Christ.⁹ Jesus was the Essani and the Essance like as Indian Yogi sought to obtain divine union and the gift of the spirit by solitary reverie in retired spot. Mr. Choudhury says in his famous book, "The Koches around the world", the Panies of ancient India who predominated from pre-vedic age, were the fore-fathers of the Koches of present day, who are now in some places of Eastern India known politically as 'Rajbanshi' (being

descendent of ruling and Royal dynasties for centuries) and in matters of observing rites and ritual as 'Kshatriya' especially after the social reformations launched by Roy Saheb thakur Panchanan of Mathabhanga sub-division of Koch Behar district of West Bengal, which was the main area of Kamtapur.¹⁰ But, he asserts, only degrading the Koches Aryan writers described them in their scriptures as Denavas, Daityas, Rakshasas, Mlechhas, Asuras, Kavachaks etc and used bad intended to minimise the Koches. As a matter of fact, he says, " how high waves of oppression and repression have rolled over the head of the Koches ! What a terrible downfall had overtaken this race, when even several thousand years back, attracted the admiration of the whole western world by holding before it as a brilliant force of culture and civilization ! What a pity today that the descendants of such a race should now be found steeped in ignorance, superstitions, illiteracy and most of them especially in Eastern India, are now eking out their livelihood as drawers of waters hewers of wood, as hotel and restaurant boys, tea garden labourers, helpers to the machinery contractors, domestic servants at the doors of the so-called upper castes people under the Hindu fold of the society !" ¹¹

The national, popular and welfare government mercilessly cut the Koches into pieces at least in eastern India, as for instance the government sub-divided the Koches as Scheduled Caste in West Bengal, as Scheduled Tribes in Meghalayas and Tripura, as other Backward classes in Assam and most backward amongst O.B.C. in Goalpara district of Assam. It is very interesting to note that Maharaj Nornarayan is a Secheduled Caste while his own younger brother Yubaraj Chilarai is Scheduled Tribe in same region. Due to utter ignorance of the Koches and vile approaches of the so called upper caste people of India, it is further very much interesting to note that though Maharaj

Naranarayan was the emperor of all most entire east India, i.e. from the Malda-purnea to Sodia and from Bhutan border to Chittagong including North Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, part of Bangladesh, Tripura, Monipur etc, under the commander-in-chief of his younger brother chilarai, his descendants are now treated unfortunately as the 'foreignes' by a section of people of the present truncated Assam. The Koch-Rajbanshis of Goalpara, district of Assam have been treated as 'foreigners' during the Assam movement.¹²

A few additional remarks on the origin, evolution and development of the koch race are given below for constructing general idea of the Koches :

According to Sir George Abraham Grierson, "Koches and Kocharies are of the same ethnic group and the true Koches are at any rate represented by the Kocharies who inhabit Nowgong, Goal para, Koch Behar and the neighbouring countries." He also says when we across the river Brahmaputra coming Dacca we meet a well marked in form of speeches in Rangpur and the districts of its North and East. It is called 'Rajbansi' who are belonging to eastern branch has still points of difference which lead us to classify it as a separate dialect. The dialect of the Western and the south western Goalpara in Assam is purely Rajbansi.¹³ As far census report of 1891 A.D. the total population in this region using Rajbansi language was 35,90,312. Willium Hunter started physiognomy studies of the race and expressed that they were not Mongolian but Dravidian. As philological evidence falls, we are compelled to be taken ourselves to physical characteristics, he says, it is therefore, much to be regretted that on this point there is an irreconcilable conflict of evidence between authorities of equal weight. Another interesting fact to assert that tribe is the Rajbansi or Koch of North Bengal, the localisation of whose racial posi-

tion has long been a subject of dispute. They are however only the third wave of mongals who have advanced through the eastern passes, the first being the Chandal, the second the Koch and the last the Aham. The Koch, Koch-Mandi, Rajbanshi, Palliya and Desi belong to a large Dravidian tribe of North Eastern and Eastern Bengal amongst whom there are ground for suspecting some admixture of Mongolian blood. The transformation of Koch, Risley says, into Rajbanshi, the name by which they are now known in Ranpur. Jalpaiguri and Koch Behar, is a singular illustration of the influence exercised by fiction in the making of caste. Now the great majority of Koch inhabitants of North Bengal invariably describe themselves as Rajbanshis or Bhanga Kshatriyas. They keep Brahmins, initiate Brahminical rituals in their marriage ceremony and have begun to adopt Brahminical system of gotra.¹⁴

CONVERTED AS A TRIBUTARY STATE

The demand for separate, "Uttar Khand", is not a new articulation of the UKD but it arose from the dissatisfaction for forming issues of Koch Behar state merged with West Bengal as a district under the political platform of Hita Sadhani Dall participating with local indigenous Hindu, Muslim and immigrant people. Now, questions arises why does the demand for a separate state originate? What are the causes of dissatisfaction of the native people? What does the actual historical background remain? What is the trend of movement? What is the nature of political supports behind them? What has been the popular reaction against the merger of Cooch Behar as a district of West Bengal? What had been the political situation of Koch Behar behind such an arrangement?

The Koch Behar state was demissioned from the status-quo of stateship

in successive last two times: one was in the year of 1773 and other was in the year of 1947.¹⁵

'Dharendranarayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, having represented to the Honourable the President and council of Calcutta the present distressed state of the country, owing to its being harassed by the neighbouring independent Rajas, who are in league to depose him, the Honourable the President and council, from a love of justice and desire of assisting the distressed, have agreed to send a force, consisting of four companies of Sepoys, and a field-piece for the protection of the said Raja and his country against his enemies, and the following conditions are mutually agreed on :-

'1st. - That the said Raja will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rungpore Rs. 50,000 to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him.

'2nd. - That if more than Rs. 50,000 are expended, the Raja make it good to the Honourable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended that it be delivered back.

'3rd.- That the Raja will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies, and will allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal.

'4th.- That the Raja further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one-half of the annual revenues of Cooch Behar for ever.

'5th.- That the other moiety shall remain to the Raja and his heirs for ever, provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honourable United East India Company.

'6th.- That in order to ascertain the value of the Cooch Behar country, the Raja will deliver a fair hastabud of his district into the hands of such person as the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta shall think proper to

depute for that purpose, upon which valuation the annual Malguzari, which the Raja is to pay, shall be established.

'7th.- That the amount of Malguzari settled by such person of the Honourable the East India Company shall depute, shall be perpetual.

'8th.- That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense.

'9th.- That this treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advices may be received from the Court of Directors, empowering the President and Council to ratify the same for ever.

'This treaty signed, sealed, and concluded, by the Honourable the President and Council at Fort William, the fifth of April, 1773, on the one part, and by Dharendranarayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, at Behyar Fort, the 6th Magh, 1179, Bengal style, on the other part.'¹⁶

Cooch Behar remained a tributary state (Karath Rajya) under the English East India Company. A tributary (Karath Rajya) stateship was continued since 173 years last.¹⁷ But, "it will be admitted, that under a liberal construction of the apparent object and spirit of the treaty no advantage can justly be taken of the loose and undefined expressions of 'subjection' and 'annexation' above mentioned to the prejudice of the less powerful contracting party that no diminution of the independent rights of the Rajah within his own government was intended, is obvious from his having been left in possession of the two great characteristics of sovereignty, the right of coining money impressed with his own name, and the administration of Justice, and from these considerations collectively, our construction of the Treaty, is, that Cooch Behar, was hence forward to be regarded in the light of a tributary District, deriving protec-

tion from the state to which for that purpose it made a partial and voluntary surrender of its rights; but maintaining in its domestic administration its independence un-impaired"¹⁸ 'From the above abstract of the principal articles of the Treaty, the Board can not but be of opinion with the commissioner, that no diminution of the independent rights of the Rajah within his own Government was intended by it, but that Cooch Behar was then forward to be regarded in the light of a tributary district deriving protection from the state to which for that purpose it made a partial and voluntary surrender of its rights; but maintaining in its domestic administration its independence unimpaired."¹⁹

Similarly, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling had been captured by British East India. Jalpaiguri is a new district formed only 130 years ago on the 1st January, 1869 AD by Baikunthapur pargana, five zamindary chaklas of Cooch Behar and the Western Dooars. After partition of Bengal in 1947 the five chaklas comprising five revenue thanas and police station have gone over to Pakistan and the present district in West Bengal consists of Baikunthapur paragana and the Western Duars, covering 2374.4 sq. miles.

Baikunthapur was previously a part of Goud and during the first part of the 16th century was conquered by the Koch King, Biswa Singha of Cooch Behar, probably in the year of 1545 AD Biswa Singha did not annex the conquered territory to his kingdom but put up his own brother, Siswa Singha or Sive Singha as its independent ruler, Siswa Singha and his descendants down to Daspodev or Darrup-Deo continued as independent kings of Baikunthapur till the year 1773 AD. Thereafter, the state came under the East India company when it was no longer free but a mere zamindary under British Government. Within Rangpur district upto the year 1869 and subsequently, English writers

as Durrup-Deo said that the great Sannyasi rebellion broke out in this district and continued from 1772 to 1789 AD. This rebellion had been immortalized by Bengali writer Bankim Chandra in his Devi-Chowdhurani, which was based on the trial of the arrested. Sannyasi in the court of Rungpur, where he happened to be one of the Magistrate of that time. After the British left, the reign of control over India in 1947 AD. The free people of West Bengal passed on Act in 1954 AD viz. the West Bengal Estate Acquisition Act, for the abolition of zamindary estates and infact of all rent receiving interests. Under the Act, the zamindary of Baikunthapur is coming to its inevitable end.

On the other hand, Western Duars existing from the river Tista upto the river Sankash separating Assam from this district is said to have been once under the kings of Cooch Behar for about two centuries. Towards the end of the 16th century, when Bhutan proper was part of Tibet, a Tibetan Chief conquered this area and then, as the bears even today. The whole of Western Duars including the lower hills of the Himalayas and plain below upto 25 miles South from the Hill remained under Bhutan Government till 1865 AD. When this portion was conquered by the British. In 1869 AD this tract called the Western Duars formed a part of the district of Jalpaiguri.²⁰

The constitutional history of India starting from 1920 tell us about the development of the Indian states. The political upheavals during the twenties and the British response led to Government of India Act of 1935 which ensured a degree of self governance for India and which was the prelude of the constitution of India. The Government of India Act 1935 regulated the relationship between British India and the Crown. The Indian states were outside the government of India Act. The dialogue for federation of India between the Crown

and the Indian states through their kings became an un-ending process starting from late twenties and remaining in conclusive till the outbreak of the second world war.²¹ After the war, political changes in Britain led to the decision to grant freedom to India.

But what was India then? India consisted of British India under direct rule of the crown and the Indian states under the kings. This is where what appeared to be an irreconcilable problem arose. The problem was common for both India and Pakistan. The British failed to intergrate British India with the Indian states. They are various inter partitions. They did not want to do it' was once interpretation, 'They could not' was another. History will keep on debating what is the truth. But, the fact remains, when in June 1946, British government decided to make a final announcement that they were leaving India, the Crown said we are leaving India in the state in which it stood. That is, the British part of India would be handed over to the Government to be installed in India and the states which fell outside the British domain would be handed over to the respective kings.²² In this way the king of Cooch Behar state returned the power of State Sovereignty from the British domain on the day of 14th August, 1947.²³ This was called the lapse of paramountey meaning the evaporation of British sovereignty over the Indian states and the consequent devolution of Sovereignty and paramountcy on the Indian Kings over the Indian States. So the Births decided to leave India in a fragmented condition.

Between 1947 and 1950; but for the one individual, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the indian states and the British India could never have been cemented into one nation. History can be written and rewritten. But, the one fact cannot be ignored - that the wisdom of one man, the purpose and determination that

he showed, along was responsible for the integration of the Indian states into a nation.²⁴ In this process, not only was the integration of the Indian states with India a political and constitutional problem, there was also the added problem of whether a particular state should merge with India or Pakistan or remain independent. Generally, the Muslim majority states merged with Pakistan and Hindu majority states with India. Many Indian kings showed great patriotic spirit in helping the process of integration. But some resisted; particularly Hyderabad, Junagarh and Jammu & Kashmir. There were two outstanding examples. One was Janagarh which had 80% Hindu population under a Muslim king and the other was Jammu and Kashmir which had 70% Muslim population ruled by a Hindu king.²⁵ The ruler of Junagarh actually signed accession with Pakistan. And Pakistan accepted this accession and regarded Junagarh, a Hindu majority state, as part of the Islamic nation. This led to virtual state of war between Pakistan and India which was resolved because of the wisdom of the diwan of Janagarh, a statesman who though he was also a Muslim, finally said and it could not go to Pakistan. That is how the Junagarh dispute was settled, inspite of the fact that the king acceded to Pakistan.

Now, close by came the Kashmir issue. Maharaj Hari Singh was a confused individual - Toying with the idea of an independent Kashmir and negotiating with both India and Pakistan. In India's behalf, Lord Mountbatten, who was the first Governor General of India, clearly told Hari Singh on the authority of both Sardar Patel as well as Jawaharlal Nehru that the Maharaj was at liberty to have accession with either India or Pakistan, but, could not remain independent.²⁶ Between August and October, Hari Singh was negotiating with India as well as Pakistan on the terms of accession and where he will be recognised as the sole representative of the state. However, Pakistan lost pa-

tience and tried to annex the state by force. The indecisiveness of the Maharaja led to Pakistan becoming a party to the dispute. However, although the Maharaja was the constitutional head, the political initiative was in the hands of Sheikh Abdulla. The political development in the state starting from 1932, had put Sheikh in a commanding position. He first started a J&K Muslim Conference which, in 1939, was converted into national Conference. he broke away from Muslim League and developed a kind of Kashmir National Movement. So, there was the King, who was not in command of the popular sentiment, as the head of the state and there was Sheikh Abdulla who was virtually the only popular leader of J & K particularly Kashmir, at the time.²⁷ So, the man who had the power to sign accession with either India or Pakistan was not in command of the popular sentiment.

The Sheikh favoured a situation where he could work out a constitutional relationship with India, in which he would be in a predominant position and would be the ruler. His sole aim was to dethrone the Maharaja. This political rivalry and confusion also encouraged Pakistan to invade J&K. Pakistan actually began invading Kashmir under the grab of tribal rebellion on 22nd October 1947. Within the next four days the entire arrangement between India and J&K was worked out. Maharaja Hari Singh threw up his hands and sent an urgent message to Mountbatten stating that he was willing to accede to India on the same terms on which all other princely states accede to India, without any condition whatsoever.²⁸ When this request was received, the Government of India, at that time politically directed by Nehru and Patel, was not wholly in favour of this accession.

When Maharaja Hari Singh sent the S.O.S. pleading, "please send your

army and protect us, we are being subjected to arson, rape and destruction," the Government of India still wanted to know what the only popular leader in J & Kashmir had in mind.²⁹ Sheikh Abdullah who was in Delhi at that time also supported Hari Singh on his decision to accede to India. He sent a hand written note to Jawaharlal Nehru agreeing to the Maharaja's proposal. So, it is not merely the legal sovereign, Hari Singh, who was asking for accession, the Sheikh as the popular leader of Kashmir also wanted accession with India. This is on the records of Government of India. So, the request for accession was a joint effort by the political sovereign as well as the legal sovereign. Both of them frantically appealed to the Government of India. Following this frantic appeal there was an emergency meeting on 25th October, presided over not by Jawaharlal Nehru or Vallabhai Patel, but by Mountbatten, in which it was agreed that Pakistan had committed aggression under the guise of tribals and it was indulging in vandalism and it was the duty of the Union of India, to protect the state having received the request for accession from both the political and legal sovereigns of J & K.³⁰ This is on the records of Government of India. This is on the records of the United Nations also.

VIOLENCE OF HITASADHANI DAL

The problem of accession closes by came the Kooch - Behar issue. In this political situation, a new kind of patriotic spirit ' Dal ' arose including kind participation of local people irrespective caste, colour, creed and religion on the 8th Jashtha, 1358 B.S. This Dal was designed " Projya Hita Sadhani Sabha" headed by Satish Chandra Roy Singha, the then education minister of the Kooch - Behar State; vice presidents were Mokhter Ali Ahmed, the then State inspector of Schools and Khan Chowdhury Amanatulla Ahmed, writer of A

History of Cooch - Behar, respectively, General Secretary and Board of Director were Hemanta Kumar Roy Barma (Ahilker) and Kumar Promendra Narayan (Ahilkar) respectively. The post of cashier was in hands of Md. Makbul Hossain and members were namely as Md. Auswer Miah, Jatin Singh, Kamal Krishna Roy Singh (Captain of Hita Sadhani Sabha), Jaladhar Saha, Satish Paul, Harish Chandra Roy Sarkar and others.³¹

The Projya Hita Sadhani Sabha took many resolutions at Tufanganj meeting on the issue of accession of Kooch - Behar, whether a particular Kooch - Behar state should merge with India or Pakistan or remain independent.³² Regardingly such issue, the problem of accession was not sustainable. For the integration of the Indian states into a nation, the role of both the Government General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Kooch - Behar is vital to accede in connection with the agreement. It produces many postal correspondence as follows :

In connection with the finalisation of the agreement between the Governor - General of India and His Highness Maharaja of Cooch Behar for the integration of Cooch - Behar State, His Highness raised certain points for clarification; which the Government of India had considered finally and shaped the following arrangements :

- "(1) It is intention of the Government of India to administrator for the present the territories of the Cooch - Behar State as a centrally - administered area under a Chief Commissioner,
- (2) All contracts and agreements entered into by Your Highness before the date on which the administration is made over to the Government of India

will be honoured except in so far as any of these contracts or agreements is either repugnant to the provisions of any law made applicable to the State or inconsistent with the general policy of the Government,

(3) The allowances at present drawn by Her Highness the Rajmata will be continued for her life time and will be paid out of the revenues of the State. Your Highness' brother and other members of the Realing Family will also be paid allowance from the revenues of the States as per list attached,

(4) The responsibility for the Cooch - Behar State Forces will be taken over by the Government of India from 12th September 1949. If these for us as disbanded or any of the men discharged, they will receive the pension or gratuity or compensation to which they may be entitled under the rules of the States,

(5) Adequate guards will be provided for the protection of Your Highness' person and palace,

(6) No land or building being Your Hignness' private property shall be requisitioned or acquired with out yourconcent and without payment of full compensation

(7) Electricity from the State power House for the main residence of Your Highness and family within the State will be provided at the fixed rate in existence immediately before the transfer of administration to Government of India. Water supply will be provided free fo charge to the main palace of Your Highness and family within the States,

(8) The management of the temples and Debutter properties in the State may be entrusted to a Trust which shall consist of Your Highness as President, 3 nominees of Your Highness and 2 nominees of Government. This Trust will be in charge of all temples in the State and will also administer the properties of the temples both inside and outside the State. In the event of the abolition of

the zamindaris which are Debutter property Government will ensure that the Trust has adequate resources to fulfil its object.

(9) Your Highness may esate a Trust for the marriage of the son and daughter of Isharani of Cooch - Behar with a corpus of Rs1 lakh. The trustees will be besides Your Highness, Their Highness of Jaipur and Dewas Junior,

(10) The civil list of reserve fund of Rs. 10,60,900 shall be Your Highness' Private property and shall be held by Your Highness in Trust for meeting expenditure in connection with Your Highness' marriage or special repairs to the Palace and any unforeseen expenditure,

(11) The administration of the Maharaj Kumar Trust fund with a corpus of Rs.4,86,900 shall be formally vested in a Trust of which Your Highness and their Highness of Jaipur and Dewas Junioig shall be trustees,

(12) Your Highness will be entitled to hold customery Durbars and troops present at the capital vill take part in the Dassera and other celebration

(13) Your Highness will retain your present rank in the Indian Army,

(14) Government will endeavour to associate the name "Narayan" with the Cooch - Behar State Forces even after their absorption in the Indian Army.

The Ministry of States has issued a Memorandum on the privileges and dignities which has been finalised in consultation with the Rajpramkkhs of Unions and other States. Your Highness will see that the Memorandum deals adequately with the various suggestions made by the Rules from time to time regarding their rights and privileges."³³

There after, AGREEMENT MADE THIS twenty eight day of August 1949 between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch - Behar.

tended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and his family, including expenses on account of his personnel staff, maintenance of his residences, marriages and other ceremonies etc, and will neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever.

The Government of India undertakes that the said sum of Rupees eight lacks fifty thousand shall be paid to His Highness the Maharaja in four equal instalments in advance at the beginning of each quarter from the state treasury or at such treasury as may be specified by the Government of India.

ARTICLE IV

His Highness the Maharaja shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all private properties (as distinct from State properties) belonging to him on the date of this agreement.

His Highness the Maharaja will furnish to the Dominion Government before the 15th September, 1949 an inventory of all the immovable property, securities and cash balances held by him as such private property.

If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of His Highness the Maharaja or State property, it shall be referred to a judicial officer qualified to be appointed as a High Court Judge, and the decision of that officer shall be final and binding on both parties.

ARTICLE V

All the members of His Highness' family shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside

the territories of the State immediately before the 15th day of August, 1947.

ARTICLE VI

The Dominion government guarantees the succession, according to law and custom, to the gaddi of the state and to His Highness the Maharaja's personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles.

ARTICLE VII

No enquiry shall be made by or under the authority of the Government of India, and no proceedings shall lie in any court in Cooch - Behar against His Highness the Maharaja, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him or under his authority during the period of his administration of that State.

ARTICLE VIII

(i) The Government of India hereby guarantees either the continuance in service of the permanent members of the Public Services of Cooch - Behar on conditions which will not be less administration than those on which they were serving before that date on which the administration of Cooch - Behar is made over to the Government of India or the payment of reasonable compensation.

(ii) The Government of India futher guarantees the continuance of pensions and leave salaries sanctioned by His Highness; the Maharaja to servants of the State who have retired or proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement, before the date on which the administration of Cooch - Behar is made over to the Government of India.

ARTICLE IX

Except with the previous sanction of the Government of India no proceedings, civil and criminal shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duties as a servant of the State before the day on which the administration is made over to the Government of India.

In confirmation where of Mr. Vapal Pangunni Menon, Adviser to the Government of India in the Ministry of States has appended his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Governor General of India and Lieutenant Colonel His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch - Behar has appended his signature on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors.³⁴

Merge from his Highness the Maharaja Jagaddipendra narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch - Behar on the day of the 12th September 1949, the state is integrated to the dominion of India has been addressed to the beloved people of Cooch - Behar on the solemn occasion which is discussed as follows :

" On this solemn occassion which marks the end of a long and happy association, my mother and I send you our very best wishes to my beloved people.

Where ever we may be, we shall never forget you, your loyalty your devotion; we hope you will always maintain the peace, goodwill and harmony which has been our common proud heritage.

We shall always watch with keen interest of your moral and material welfare and always pray for your happiness and prosperity. May God almighty bless you all.³⁵

The problem of the Government of India as regards the states after the accession was two fold :

- (a) Shaping the Indian States into sizable or viable administrative units, and
- (b) fitting them into the constitutional structure of India,

Let it discuss topically :

A. SHAPING THE INDIAN STATES INTO SIZEABLE

This object was sought to be achieved by a three fold process of integration (Known as the 'Patel Scheme' by the name of the then member in charge of Home affairs) -

- i) 216 States were merged into the respective provinces, geographically contiguous to them. These merged states were include in the territories of the states in Part B in the First Schedule of the constitution. The process of merger started with the merger of Orissa and Chatlisgarh states with the then province of Orissa on January', 1948 and the last instance was the merger of Cooch - Behar with the Governor General of India to transfer the administration of the state to the Dominion Government on the 12th day of September, 1949.

ii) 61 states were converted into centrally administered areas and included in part C of the first scheduled of the constitution is shown it below at a chart form. This form of integration was resorted to in those cases in which, for administrative, strategic or other special reasons, central control was considered necessary.³⁶

Chart No. 3.1

As in the original constitution, 1949
Union

States in Part A	States in Part B	States in Part C	Territories in Part D
1. Assam	1. Hyderabad	1. Ajmer	1. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands
2. Bihar	2. Jammu and Kashmir	2. Bhopal	2. Acquired Territories (if any)
3. Bombay	3. Madhya Bharat	3. Bilespur	
4. Madhya Pradesh	4. Mysore	4. Cooch Behar	
5. Madras	5. Patiala and East Punjab	5. Coorg	
6. Orissa			
7. Punjab			
8. The United Provinces			
9. West Bengal			

Sources : Durga Das Basu : *Introduction to the Constitution of India, Eight adition, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi 1980, p. 374; Table No. - III Territories of India; as in the original constitution (1949) Union.*

The third form of integration was the consolidation of groups of states into new viable units, known as Union of States, the first union formed was the Saurashtra Union consolidating the Kathiawar States and many other states (February 15, 1948), and the last one was the Union of Travancore -Cochin, formed on July 1, 1949. As many as 275 states were thus integrated into 5 Unions - Madhya Bharat, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Travancore - Cochin. These were included in the states in part B of the First Scheduled. The other 3 states included in part B were Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir and Mysore. The cases of Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir were peculiar. Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India on October 26, 1947, and so it was included as a state in part B, but the Government of India agreed to take the accession subject to confirmation by the people of the state, and a constituent assembly subsequently confirmed it, in November, 1956 Hyderabad did not formally accede to India, but the Nizam issued a proclamation recognising the necessity of entering into a constitutional relationship with the union of India and accepting the constitution of India subject to ratification by the constituent Assembly of that State, and the constituent assembly of that state ratified this. As a result, Hyderabad was included as a state in part B of the First Scheduled of the constitution.

B. FITTING THEM INTO THE CONSTITUTION STRUCTURE OF INDIA

We have so far seen how the states in part B were formed as viable units of administration, being the residue of the bigger Indian States, left after the smaller states had been merged in the provinces or converted into centrally Administered Areas. So far as the latter two groups are concerned, there was no problem in fitting them into the body of the constitution framed for the rest of

India. There was an agreement between the Government of India and the ruler of each of the states so merged, by which the rulers voluntarily agreed to the merger and ceded all powers for the governance of the states to the Dominion Government, reserving certain personal rights and privileges for themselves.³⁷

COOCH - BEHAR (ADMINISTRATION) ORDER, 1949

Whereas the Central Government has full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers for, and in relation to, the governance of the State of Cooch - Behar.

Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by section 3 and 4 of the Extra provincial jurisdiction Act, 1947 (XLVII of 1947) and of all other powers enabling it in this behalf, the Central Government is pleased to make the following order :

1. SHORT TITLE EXTENT AND COMMENCEMENT : -

- i) This order may be called the Cooch - Behar (Administration) order, 1949.
- ii) It extends to the whole of Cooch - Behar.
- iii) It shall come into force on the 12th Day of September, 1949.

2. DEFINITION : -

In this order, " Cooch Behar " means the whole of the area, which immediately before the commencement of this order, is comprised within the state of Cooch - Behar.

3. APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF COMMISSIONER :-

There shall be a chief commissioner appointed by the Central Government at the head of the administration of Cooch - Behar.

4. APPOINTMENT OF FUNCTIONARIES :-

- i) Subject to the control of the Central Government, the Chief commissioner may appoint such Judges, Magistrates and other affiars as may be necessary for the administration of Cooch - Behar any may by general or special order, determine their jurisdiction, power duties and functions.
- ii) Without prejudices to the provisions of subparagraph (i) all judges, Magistrates and other officers who immediately before the commencement of this order, were exercising lawful functions in Cooch - Behar or any part thereof shall, until, other, provision is made by the Chief Commissioner, continue to exercise their respective functions in the same manner and to the same extent as they were doing before the commencement of this order.

5. EXISTING LAWS TO CONTINUE :-

All laws in force in Cooch - Behar or any part there of immediately before the commencement of this order : of all continue in force until replaced or amended by a competent legislature or authority;

Provided that all powers exercisable under the said laws by His Highness the Maharaja or the Government of the State shall be exercisable by the Chief Commissioner.

6. CONTINUANCE OF EXISTING TAXES :-

All taxes, duties, cesses or fees which immediately before the commencement of the order, were being all fully levied in Cooch - Behar or any part thereof shall continue to be included and applied to the same purpose, until other provisions made by a competent legislature and authority.³⁸

ARTICULATIONS AND VEHEMENCE

The problem of Cooch - Behar state as regards the state after the accession as a 'C' category of state was three folds :

- i) Shapping the Cooch - Behar state into sizable or viable administrative units It is expected to convert into centrally Administered Areas of India;
- ii) Mergering the Cooch - Behar state into the administrative setup of the West Bengal provinces;
- and
- iii) Fitting the Cooch - Behar state into the administrative setup of the Assam government.

Regarding such issues, it accumulates serious problem for the people of Cooch - Behar state. At the stage, there is the fertility of land to arise to help many political Dals to combat the intermingle problems as 'Projya Mandal', Cooch - Behar Communist Party, 'Congress' and 'Peoples' Party'. There after, the nature of 'Projya Mandal' was transformed into all revolutionary activities under the political platform of the Cooch - Behar Congress' and Peoples' Party. It was being pleaded by Mr. Umesh Chandra Mandal and Chuni Mukherjee respectively.

In practice, the popularity and mass - participation of the 'Projya Hita Sadhani Sabha' were higher in Cooch - Behar state than that of Congress and Peoples' Party. At the situation, all people irrespective of their caste, creed, colour, race, religion and sex imparted with the political ideology of the 'Prajya Hita Sadhani Sabh or Dal'. Its main articulations were either to fit the Cooch-Behar state into the constitutional setup of India, or, to convert it into a centrally administered area, or, to introduce it as Union territory of the Union of states of India.³⁹ Besides, there were many party Resolutions of the 'Prajya Hita Sadhani Sabha' to fight against the anti - movement of the Cooch - Behar state, in there language :

- "1. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar state hate the process of merger with the Union Government of India. Similarly, we, the people of the Cooch - Behar state do not support the merger with any state of the Union Dominion.
2. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar State hate the process of merger with the state of West Bengal and similarly, with the State of Assam. The people of the Cooch - Behar state prefer to accede to the Dominion of the provincial autonomy. The then, Jalpaiguri, Alipurduar already merged with the state of West Bengal respectively, who were more backward socially, educationally and culturally and similarly with the Goalpara district of Assam was negligible at the same causes of mode of livings.
3. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar state ascertain to apprehend the process of merger with the states of the Union of India. Thereafter, also they aggrieve to loss their, identity, ethnocity, cultural base of society, originality and distinct thinking of kinship in deversity of a mix - cultural people. Simi-

larly, the people of the Cooch - Behar state apprehend to loss power, state - hood and autonomy with mergering with any state of the Dominion of India.

4. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar state apprehend to have possibility for deprivation of getting proper justice. The people of Cooch-Behar will be suffering from getting - justice due to transforming the High Court, Judge Court, Civil Court etc. from the heart of Cooch - Behar to else where. It is quite impossible to the people of the Coach - Behar state to obtain proper justice from the High Court which is situated either in Calcutta or Gawahati for the task of protecting the rights of the individuals against the executives, against oppressive legislations and even against the legislature itself, when it would become overzealous in asserting its privileges due to geographical distance.

5. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar : state apprehend to be deprived of basic needs of life, because of the significant achievements in many fields of economic activities would be centralized at the capital of the State. The problem of mal - distribution of economic growth in Cooch - Behar will be evident from the fact that the most of the population will remain below the poverty line and they would be unable to procure basic opportunities and to uplift industrial and agricultural developments due to lack of irregation, electrification, furtilization and researchis there on.

6. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar state apprehend to loss identity, of its distinct language, ethnic values, morals and culture, which are not inferior to any other culture of any other part of India.

7. We, the people of Cooch - Behar state apprehend to be deprived of

political participation. Such as important political chairs, posts and ministries will be occupied and captured by the caste Hindus and the well to do classes of the state who have belong to the vested interest for the developmental activities of economic sphere in West Bengal but not in the area of North Bengal, particularly in Cooch - Behar, where the people had been remaining backward economically, socially and culturally.

8. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar state apprehend to suffer from inequality in allocation of natural resources, sectoral developmental activities in the process of infra - structural system and industrial production on agricultural base in where green plantations, Dolomite, tobacco, Timber and other natural resources of Cooch Behar.

9. We, the people of the Cooch - Behar state assert that ignorance and superstition of the backward sections of the Cooch - Behari who have remained apathetic to the developmental activities due to weakness and mergering with mixed cultural people of West Bengal.^{"40"}

On the contrary, the contrivance of the Cooch - Behar congress was the support to the merger of the Cooch-Behar state with the state of West Bengal. But, in practical usages that mass - political support was too weak to influence the people of the Cooch - Behar Congress, the instance is referred by direct visitor, Shri Dharma Narayan Burman, Writer of 'Rajya Cooch - Behar Zilla Cooch - Behar;" in 1948, a general meeting of the Cooch - Behar Congress held near of Madan Mohan Takur Bari, Tufanganj, There were many speakers namely Mr. Umesh Chandra Mandal, Bhabani, Chuni Mukherjee and distinguished leaders which was being attent by a galaxy of local tewety or

thirty visitors or listeners. Under the general presidentship of Mr. Umesh chandra mandal, was packed with a heavy agenda, including several round table discussions on the local theme : merger with West Bengal, make to unite and campaign against Hita Sadhani Sabha listeners ran away one by one. How, was it possible to deliver speech with out audiance? However, speakers of the 'Prajya Mandal' moved away; thereafter, stopping their speeches.⁴¹

Yet, Cooch - Behar Congress had not mass active support, but Calcutta press, newspaper and all other mass - media remained in favour of Cooch - Behar congress to make propaganda and to formulate people attention to accept the 'merger' with the West Bengal. But, articulations of the Prajya Hita Sadhani Dal was not communicated to the middle class people due to lack of general publications instantaneously due to without authenticity of information, selection of issues of local interest and suecinet reporting in interesting and convincing language. All the them all magazines, reporting and publications were in favour of the Government of West Bengal, in which the role of propaganda played partially to draw attention of the central Government and the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru led by the then Prime Minister of the West Bengal, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, fraudulently for the interest of mergering the Cooch - Behar State with the West Bengal.⁴² An old saying goes " pen is mighter than sword," is proved in the case of Hita Sadhani's agitation.

Being the most important media, print media pertained to broad activity of publication of news papers, magazines and books and all connected with these activities had their contribution to successful running of this medium, when, the demands and anticutations had been going of the Hita SAdhani Dal, the then 'Janamat Patrika', was edited by Dr. Charu Sannyal at jalpaiguri played the

vital role.

Hita Sadhani issues were not published in column of calcutta Daily and it suffered from mode of originality of actual news due to lack of partys' (Hita Sandhani Sabhas') publications. Besides, the general publications of any local issue of Cooch - Behar was not possible due to supervisory policy of Cooch - Behar Monerchy. For these reasons, informations were not published in Daily news, on the other hand the news of the Hitasadhani Sabha were published in perverted forms. At that time, two weekly magazines namely Janamat and Trisorta were playing a vital role. The main aim was to pursue and draw the attention to the Cooch - Behari issues to the people of Jalpaiguri, Calcutta and other propencity was to motivate the central government in the 'Janamat' weekly news as follows :

In the first place, on the 12th January, 1948, a news was published in the janamat Magazine entitled as 'Cooch - Behar Sambad'..... On the 4th Jaisthya 1358 B.S. Cooch - Behar Prajya Hita Sadhani Sabha is formed with particapating Hindus and Muslims and local indegenious peoples a general meeting on 28th November 1947 held at Mekhliganj and was lectured by the then Education Minister, Shri Satish Chandra Roy Singha the main theme of his speechesare to drive BHATIYAS (refugees)..... referring Bhatiyas, he meant only Hindu educated and Businessmen, who resided for seven or eight generations in the Cooch - Behar state."

Dr. Sanyal published a statistical classification of the Cooch - Behar State population in Janamat patrika as follows :

i.	Total populations	-	6,39,818
ii.	Muslim populations	-	2,55,959 (40 percent out of the total population of the Cooch - Behar state)
iii.	Non - Muslim population	-	3,83,939
iv.	Bhatiya (foriegners / immigrants Hindu) population	-	83, 939
v.	Rajbansi Kshatriya Population	-	2,97,000 (<u>46 percent out of the total population of the Cooch - Behar State</u>). ⁴³

In the second place, on 21st BHADRA, 1355 B.S. in editorial column, Dr. Charu Sanyal wrote entitling with 'Cooch - Behar Dhumayeta Bannyee', the State Minister of Revenue, Amanadtullya Khan Chowdhury and State Education Minister, Satish Chandra Singha Roy delivered speeches at Mekhliganj meeting on the 27th August, where in they said, Cooch - Behar State remained separate from the dominion of India and Projya Hita Sadhani tried with best to detach the Cooch - Behar state from the campaigning of the State congress Bengali regime. The Highest endeavours were in the Cooch - Behar State, where in covert janamat propaganda was able to tap of rich vein of anti - Hita Sadhani and to pursue to propagate about the local problem of Cooch - Behar state through the mass - media. Dr. Sanyal, himself made his reputation as a resident of North Bengal largely by the success of his ' active measures' operations in Janamat magazine fighting with the demand of Uttarkhand.⁴⁴

In the third place, on the Jaisthya 1356 B.S. in editorial column, Dr. Sanyal wrote heading as 'Desh Bedesh', the election of the 'Legislative Council' of the Cooch - Behar state would be held on the 26th May, 1949. There was a local Dal named ' Hita Sadhani Sabha' in the State of Cooch-Behar, which pleaded the role anti Bhatiya (refugees) regime and tried to destroy the state congress. He also asserted that Hita Sadhani Sabha was pledged by a few muslim league leaders from the East Pakistan and played as antipolicy of Dominion of India. He also played the role of cōmpaigning of State congress of Cooch - Behar state dated the 4th Poush in Janamat Patrika when proposed to mergering the Cooch - Behar state with the state of West Bengal, members of Hita Sadhani Sabha, Jotders of the Muslim League and members of Gram Panchayets played the covert propaganda in the Cooch - Behar State Congress. The leaders from Cooch - Behar and Haldibari of the Hita Sadhani Sabha went to Delhi with heavy amounts..... many agitations against the Government" The secretary of Cooch - Behar zilla congress, shri Harendra Kumer Dutta 's speeches on 11 th December 1949 were direct penetrations of the janamat Patrika dated the 11th POUSH 1356 B.S. against Hita Sadhani for mergering the Cooch - Behar state with state of West Bengal.⁴⁵

Besides, the role of propaganda, there were many endeavours to fight against Hita Sadhani's agitation in form of meeting, slogans, campaigns, publishing brochures, applications and other means of communications. one of the 'Applications', dated the 9th JAISTHYA 1356 B.S. of general meeting was circulated to the audiance is illusrated as under :

Most Humble,

It is known to you that the Cooch Behar state is going merge with the

state of West Bengal. The state of CoochBehar is related with West Bengal geographically, politically and economically, so, West Bengal's demand is justified. The inhabitants of Cooch Behar are Bengali speaking people, which was once upon a time annexed to the Province of Bengal. To implement such demands of the state of West Bengal, mass agitation is very necessary in the province. To mobilise such issue, a general meeting will be held on the 24th May, Tuesday, 1949 at 6 P.M. at the premises of local Aryan Samaj Jalpaiguri. So, your kindful participation and presence are expectable to us.

Convenors,

Shri Convenwors Aruna

Dasgupta, Shri Sasadhar kar, Shri Bepullendra Bandhapadhyya and many others.⁴⁶

The source said that all publishing propaganda of Janamat Patrika of Dr. Charu Sanyal was sent to Sardar Vallabh bhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India through Prime Minister of West Bengal, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy to motivate the issue of mergering. Besides, Dr. Roy personally wrote many motivated letters to Patel, disclosed what West Bengal claimed was successful operations to introduce the merger of the CoochBehar as follows :

To

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have spoken to you already about Cooch

Behar and In have shown you certain papers regarding the subject I would like you to take up these cases and their accession to the West Bengal Government.

I am very much anxious about CoochBehar because of certain developments which have taken place there affecting the security not merely of West Bengal but also of the Indian Union . I cannot say more at this stage but when I see you next time I will tell you.

Yours Sincerely
B.C. Roy.⁴⁷

Calcutta
11th May, 1949

To

Honourable Sardar Vallabh bhai Patel,
Dy. Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

My dear Vallabhbhai Patel,

You remember I spoke to you on several occasion about allowing CoochBehar to be merged to West Bengal. I am perfectly sure you are inclined in the same direction. It may be that it will take a little time before the preliminaries can be settled before the merger is decided. You know that Sri Sarat Chandra Bose has filed his nomination for the assembly from South Calcutta. The last date of nomination being 24th May. Polling is taking place on 12th June. I

certainly expect help, advice and co-operation from you and ponditjee. In this connection may I suggest to you that the announcement from the centre that CoochBehar could be merged to West Bengal would be a great help to us in the election campaign. When you have finally decided about this merging, kindly let us know, so that we can keep the field ready and make our propaganda that this merging has not been affected by Sri Sarat Chandra Bose but by West Bengal Government. The provincial congress committee has decided to put a candidate a strong one against Sri Sarat Chandra Bose but of course polling both is always a tricky customer.

I hope you are keeping well. An early reply will be well - come.

Yours Sincerely,
Dr. B.C.Roy.⁴⁸

Considering letters, the then Governor of the West Bengal, Kailash Nath Katju wrote to the Central Government. On answering, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wrote to Katju as follows.⁴⁹

Dehradun
26 June, 1949

My dear Katju,

Thank you for your letter of 23 June 1949. I am glad to know your views on question of CoochBehar. From all evidence, independence as well as otherwise, it seems that merger with West Bengal is locally unpopular. It is

a difficult problem and we will have to think hard about it. Least we should provoke unpleasant local situation.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Investigating CoochBehar situation, the then Governor of Assam, A.K.Hydar wrote to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as under.⁵⁰

Guest House, Sillong.

29 June, 1948

My dear Sardarjee,

The only further comment which I wish to make is on the subject of the anti Bengali feeling in the state.

I was informed that our of the State's population of between six and seven lakhs of Bengalee number a mere 30,000. Yet Bengali propaganda would make it appear as if Bengalees constitute the greater portion of the population. the bulk of the population consists of Rajbanshi including Muslim between whom and the Rajbanshis there is far amity and free social inter course. The danger of the situation lies in the fact the Bengali Congress leaders are leading themselves to propaganda that Cooch Behar should be merged with West Bengal. This is resulting in the Congress as a whole tending to become unpopular in Cooch Behar. Bengal provincial Congress would be violently resisted. In the present state of feeling the Congress would find few Cooch Behari adherents. The best solution in the present circumstances would be to

let Cooch Behar come under wing of the Central Congress but if that is not possible the second best would be to let it be affiliated to the Assam Provincial Congress

During my visit I was cordially received by all classes of people which was not a personal tribute to me but relief at seeing in me visible evidence that Cooch Behar was not tied to the apron strings of West Bengal. By their aggressional attitude the Congress leaders of West Bengal and the Calcutta press are increasing the animosity roused against West Bengal in this part of India

.....

A. K. Hydar

But, in the political situation, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared, 'Plebicide will determine the fate of Cooch Behar', was impacted to the Calcutta leaders. The endeavour of Calcutta leaders was influenced in favour of merger with West Bengal to Sardar Patel especially by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. After being influenced about issues of Cooch Behar, Patel tried with best to draw the attention of the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru by corresponding distinct letter as below.⁵¹

New Delhi

28th December, 1949.

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 27th December regarding Cooch Behar and Vindhya Pradesh. I have examined the position in detail in the cabinet and hope it was not necessary for me now to go into details again. As Menon has

also told yo the question of cooch Behar was mentioned to you sometime ago. It's possible it has slipped from your mind. In view of that I did not think it was necessary to refer to you again though it was my intention to mention it in the cabinet before a public anouncement is made. As regard consulting the people of Cooch Behar, I have already said that local Congress has approved the merger. There is a local Hitasadhani Sabha, which is partly muslim with its sympathies definitely with neighbouring area of East Pakistan and partly consisting of some members of hill tribes who are looking to Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan for the formation of an "Uttar Khand Pradesh". I feel certain that we should do nothing to encourage this kind of organisation in its mischievous tendencies.

Assam's intention towards Cooch Behar directed only because on account of its geographical isolation from the main area of West Bengal, I had to entrust the supervision over its administration to the Governor of Assam. Otherwise they have never bothered about it.

Yours faithfully,

Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Roy had reports about the unsavoury reception of his letter in Delhi and wrote the following two letters to the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister which make interesting reading.⁵²

December 8, 1949

Calcutta:

My dear Jawahar,

I am informed by some persons that my action in writing the letter the other day was unusual. If I have said anything wrong there, I offer my sincere regrets but I felt that I should emphasise two points, namely, firstly, to point out that there was not much cohesion between the different departments of the Government, whether Central or Provincial, and secondly, there is not much of co-operation and co-ordination in matters of common interest between the provinces and the Centre. I find that in the fortnightly letter which you have written on the 1st of December, you have referred to this aspect of the question in paragraph 25 and I cannot improve upon the language which I have used to express the ideas that I had when I wrote that letter. I will fight for my province so long as I feel it is my responsibility to do so but I do not want to fight in a manner which would show that I am wanting in courtesy or good feeling towards those with whom I am fighting. I know that you will not misunderstand me in whatever I write. I am not a politician and I do not write from a diplomatic point of view. I write what I feel.

I have to thank you and the members of the Cabinet who have at last agreed to merge Cooch Behar with West Bengal from 1st of January, 1950. It is not merely a physical aceration to this Province for which I express my thanks but it is also a matter of psychology.

I feel there is a great deal of sympathetic approach to the people of this Province. The people of Bengal have been growing rather restless on this

matter.

I am therefore very thankful to the Government at the Centre for making this realistic approach and I am sure the Province of Bengal and its people will welcome this decision.

Yours affectionately,

B. C. Roy.

Calcutta

December 8, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I bird whispered in my ear that you felt that I should not have written the letter that I wrote to Pandit Jawaharlal with regard to relief and rehabilitation matters. Perhaps I had used rather strong expressions but they were equally sincere. I am glad to find that in the fortnightly letter which he has circulated Pandit Jawaharlal also admits want of co-operation between the different Departments of the Government and want of scheming and planning for the Government as a whole. In fact, these are the two matters which I stressed in my letter. In my case, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have written to him today, from which you will note my reaction to the report I had from Delhi about the reception of my letter.

I write to you today to thank you for taking steps for the merger of Cooch Behar. I placed the matter before the meeting of the Cabinet and I obtained

their permission to inform you that they agreed to all the conditions that were written in the letter to Mr. Menon. I am writing to him also. I can not sufficiently thank you for this step because apart from every other question it has got a psychological bearing which I cannot ignore. I hope and trust that the people of Bengal will realise what you have done for the Province. More than that I cannot say.

Yours sincerely,

B. C. Roy.⁵³

The accession of princely CoochBehar state to West Bengal marked the opening of the new year bringing hope and enthusiasm to the people of the truncated province with the highest density of population in the country. On the 1st of January, 1950, Dr. Roy with his Chief Secretary and Divisional Commissioner flew to Cooch Behar to receive the Instrument of Accession from Sardar Patel's emissary Nanjappa and to preside over the public function of the merger ceremony. These be announced that the princely State of CoochBehar would be maintained as a separate district with headquarters at Coochbehar for historical as well as for sentimental reasons, that representation would be given to the people in the provincial Aaaembly on the basis of population, and that all states servants would be absorbed in West Bengal Government Senices. The voluntary accession of CoochBehar meant an addition of 1918 square miles of territory with a population of eight lacs into West Bengal. ⁵⁴

ASSIMILATION OF STATE LAWS

An Act to assimilate certain laws in force in CoochBehar to the laws in force in the rest of West Bengal.

Be it enacted by Parliament as follows :

I. Short title and commencement : (i) This Act may be called the CoochBehar (Assimilation of laws) Act, 1950

(ii) It shall come into force on such date as the central Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint.

2. Interpretation, In this Act, -

(a) " appointed day " means the date appointed under sub - section (2) of the section 1 for the coming into force of this Act;

(b) " CoochBehar " means the merged territory of CoochBehar in the state of West Bengal;

(c) " Law " means so much of any Act, Ordinance, Regulation, rule order or by c - law as relates to any of the matters enumerated in Lists III. in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution.

3. Assimilation of laws :

(i) Save as provide in sub - section (2) all laws which immediately before the appointed day extend to, or are in force in, the State of West Bengal, but do not extend to, or are not in force in, CoochBehar Shall, as from that day, extend to, or as the case may be, came into force in, CoochBehar, and all laws, which , immediately before the appointed day, are in force in CoochBehar, but not in the rest of West Bengal, shall on that day cease to be in force in CoochBehar, except as reports things done or omitted to be done.

(ii) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub - section (i), the muslim personal law(Sharjat) application Act, 1937 (XXVI of 1937), shall come into force in CoochBehar only as such date as the state Government may, by - notification in the official gazette, appoint, and CoochBehar Act II of 1897, known as the Muhammadan Inheritagce Act, 1897, shall continue in force in CoochBehar until that date, and shall on that date cease to be in force except as respects things done or omitted to be done before that date.

4. Provision for removal of difficulties - if any difficulty arises in relation to the transction under section (3) from one law or group of laws to another law or group of laws, the central Government may, by order notified official Gazette, make such porovision as it considers necessary for the removal of such difficulty.⁵⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Jitendra Mohan Barma, JAGARAN, (UKDs' Campaigning brochuris in Bengali about Kshatriya andolon), Santi Barma publisher; CoochBehar, 1993 P.5
2. IBID, p. 6
3. IBID, pp 7-8
4. Census Report of India, 1911
5. Ambikacharan Choudhury; The Koches Around the world " Ratnaprakash publication; Bongaigaon, Assam, 1991 p. 1 (preface)
6. Bhagawata V. 21 : 30.
7. Ambikacharan Choudhury, "The Koches Around The World" 1991, p. 35-37.
8. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XX. p. 456.
9. Arthur Lily : India in Primitive Christianity, p. 200
10. Ambikacharan Choudhury, The Koches Around The World,' 1991, p. 48
11. IBID, p. 49
12. Sanjoya, Assam : Acrisis of Identity, United Publisher; Panbazar, Guwahati. p. 10
13. IBID, p. p, 11-15
14. Ambikacharan Choudhury, The Koches Around the World,' 1991, p.p. 49-71
15. Dharma Narayan Barman; Rajya Koch Behar zila Koch Behar (unpublished) manuscript, 1981, p.p. 1-3.
16. SANDHIPATRA 1773 is taken from the books of 'A HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR' edited by Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, 1936, p.p. 347-75 this treaty signed, sealed, and conduct by hon'ble the President and Council at Fort Willium, the 5th day of April 1773, on the one part,

and the Dharendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar of Behyar Fort, the 6th MAGH, 1179, Bengali style, on the other part.

17. Dharma narayan Barma, Rajya Koch Behar zila Koch Behar, 1981, p - 2.
18. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, vol. ii . p. 185
19. Resolution by the Government of CoochBehar Report, 13th May, 1789.
Mercer and Chauvet's Report. vol. ii. p. 202.
20. Charu Chandra Sanyal, 'Presidential address on the occasion of xv Bengal provincial conference of IMA....." is taken from "Charu Chandra Sanyal Sarakgran Tha" (Bengali) complied by charuchandra Sarak grantha committee, Jalpaiguri, 1985. p.
21. Gurumurthy, SHOULD ARTICLE 370 STAY or GO?" VIGIL (Apublic opinion forum) Madras 1991 p.3
22. IBID.
23. Dharma Narayan Barma, Rajya Koch Behar zila Koch Behar, 1981 p.3.
24. Gurumurthy, SHOULD ARTICLE 370 STAY or GO?" VIGIL (Apublic opinion forum) Madras 1991 p.4
25. IBID
26. IBID - p. 5 " there was the king, who was not in command of the popular sentiment as the head of the State and there was Sheikh Abdulla who was virtually the only popular leader of Jammu & Kashmir particularly Kashmir, at the time."
27. IBID
28. IBID, p.6 ... in where, Mountbatton told Maharaja Hari Sihgh as well as Sheikh Abdullah, on the authority of Nehru and Patel that Kashmir could choose to be either India or Pakistan.
29. IBID
30. IBID, p. 7,

31. My interviews with leading and active members of Projya Hita Sadhani Dal, Mr. Harish Chandra Roy Sarker (ex - Headmaster of Patla High School on 28th October 1994 at 4 p.m., resident of Modan Mohan Para, Dinhata; Cooch Behar) and Mr. Jatin Singh (ex - M.L.A.) resident of Krishnapur, Tufanganj; Cooch Behar on 27th September 1994 at his residence) confirm this finding.
32. Dharma Narayan Burma, Rajya Koch Behar Zila Cooch Behar, 1981 p. 3
33. " In connection with the agreement concluded between the Governor - General of India and Your Highness for the integration of Cooch - Behar State Your Highness raised certain points for clarification" was sent to the Lieutenant - Colonel High Highness Maharaja Sir Jayaddipendra Narayan Bhub Bhadur, K.C.I.E., Maraja of CoochBehar, CoochBehar, (Bengal) by V.P. Menon, Ministry of States, New Delhi on the 30th August, 1949. D.O. No. F. 15(19) - p /49, pp. 1-2
34. Agreement made this 28th day of August 1949 between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of CoochBehar - signed by Jagaddipendra Narayan, Maharaja of CoochBehar and V.P. Menon, Advisor of the Government of India, Ministry of States; WBCPCB - 18DC - 100 - 2.9.54.
35. On the Solemn occassion of merge from His Highness the Maharaja Dhup Bahadur, Maharaja of CoochBehar, Jagaddipendra Narayan addresses His great wishes speech to the people of CoochBehar on 12.9.1949.
36. Durga Das Basu, Introduction to the constitution of India, prentice hall of India private Limited; Eighth edition, New Delhi, 1980; p. 45
37. IBID. p. 45
38. Notification, Government of India, Minister of States - Signed by A.B. Chatterji, Joint Seceretary of the government of India, Dated New Delhi,

The 12th September 1949.

39. Dharma Narayan Burma, Rajya CoochBehar Zilla CoochBehar, 1981 p.4
40. Resolution of the Projya Hita Sadhani Sabha was taken at Tufangang Meeting on 8th Tashtryā, 1358 B.S. is collected on the basis of interview of active member of Projya Hita Sadhani Sabha, Shri Jatin Singha Roy, Krishnapur (Kashtapur), P.S. Tufangang, CoochBehar on 1st January 1991.
41. My interviews with leading and active members of Projya Hita Sadhani Sabha , Mr. Dharma Narayan Burma (ex - teacher of N.N.M. High School, Tufangang Cooch Behar) on the 6th June 1993 at his residence confirm this findings.
42. Dharma Narayan Burma, Rajya CoochBehar Zilla CoochBehar, 1981 p.5
43. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, " DESHIA RAJYA COOCHBIHAER PASHIM BANGGER SANGA SANGJOKTIKARANA DR. CHARU CHANDA SANNYAL'ER BHUMIKA is complied in Charu Chandra Sannyal Smarak Grantha Edited by Charu Chandra Sarak Grantha Committee (Bengali); Jalpaiguri,m 1985 p. 182
44. IBID, P. 183
45. IBID, P. 184
46. IBID, P. 185
47. Durga Das, Patel's corespondence , 1945 - 55; (Complier), Navajiban Publishing House; Ahemedabad vol. 8.p. 574
48. IBID, VOL.7, P. 547
49. IBID, VOL.8, P.517
50. IBID,
51. IBID, VOL.7, P. 553
52. Saraj Chakrabarty, My Years With Dr. B.C.Roy, [A record up to 1962, A

documentary of in depth study of post independence period]; Nehru - Roy - Patel - Pant - Basu Correspondence Release, Sree Saraswaty Press Limited, Calcutta 1982, A Centenary Volume, p.p. 61-62.

53. IBID, P.P. 62-63
54. IBID. P.P. 67 - 68
55. The Calcutta Gazette, 'The CoochBehar (Assimilation of Laws), Act, 1950, No. LXIII of 1950 signed by K.V.K. Sundaram, Secy, to the government of India on the 7th December 1950.

CHAPTER - IV

UTJAS : THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BASIS

The UTTARBANGA TAPASHELEE JATI O ADIVASI SANGATHAN - the UTJAS - an organisation moves against socio-economic, political and cultural discrimination in the area of North Bengal. It was started under the umbrella of North Bengal's youngman Mr. Naren Das with active-participation of the students of North Bengal University in 1979. At the initial phase of the movement, it encountered challenge to the Government and the governmental development programmes were held responsible for the marginalization of SC and ST students in the different sections of University's degree.¹ A new alliance among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes was formed to agitate against the problem of economic deprivation, the explosive unemployment pressure on land, industrial stagnation and infiltration of Bangladeshi emigrants.

The problem of influx of migrants, cultural differences between the migrants and local Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other Backward classes, restricted job opportunities for indigenous middle class, immobility of the people of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, lack of industrilisation, a competitive labour market, language domination or sense of insecurity of language - culture - religion etc.. badly impacted on the minds of North Bengal people compelled to unit under the umbrella of UTJAS, as a alternative political platform. On the first part of 1981, the foundation conference of the UTJAS was held at Narasingha Vidhyapith, at Kadamtala, Darjeeling,where there was mass gathering of delegates from the then five

districts of North Bengal.² The significance of the foundation conference of the UTJAS in the midst of deep darkness around is very great and it is like lighting a little lamp to dispel that darkness which the constitution of the Sanghatan drafted.

CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIVITY

The objects for which the UTJAS is constituted are :

- i. To fight against the socio-economic discrimination among the members of weaker section of people particularly members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes who are the largest number of citizen of North Bengal.
- ii. To uplift the socio-economic condition of the members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, who have been remaining neglected and backward following traditional mode of agriculture.
- iii. To undertake agitation for the redressal of grievances in any school of thoughts either in economic, cultural, historical or in trade and agriculture andn for the extention, improvement and protection of such matters as are incidental to the attainment of the objects.
- iv. To demand for 60% reservatioin in service and study centre both professional and sectoral or elementary for the inhabitants of North Bengal.
- v. To stop the foreigner's infiltration that has threatened the existence of indigenous people in respect of their social, economical, cultural and political life and that has also threatened communal harmony.

- vi. To promote the interests of the people of North Bengal in matters relating to Historical places and to maintain cultural affinity and to protect Monuments of the erstwhile Cooch Behar state.
- vii. To endeavour mobilisation for the execution of the B.P.Mandal Commission's Recommendation.
- viii. To endeavour for the achievement of the political gain on the basis of alternative preventive measures to the burning problem of India; and
- ix. To extend the co-operation among the members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and to increase the participation in agitation.³

Contemporary Issues

To combat UTJAS Andolan, cadre of Leftist Parties in West Bengal indentified it as the "Bhatiya Kheda (drive the Refugees out)", because of, the contemporary issues, such as (i) - in Assam, the Bengal Kheda (drive the Bengalees out) is agitated by AASU.⁴ The AASU through their Memorandum dated 2nd February, 1980 to the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, conveyed their profound sense of apprehensions regarding the continuing influx of foreign nationals in Assam and their fear about adverse effects upon the political, social, cultural and economic life of the State.⁵; (ii) At the same time, Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) was formed by Subhas Ghising on the 30th July, 1980, Subhas Ghising was an army personnel, who retired from the army and started politics. For a long time, he was an activist of the Congress Trade Union (INTUC and NLCC). He had tried to arouse the ethnic sentiments from different regional

political parties. It was after the debacle of the congress in 1977 when the Ghising was systematically cultivated by peoples like Siddhartha Sankar Ray and his protégés like Ramkrishna Saraogi and Laxmi Kanta Bose, in order to develop him as an ethnic front against the CPI(M) in West Bengal. The Prantiya Parishad and the Gotkha League have been washed away in the current wave of ethnic passion and they have virtually joined hands with the GNLF in the Movement.⁶

(iii) During the movement of the UTJAS in North Bengal, the demand for a separate hill state was once again revived. In 1979, the UTTARKHAND KANTI DAL (UKD) was set up with the aim of making this a reality by Indramoni Badoni, Yashwant Singh Bisht and others. But as soon as Kahi Singh Aire took over the reins of the UKD, the movement got tremendous boost.⁷ To achieve the target of the UKD, the Dal considered the followings as a threat to the people as well as to Jharkhand Movement's interests :

- i. Native feudal class ;
- ii. Native comprador - bureaucrat - capitalist class and agent of social imperialists; and
- iii. Their middle class lackeys.

So as to establish the political power of Jharkhand Movement and the toiling mass of the country :

- i. Working class,

ii. Peasantry , and

iii. Progressive national bourgeoisie.

Political power of the Jharkhand Movement will be established only by intensifying class contradictions in particular and participating in the same struggle in all Tribal areas in general. Movement of which will be victorious not through the negotiations with similar struggling forces active in the country, and success of which will be the birth of Jharkhand land, character of the Movement will be class based and revolutionary by nature. That will not only active, to make a separate land for the tribal peoples but also land in general for all toiling groups, all deprived sections of the society.

At the present stages, the Movement embodies two major aspects ;

i. To spread its ideological battle-cry all over the country, to identify other positive forces, who are active to achieve the same goal, to generate move grassroot leadership so that movement can be interpreted within the greater mass.

ii. To demand each scope and right which being assured by the present state power and its structure. For restoration of land for landless, traditional rights on forest and direct participation of local people in the trade commerce and industries as well as preservation of cultural heritage of the rural working classes.

In the present stage, when principal contradiction lies between feudalism and the broad mass movement will surely be land or forest-based as well as other natural resources (like coal, iron ore, mica, copper etc.).⁸

Distinctive Base

According to the souvenir of the UTJAS, it has distinctive features and structures of mode of activities of social change. It's also stated that the equating mode of activities of UTJAS with the nature and process of other regional movements (like GNLF, UKD, Jharkhand etc.) is not accurate.⁹ The organisation, structure and levels of activities have been rooted at all over five districts (at present six) of North Bengal. The UTJAS is presided over by Mrs. Ranjana Roy and Mr. Naren Das is the Secretary of the mother (Central) Committee. Yuba Satra Sangathan is the part of organisation of the Mother Organisation is presided over by Mr. Chittya Ranjan Barman and Mr. Provat Barman is the Secretary. It has also a Mahila Branch Organisation which is presided over by Mrs. Ranjana Roy and Mrs. Sulakha Barman is the Secretary. Besides, it has two trade unions : one is Cha Majdoor Kalyan Samiti (C.M.K.S.) at the Dooars area of North Bengal and second is Kishan Majdoor Sangathan (K.M.S.) played vital role all over North Bengal for pursuing the benefits of labour and backward groups of people.

UTJAS is organised by unfurling flag. Its flag has four colours in. It has composed of deep saffron, black and red half part and remaining part is white. In the white part of the flag, there is a green circle where in symbol of balance (Naya Danda). The UTJAS strives to make it a flag of socialism, equality and social justice and of all the oppressed sections of the society.¹⁰

The president of the UTJAS, Mrs. Ranjana Roy, pledges the principles and nobilities of the Sangathan that it hates the process of re-constructing of the states, it is expected to construct or re-organise the state on the basis of following conditions of Administrative structure, Geographical boundaries and Socio-economical values but not the following of linguistic,

cultural and basis of communality.

Ideological Genesis :

For a prolonged period of history country has been under the colonial exploitation of the British Imperialism on the one hand and feudal exploitation on the other, which finally transformed into a semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic society under the leadership of industrialists, big landlords, and middle classes, a phenomenal composition, without having any direct link with national means of productions. For this very reason, leadership does not reflect aims and aspirations of the general mass, and cannot materialise any fundamental change in the life of the people.

Principal obstacles of such rejections and static state of affairs occurred due to following facts :

- i. Due to the existence of native feudal class;
- ii. Due to the existence of native comprador bureaucratic capitalist class , and
- iii. Due to the easy access of multi-national companies into the aspects of national economy.

Today India is under an absolute exploitation of the different imperialist and neo-colonial powers. At the same time she is exploited by the national neo-feudalism and comprador - bureaucratic capitalism.¹¹

To combat such problems of socio-economic structure of India, UTJAS expects to reform it by introducing following heads :

1. The relationship between caste system and state of economy :

According to Herbert Aptheker, "At first glance, surely one would think that such arrangements would defy basic alteration" where classes control production, communication, education, law and ideology in general, and the whole state apparatus with its facilities for persuasion and repression, does it not appear that the easiest thing to do would be to maintain such a system ? It is no wonder, then, that every exploitative ruling class in the past has insisted that its system, or "way of life" was splendid and manifestly destined to last forever. But it is a wonder that though every ruling class, in every epoch, everywhere in the world, has insisted upon this "common - sense" view, they have all, every where, in time, been proven wrong.¹²

Caste is a fundamental aspects of the social structure in India, but, not class basic structure. Along with the "economic foundation" upon which it is based, caste forms major parametric variable of the Indian political system. The role of caste in political dynamics is gradually increasing since the British rule of India economy. UTJAS says, in this respect, a major factor in reinforcing the role of caste is its importance in competitive polities. Caste is one, because of the most easily identifiable social clusters whose members can be motivated for collective or parallel action. Therefore, politicians remain keen to exploit this factor for their own gain. As a result, process of modernisation of India industrialisation, mechanization of agriculture and green Revolution, are not possible to develop to everywhere especially it helps to defer between rural and urban economy. All kinds of development and industrialization vested at urban level exploiting rural economy where from all means of raw-materials come through is the cause of suffering of the weaker sections of people who are rural living. It is clear in the case of North

Bengal, Assam, Swotonagpur, Orissa Adivasi Anchal, Madya Prodesha etc, where in minerals, forestry and agricultural raw materials drain at urban areas from their villages.¹³

2. Threat of Refugee Influx :

The infiltration of Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Nepalese emigrants have put this North Bengal in a quandary.¹⁴ According to Marcus Dam, writer of "Bhutanese refugees and the Indian game of politics", "Indian authorities continu to thwart attempts by Bhutanese refugees settle in camps along Nepal's eastern border to march back to their homeland. The problem of these displaced people is expected to snowball into a major geopolitical crisis in North Bengal, especially Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, because, they are sandwiched between Nepal and Bhutan."

In the early eithgties, expulsion of Nepalese from Nagaland and Meghalaya lit the first flame of what snowballed into the secessionist Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling. the ethnic sentiments fanned then altered the contours of politics in the hills, resulting in the emergence of new, forces, a new leadership and the setting up of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.¹⁵ Those sentiments are still a significant factor in local politics which are harmful to the areas of North Bengal to maintain the increasing rate of population, UTJAS says this. In the present embrolio, even the West Bengal Government seems to be trapped in a situation involving Nepal and Bhutan. The migration from Bhutan began in the late eighties when thousands of people of Nepalese origine were denied citizenship and expelled from the country. J.C.Samaddar wrote a letter to the Editor of the Statesman dated on March 6, 1996 headed as "Threat of Refugee Influx", that the political turmoil in Bangladesh in is sure to hit its economy hard

with the loss of production following unending spells of agitation, the Government may have to go in for massive foreign aid. India is concerned about influx of refugees. the infiltration across the border, now a trickle, may take a turn for the worse.¹⁶

The UTJAS articulates, infiltration migrants have polluted the regional balance relating to the North Bengal's socio-economic development and treated to loss cultural identities of the weaker section people.¹⁷ Sajal Basu asserts, "A particular group shifts its identity, its distinctness, otherness as an ethnic, nation in course of age-long feeling of being discriminated, a sense of insecurity and aspiration for a larger share in power.¹⁸

3. Drawbacks of Front Policy :

UTJAS articulates, Front Policy fails to bridge between the alternative process of culture and generalization of mass concepts. Accordingly, the socio-economic development has not been achieved, yet in all means of production mainly due to drawbacks of land reforms.¹⁹

On coming to power in the late seventies, the Left Front announced a three-faced programme. It encompasses :

- i. Operation Barga which implies recording the names of the bargadars to ensure their right against forcible or motivated eviction;
- ii. A 75:25 share cropping ratio between the bargadar (share cropper) and the land-owner where the cost of production is borne by the former , and

iii. A minimum wage rate of Rs. 8.10 for the daily labourer.

Let it discuss in detail -

i. Operation Barga, on the face of it, checked eviction of bargadars. But, barga recording does not mean that whatever comes before the Settlement officer claiming to have been the bargadar of a particular plot of land will be recorded as one. Nor should operation Barga mean that whatever the bargadar says will be the sole deciding factor. Regard should also be paid to what the other party says. But, the inclusion of "Presumption clause" in the Land Reforms Act 1955 implies presuming that the share cropper is bonafide and the onus on the land owner.

The pace of Operation Barga was quite affected by the judgement given in the case of Biswanath Ghosh vs Government of West Bengal. It is held that both the parties, landowner and bargadar, will be given the opportunity to speak for themselves and barga recording can only be on the basis of careful consideration of the views of both the parties. Soon after the judgement came out, disgruntled landowners took refuge in cooked up cases filed against their bargadars and succeeded in securing injunctions. Bargadars, not always being on a sound financial footing, found it difficult in many cases to proceed against the landowners with counter petitions specially when the modus operandi regarding notification was a veritable point for consideration.

It is virtue of Article 226 of the Constitution of India which gives power to the High Court to allow injunctions, consequently, vested interests were largely benefitted. In effect, not only the total area of vested land hit by injunction stood at 1,70,010,05 acres as on June 30, 1979 but the recording

of bargadars was stalled for nearly two months in the middle of 1979 following the judgement. The said judgement also affected the attitude of banks, to find ground for refusal to pay loans to bargadars for cancellation of interim certificates. Though the State Government had later been able to stay the judgement, problems of operation barga cropped up in several ways :

a) At the initial stage the bargadars in a number of cases and places were found to be reluctant to record their names. What they feared most was a break in the landlord-bargadar relations which could stand in the way of their getting easy and timely loans for cultivation and even sometimes for sustenance.

b) There were cases where the bargadars faced the threat of social boycott if their names were recorded, where "istafnama" from bargadars was forcibly obtained by the land owner; where even after the bargadars were recorded, the land involved was found to be subject to litigation.

ii. Regarding the 75:25 crop sharing ratio between the bargadar and the land owner, the cost of production is to be borne by the former, the bargadar has to take sole responsibility for cultivating the land. Majority of the bargadars being poverty - stricken, it has been observed that the job of cultivation is left half done unless financial assistance reaches them in time. A recorded bargadar hardly gets any loan facility from his land owner. Here comes the question of institutional credit. But the experience of the public sector banks has been quite exasperating as far as loan recovery is concerned.

Inability of institutional sources to provide financial assistance to the vast majority of recorded bargadars has also been responsible for the reason

why 75:25 crop sharing ratio has not been widely in evidence. The common phenomenon has been a 50:50 crop sharing arrangement with both the bargadar and land owner sharing half the cost of production. And in places of bargadar sharing the entire cost of production, the share-cropping ratio between bargadar and the landowner has mostly been 60:40 and in some cases 66.5 : 33.5.

iii. The issue of Rs. 8.10 as minimum wage to daily labourers caused more concern in the rural sector than ever before, but the achievement has not been quite significant. While the CPI(M)-led Kishan Sabha urged payment of the minimum wage as stipulated, except for some sporadic incidents, no organised movement could be made in this regard.

First, because the supply of labour being in excess of its demand, labourers very often agreed to whatever was offered.

Secondly, where a farm hand was employed at the wage of Rs. 8.10 there existed the threat that he would be rendered helpless when the peak season was over. This point is linked with the prospect of providing substitute work both in the peak season as also in the lean periods.

Though the Food For Works scheme introduced in the late seventies was a step in this direction, it could neither offer job to all at a time nor could it give wage worth Rs. 8.10. And now, in the early nineties, the situation has not changed for the better though the minimum wage rate stands elevated to somewhere between Rs. 21 and Rs. 27. Despite the fact that the centrally-sponsored schemes like the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the Jawahar Rojgar Yojana have been excessively relied on by the Panchayats to provide work to the innumerable farm-workers in the rural

sector, those in the advanced districts like Burdwan, 24 Paraganas and Midnapore enjoy, on an average, a wage rate as higher as Rs. 27 while others in Purulia or West Dinajpur get only Rs. 21 in the absence of any organized movement.²⁰

UTJAS says, one should not miss the dismal performance of the manufacturing sector contributing a marginal rise in SDP from 24.6 percent in 1980-81 to 25 percent in 1991-92. Again, even distribution of the benefits of land reforms has not been possible, while three districts - 24 Parganas, Burdwan and Midnapore - can afford a better wage rate, the disparity in the rate of daily wages to agricultural labourers among other districts in West Bengal especially six districts of North Bengal is not only alarming but also a pointer to the amount of loss the not-so-organized rural wage earners are facing in a State where Marxist politics hold sway.

UTJAS argues, also, while the benefits of vested land recovery and distribution are believed to have contributed to the present agricultural growth, it is not an unmixed boon. The land holding pattern has structurally changed with the number of marginal holdings reaching 4.1 million in the early 80's from 2.5 million in the 70's. If let discuss the case of the beneficiaries of vested land distribution, there too the task remains juxtaposed between individual zeal and personalized economic relations between the farmer and the jotdar-cum-money lender, while improper recycling of institutional credit cannot turn to tide. It is also notable that both the CPI(M)-led Kisan Sabha and the Pancayat leadership appear weak-need to tackle such a tricky situation.²¹

Sangathan also argues, the process of selection in every-sphere of production and services, follows the policy of intellectuality rather than

capability of doing (Dowhik Sakti). Rights and privilages among the elitists harm to mode of livings to the weaker sections people especially scheduled castes and tribes of India.

4. Social Justice and Security :

To analysis with special reference to North Bengal where nativist sentiment has been contained in state politics, though the sentiments often are used in politicised form. We would proceed through analysing the linguistic movements and development creation of language through it, identity aspirations and ethno-politics, the regionalism of politics in West Bengal and the nation-nationality - ethnicity complex and regional variations in it.²² This would help us to examine the whole gamut of nation-state theory, the nature of Indian nationalism and the politics of regional movements in North Bengal in recent times.

The constitution of India recognises eighteen major languages spoken by a large majority of the people and hundred of other languages and dialects are spoken by the people in rural areas. Hindi is the official language. Since each of the states has an official language, those who speak another language as their mother tongue often regard themselves as belonging to a linguistic minority. The largest "stateless", linguistic minorities are Bodo (0.5 million); Nepali (1.4 million); Konkani (1.5 million); Santhali (3.8 million) etc. Another set of linguistic minority groups comprises those who speak an official language other than the language of the State in which they live. These minorities are concentrated in Assam, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. In West Bengal, scheduled castes and tribes of North Bengal still form as backward class, "stateless" linguistic

minorities compared to other regions. This region is geographically important because the boundaries of Assam, Bhutan, Bihar, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sikkim. Tea, timber, tobacco (TTT), agricultural fertilization and minerals are found in abundance in the area but the people of North Bengal are not satisfied as regards to the development of industries related to these products.

The neglected such areas cause problems of regional imbalance. This result in a feeling of separatism arises in the minds of these people. It also results in violent movements. There is an increasing demand in states fall move autonomy. Because of , minorities have gained an increasing group consciousness and this shows no signs of withering under the forces of modernisation. These demands include demand for the creation of new states (Jharkhand, Gorkhaland and Uttarkhanda State) linguistic recognition, reservation, security. Besides, there is an increase in demand for separate states. This also results in a greater tension between centre-states. Inter-state tensions, social tensions and tensions in big cities become common.²³

It denotes that Regionalism assumes four main forms in the political field :

- i. Secession from the Indian Union;
- ii. Demand for separate statehood;
- iii. Demand for fulfledged statehood; and
- iv. Inter-state disputes.

5. Decentralization as means of solution :

UTJAS asserts that the problem of deprivation and exploitation is not only North Bengal's obstacle but general persuit of Indian social system. The modernization and centralization of big industries at urban are not the means of attainable variables to dispose of casteless and classess society. to attain the goal of developmental social system. There should be established decentralized socio-economic and political power at the grassroot level. It is also suggested that small cottage industries relating to indigenous self-products are sustainable which will be based on capability of intellectuality and manpower instead of big industrialization and foreign technologies.²⁴ The people in the villages should actively participate in the development activities regarding agriculture, public health, education, irrigation, animal husbandary etc. Not only the rural people should participate in the implementation of programmes, they should have the authority to take decisions regarding their requirements and necessities. People through their chosen representatives determine the local policies, and executive their own programmes in conformity with the real requirements of the community. This is democracy at the grassroots. The people at the lowest level are associated with the governance of the country. The people's institutions have been entrusted with the responsibility of taking decisions and supervising the implementation of programmes.²⁵

6. Impact of MNCs :

When India became independent, many foreign companies expanded their business. The country followed the policy of "mixed economy" which ensured that the public sector and the private sector including MNCs could co-exist. Entry was however restricted and there were many laws that

regulated foreign capital.

In 1977, the Janata Government threw out Cococola and IBM which became symbols of India's hostility to MNCs. But, other MNCs like Philips, Liver, Siemens and Sujuki continued to stay and prosper. By 1991, the Govt. found that it had little foreign exchange to meet the import bill even for an essential item like oil. It approached the World Bank for a loan, which imposed conditionalities such as opening the Indian economy.²⁶ Foreign capital, thus, had to be allowed into the country to increase a sluggish growth.

With the opening up of the economy, foreign investment was wooed in a big way by India. Even states like Bengal, which had a communist Govt, started inviting foreign capital. MNCs saw India as a huge market. Its huge population and increasing incomes meant that it would be a ready market for their products.²⁷ Many companies came to India in virtually every sector of the economy.

But, were these companies working in the national interests ? Were these companies working in the interest of weaker section people especially SC and ST ? The distrust that the foreigner had remained since the country had faced years of colonial rule. The rule had started when the East India Company had landed on Indian shores with the intention of commerce. Gradually, it ended up with complete domination. Was India going in the same way again ?

UTJAS argued that this was another form of colonisation. The companies would impoverish the country by taking our capital. At first glance this indeed seemed the case. A company, Cargill seeds, faced trouble because it was feared that it would take over the seeds business, the

backbone of Indian Agriculture, in which the country had achieved self reliance. The companies also seemed to be entering frivolous sectors like soft drinks and fried chiken which required no technology. But the sectors were highly profitable.

UTJAS criticises that what we are seeing today in the name of economic reforms is actually western domination and erosion of our sovereignty.

Another cause of distrust was the Bhopal disaster, where a multinational company, Union Carbide, was involved in an industrial accident but had backed out of its responsibility. Such an accident anywhere in the west would have seen huge legal suits and resulted in the closure of the company²⁸ Clearly, the MNCs did not think that lives of Indian people were as valuable as that of a person in a developed country.

7. Provincial Autonomy :

UTJAS expects the formation autonomy council or administration should be introduced not on the basis of caste and linguistic but for achieving following objectives. :

- i. Administrative facilities;
- ii. Geographical location;
- iii. Considering socio-economic condition;
- and
- iv. Autonomous Council for Dalit and weaker section people of the Society.²⁹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ahlokpath, 1987, p.10.
2. IBID
3. Provat Chandra Barman, Secretary of the UTJAS "The Delebrative Speech"; 2nd Central Conference, CoochBehar, on 18, 19, 20 Feb, 1983.
4. Ahlokpath 87 page 10.
5. The "Memorandum of Settlement" and the Minorities: A Memorandum of Settlement was signed in New Delhi at about 2.45 a.m. on August 15, 1985 between the representatives of the AASU - AAGSP and Govt. of India and the Govt of Assam in the presence of the Prime Minister.
6. GNLF : BJP, West Bengal; "Report on Gorkhaland Agitation", 18th Oct., 1986.
7. Battle for "Uttarakhand", Surya India, July 1989.
8. Benoda Behari Mahato, President J.M.M. - General Political Line of Jharkhand Movement in India, Dhanbad Conference, 1982.
9. Fifth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS ; Kaliaganj 1989 - Bikalpa Rajnaitic Saktir Lakhya "Dalit Andolanar Bhumika", p.1.
10. An Interview - taken from Mrs. Ranjana Roy, President of the UTJAS by Mr. Tapash Basuniya, Reporter of the Ahlokpath Mashik Patrika, 1987, page no. 10-12.

11. "General Political Line of Jharkhand Movement of India", Dhanbad Conference, 1982 is composed and celebrated by Benoda Behari Mahato, President J.M.M.
12. Herbert Aptheker - The Nature of Democracy Freedom and Revolution, published by Sunil Basu (Cal), 1981, page 56.
13. Fifth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS ; Kaliaganj 1989, page 2-5.
14. Sixth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS ; Dinhata, Cooch Behar 1991, page 10.
15. Marcus Dam ; "Bhutanese Refugees and the Indian Game of Politics", The Statesman, Friday February 2, 1996, page 7.
16. J.C.SamAddar : "Threat of Refugee Influx" - Letters to the Editor, dt. on 6th March, '96, The Statesman.
17. Sixth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS Dinhata, Cooch Behar 1991, page 10.
18. Sajal Basu : Regional Movements Politics of Language, Ethnicity - Identity - (Shimla), Publications (New Delhi) 1992, page 48.
19. Fifth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS; Kaliaganj 1989, page 10.
20. Manas Bakshi : "Land Reforms" - Draw backs of Front Policy - The Statesman, on 8th May 1996.

21. Fifth Central Conference Publications : UTJAS Kaliaganj 1989; page 11.
22. Sajal Basu : "Regional Movement" Politics of Language, Ethnicity - Identity (Shimla) Publications (New Delhi) 1992 , page 23-24.
23. Central Conference Publication ; Mahila, UTJAS and Kisan O Mazdoor Sangathan 1994, Jalpaiguri, page 10.
24. Sixth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS Dinhata, Cooch Behar 1991; p. 14.
25. Chandra Prokash Bhambhani : "Public Administration " (Theory and Practice); Jai Prokash Nath & Co., Meerut City (India), 8th edition, 1981, page 268.
26. Central Conference Publication ; Mahila, UTJAS and Kisan O Mazdoor Sangathan 1994, Jalpaiguri, page 22.
27. Sixth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS ; Dinhata, Cooch Behar 1991; p. 8.
28. Fifth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS; Kaliaganj 1989, page 5.
29. Sixth Central Conference Publication : UTJAS; Dinhata, CoochBehar 1991; p.18-

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 expressioins have been continuing till the recent past.

The recent secession call of the Gorkha Natioinal Liberation Front chief Mr. Subhash Ghising, against the centre and state, betraying its commitment to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and no 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 an symptom of possible perrinial movement in North Bengal that was quit 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 unbribled 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 stricke 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 "weakersections" 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 atthe 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 assult 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 "Fire on" the huts of the SC/ST people at Itahar.

ix. To observe "Shahit Debarsh" on April 21, 1982, "Civil disobedience" was launched before the all sub-division 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 delegation 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 Circuit 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 development 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. Inspite of they have been shuddering 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 Uttarbangha 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 sSchedoled 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 reservatioin 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 Schedulede 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 GNLF 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 stop 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 Alipourduar 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 maidens 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 Prodesha 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 Karnataka 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 in 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 alienated at Jalpaiguri Central Conference.²¹ Going to put the year 1994, the year of corruption, capitalism, communalism and criminization, 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 illusory 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 andTribes 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 enought 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	Total 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 or 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 prices of agriculturala 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 impoverishment.

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. There 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 - Sánthal, 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 backlocked posts of Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be filed 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 weak 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 forgoing 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 scriptures, 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 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 in 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.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Sajal Basu : "Regional Movement: Politics of Language, Ethnicity - Identity; Indian Institute of Advanced Study (Shimla), Publications (New Delhi), 1992, page 120-121.
2. Pabitra Dey - "Voices of discontent, Succession Stir North Bengal" - The Statesman, Monday, November 20, 1995.
3. The Speech of the Secretary, UTJAS; Second Conference on February 18-20, 1983, Cooch Behar.
4. Himachal Bartha, Siliguri; August 24, 1980.
5. A Memorandum was addressed to the President of India, Prime Minister of India, Minister of Home Affairs and Opposition Leader of Parliament on March 29, 1984 by the President, Mrs. Ranjana Roy, UTJAS from the 162, Rashbehari Sarani, Siliguri.
6. A press Release : "Agony of the Indigenous people of North Bengal" on March 31, 1984 was distributed by President and Secretary, Ranjana Roy and Naren Das respectively from New Delhi Camp.
7. The Statesman, "State Govt. worried over North Bengal events, on May 13, 1985,
8. The Statesman, "Rally by backward classes ends," September 26, 1985.
9. Uttarbanga Sambad, September 24-25, 1985.
10. The Statesman, September 26, 1985.
11. The Statesman, October 30, 1986.
12. A leaflet of the 4th Annual Conference, UTJAS Alipourduar; January 10, 1987 Published (Maghabhanga), Cooch Behar.

13. Provat Barman, General Secretary, UTJAS ; A Revolutionary Letter of Felicitation (Bangla) headed as "Alipurduarer Tapashilee Hathya, Ganadhulai O Nari Nijatan Protibadi Andolan" (Dinhata), Cooch Behar.
14. Ananda bazar Patrika, January 13, 1987.
15. Provat Barman, General Secretary, UTJAS. Yabas Sangathan : A Revolutionary Letter of Felicitation (Bangla), 1987, Dinhata, Cooch Behar.
16. UttarBanga Sambad, Siliguri, January 18, 1987.
17. Ananda Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), Calcutta 18, 1987.
18. Ananda Bazar Patrika, February 5, 1987.
19. Uttarbangla Sambad, November 19, 1987. The 5th Central Conference Publication, UTJAS 1989, Kaliaganj, North Bengal.
21. Central Conference Publication : Mahila, UTJAS and Krishan O Mazdoor Sangathan, Jalpaiguri, 1994, p.3.
22. Shri Bhai Vaidya, Chairperson, Reception Committee Samajwadi Jan parishad; Foundation Conference; 31st December 1994 and 1st January 1995, Thana (Maharashtra), p.3.
23. 5th Central Conference Publication; UTJAS Kaliaganj, 1989, pp. 18-20
24. Central Conference Publication : Mahila, UTJAS and Krishan O Mazdoor Sangathan; Jalpaiguri, 1994, pp. 25-26.

25. 5th Central Conference Publication : UTJAS, Kaliaganj, 1989, p.20.
26. Central Conference Publication mahila, UTJAS and Krishan O Mazdoor Sangathan; Jalpaiguri, 1994, pp. 26-27.
27. 5th Central Conference : UTJAS : Kaliaganj, 1989, p. 22.
28. The statesman, July 23, 1996
29. Central Conference Publication : Mahila, UTJAS; and Krishan O Mazdoor Sangathan; Jalpaiguri 1994, p. 27.
30. Six Charter of Demands is demonstrated from Cooch Behar to Jalpaiguri, 30th March to 6th April 1994; by Alliance committee for Autonomy Council of North Bengal; Yugal Krishore Roybir, UTJAS : Amal Roy, CPI(ML) and Sukra Routiya, WOJCC.
- 31.. Foundation Conference : Samajwadi Jan Parishad, 31st December 1994 and 1st January 1995; Thane (Maharashtra) - The Address by Shri Bhai Vaidya, Chairperson Reception Committee Samajwadi Jan parishad, pp. 4-6.
32. IBID PP. 8-9.
33. IBID P. 11
34. IBID P 12
35. IBID PP. 14-15.

CHAPTER - VI

MONUMENT MOVEMENT - ITS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

The ethnic factor played a very vital role in the literature of the indigenous people in this region which acted as a driving force behind this process of mass mobilisation. The economic factors as deprivation, exploitation by outsiders, central's negligence, developmental aspirations also added new dimension. The leaderships of a movement, or the major forces in a movement in its bid to win the support of larger section of the people, try to include the socio-economic issues of their concern, the movement and the groups get secularised and politicised in the process.¹ To a great extent, NBCA may also be said to represent this trend.²

North Bengal Cultural Association and its Monument Movement

A socio-cultural and literary body, the North Bengal Cultural Association, founded in 1974 as a non-political organisation, was chaired by K.P.Narayan as a President, Shri Dharma Narayan Barman as a Vice President and Naresh Roy Sarkar as a Secretary, as was acknowledged as a registered association by the Government of West Bengal No. S/18720--1976-77.³ Since 1974 NBCA has urged the Government to stop the outsiders influx in order to save the Rajbanshi Language i.e. Kamatabehari Language, Culture and economy.⁴ During the stages, an act was adopted to preserve the valuables and antiquities of the Cooch Behar Palace. Combating against such demolition, more N.B.C.A./ took six point resolutions to appeal for execution of the Cooch Behar Palace for following purposes :

i. Introeduction of the Museum centre of the North Eastern Zone of India ;

ii. Introduction of Research Centre for socio-cultural studies and emperical orientational library;

iii.. Open Tourist centre :

iv. Construction of Mini Zoo and Park;

v. A syntactical arrangement of Botanical garden and Zoological garden and

vi. Consecration for seasonal Residence of the President of India and other VIPs.⁵

On September 15, 1979 the Association presented a memorandum to the President of Indian seeking his help for immediate action to save the valuables and antiquities of the Cooch Behar palace in the context of declaration of the palace as a national Monument referring to Telegram No. A-8 deated the 19th September 1979 following events :

i. The total decorative articles of the Durbar Hall where the Maharaja's Durba's used to be held have been removed.

ii. All most all the Oil-Paintings by the Artists from Home and Abroad, the portraits of all the maharajas of Cooch Behar dynasty along with other a great man of ancient and modern ages are no more in the palace.

iii. Almost all the rare books and rare manuscripts of the Palace Library have been removed so far.

iv. Sculpture on tusks, marble slabs, iron oves, silver vessels and other metals etc, do not exist further to beautify the palace.

v. The Chinese cot of Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhub Bhandar, which is the emblem of ancient Sculpture and which is more than one hundred and fifty years of age has been removed from the palace.

vi. Beautiful ancient valuable furnitures are being removed from the Palace.

vii. Old rare coins specially Narayani coins aged more than three to four hundred years are apprehended to be lost.

viii. Ancient palace building which was built three hundred years ago and which was later used as the Garage of the palace from about hundred and fifty years back is being demolished.⁶

It is historically important to note that the Cooch Behar Palace was constructed by the 18th King, Maharaja Nripendra Narayan with the help of Cornel Hotton and his sub-ordinates, situated around the thousand bighas of land in 1887 AD. The total expenditure was Rs. 8,77,203. Mr. Martain was the architect and M's Marilier and Edward's were contractors of the palace. It was designed as similar as of the palace of Bakimhum is the marvellous comparatively than the other palace in West Bengal.⁷ Built bricks in the classifical European style this magnificent double storied building covering an area of 51309 square feet was constructed by the Koch King Maharaja Nripandra Narayan in 1887 A.D. It measures 395 feet in length and 296 feet in breadth.

Noted for a series of beautiful arcaded varandah in the front of this palace is slightly projected on the South and Northern end and an entrance to its Durbar hall is provided by the centrally projected porch. The Durbar Hall is stopped by an ornate metal dome with louvre type cylindrical ventilator surmounting it. The various apartments of the palace included bedroom, dressing room, drawing room, dinning hall, library, billard room, Toshakhema and the ladies gallery.⁸

Referring to the resolution of the Parishad dated the 16th December 1975 and the representation dated the 17th April 1975 regarding the protection of the historical relics and the place of the ex-ruler of Cooch Behar, a letter, D.O. No. M/5/3/76 - 1045 was sent to render cooperation during inspection of the palace and other monuments and assure the proposed date of visiting between 21.6.76 and 22.6.76 by Mr. Monira Khzatun, Dy. superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological survey of India, Eastern circle; Narayani Building 27, Brabourne Road to the President of the NBCA on 6 June 1976.⁹ During this stage, the railing of the palace was being demolished by antisocials on the one hand.¹⁰ Micro station, Mini Bus stand, Housing Estate, acquisition of land for North Bengal State transport corporation and cricket field are being constructed by C.M.P.O. on the other.¹¹ For protecting the palace and land, a rally was assembled in front of the palace gate on Feb. 11, 1979 and its demonstration changed into fasting from Feb. 24, 1979. The Lok Dal was attached with NBCA's articulations during the 1979's general election.¹²

To protect and preserve the palace, a few number of deliberative petition was submitted respectively to the Hon'ble President of India, Prime Minister, Governor and Chief Minister of West Bengal to seek kind perusal referring letter, D.O. No. M/5/3/76-1045 which was informed to the NBCA by

Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, West Bengal, NBCA asserts, inspite of appeal and protest against these anti-national activities to the Deputy commissioner, Cooch Behar, all valuable time-old architecture, building materials inseparable with the palace Building are bing removed and demolished mercilessly at this juncture.¹³ Under Article 49 of the Constitution the state is under the obligation to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historic interest, (declared by or under law made by Parliament) to be of national importance, from spoliation disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export, as the case may be¹⁴ Regardingly, it is added that the Central Government is the defacto and de-jure owner of the Cooch Behar Palace with its compound according to the sacred Agreement referred to D.O. No. F. 15(19), '49 date 30 August 1949 of the Ministry of state, New Delhi, between the Dominion of India and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.¹⁵

Unfortunately, the committal of trespass and demolishing of all valuables and inseparable materials of the Palace were not only menaced by miscreants but also successor of the Ex-Rulers.¹⁶ After the death of last Maharaja, Sri Jagaddipandra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Surajit Biraj Narayan, successor has disposed of some of the palace properties for personal benefit.¹⁷ The allogahons made in paragraph 6(six) of the petitioin are highly illegal in as much as the peitioners and persons including the alleged Maharaja Kumar Birajendra Narayan immediately on knowledge of the Central Government's decision, wanted to receive pecuniary gains and entered into business deals without having any authority, power and competence to do so over the properties specifically directed for preservation for future without power of alienation in terms of the said treaty dated 28.8.49. The said act of

business transaction is an act of 'sacrilege' in order to frustrate the decision of the Central Government to make the palace into an Ancient monument of national importance in as much as the so called garage and stable is not an ordinary one as is commonly understood but it first English School namely, Jenkins's school in recent time and before that the same was the Palace of Ancient Koch Kings until the new Palace was erected during the British period.¹⁸

In the circumstances, an application was sent to the Chief Minister of West Bengal for seeking forthwith action against the miscreants and steps, so that the over-night construction of the buildings, referring following grounds:

i. That, Biraj Narayan has made declaration in the court of Subordinate Judge Cooch Behar, regarding Money Suit No. 17 of 1972. In the said suit he declared in para 4 which runs as thus -

"The averments made in para 2 of the plaint are not correct. The defendant No.1 is successor-in-interest of properties and assets left by late Maharaja Jaggadipendra Narayan. Dependent No.1 succeeded to the Goddi of the Maharaja's house hold offine and by a will late Maharaja Jaggadipendra Narayan bequeath all his properties and assets to the defendant No. 2."

ii. That the will of Maharaja Jaggadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur was granted by Hon'ble High Court, Calcutta to Georgian May Narayan, Known as Maharani Gina Narayan, and also known as Maharani of CoochBehar by occupation House wife. Testamentary suit No. 9 of 1971 and 114 of 1970 may be consulted.¹⁹

iii. That on the merit of the granting of probable by the Hon'ble High Court, consulted and that Notification may be taken into consideration in view of the judgement of the Hon'ble High Court.²⁰

iv. That, in the connection, Land Reforms Commissioner, Board of Revenue, West Bengal letter No. 11946-E dated, Calcutta, 2nd November, 1954, may kindly be consulted. This letter in question is related with West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act, 1953. This Act in question is not applicable in Cooch Behar State, as it was sovereign State.²¹ That, a notification was published by Judicial Caveat.²²

Therefore, all properties belonging to this highness or his successor should be protected under Article 362 of the constitution of India and be taken restricting miscreants from further committed of trespass and demolishing historical Palace which has got a Archaeological values. Application iterates that necessary action should be taken against the miscreants and overnight construction of the building, houses etc.²³

For demand of nationalisation of Cooch Behar Palace, Mr. Prijuish Tirki, M.P. proposed in the Parliament proceedings was corroborated by Mr. Protab Chandra Chanda, Minister of Education of janata Government and passed the Bill. So long after, according to condition of West Bengal Government Dr. Mrs. Debla Mitra Directorate General, Archaeological Survey of India announced to nationalize it and hanged the nationalisational importance notification infront of the Cooch Behar Palace in 1982 refuted NBCA.²⁴ After the notification of the Archaeological Survey of India, a deep debt of gratitude application was sent to the Honourable Prime Minister, that the Government of India in consideration of glorious reminiscence of past history and culture as submitted in the representation and resolution dated the 7th May, 1975 and 16th December 1975 had honoured the public opinion by setting up the Monument as a glory spot for Eastern India.²⁵

Plaint for Masonry Regtention

By reading "Princes Remember" which is written by Mrs. Grayati Devi, Mrs. Frangsoya, Director of the Documentaqry T.V. Film of Soffidoc, Belgium, wished to produce a documentary film on her life of emblazonry as a princess in Cooch Behar Palace and a dowager queen in Jaipur Palace of Rajasthan. The fervent of producing documentary film of Soffidoc T.V. was intended her and agreed to tread at her birth place. Drawing out the princes rememberances in the field of international inference she arrived at Cooch Behar along with the team of Soffidoc T.V. Film of Belzium on 18 November, 1996.²⁶ Landing on her birth place, she went to homage her hereditary Takur, Modanmohan. She was grieved after perceiving that Salgram is idolized without Modanmohan idols, which were stolen mysteriously despite a constant and heavy security presence on 27 February, 1994.²⁷

Violence broke out in Cooch Behar town on morning when a large crowd, angry over the theft of two idols from Modanmohan temple, went on the rampage. The mob attacked a police picket with stones, set a police jeep on fire and looted shops in the neighbourhood. Eight people were injured - two of them seriously when the police burst tear - gas shells and then fired to ward off the crowd which swelled as word of the theft spread. Prohbitory orders were imposed on the town and B.S.F. jawans deployed to assist the police. Trouble began when worshippers at the temple, which reportedly belongs to the royal family of Cooch Behar, found at about 9 a.m. that two metal idols and some gold ornaments were missing. News of the theft spread fast, creating tension. The police fired 15 rounds at the mob whose strength had swelled to about 10,000. Eight people with bullet wounds were taken to the North Bengal Medical College Hispital where the condition of two was stated to be serious.²⁸

Tension is simmering as a large number of people here have turned against the police and the administration. Prohibitory orders under section 144 Cr. P.C. remained in force, adding to the tension. The spontaneous bondh in the town after the police firing and violence continued three days despite efforts by the district administration to restore calm.²⁹ As passions cool down here following burglary of two idols from the Modanmohan temple, the consequent violence is increasingly being regarded as a "sinister ploy" to manipulate the religious sentiments of the town. The political parties, UKD, NBCA, meanwhile, are accusing one other of trying to draw mileage from the incident and ignoring the "grave import" of the attempt to whip up "religious frenzy". The flawless planning of the burglary, the theft of a wireless set at the airstrip, and the subsequent chain of events, indicated that the forces "at work" had a larger design."³⁰

Articulation for (i) rescue two historical idols of Modanmohan and its Swarna Chhatra, which had been stolen from the temple, and

ii) ban a formal acknowledgement of allegiance of Rash-mala with out original Modanmohan idols, UKD begged to draw the District Magistrature's attention on 10 November 1994. Dal asserted that administration had no obligation to arrange the Rash-Mala who was unable to protect it. Dal also iterated that without original idols, arrangement of Rash-Mala was completely smoky to the people of Cooch Behar as well as the people of North Eastern India. To proceed a mass-petition on 16 November, 1994 at 11 a.m. before District Magistrate the following agitations were submitted. These were : gana-andolan and street corner, posterizing, fasting, picketing and continuous bondh from 17 November, 1994 at Cooch Behar.³¹ Yet administration arranged the Rash-Mala with the convenience of the police formally but failed to gather

excitement of the excursionists and devotees without Modanmohan. In this way Rash-yatra and Doll Utsab were suspended by the people in 1994. In 1995 and 1996 Rash-Mala was also homaged without idols in constrained manner.³² It is asserted that Mr. Ashim Bhattacharjee and Mr. Narayan Swami are the criminals charged for the theft of the idols from the Modanmohan temple remain in the Cooch Behar Jail. A Coarse of procedure in prosecuting a legal action has been being taken in the SDM court of Cooch Behar.³³

To take a quick photograph of her at birth palace, a hindrance was come through archaeologists personnel.³⁴ It was painful to assert that she was assaulted at age of old at her birth palace where she was born, without monarchical courtesy.³⁵ At the time of shooting for motion pictures, she felt down full of grief with tears when negligible greyish, annihilation was visualized of the palace and vituperated the Government for squandering it. She iterated the socio-cultural and historical importance of the Cooch Behar Raj Palace, Modanmohan Takur Bari, Sahitya Sabha, the state Library and role of other institutions were vital for sustaining identity of Cooch Behar natives. Seeing antique books documents, manuscripts, monograph, monogram, archieves during Cooch Behar reign without preservation in the state library. She aggrieved and articulated these were rare documents in the world which were damaged by bookworm and moisture. Acquiring such distortion of impression of it, she exhorted to the governments, both centre and state in distraught the place of State Library and Sahitya Sabha should be transformed in the palace. She also requested the Governments to be accustomed it as a guest house for ascertaining to consume the North Bengal's natural greenary and accessory of historical pleasure for the president of India, Ministers and dignitories individual both nation and abroad.³⁶ Pertaining such preservation native people's revolutionary initiations should be endorsed. During the shooting, she aggrieved to see the uncouth scenary of palace and the plunder of wealth. She inflamed that a trend of spoiling the historical importance and a cause to wipe out the memory of archieve; Palace of the native people, have been drawn

by establishing burly foundations like personnel Housing (Sarkari Abasan), Woman College, P.H.E., Stadium, Tele-exchange Centre, mini-bus-stand, maxi-taxi-van-stand, Cooch Behar - Bus terminus etc. any where and everywhere of the palace boundary from the visions of oversight. By reasserting the evolutional theory of preservation, she wanted the change of modernity through base of tradition, without kind Governmental preservation on sculptures, architectures, she aggrieved bitterly.³⁷

She charged the archaeologist personnel without seeing the cannon or reign artillery which was placed in front of palace and impeded the summoning the people of Cooch Behar to take the active part for preservation of historical heritage culture, sculpture and wealth not depending any declension. She also iterated to aware about decaying historical sculptures, temples, illegal possessioning of pond.³⁸

The proposal of converting the palace as a guest House was accepted by different kinds of organisations like NBCA, UKD and distinguished nobel persons, voluntary organisations, side by side it was also requested to inaugurated the centre for museum.³⁹

ACQUAINTANCE OF MODANMOHAN

In the book titled "Rajbansabali" Durga Das Majumdar wrote that according to consultation of Sankar Dev, Maharaj Nornarayan founded an idol of Vishnu offered its entrust with worship to prest Kalandi and alluded to it as Modanmohan an alias 'Laximi (Radha is not homaged along with Krishna). So, Modanmohan is only worhsipped unaccompanied with Radha in Cooch Behar. In the 17th century, in the book "Alamghir Nama" and "Stourt's History" deal with Cooch Behar's guardian deity is homaged in the name of "Narayan".

According to a great saint of Vishnab, Vishnu is praised as Narayan is conjectured so. After the invasion of Nawab Nirjumla, God was acquainted with Modanmohan.⁴⁰

According to Durga Das Majumdar' "There were two idols, 'Narayan' and 'Modanmohan', once was worshipped as Laxmi Narayan and other 'Modanmohan' in Cooch Behar State. During the reign of Rup Narayan these were newly reprepared into a sole image of God except allurement and a jar of water symbolising the infilling power of God in nature. In course of time, losing His own image of 'Narayan' was praised and acquainted with 'Madanmohan'⁴¹.

The metropolis of the Cooch Behar State was changed and displaced at different place at different reign of kings. The tutelary deity of the Cooch Behar King family was simultaneously with the voyage. Finally, the tutelary deity of a family., Modanmohan was ascertained during the reign of Harendra Narayan, when he established his palace at his old dwelling place and founded a temple with the boundary of its, at the final stage and established the image of a deity.

After the Maharaj, Harendra Narayan, the successor, Sibendra Narayan ascended a throne of the Cooch Behar State. After this Narendra Narayan ascended it. After the dead of Narendra Narayan at inauspicious time, the throne of the Cooch Behar State was sprinkled by his infant, Nripendra Narayan. All process of developments and advancements had come during his reign. The classical European style of palace was constructed at 1900 feet far from his old dwelling place. The temple of Modanmohan was within the boundary of its important sight. Mr. King. Superintendent of Botanical garden of Calcutta

was brought to prepare a contrivance for making gratification elysium of palace. According his recommendation, "By the side of palace, the temple of Modanmohan would be unlikeness and a leer" The then Engineer superintendent of Cooch Behar reported similarly. According to the report, "The necessity of removing the mass of old building without of any architectural pretentious which constitute the Thakurbaries from a prominent place in the palace compound was felt for long time."

For collecting finance to re-construct the temple, the prudent of Roy Bahadur kalika Das Dutta, watchful sentry of Cooch Behar Raj-Laxmi was important to assert that Rs. 7472.90 and Rs. 3000 from selling gold ornaments and gifts of Modanmohan and bricks, materials of the old temple respectively. To built it, total expenditure was near about Rs. 19,510. Total abatement was about Rs. 9037 which was fulfilled from current revenue of state.

On 9 July, 1889 Maharaj Nripendra Narayan laid the foundation of temple on wide land composed of 7 bigha 15 katha by the northern side of Bairagi pond (Dighi) and Jail road and Eastern and Western of Bazar road and Gopal Babu road respectiy along with a dightful ceremony.

In the middle of March 1890, the construction of temple was completed. The embankment was surrounded by 1210 running feet wall. On 21 March, 1890 Raj mata Nishimaya I. Debati aroused the temple with a delightful splendour ceremony. In the Eastern side of Modanmohan temple, Maharaj Nripendra Narayan aroused Anandamaiya Dharmasal. The temple was constructed long and breadth 73' - 4' X 37" - 4' feets including 5 rooms. In

the centre room was settled for Modanmohan. It was composed of 15' x 12' and 28' height.

Every devotee of Cooch Behar knows that there was two idols, one is gold idol and other eight metals idol in the temple. In 1978, "Cooch Behar Zillar Pura Kirthi "edited by Amiya Kumar Bandhapadhyay and Prof. Sudhir Ranjan Das adopted that there were three touchstone idols. After constructing the temple Maharaj Nripendra Narayan created a department of land dedicated to the service of God. All kinds of liabilities and property were handed over to the Department. This department subsequently is transformed into a "Debata Trustee Board". According to the Board record, only the umbrella of idol was 28 tola in weight.

How terrible apathy is of us about history says KJrishnendu, therefore, history perhaps does not sacrifice us.

The theft was intruded a few years ago when the gold necklace of Mata Anandamai was stolen away. So, this time not only ornaments but idols were stolen away on 27 February, 1994. In this way, Bhagodata's "Sakti Kabachh (energy armour) was stolen away from Goswami Mandir in 1969.⁴²

The Trustee Board and Cooch Behar administration took initiation to re-establish Modanmohan idol on 12 November 1997 in the temple. Bankim and Academic Prize owner and novelist, Amiabhusan Majumder protested against it. He articulated, "There is no right to re-establish idol of the District Administration as well as Trustee Board", was published in Uttarbanga Sambad on 16 September, 1997. On the basis of news 1d session judge,

Sasibhusan Muhuri pronounced the stay order to set up new idol and order to Mr. Majumdar to submit oath petition regarding publication of news service on 29 September 1997.

Trinamul Congress, District Chatta parisad, All Rajbanshi Youth Association urged to publich white paper and protest against the re-establishment of Modanmohan idol.⁴³ It also articulated same by NBCA⁴⁴ On the basis of court of verdicts Mr. Amia Bhusan Majumder, Successor Anilandra Narayan and Bikash narayan submitted the Writ petition in the court of District Session Judge.⁴⁵ The Ld Judge, Sasibhusan Muhuri sentenced to re-establish new idol nearby the salgram Sila that was purchased on amount of Rs. 3.70 lakh including gold umbrella. On the basis of court of verdict, idol was re-established on 12 November 1997 with delightful ceremony and the Minister of urban development inaugurated the Rash-Mala on 14 Nov. 1997.⁴⁶

In this way, the Government of West Bengal diluted the sensitive issue of Modanmohan, the people of Cooch Behar overwhelmed with grief but not revolt.

MISC. APPROPRIATION OF DEVELOPMENT FUND

In 1950 the monarchical form of government of Cooch Behar state was abolished when Indian Independence Act, 1947, was passed, it declared the lapse of suzerainty and paramountery of the crown, in S.7(1) (b) of the Act.⁴⁷ In January of the same year, it was the merger of Cooch Behar with the state of West Bengal (See chapter III) Even the day of irresistible abolition of monarchy, Maharaja Jagadipendra Narayan laid by Rs. 1,78,46,825 for

benefits of Cooch Behar people.⁴⁸

In arrangement, there was an important condition of the king that the amount of rupees should be deposited permanently at Cooch Behar Bank. All kinds of developmental achievement should be done with the help of Rupees of Interest, which would be drawn per annum. The other condition was that the government of state should be abstained from expending the capital fund. Only the elected members of Legislative Assembly of West Bengal would expand for developmental works within his/her constituency from the interest which would be drawn annually. To pertain, it has a committee which is regarded as "Cooch Behar Development Fund Committee."

The Development Fund Committee of Cooch Behar consists of Chairman, D.M., and MLA(s) of Cooch Behar. Generally, the Minister is to act as the Chairman of the Committee of Cooch Behar. The Fund will not be an Act of the committee unless and until it receives the assent of the state legislature.⁴⁹

But so recent a charge was arisen against the mise appropriation of Development Fund. The Minister of SC/ST welfare purchased IFCI band Rs. 1.4 crore from capital Fund without consultation of Committee⁵⁰ Some allegation was raised by SC/ST organisation, NBCA; Rajbanshi Youth Organisation. AKSU against it, Gayetri Devi articulated that there was no any developmental activities done in Cooch Behar at all.⁵¹

DAZZLE AS MODEL TOWN

Very recently, the Minister of Urban Development, Mr. Ashok Bhattacharja asserts, it has annals in nomenclature of Cooch Behar and has 300 years honoured precepts to act of framing of modern Cooch Behar. In middle of Seventeenth century, a Map of Cooch Behar was sketched by Von Dan Broock as Ragiawerra - Cos Bhaar. In the same century Olandas unknown sailor (accompany of Nawab Mirzimla) wrote "After a long march, we entered into Kosbia, a country lying between the kingdoms of Bengal and 'Azo, of which the general easily became master."⁵² To develop it Maharaja of Cooch Behar took contrivance with the help of foreign engineer is laudable. There is no any other pre-contrived city in West Bengal and in India as good as Cooch Behar and Chandigarh respectively. The Map of Cooch Behar has attached alongiwth it (Map No. 6.1 & 6.2).

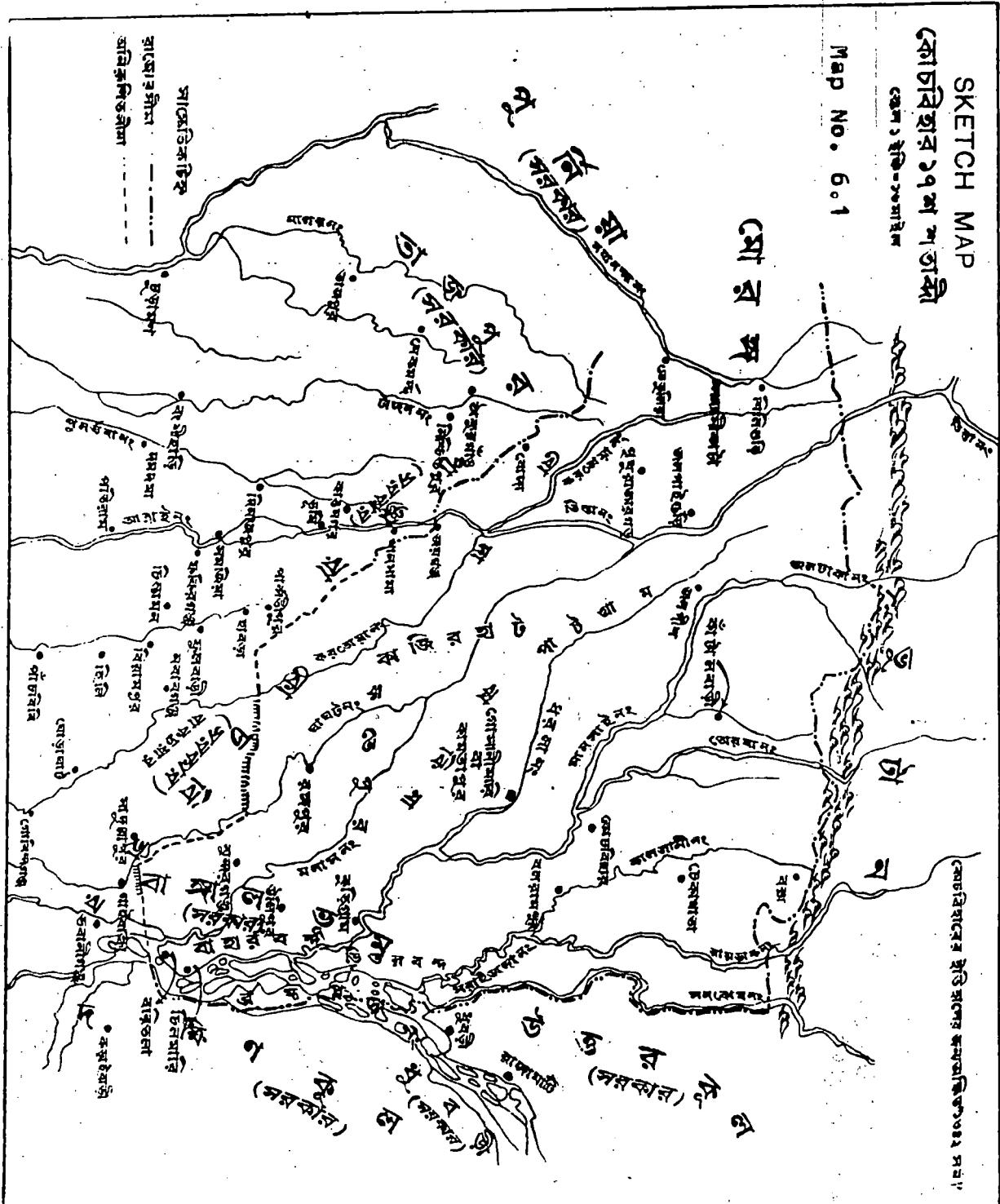
In public statement of Ministry of Urban Development, the government of West Bengal is going for a plan to make Cooch Behar as a "Model city", in West Bengal. In his direction, Siliguri, Jalpaiguri Development Authority is to establish contract with Cooch Behar District Planning and Development Authority for adopting strategy to re-construct it.⁵³ It is criticised by NBCA and AKSU as Dazzle.

SKETCH MAP

କୋଡ଼ିଆରି ୧୭ ଶ ତାମ୍ର

દ્વારા

Map No. 601



ବ୍ୟୋଚିତେଶବେର ଶୌତି ପ୍ରାଣେ ଅନ୍ୟମାନିକ୍ଷଣୀୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ।

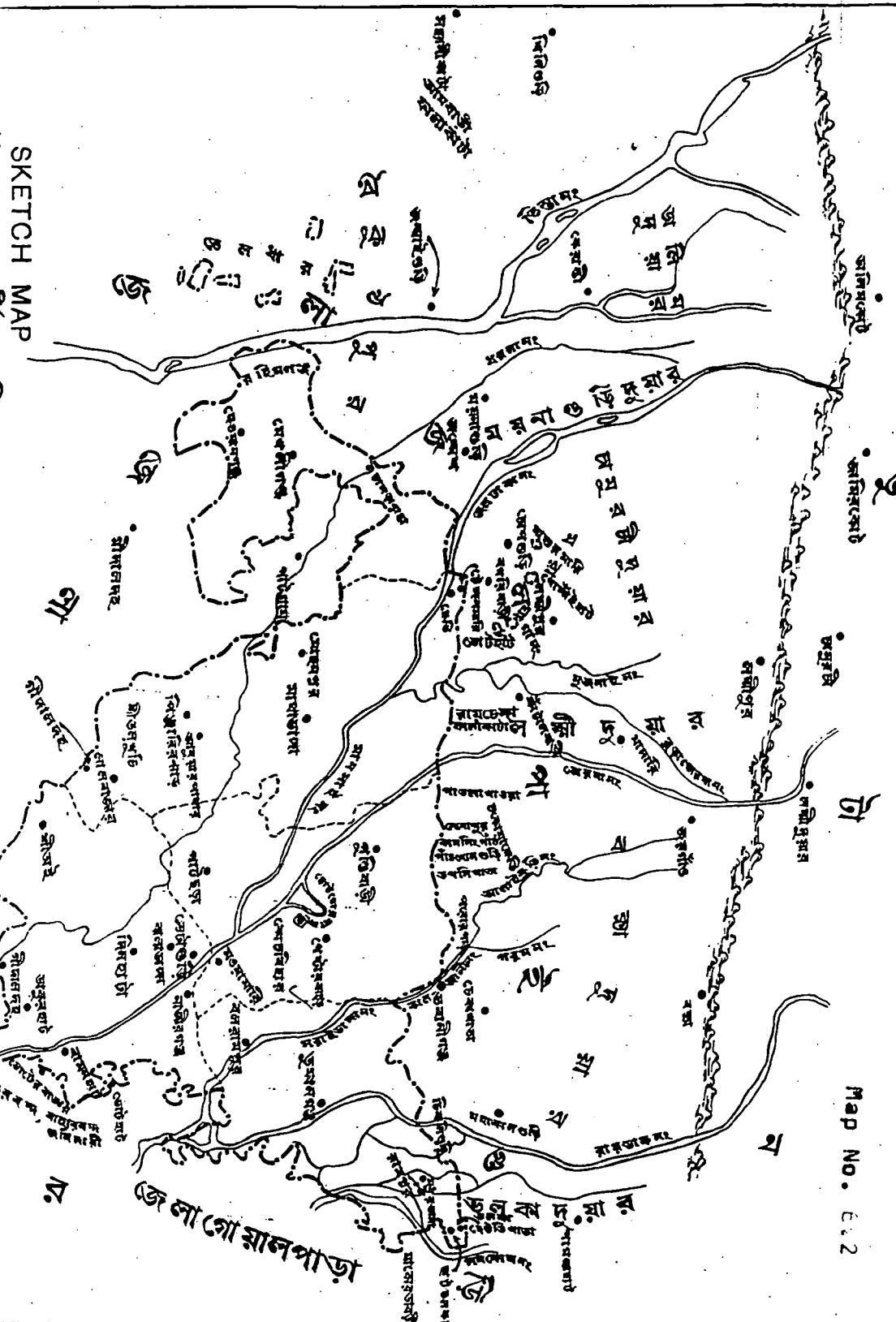
অসম

জাসিমুর্রাম

চক্ষুর

গু

Map No. 6, 2



১৭৯০ খ্রি কোচবিহার পৰা বৰতী কোচবিহার

SKETCH MAP

ক্ষেত্ৰ = ৩৫০০ মিৰো

কোচবিহার শহিত জন্ম আক্ষিত ১৭৯২ সন।

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A letter is addressed to the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar, New Delhi by Shri Prohash Chandra Singh Sastri, Chairman of the Presidium of the UKD, on December 12, 1990.
2. A Special Application, a leaflet is deliberated by NBCA on Feb. 21, 1977; Jahnabee Lodge, Maharaja Harendra Narayan Road; Cooch Behar.
3. An interview was held personally on September 4, 1994 at Bikash Narayan's residence; Maharaja Harendra narayan Road, Cooch Behar from Shri Parbananda Das, Present Secretary of the NBCA about the formation and structure of the Association.
4. IBID.
5. A letter is humbly addressed to the Respective Ministers (Information and Communication Department, W.B.) for Protection and Conservation of the Cooch Behar Palace.
6. A memorandum to the President of India was presented by Dharma Narayan Balman for Secretary, NBCA, Cooch Behar on September 25, 1979 seeking his help "for immediate action to save the valuables and antiquities of the Cooch Behar Palace in the context of declaration of the palace as a national monument.
7. Pronay Kundu : "Cooch Behar Palace,"(Bangla medium); Desh Patrika, 1994 page, 73.
8. "Cooch Behar Palace" - signboard is placed in front of the palace.

9. An assuring letter., D.O. No. M/5/3/76-1045 for inspection of the Cooch Behar palace was sent to K.P.Narayan by Dy Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Narayani Building, 27-Brabourne Road, Cal-1, on June 10, 1976.,
10. A leaflet on election manifesto is published by Lok Dal, Cooch Behar District Branch; Sulakha Printing Works, Cooch Behar, Date 11-12-1979.
11. A leaflet, 'A prayer' to the people of North Bengal by the members of NBCA appeals to inform about desgtruction of Cooch Behar palace on April 6, 1979.
12. A leaflet, an election manifesto is published by Lok Dal, Cooch Behar District Branch; Sulakha Printing works, Cooch Behar Date 11-12-1979.
13. For Protection and preservation of the palace of the Maharaja and Ex-ruler of Cooch Behar with its compound etc, an application was sent to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, New Delhi by K.P.Narayan, President of NBCA dated November 26, 1979 containing with 3 pages grievances itself.
14. A.K.S.; S.K.S. and S.L.M. ed. "Indian Constitution", City College, Calcutta 27 July, 1970, page 144.
15. An application was sent to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, New Delhi by K.P.Narayan, President of NBCA dated November 26, 1979, page no.3.
16. By Interview with Shri Dharmnarayan barman, Vice President of NBCA, personally, Tufanganj, September 4, 1994.
17. A letter to the Hon'ble Chief Minister, West Bengal by President, Uttar Bangal Sanskrit Parisad, Cooch Behar, December 19, 1975.

18. An affidavit is filed against the petition for an interference by the Hon'ble Court, Cooch Behar by NBCA.
19. "For Protection against destruction of the Cooch Behar palace which is a Monument of National Importance declared by parliament in accordance with Article 49 of the Indian constitution and various sections of the ancient Monument preservation Act, 1937 of the Government of India" - an application was sent to the chief Minister, West Bengal, dated the Cooch Behar, the 2nd January, 1980 by Prabhash Chandra Singha Sastri. On December 11, 1980, for Assistant Secretary to the Chief Minister is directed to acknowledge receipt of his letter 2-1-96 addressed to the chief Minister, W.B. (It is included for further awakening at Annexure
20. The Statesman, March 21, 1972, "Notification of Legal Report.
21. An application was submitted to the Hon'ble Chief Minister, West Bengal by Prohash Chandra Singha Sastri, on January 2, 1980, page No.3.
22. The Statesman, Thursday, May 15, 1969; page 5, under the Caption, "rule issued on Government".
23. An application was submitted by Prohash Chandra Singha Sastri, on January 2, 1980.
24. Shri Dharma narayan Barma; President, NBCA; The role of NBCA to nationalise the Cooch Behar Palace (Bengali); Raidack Prakasan, Tufanganj, 26-1-98.

25. The notification "The Monument has been declared to be of National importance under the ancient Monuments and Archaeological sites and Remains Act 1958 (24 of 1958) whoever destroys, removes, injures, alters, defaces, imperils or misuses this Monument shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with both hanged infront of the Palace.
26. Uttarbanga Sambad: 22 Nov. 1996.
27. IBID : 20 November 1996.
28. The Statesman, 1 March, 1994.
29. Uday Basu : Lynching of Jawan adds to tension in Cooch Behar; The Statesman, 2 March, 1994.
30. IBID : Temple Theft bid to foment tourble; The Statesman, 4 March, 1994.
31. A resolution was taken undersigned by Madhas Ranjan Singha, President Cooch Behar Branch, UKD; addressed to the D.M., Cooch Behar, 9 Nov. 94.
32. 'Pabitra Das : "MODANMOHAN BIGRAHA CHARAI TRITIA BARAR JANYA - COOCHBEHARRAR RASH-MALA SURU 25 Sa", Uttarbanga Sambad, 21 Nov. 1996.
33. Susanta Guha : New idol of Modanmohan founds in Cooch Behar within police security presence; Uttarbanga Sambad, 13 Nov. , 1997.
34. Uttarbanga Sambad; 20 Nov. 1996.

35. Basanta Barman : GRAYETRI DEVIER JANYA BYADANA; Darkhamari, Matal Hat, Cooch Behar; Uttarbanga Sambad (Sanamat), 9 Dec. 1996.
36. Susanta Guha : BIJK BHARA BADANA NIYA FIRA YARCHI" - GAYETRI DEVI; Uttarbanga Sambad, 22 Nov. 96.
37. IBID : 21 Nov. 1996.
38. IBID : 22 Nov. 1996
39. IBID : 12 Dec. 1996.
40. Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed: A History of Cooch Behar (in Bengali) [compilation]; Part I, Printed at the State Press and Published under Authority of the Cooch Behar State : 1936, page 128.
41. Durga Das Majumdar : Reign of Rup-narayan : "LAXMINARAYAN ARE MODANMOHAN KHAY CHARI PUNA KHAY KARILA GRAHAN SEHI PRAR HAYACHAN DANDA HANUMAN TOOP ARE GHAT KANI ACHAY PURAN.
(Idols were newly re-prepared into a sole image of God except illurement and jar. Narayan was praised and acquainted with Modanmohan).
42. Krishnandu Dey; "DEBOTAR BIDAYA", Uttarbanga Sambad, 10 July, 1994.
43. Uttar Banga Sambad, 20 September, 1997.
44. IBID : 21 September 1997.
45. IBID : 30 Sept., 1997.

46. IBID: 14 Nov. 1997.
47. "Durga Das Basu : Introduction to the Constitution of India, 8th edition, 1980. page 44.
48. H.N.Chowdhury : Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue sttlement.
49. Uttarbanga Sambad, 9 August, 1996.
50. A charge was raised by Mr Mihir Goswami, MLA against Mr. Denish Chandra Dakua, Minister of SC/ST welfare and chairman of committee - is presented by Susanta Guha - "Misc Appropriation of Development Fund" Uttarbanga Sambad, 7 Sept., 1996.
51. An interview was arranged personally on 9 January 1998 at Cooch Behar when she was attent to inaugurated the centenary ceremony of Cooch Behar Club, Cooch Behar.
52. Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed ; A History of Cooch Behar (in Bengali) Part I, 1936, page - 3.
53. Governmental initiation to build Cooch Behar as "Model City" ; Uttarbanga Sambad, 20 Nov. 1997.

CHAPTER - VII

IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SOME IMPORTANT MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS OF NORTH BENGAL - AN ANALYSIS

A . KPP : Ideological Aspects and its Articulations

Kamtapur upsurge was not a sudden development. It has originated in the middle of the 20th century particularly with the submission of an alleged memorandum to the Government of India by the then protagonists for creating a separate state on the same linguistic, ethnic and cultural grounds, as other states created within the Indian Union. In 1995, Kamtapur peoples' party, a parallel organisation as like UKD was come down at Shivmandir, Police station Matigara, near of North Bengal University under the suprmo of Mr. Atul Roy. He is an employee of North Bengal University, says the foremost aim of KPP is to agitate peacefully in democratic way. His incarnation into the new political role was incidental.

The swinging of separate Uttarkhanda State in North Bengal has been being articulated since a four decades but its trend has gone to be stop, in contrast KPP is systematic within organisational set up, contrivance and acquainted with peaceful oscillation, demands it. Within periphrasis, "Kamatapur Woman's Organisation". "Kamtapur Youth Association" and "Kamtapur Language and literature Council" were consecrated under the supremo of KPP.¹

AIMS AND ENDS

In pursuance of the purpose stated in the constitution of KPP, following aims and ends laid down for the guidance of the people :

- "i) The first and foremost aims of KPP are to resuscitate the vanished tradition, culture, language, literature, folkways, folklore of Kamtapur State and to awake among the Rajbanshis and Kshatriya about itself;
- ii) Driving away the columny of "Sub-Language "or" "dialect" to revive the statusquo of "Kamtapuri Language" as a distinct is concealed in articulation
- iii) Sustaining such organisational purposes KPP take some ends:
 - (a) correspondance letters, invitation cards should be written in Kamtapuri language;
 - (b) publication of books, papers, novels should be introduced in Kamtapuri language,
 - (c) produce the video film to resuscitate ethnic culture and folklore in the language;²
- iv) To save the ethnic identity, separate Kamtapur state is being articulated.³ As the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the famous Gupta Emperor Samudragupta mentions about the existence of the Kamrup territory in the 4th century A.D. During the 15th century A.D. the western part of Kamrup the western part of Kamrup came under the sway of the 'Khan' dynasty to usher a

new kingdom there known as "Kamta".⁴ The present Cooch Behar owes its origin from this Kamtapur land. In 1950, history reveals that the ancient territory of Kamtapur provided its place to develop the present region of Cooch Behar district in West Bengal. But, the Government of West Bengal fails to develop its socio-economic condition. Without formation of separate state of Kamtapur, KPP claims, the socio-economic, cultural and language development are not possible.⁵

- v) Drive for collecting the membership from ethnic group of Rajbanshi-Kshatriya and endeavour for expressing its organisation among the middle class.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANISATION

A deliberative Committee was formed to move of some principles and policies of KPP which by constitutional means endeavours to the determinant of Government. KPP was suprised and intrinsic membered by Mr. Atul Roy and Mr. Lalit Barman, Paresh Roy, Jagoda Nanda Roy, Nasir Ali Pramanick, Bani Madhab Singh etc. respectively. Under the utterance of Central Committee of KPP, the District Committee was sorganised at every district of North Bengal, e.g. the Cooch Behar district Committee was formed by the presidentship of Mr. Subhash Barman, followed the ends and principles to every districts of North Bengal.⁶

The Sikh's demand for autonomy or a separate sovereign state of "Khalistan" is resisted by the Indian government. At the outset it was a demand for greater state autonomy and freedom for Sikh religion. Gradually it became a separatist demand. The Sikh separatists have allegedly been provided

assistance from Pakistan and Sikhs living in various Western countries. Most sophisticated weapons are recovered from the terrorists. And no one can imagine the end of the Punjab crisis. It is both a religious and political war. When the terrorists failed to provoke the Hindus to retaliate on communal grounds, they used the methods of "mass massacre". Yet the Hindus were patient showing no signs of retribution against the Sikhs, except the Hindu backlash soon after the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in October 1984.

Ethnic conflict or other forms of sectarianism, Prof. Baral says, would be successful if certain conditions exist. First, there should be a powerful ethnic organisation to mobilise people and to articulate interest. Second, strong international solidarity and support are essential. Finally, a strong neighbour supporting the separatist movement can fuel and provide sustenance to the movement.⁷ A typical assertion of separatism is the case of Kamtapur intriguing as all the above stated conditions are doubted to exist for its success.

Both detective departments of central and state doubts, the secessionists' movements like Bodo organisation and ULFA of Assam select the spot as a peaceful platform for moving the movement. The mother organisation of KPP is Kuch Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samiti centred at Assam, endeavours to circulate the policy of separatism in North Bengal and Nepal among the members of Rajbanshi and Kshatriya community. Its main purpose is to articulate the resuscitated demands of Independence state of Kamtapur of the 15th century and formed a Kuch Rajbanshi Liberation Front. Department also doubts, the members of Kuch Rajbanshi Liberation Front have been taking the training from the secessionist movements of Assam and seek the only method of securing a chance of government ill decision. But, Mr. Atul Roy negates it and argues that "All" these are accusation of governments and endeavours to indolent the movement of KPP .

PARTICIPATION AND ARTICULATION

After the formation of KPP in 1995, 13 charter of demands' representation was sent to the Prime Minister of India and Chief Minister of West Bengal respectively and many other distinguished national offices. Let us discuss a few important points of demands of resolutions :

i) Vibration to constitute Kamtapuri Language

To drive away the columny of sub language of dialect by establishing the status quo of Kamtapuri language as a distinct, Kamtapur Bhasa O Sahitya parishad was introduced. A Bhasa (language) conference was inaugurated by K.B.S.P. assembled along with mob of son of soils, of Assam and North Bengal on 15-17 June, 1998 at Kumar Gram, Alipurduar.⁸ According to news, it is the first Bhasa conference where in a 15 members expert committee was formed for pertaining following resolutions :

a) Demand for inclusion of Kamtapuri language in the Eighth schedule of the Indian constitution ;

(b) To improve the mode of Kamtapuri literature, a three valedictory members - took liability to publish Dictionary, Grammer in language ;

(c) To awake about the status-quo of the Kamtapuri language, the drive for publishing of books, novels, pamphlets was taken ;

(d) Great persuasion of conceptual framework enriched itself language

publication should be taken into the resolution;

and

- (e) Circulating its importance and legacy of language group meeting, sitting and campaigning are taken in its principles.

To create a massive awareness a general assemble was held at Kalier Hat, Dhupguri on 3 May, 1998. Another conference was held on 21-22 December 1996 at Champasari, Siliguri assembled by important dignitaries.⁹ Same type of Seminerative discussion was held at Dhupguri High School primises for distinctive historical importance of Kamtapuri language on 23 September 1997. In discussion, Mr. Girindra narayan Roy says, "Language is identity of man; through which, unit of states, state and culture are formed who gets language, they capture the power." "He animated the creative, intelligent, preservance tendency of translating into written from a dialect of the colloquial, language. The diversity is the soul of culture, Freud says, "One touch of difference leads to racism. But a great deal of difference leads away from it irremediably,..... to equalize, democratized, homogenize pall such efforts will never manage to expel 'the triiest difference' seed of racial intolerance. For that one must pluralize, refine continuumously." Here, the pluralistic emphasis on group autonomy is justified.¹⁰ Asserting with the history of language agitation, as Dr. Ananda Gopal Ghosh says, in 1826 a language fight was held between Assam and Bengal, the commissioner administrative form of state was introduced in Assam in 1876 and Assaam got recommendation of Assamese language after agitating it. If they (Kamtapuri) demanded the then separate state, language and identity when about 9 lakh people would say in Kamtapuri dialect most perhaps, they had been got the recommendations. But, at that period, such kind of demand was

not arisen.¹¹ Nowhere, in the state are agitations move a part of life than in North Bengal. Movements of every variety - whether Tebhaga, Naxalbari or Gorkhaland - have not only caused anxiety but also disturbed the peace in the region. Now, the Kamtapuris are demanding a separate state based on a separate dialect and different cultural pattern. The Kamtapuri People's Party is spearheading the agitation.

Through the KPP's activities are limited to some isolated pockets, demonstrators called a 24 hour North Bengal bandh on 16 June, 1998.¹² That the state government was serioius about the issue was clear from the fact that it offered to hold talks and a seminar was organised recently on the Language, Culture and Socio-economic condition of North Bengal. The seminar had been organised by the Department of Information and Cultural Affairs. It began at Dinabandhu Mancha on 27 and 28 June, 1998.¹³ About 400 distinguished dignitaries attennt at seminar from different parts of North Bengal and it was started having chaired by V.C. of the University of North Bengal. West Bengal Home Minister, Mr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya, who attend the seminar, condemned secessionist tendencies and said the door were always open for talks on the Kamtapuri issue. Describing the aims and objectives of the seminar, Mr. Bhattacharya stressed the need for harmony amoing the various ethnic groups of North Bengal. The seminar assumes special meaning as it comes on the heels of an agitation by the Kamtapuri People's Party for a separate state in North Bengal. Instead of criticising the demand for a separate state, he acknowledged the importance of Rajbanshi, the language of the kamtapuris.¹⁴ Under the presidentship of Pabitra Sarkar of the Seminar, Mr. Sukhabelash Barma said, it is the endeavour to revive the cultural entity of Rajbanshi on the basis of aquaintance of its culture, language and identity.¹⁵

At the first day of a two-days seminar, Prof. Grindra Narayan Roy says, "Rajbanshi Society is advancing as much as sense of demand of self-respect is being displayed." Regarding the points of view, Dr. Satyen Barman says, that it is either a language or a dialect should be decided on the basis of time being.¹⁶ Besides these interpretations, the following proposals were produced to protect the language and culture of its to central fields of social studies and opened up new fields of study for subsequent generations :

- "i) Proponents, in its agenda note for the seminar, say, the concept of history of North Bengal literature should find due place in the curriculum for fifty(50) marks besides, a North Bengal Academy should need to produce;
- ii) A recommendations had been made by the experts of seminar set up a Monitoring cell attentively watch to formulation of daily news, Television.
- iii) A demand for retreat the word "Babe" from the Public Documents.
- iv) These will be placed in the Plan of action and the Government would try to work out a consensus plan of language.
- v) Besides these most of the proponents were interested to analyse an importance of socio-cultural base of ethnic groups of North Bengal ;

and

- vi) The Department of Information and cultural Affairs tried to douse the controversy over the government's reported move to North Bengal Development, language, culture.¹⁷

2. Demanded Kamtapur State

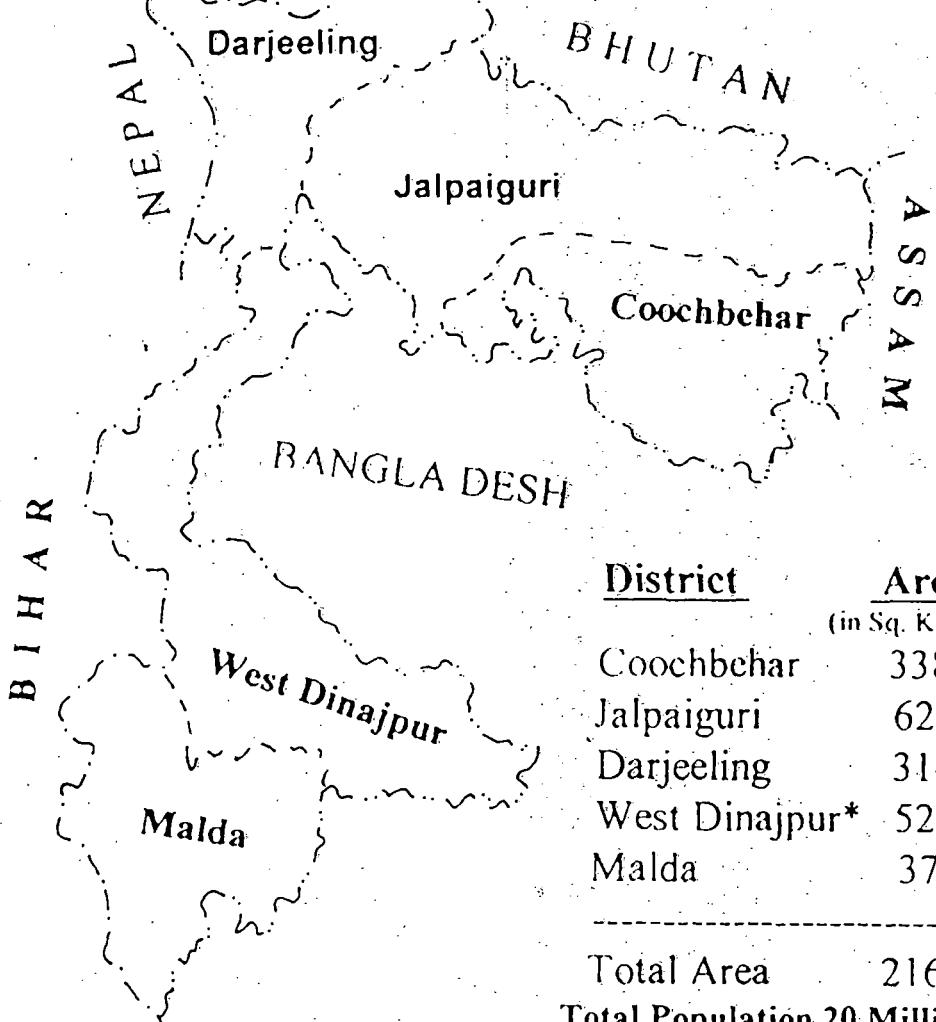
The demand is the first of its kind in the area : Kamtapur agitation rocked the North Bengal in 1980's excluding the area of Darjeeling hills by Uttarkhanda Dal and persists still. The trend of agitation gathers exhortation from Jalpesh mandir, Nayanaguri, Duars area of North Bengal. Kamtapur state has been being demanded by various regional dals since. In 1995 the Kamtapur Peoples' Party was formed and assembled with a list of 10 demands, in the demand of Kamtapur Separate State at Shibmandir, Darjeeling on 28 March 1997.¹⁸ On the basis of resolutions and deliberations, the KPP has submitted a list of 10 demands to the Chief Minister of West Bengal : demand for a Kamtapur separate state, drive out foreigners, constitutional recognition to the Kamtapuri language, broadcasting all programmes at Siliguri Akash bani and Doordharshan through Kamtapuri language, demand for found the Kendriya Vidyalaya at Cooch Behar, nationalisation of Tista Project etc.

The KPP has submitted a list of 11 demands to the Prime Minister of India including the demand of separate Kamtapur State on 28 September 1997. A celebrative representation has also submitted to Divisional Commissioner of North Bengal, Jalpaiguri an 11 point, where they wanted to hold a rally in support of the proposed demand of separate state adding with slogan. "No Kamtapur, no rest." Another a rally has been assembled, the president of party deals with to realise the demand in lieue of blood, where preface of party, "Kamtapur voice"s are sold.¹⁹

In support of separate Kamtapur state a cycle rally and demonstration had been followed a circumambulation around of districts, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Malda and both districts of Dinajpur separately.²⁰ In

PROPOSED KAMTAPUR STATE

Map No. 7.1 / SIKKIM



* West Dinajpur district divided
into two districts: Dakshin
Dinajpur and Uttar Dinajpur

12th general election, KPP gave the candidates in each seats of North Bengal but, in the Panchayat election not participated.²¹ the KPP blocked national Highway 31 at Shivmandir on 12 June, 1997 holding up traffic . It was called a 24 hour North Bengal bandh on 16 June to press its demand. The agitators claimed the local administration had stopped them from entering Siliguri, when they wanted to hold a rally in support of the proposed. The KPP, with supporters on 20 trucks, were stopped on the outskirts of Siliguri. KPP leaders said the proposed bondh was called in support of an 11 point charter of demands for the creation of a Kamtapouri state and constitutional recognition of the kamtapuri language and their organisation did not recognise the West Bengal government's authority over North Bengal since the area in question "was a separate state".

The KPP has been active in these parts for quite some time. Police had failed a demonstration they had planned when the Chief Minister attended a rally at Shivmandir in February, 1997, before the Lok Sabha elections. They had rigged up a makeshift gate that said : "Welcome to Kamtapur state Mr. Jyoti Basu."²²

The then chairman of left front, Mr. Sailen Dasgupta, who was narrating local people, said to foil the bandh and stand against it.²³ In against the bandh, the state rural Development Minister and leader of Darjeeling, Mr. Ashok Bhattacharjee commented, "It is the agitation of the despondency men, it is an unreasonable and not a historical so far."²⁴

The 24 hour North Bengal bandh evoked a mixed response on 16 June 1998 as KPP supporters turned violent in the Siliguri sub-division and Jalpaiguri district. Most shops and schools were closed in Siliguri sub-division and vehicles stayed off the road. Nearly all shops and business establishments remained

closed. Government employees, however, turned up for work. Later in the day, Outskirts of Siliguri town limped back to normalcy. The bandh had no impact in the three hill sub-division and in the tea plantations. The bandh also had no effect in Cooch Behar district, while considered a KPP stronghold. In Jalpaiguri district, agitators burnt on Assam State Transport "corporation Bus and another of the North Bengal State Transport Corporation. KPP supporters went on the rampage at Dhupguri, Maynaguri and Kumargram of Alipurduar subdivision of Jalpaiguri.²⁵ Widespread violence marked the 24 North Bengal bandh, 56 persons were arrested from Siliguri Sub-division and parts of Jalpaiguri districts. IN a complaint to the Sabhadhipathi of Siliguri Mahakuma Parishad, the Tera Tea Planters Association has alleged that KPP has demanded huge sums of money fom tea gardens in the Terai region. Seeking protection, the TTPA has also alleged that KPP supporters were instigating tea garden workers to indulge in anti establishment activities.²⁶

Naxalbari Police arrested Mr. Atul Roy, President of Central Committee of KPP, district President and two other leaders of KPP of Darjeeling on charges of extortion from tea gardens in the Terai region and for instigating violence during the KPP bandh on 16 June 1998.²⁷ The Col-ML lead, Mr. Kanu Sanyal has demanded a judicial probe into the police 12 rounds firing to the agitators at Batasi during the KPP bandh on 16 June 1998. Demanding the immediate release of all arrested KPP activities. Mr. Sanyal said, he planned to meet the chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, and seek his intervention to establish peace and law and order in North Bengal, because police were terrorising people in villages and forcing men to flee their homes after the 16 June incident. He rejected the statehood demand of the KPP and the Uttarkhanda Dall as "Illegal", since the Kamtapur Kingdom had ceased to exist long ago and its people had assimilated with the rest of the populace.²⁸

Another the 24 hours North Bengal bandh was called by the All Kamtapur Student's Union and supported by the Kamtapur people's party in demand of recognition of Kamtapuri language and preservation of Kamtapuri culture and heritage on 11 September, 1998.²⁹ It was also supported Kamtapur Women's Rights forum.³⁰ Despite stringent police bandobast in key areas a state one was damaged near the medical college and other bus at Kapaldaugga, Cooch Behar.³¹ The bandh had no effect in Cooch Behar, Malda, Dinajpur. Altogether 210 AKSU and KPP activists were arrested from different parts of the Siliguri sub-division. The Matigara police arrested 30 AKSU supporters from North Bengal University premises. The impact of the bandh was most felt at shivmandir and Kumargram of Alipurduar subdivision of the Jalpaiguri. In Siliguri proper, the bandh evoked little response.³²

At present, the problem of Kamtapur had suffered neglect at the hands of successive governments. The problem needs immediate attention.

3. Refugee Problem

The issues of citizenship, illegal immigration and stateless persons overlap. So, the treaties signed or accords reached by various governments are interspersed with causes, consequences, and implications of migration. The Assam agitation, followed by similar movement against "foreigners" in Meghalaya displacing thousands of Nepalis and others from there, was related to the increase of population due to uncontrolled migration. But the strategy of Assam student leaders was to invoke Assamese sub-nationalism with which to mobilise the masses for forceful bargaining with the central government. After a series of protracted negotiations for finding out an acceptable base year (cut off year) for granting citizenship and for detection and deportation of "foreigners", an accord

was reached between the student leaders and the centre on August 15, 1985. All the negotiations since 1980 concentrated on the detection on the basis of the constitution and the relevant laws, namely, the citizenship Act, 1955, the Foreigners Act 1946, and the Passport Act, 1952.³³

The memorandum of KPP explicitly states the, "Profound since apprehension regarding the influx of foreign bations into North Bengal and fear about adverse effects on the political, social economic and cultural life of North Bengal.³⁴ Apart from the demand for a separate state, comprising North Bengal districts and parts of Assasm, the Kamtapuris have been insisting on the de tection of foreigners' name from the voter's list with 1971 as the cut-off year. They have demanded the introduction of an inner permit to check the influx of foreigners.³⁵

By far the most important factor affecting the Bengali psyche has been partition. Even after five decades, the trauma continues. Till same years back some 2000 Bangladeshi nationals from across the border infiltrated everyday into west Bengal. A matter of sentiment was in course of time made into a political plank to inflate the vote bank. It was forgotten that a geographical boundary with a certain number of inhabitants cannot be a state for Bengalis, irrespective of their place of birth or religion.³⁶

The West Bengal government is serious about the kamtapuri demand for a separate state is clear from the fact that it has offered to hold talks: "the s door was always open for dialogue" says Mr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya on the 27-28 June 1998 seminar on the language, culture and socio-economic condition of North Bengal organised by the Department of Information and Cultural Affairs at Dinabandhu Mancha, siliguri.³⁷ But, political experts feel the acceptance of

this demand will only encourage secessionism.

B. AAKSU : Idollogical aspects and its articulations

Acknowledging UKD its mother organisation, All Kamtapur Student's Union was composed of School, College, University Students. AKSU started his end of protestant activities against anti-social ailments, in rural level and protective measures for enduring socio-cultural norms of Rajbanshi. AKSU demands that it is a non-political association, a union of socio-cultural reformation. to increase the value of socio-economic and cultural patterns of Rajbanshi it proceeds to save from corrupt culture as a path-finder of Rajbanshi society.

To attain such ends and purposes of the Union, a new committee was reformed at village, Pakhalu para, Rajganj by a secret meeting demolishing the old Committee under the Bhati nagar police station of Jalpaiguri. For the post of presidentship and secretariate of a new committee of AKSU were nominated by Mr. Vishnu Mohan Patswary and Mr. Khajendra Narayan-Singha respectively.³⁸ To content massive improvement of Union's ends and ideologies at the rural level, a committee was formed for each districts of North Bengal separately, and it also formed at block level and village level respectively.³⁹ It has a white party flag delineated with a buckler and sword in middle.

Being doubted about the term of "Kamtapur" the scheduled conference of AKSU was resisted by order to draw at the playground in front Kumar gram police station on 20 December 1995. At this time, it is enlisted as a terrorist regiment by police. Being former accountable involvement with AKSU, in the same way, "Testa film Society was not permitted to commence its functions.⁴⁰

During this period, AKSU started promptitude is doing unity among the members in Cooch Behar District TUI KAY - AKSU, MUI KAYAKSU, JAKRAY KAY - AKSU (who says AKSU, who is I - AKSU, who articulates - AKSU) is AKSU's slogan. Raising the slogan its overspreading promptness forms at Mathabhanga subdivision of Cooch Behar evidently. Indenting of meeting and processions of AKSu are organised not only in Cooch Behar but also near Jalpaiguri district when formulation of policies acquanited with ideology of Union at Kumar Gram Village of Alipurduar police station a friction was happened between AKSU and C P M⁴¹

On 30 June, 1997 at Goswaihat under Durguri block, a two day conference was held at Raja Mohan High School where a list of 13 demands was taken as follows :

- "1) Demand for recognition of Kamtapuri as a language in the constitution of India.
- ii) Demand for introduction of Kamtapur Education Board of Secondary and High Secondary instead of West Bengal Board of Secondary Education and West Bengal council of Secondary Education respectively.
- iii) From primary to graduatioinal level of education, the medium should demand be read in Kamtapuri language;
- iv) 80% (percent of total programmes of Radio and T.V. of North Bengal Zone should be drawn on Kamtapuri Culture and mode of living of Kamtapuris.
- v) Demand for declaratioin national holiday on the birth day of Thakur

Panchanan, Abhas uddin and Chilla Roy with regards.

vi) Demand for security of culture and ethnicity of Kamtapuri from anti-cultural trend through governmental protective initiation.

vii) 70% seats should demand be reserved for Kamtapuri students in North Bengal Medical College, North Bengal University, Engineering College, Training College.

viii) To introduction a new university at Cooch Behar should demand be entitled as Thakur Panchanan University.

ix) Demand for drive out refugees who came in 1971 from foreign countries.⁴²

Articulation of Autonomous administration is added in the resolution of AKSU. To attain the ends of demand, the several ethnic groups are assembled at different parts of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar is doubted by respective department of West Bengal Government. the source of information is dealt with it has made of a new collaboration with Dooars Jharkhand and Gorkha Associations. To attain the ends of Autonomous administration all ethnic groups agitates jointly in entire area of North Bengal. By creating unsteady, ardour situation, the ethnic groups strengthen their demands of autonomous administration. to quick its andolon (revolution) the groups envisages its agitation on brutist way .

Besides these, demand for introduction of panchayat Raj at tea plant

areas and localities of forest of North Bengal, full pay holiday of tea plants labours, introduction of Kamtapuri and adhibashi language in the North Bengal University as means of medium, to improve agriculture and industry base of economy of North Bengal total revenue of North Bengal from all means of sources should demand be invested evidently. It is said that Samajbadi Jana parishad was newly formed and also added with the agitation of Autonomous administration of North Bengal.

Oppression against Scheduled Caste Rajbanshi is claimed that endeavour of withdrawn the Rajbanshi from the lists of Scheduled Castes with a protection by Kshatriya society. The people of Cooch Behar irrespective of Caste and creed now, do not like to remain under the government of West Bengal due to political economical and cultural ground. The demand for separation of Cooch Behar State under Art 3 of the constitution of India as the present government of West Bengal fails to keep the assurance to ameliorate socio-economic condition of Cooch Behar. It is fact that more than 80% people of Cooch Behar now have been living under poverty line. At present they have no other alternative but it fail a writ petition to the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India under Art 32 of the constitution of India to convert Cooch Behar to Union Territory as per agreement and assurance to the government of India which was made on 11th September, 1949.⁴³

Campaign for Self - rule

Bandh - Weary North Bengal faces yet another threat of disruption to its normal rhythm. This time from the Kamtapur people's Party which has called a two day - on 12 and 13 May 1999 bandh throughout the region in support of a demand that seems to have been resurrected from oblivion over past year -

the carving out of a separate Kamtapur state from the six districts of West Bengal lying to the north of the Ganga.

Much as this region is used to bands being called on the slightest pretext by different political parties, it has also suffered the threat of being splintered as various groupings, fired by the sense of exclusion from key centres of power, clamour for chunks of the region in the campaign for self-rule.

Perhaps what makes North Bengal so susceptible to such political disaffection is the representation of multi-ethnic aspirations. The cauldron might not have quite reached boiling-point, but it is certainly simmering. And here it is the different languages spoken by the different ethnic communities that is slowly but surely shaping the altogether essential axis of sub-national conflict. Such a perception seems to have so designed itself that it forms the base for the demarcation of autonomous political entities. The outcome : the Kamtapur peoples' party, the Uttarkhand Dal and the Gorkha National Liberation Front (in the Darjeeling hills).

Though the clamour for self-rule - which in this case means the fracturing of West Bengal into separate geographical units - has over the past few years merged into the political soundscape of North Bengal, the first tremors were felt in the Darjeeling hills. Since then the violence - splattered Gorkhaland agitation of the mid '80s took off at a tangent but not before West Bengal went through with its maiden experiment in the setting up of an autonomous council. The ripples created in the hills seemed to rekindle the political aspirations of the ethnic groupings in the plains, self-reinforcing eddies of primordial discontent, and opening up a new chapter in the campaign of the Kamtapur Peoples' Party.

This happened a year ago; at a time when there seemed to be emerging - at least in Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts - a sort of para-politics of clashing public identities and ethno centric aspirations. Among other things that it sparked off were the demands by ethnic groupings like the Mech and the Rajbanshi for recognition of their respective languages in local schools and universities. Not that the political unrest in the neighbouring Bodoland Autonomous council areas have had no influence on the local ethnic communities in the two districts.

Students assumed positions at the front line in this upsurge of ethnic consciousness, with the local language of the minorities suddenly developing a coerciveness of their own. and coming into existence, within a few years after the formation of the All Bodo Students' Union, as if on cue, was the All Kamatapur Students' Union in the Plains and the All Gorkha Students' Union in the hills. The local language and its recognition soon became not so much a question of lingua franca than a political idiom with linguistic conflicts tending to emerge in the form of crises in education centres, as distinct and distant from the usual areas of political combat.

Egged on by the AKSU, the Kamtapur Peoples' party fired its first salvo at the administration by calling for a bandh throughout North Bengal on 16 June 1998 under flak was Writers' Building, charged for its Calcutta centricity. And though, according to local reports, the bandh did not elicit much of a response, the leadership engaged itself in a long-drawn-out process of reassemblage to make its first attempt at capturing power by participating in the panchayat polls held in the Siliguri subdivision in April 1999. For a debutant in electoral politics, the results were not discouraging. The party captured 18 gram panchayat seats, mainly in the Matigara and Naxalbari areas, and came a

surprisingly close second in a few others, giving a few moments of worry even to formidable opponents like the CPIM..

The ruling Left Front's anxieties have only been accentuated by the ethnic maelstrom in North Bengal as these communities remain vulnerable to resentments buried within primordial loyalties, even though the possibilities of social reform and material progress rest on their integration into a well-ordered polity. The triumph of regional outfits in the March Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council elections was not only a washout for the national parties in the fray but also provided new impetus to the ethnic groupings in the plains for at least seeking electoral reckoning.⁴⁴

The public rally held by the Kamtapur Peoples' Party and the AKSU at Madhabhanga in the Mayanaguri area of the Dooars in the first week of May 1999, was, according to reports, the "biggest attended meeting held in North Bengal at Atharokhai, Shivmandir so far." It was there that the speakers called for a two day bandh beginning from 12 May 1999 in the region.⁴⁵

The Congress, like the Left, is opposing the bandh call even though it continues to blame the Left Front for, in the words of a party leaders, "encouraging the emergence of divisive forces like the KPP through its failure to fulfil its promises to the people during 22 years of its rule."⁴⁶ Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar police are tightening up security for the 12-13 May, 1999 and the Left parties are trying to build up public opinion against it.⁴⁷ The bandh had only a marginal effect on normal life in the towns, but evoked some support in rural areas, particularly in Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts and parts of Siliguri sub-division. It was called in support of the twin demands of separate state and the introduction of Kamtapuri as a medium of instruction. Additional forces have

been requisitioned to help police maintain law and order through the two bandh days.⁴⁸ The bandh, according to party leaders, was enough to mobilise the Kamatapuri people in the region and declared as a "historical phenomenon."⁴⁹

Recently a delegation of AKSU leaders had gone to Delhi to submit a memorandum to the President of India demanding constitutional recognition of the kamtapouri Language including to charter of demands as follows :

"i) direct the state of West Bengal to recognise Kamatapouri language of at least 67 lakhs inhabitants of 21,784 sq.km. of former Cooch Behar Part 'C' state under article 347 of the constitution of India and simultaneously appoint a Special Officer under article 350B subject to such officer being acceptable for us ,

ii, Central Government scheme to educate the children of Kamtapuri people in their mother language, be introduced under Central Supervision.

iii. as a token of such recognition by Government of India introduce 2 hours time daily to broadcast didactic programmes in Kamtapouri on farming, economy, talks and other indigenous cultural AIR sessions instead of broadcasting pop music foreign to our listeners with limited programme on Television;

iv) ensure local development by creating employment under the Government with 70 per cent over all reservation for indigenous Kamatapuri young men and women.

v) direct that trade and industry notify all job vacancies to Employment

Exchange and prevent direct appointment by depriving eligible local and indigenous unemployed persons.

vi. ensure financial assistance to indigenous entrepreneurs in trade and industrial projects,

vii. ask the State Government of West Bengal to grant State Holidays on the Birthday of Vishwa Mahabir Chilarai on Maghi Purnima Day and name of portion of National High way (Siliguri to Cooch Behar) in memory of the greatest Kamatapouri Hero Chilarai.

viii. direct that North Bengal University be renamed after Maharaj narayanan who was the greatest learned king of kamtapur, who spread learning;

ix. direct that the ancient Cooch Behar Raj Palace, Gosanimari Rajpat and other antiquarian and archaeological heritage be protected and the whole of the Cooch Behar Palace be preserved as Kamtapur Museum (instead of being made a Hotel as contemplated)."

x. In the ensuring census of the people of the districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, all 3 (South, North and West) dinajpur and Malda with mother tongue and citizenship be correctly enumerated by compulsorily employing one indigenous enumerated on each batch of workers.

Besides these charter of demands, AKSU demands to control of the Union over the West Bengal in respect of identity, culture, language and equal treatment of Kamatapouri people of erstwhile Cooch Behar part 'C' State.⁵⁰

However, there was no specific commitment from centre. Not to forget that the bandh will be yet another demonstration of the quickening ethnocentric aspiration in this region that is North Bengal, with its indigenous population of Rajbanshis who form the spine of the Kamtapur movement.

C. UUSM : IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS AND ITS ARTICULATIONS

The new forum will press for a Uttar Banga Unayyan Parisad, the Uttar Banga Unayyan Sangram Mancha was set up at a two-day convention which ended on 22 December 1996 at Ananda Model High School, Jalpaiguri for an autonomous planning board with executive power for the region of North Bengal. Six organisations have jointly set up a common body. "Uttar Banga Unayyan Sangram Mancha". The six organisations are :

- * Forward Bloc (S)

- * Cooch Behar Rajbanshi Youth Organisation

- * Samajwadi Jana parishad

- * Uttar Banga Tapasili Jati O Adibasi Sangathan

and

- * Two CPI (M-L) factions, including the one led by Mr. Kanu Sanyal.

A general body with 18 members from the six organisations (including with President and Secretary for each organisation) was formed and a steering committee with six members under the Chairmanship of Mr. Kamal Guha, General Secretary of F.B.(S) and former Agricultural Minister of West Bengal

for socio-economic development of North Bengal.⁵¹ Mr. Kamal Guha of the Forward Bloc (S.), the firebrand leader, who was minister in successive Left Front Governments, had expelled from the Forward Bloc for his virulent criticism of Mr. Jyoti Basu over the creation of the Tinbigha Corridor.⁵²

Ends and Principles

For a Uttar Banga Unayyan Parsad, Manch took resolutions for pertaining following ends and principles :

- i. Each dal or organisation will exercise the role distinctly according to its ends and ideology of the Manch ;
- ii) These who are agitating for economic and social development of North Bengal, such kinds of individuals and organisations are to be welcome as co-sharer endeavour except the regionalism has been tended to ally itself with parochialism, communalism, intolerance, bigotry, persecution of minorities, capitalism and narrowness.
- iii. New membership should be accepted in the Manch on the recommendation of the general body.⁵³

Plans and Programmes

Since independence, the region of North Bengal was not only neglected in the field of socio-economic and political but also crisis of ethno-cultural identity, without autonomous Development Council, the improvement of independent tradition and history, geographical environment, socio-economic condition and political structure of North Bengal should not be possible, Manch articulates that its agitation will be started at grassroot levels.⁵⁴ The articulation of formation

of Uttar Banga Unayyan parsad is not a new agitation, but it was as risen under the platform of UTJAS firstly, at present it is being resusciated by the Uttar Banga Unayyan Mancha.⁵⁵

At present a press conference a Jalpaiguri Circuit House on 23 December, 1996, Mr. Guha said, the Manch will hold a citizens convention at Dhupguri on February 9, at Cooch Behar on February 20, at Raiganj (North Dinajpur) on March 16, in Berhampur on March 17, 1997. It will organise a rally on March 23 in Siliguri. According to pre-plan scheduled of Manch, a general meeting was held at Cooch Behar Rash Mela maiden on 20 February 1997, where Mr. Guha, chairman of Manch, Mrs. Ranjana Roy, President of UTJAS and leaders of CPI (M-L), Samajvadi Jana Parishad, Rajbanshi Youth Association dealt their revolutionary speech to implicate the people for assemblage to uttarbanga Unnayyan Parsad. to carry into effect of its Sangram a general meeting was held in Siliguri and Jalpaiguri on 30th March and 18 November, 1997 respectively.⁵⁶ All leaders dealt with strategy of parsad, demanding an autonomous planning Board for North Bengal and fighting Sankosh canal project in North Bengal. to urge people of North Bengal about review of Sankosh canal project, a cycle rally was started from Balurghat on 9 November 1997, a decision was taken in the general meeting of the Manch and finished at Barobisa via Jalpaiguri, Mayanaguri, Dhupguri, Khagenhat, Jateswar, Tapsikata, Alipourduar, Majit kana.⁵⁷

Once the project is completed, West Bengal is expected to receive about 12000 cusecs of water daily from the Sankosh - Teesta rivers to help the State Government make up partially for the Gnaga water to be shared with Bangladesh at Farakka.⁵⁸ According to the proposed project, a 143 km long canal will be

dug from the Bhutan point of the river to the Teesta barrage. The implementation of the project is threatening to turn the entire Sankosh Gangadhar basin, along with Golakganj under Dhubri district, Kokrajhar district and its adjoining areas as well as eastern Cooch Behar into a stretch of barren land. Water from the Gangadhar river is used by the farmers in the area. It is diverted to fulfil the commitment made by India in the Indo Bangla treaty on sharing of Ganga waters, it will have disastrous effects on those who practise agriculture in this particular area.⁵⁹ The canal will acquire to damage about 1144.16 hectares forest land, 196.18 hectares tea garden, 342.52 hectares paddy land. This canal will cross over big 8 rivers - Raidak Gangadhar one and two, Nonai, Kaljani, Torsa, Daina and Jaldkaha and endanger the life of 21 thousand people.⁶⁰

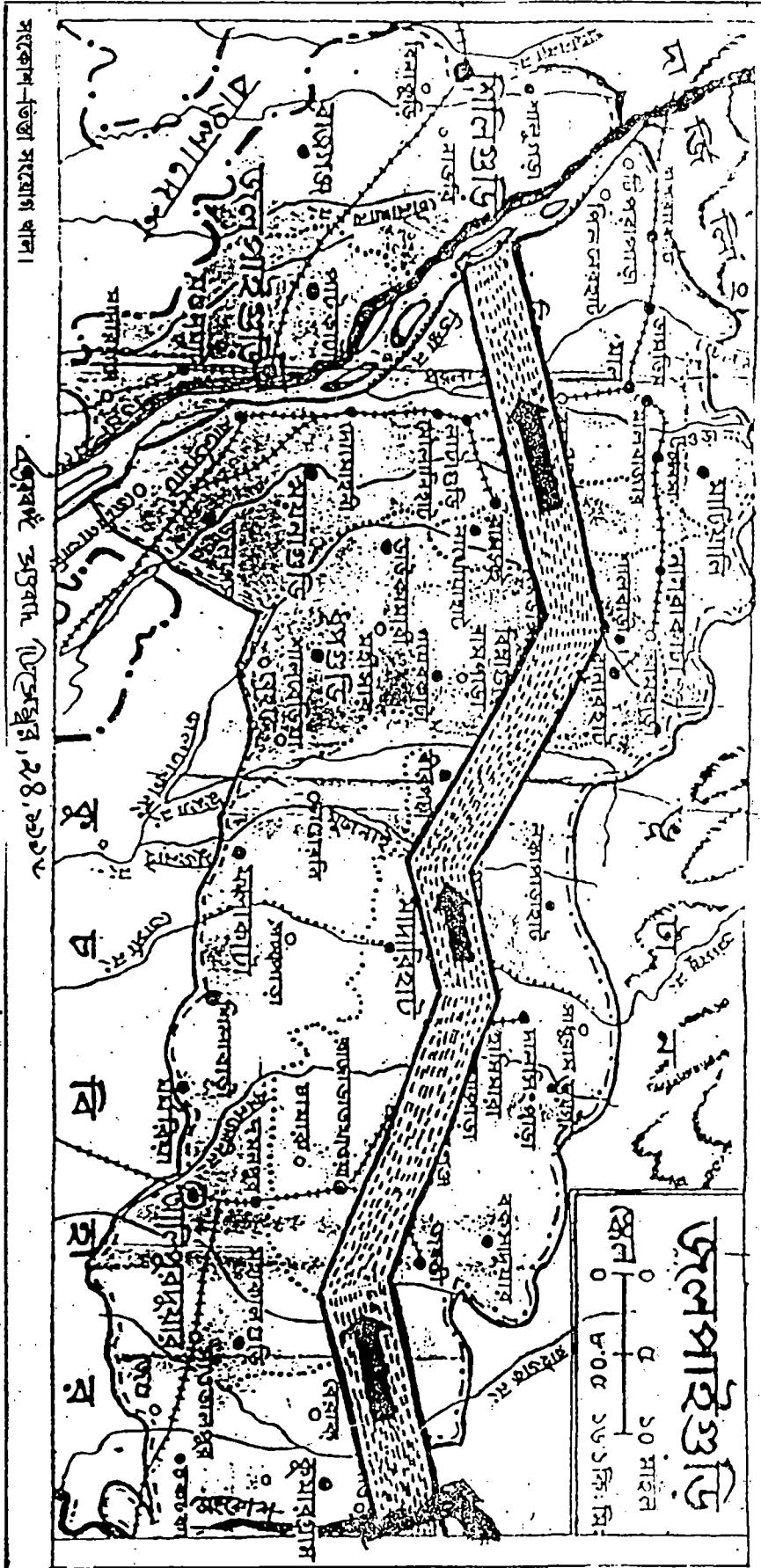
If implemented, the Sankosh project will have a catastrophic impact on the economy. The proposed 120m canal will pass through the core area of the Buxa Tiger Reserve, Jaldapara Wildlife Sanctuary, Gorumara National Park and Hasimara forest. The implementation of the project will have adverse effects on the habitat of a highly endangered species. The elephants, for instance, which have been travelling between Assam, Bhutan and North Bengal will suffer most. According to environmentalists, the project is a matter for great concern because, one of the feeder channels (of the Sankosh river) will cut across the three reserve forest areas. S C Das additional inspector general, forests, says that fears about the consequences of this huge project have already been expressed by the Tiger Crisis Cell and the Steering Committee of Project Elephant, "We cannot allow the only home of rhinos, elephants and other wild animals in West Bengal to be disturbed by this project at any cost."⁶¹

The present uncertainty over the project has been sparked by a note sent to the Ministry of External Affairs by the office of the Additional Inspector

Map No. 7.2

ଶ୍ରୀମଦ୍ଭଗବତ

२०८ माहिती



मरकोश-ठिङ्गा मरयोग थान।

ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଅଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷାତା ଉପରେକ୍ଷନ, ୨୫, ଜୁଲାଇ

General of forests, under the Ministry of Environment and Forests, in New Delhi recently. the External Affairs Ministry has been asked to reconsider the project.

The reason:

i. if constructed, the project would endanger the environment in large areas of North Bengal ;

and

ii. If constructed, the damage would affect Buxa Tiger Reserve, Jaldapara Wild life Sanctuary and Gorumara National Park located in the region.

A copy of the note has been also sent to the State Government. According to a Senior State official of Writers' Buildings, the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests has been written that these national Parks are, "very important projected areas of North Bengal, with a sizeable population of tigers, elephants, bisonsn and flors and fauna we cannot allow the only home of the wild rhinoceros in West Bengal to be disturbed by the project."⁶² "Any development work which could effect the conservation of these highly endangered species in these prime projected areas should be excluded," the note added and Manch also articulated.

Frayed Edges for Sustenance

Development of North Bengal or lack of it is now a much debated subject. And as the political parties remain locked in claims and rejections life is any thing but blissful. Bandhs are called at will, days are wasted in unproductive exercise and development takes a backseat. The overriding feeling being that

its nobody's concern !

Let us take a look at how they work at cross-purposes. In 1998, the West Bengal Government proposed setting up a North Bengal Development Board with sanctioning Rs. 45 crore.⁶³ But in the year of 1999 budget session, finance minister Mr. Ashim Dasgupta chose to put it on hold ! This is certainly not evidence of good governance. similarly, Forward Bloc (S) leader Mr. Kamal guha's demand for an autonomous planning board (with executive power) for autonomous planning board (with executive power) for the region has not washed with the people either . On the 23th March 1999, the 24 hour North Bengal bandh was called by the Forward Bloc (S) and supported by the Congress (a two-day convention, April 11 and 12, 1998 of the Secular Democratic Front, comprising the Congressa and the Forward Bloc (S), demanded a development council for North Bengal and a Bill for autonomy in this area. The front has rejected the twin proposals of a Gorkhaland state a much favoured demand with the political organisation of the Darjeeling hills and that of a Kamtapur state which has begun to snowball in the plains areas of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts including partts of Assam). demanding an autonomous planning board for North Bengal comprising with Peoples' representatives and intelligentsia of North Bengal as members for the past few years. "The parthy is all the more glarring " is clear that no representation from North Bengal in the 12 member state planning Board headed by Mr. Jyoti Basu.⁶⁴

However, if "Boards" and "Council's " are agencies for development, non-representation in the state planning broad might have robbed North Bengal of its share of benefits. It is in desperate search for a forum !

True, North Bengal is racefully lacking in infrastructure and job opportunities but its potential cannot be want only ignored. While tea and timber contribute significantly to government coffers, there has hardly been any effort to develop these industries. Mr. Kamal guha has claimed that out of 1.3 million agricultural hectares in North Bengal, 200,000 hectares have already been lost to soil erosion tea gardens, and the land acquired by the BSF to set up camps and otherwise. As a result, more and more people belonging to the agrarian community are leaving their villages in search of manual labour, an avenue which is again becoming constricted because of free infiltration from Bangladesh. similar views have also been expressed recently by some Naxalite organisationss and the transferred Area Suryapuri Organisation. The latter is active in the Islampur and Chopra areas in North Dinajpur. there are also apprehensions that another peasant upheaval may break out soon unless the situation is handled carefully. And that is speaking just about the plains areas of North Bengal. Blessed with the most beautiful mountain formation in the world, North Bengal has not been able to exploit it and earn the magic rupee.

Speaking about development, the Federation of Chambers of commerce and Industry, North Bengal, the apex business organisation in the region, feels the prospects in North Bengal are tremendous. While the climate conditions are just about right in the hills to set up precision industries, the plains are ideal for agro-based and value added product units. Besides proper utilisation of land and raw material available in the region, such ventures will create job opportunities by the thousands. In this context, fociin Secretary, Biswajit Das says repeated appeals to the State government to pout more accent on the region and set up one mother industry in each of the six districts of North Bengal which would facilitate the growth of ancillary indistries, has fallen on deaf years. Tax concession is, however, the only positive sign.

Then there is the role of the banks and financial institutions, pathetic enough as to be found wanting. While the small scale sector finds the going increasingly tough because of the negative attitude of bankers, the credit deposit ratio for the state in general and North Bengal in particular is quite low. While there are no industrial cells in the banks to deal with matters of small-scale units, there is no office of the Bureau of Indian Standards to upgrade the quality of SSI products, Das says.

Tourism is another sector which remains undernourished, starting from the historic ruins of Gour-Malda to the wilderness to the Dooars and then the blue mountain yonder. North Bengal's biggest potential lies in this direction.⁶⁵ Despite its rich heritage, Cooch Behar still has to find a place on the tourism map of the State "Even though the government has taken some steps to preserve historical sites and monuments, a lot remains to be done", says Tapas Bakshi, a State Bank of India Official. The existence of jheels and rivers in the area provide opportunities for boating, fishing and water sports. Not many has been to or even heard of Rasik Beel, the largest majority bird sanctuary of North Bengal. Spread over 2500 ha, the sanctuary needs proper care and maintenance to attract tourists, says a forest department official.⁶⁶ With the Government thinking of a heritage tour package areas like Gosanimari and Rasik Beel may form part of it, Inspite of its importance, the archaeological excavation of the mound at Gosanimari began almost five centuries later.⁶⁷ A team of 20 specialists of Archaeological survey of India, Calcutta circle excavation was started under the supervision of Mr. Shimadri Behari Ota, Director of West Bengal on 20 March 1999.⁶⁸ It is another instance of collective apathy. Naba Bidhan Brahma Mandir, the century old temple of cooch Behar is in a decrepit condition thanks to the negligence of the Debottar (Religious) Trust Board of the town, district Planning committee, Department of tourism, Government of West Bengal and a section

of local public representatives.⁶⁹

But all too sadly neglected, whatever haphazard growth has taken fails to attract more than a crowd on a shoestring budget. Those who depend on the trade, still live off whatever attraction was introduced by the British. When there are the ponderables like "what could have been" and "what has not been", on the one hand, there are two sureties on the other which spell doom for North Bengal every year. Landslide in the hills, floods in the plains. Granted than natural disasters are beyond human control, timely steps and measures can limit the damage. Temporary measures are taken when these disasters can hardly check the loss of life, property and crop.⁷⁰

The problems are one too many and with the changing demographic pattern in North Bengal, these are getting all the more complex. It is time the problems were addressed in the true since word, for a frayed edges are already showing.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. The resolution of KPP, 1995, Shibmandir, Darjeeling.
2. Uttarbanga Sambad, (Siliguri) 16 April 1998.
3. IBID, 10 June, 1998.
4. Cooch Behar : world Heritage Week; 19-25 Nov., 1995; Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta Circle, G.P.O. Building.
5. Uttarbanga Sambad, 10 June, 1998.
6. IBID, 13 January, 1997.
7. Lok Raj Baral - The south Asian Case : REGIONAL MIGRATIONS ETHNICITY AND SECURITY , NEW DELHI, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1990, page 105.
8. Uttarbanga Sambad, 16 April, 1998.
9. IBID - 11 December 1996, A conference on Kamtapuri language was held on 21-22 Dec., 1996 assembled by Dr. Girija Sankar Roy (Principal of Vivekananda College, Alipourduar), Mr. Giren Roy (Professor of english Deptt, NBU); Ananda Gopal Ghosh (NBU), Darmanarayan Barman (teacher) etc.
10. Ghirendra Narayan Roy : Let man to write own language (MANUSKA NIJAR BHASA LIKHTA DIN); (Jananath) Uttarbanga Sambad (Siliguri), 22 Nov., 1997.
11. IBID, 24 Sept. 1997.

12. The Statesman, "Separatist at it again" 7 July, 1958.
13. Leaflet : A seminar on Language, Culture, and Socio-economic condition of North Bengal organised by Department of Information and Cultural Affairs at Dinabandhu Mancha on 27 and 28 June 1998 announced and circulated by personnel of Denobandhu Mancha, Department of Information and Cultural Affairs, Siliguri; Darjeeling.
14. The Statesman, "Budhadev Concerned over separatism in North Bengal", 28 June, 1998.
15. Sukbelash Barma : Language - Dialect of North Bengal (leaflet), circulated and distributed at seminar on 27 and 28 June, 1998.
16. Uttarbanga Sambad, 28 June, 98.
17. IBID - 29 June, 1998.
18. KPP resolution : is taken on Shibmandir assembled including all party members with undersigned on 28 March 1997. It is also published in the Uttarbanga Sambad on 29 March 1997.
19. Uttarbanga Sambad (Siliguri), 29 September 1997. A delebrator letter, which was submitted to Divisional commissioner, Jalpaiguri dated 28 September 1997 undersigned by president of KPP.
20. IBID, 26 August, 1997,
21. IBID, 24 December, 1997.
22. The Statesman, 13 June, 1998.
23. Uttarbanga Sambad, 16 June, 1998

24. IBID, 15 June 1998.25. The Statesman: "North Bengal Bandh Supporters turn violent". 17 June, 1998.
26. IBID. Kamtapur Party Calls off bandh; 21 June, 1998.
27. IBID. KPP President hold in Naxalbari, 23 June, 1998.
28. IBID. "Office-bearers of AKSU resign; 22 June, 1998.
29. IBID. 'North Bengal evokes little response in Siliguri, 12 September 1998.
30. Uttarbanga Sambad; 21 August, 1998.
31. IBID. 22 September 1998.
32. The Statesman, 22 Septemper 1998.
33. Lok Raj Baral : REGIONAL MIGRATIONS ETHNICITY AND SECURITY: The South Asian Case ; Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1990, page No. 115. See the text of Assam Accord.
34. Press Publication : Jalpaiguri Zilla Conference, January 10-11, 1998, See Uttarbanga Sambad (Siliguri) 24 December 1997.
35. The Statesman : "Separatist at it again." 7 July, 1998.
36. Jayanta Bhattacharya : 'BENGAL TRAGEDY Crybody Syndome slowly Taking Hold.' The Statesman (Calcutta), 27 June, 1998.
37. Chandan Guha Majumdar; "Separatists at it again : "The Statesman 7 July, 1998.

38. Dainik Basumati - 16 July, 1994.
39. AKSU's Resolution, taken was signed by members of AKSU, at P.K.Roy High School, Sahudangi , on 23-24 July, 1994 two days conference.
40. Shri Nibash roy, President of Jalpaiguri fails to take permission for AKSU conference : Uttarbanga Sambad, 21 December, 1995.
41. Uttarbanga Sambad - 9 November, 1995.
42. IBID - 1 July, 1997.
43. On behalf of the people of Cooch Behar arequested Mr. M.A.Palkhiwala, Hon'ble Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India, 181 Backbay Redamation, Bombay 40020 to deal a case of illegal merger of the then Cooch Behar State as a District of West Bengal on 1st January 1950 - "A matter of writ petition of public interest of the bonafide people of Cooch Behar and prayer to declare Cooch Behar as a state under Union of India with a view to save ethnic people of Cooch Behar as Cooch Behar was recognisised as a state in the constitution of India "submitted to the Hon'ble Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India, New Delhi, a dated Cooch Behar 9th February, 1996 "by Bhabash Das, general Secretary, Cooch Behar People's Association, Cooch Behar, West Bengal on 27 May 1987.
44. MARCUS DAM : Another day another bandh; (much as the six West Bengal districts lying to the North of the Ganga and used to these stoppages being called on the slightest pretext, North Bengal suffers the threat of being splintered as various groupings fired by the sense of exclusion from key centres of power, clamour for chunks in their campaign for self rule). The author, based in Siliguri, is on the staff of The Statesman. PERSPECTIVE, The Statesman,

8 May, 19499.

45. Uttar Banga Sambad, 26 April 1999

46. The Statesman, 11 May, 1999

47. IBID., 10 May, 1999.

48. IBID., 12 May, 1999.

49. IBID., 15 May, 1999.

50. A representation of the AKSU of 10 charter of demands was submitted to the ~~present~~ of India deliberatively on January, 1999 in the matter of ; recognition of Kamatapuri regional language etc. is signed by heads of the machinary of AKSU.

51. News Service "Now form to press for North Bengal Development." The Statesman, 24 December 1996.

52. IBID, 5 January 1999

53. Resolution of Uttar Banga Unayyan Sangram Manch; convention, Jalpaiguri, Ananda Model High School, 21-22 December 1996.

54. Uttar Banga Sambad, 25 December 1996.

55. Uttar Bangar Sarbik Unayyan Mat O Pat : Forward Bloc (S) convention; Rabindra Bhwawan, Jalpaiguri (Rájya Committeer Baktabya) Bangali, 17 November, 1996.

56. Uttar Banga Sambad ; 22 February and 19 November, 1997.

57. IBID., 15 November 1997.
58. News Service "Sankosh Project review urged", The Statesman, 31 December 1996.
59. Shib Shankar Chatterjee: "Forecasting a disaster", a proposed project to share the Ganga Waters between India and Bangladesh is threatening to disrupt the ecological balance in North Bengal and Assam, The Statesman, 6 November, 1998.
60. Uttar Banga Sambad; 21 September 1997.
61. Shib Shankar Chatterjee, Forecasting a disaster, The Statesman, 6 November 1998.
62. The Statesman 31 December, 1996.
63. Uttar Banga Sambad, 24 March, 1998.
64. News service, "Mixed response to North Bengal bandh," The Statesman, 24 March 1999.
65. Sudipta Chanda, Desparately Seeking Sustenance'. such is the scheme of things in North Bengal, Even revenue earners like the tea and timber industry attract inadequate official attention, N.B. Plus; The Statesman, 26 March, 1999.
66. Chandra Guha Majumder : The heritage factor, with its mixture of the traditional and the modern, Cooch Behar could become an ideal tourist destination. But first, he says, the Government needs to draw up a package

to attract visitors; N.B.Plus; The Statesman, 28 August, 1998.

67. Swapna Kumar Das : Losing a Legacy ? The archaeological excavation of Gosanimari could throw new light on the history of North Bengal and Assam ; (N.B Plus), The Statesman, 20 January, 1999.

68. Ananda Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, 6 May, 1999.

69. Darothi Bhattacharya : Temple of Doom ; The century - old Naba Bidhan Brahma Mandir in Cooch Behar is in a shambles. The statesman (N B Plus); 8 January 1999.

70, Sudipta Chanda ; Desperately Seeking sustenance; The Statesman, 26 March, 1999.

CHAPTER - VIII

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS : IMPERATIVES OF AN OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

Regionalism is a conspicuous phenomenon in the political scenario of the post-Independence India. Indian society is a plural society and the sub-structure on which the modern political super-structure has been built up is characterized by primordial factors. As such the process of integration and modernization during the stage of nation-building could not properly emerge encompassing all the component communities having heterogenous character. The uneven pace of modernization and resultant asymmetrical development of the different units in the plural system have given birth to tensions here and there on the body-politics at a period when the system itself is in the process of attaining maturity. Regional movements in India today, therefore, are essentially manifestations of crises of a transitional state. As such any uni-dimensional interpretation of Indian regionalism is bound to be fallacious. Regionalism in India is a multi-dimensional phenomenon having several components. The components may be various, Bharati Mukherjee says, differing from region to region and from time to time.¹ But, in the context of regional movements in the plains of North Bengal, such components may be classified as ethno-linguistic, socio-economic and political. A brief discussion of these components is given below.

Ethno-linguistic component of Regionalism

India may be called a land nearly infinite ethnic diversity. Ethnicity as a sociological concept is based on the nation that certain ethnic groups are "rooted in space."² There are three ways of defining ethnic groups in terms of objective attributes, with reference to subjective feelings, and in relation to behaviour . An objective definition assumes that though no specific attribute is invariably associated with all ethnic categories, there must be some distinguishing cultural feature that clearly separates one group of people from another, whether that feature or features be language, territory, religion, color, diet, dress, or any of them. The problem with objective definitions is that it is usually extremely difficult to determine the boundaries of ethnic categories in this way. The difficulty with subjective definitions is that they make it impossible to answer the basic question of how a group of people arrives at subjective self-consciousness in the first place. Behavioural definitions are really a form of objective definition since they assume that there are specific, concrete ways in which ethnic groups behave or do not behave, particularly in relation to and in interaction with other groups.

But, the existence of explicit codes of behavior and interaction is rather more characteristic, more all-pervasive , and more evident in simple than in complex societies in which people may establish their separateness with reference to specific attributes without adopting an entirely distinct code of behavior.³

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity, which has been defined by De Vos as consisting of the 'Subjective, symbolic or emblematic use 'by' a group of people of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups.⁴ This definition can be used for the analytic purposes required here by altering the last phrase to read, 'in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups.' An ethnic group that uses cultural symbols in this way is a subjectively self-conscious community that establishes criteria for inclusion into and exclusion from the group. At this point, matters of descent, birth, and a sense of kinship may become important to ethnic group members, for the methods of inclusion and exclusion into the group often involve the explicit or tacit adoption of rules of endogamy and exogamy.⁵ The identity aspirations and sense of identity have offered a new dimension to the assertiveness of ethnic groups.⁶

Sometimes, the newer themes as nativism, religious purism, tribal consciousness, indigenousness may be taken up as identity issues. A particular group shifts its identity or asserts its distinctness, otherness as an ethnic, nation in course of age long feelings of being dominated, a sense of insecurity, and aspiration for a larger share in power. It may occur at various stages of development or mal-development. When the concerned ethnic group or community fails to articulate grievances through various levels of political parties or administration, they may resort to ethnicise, communalise the issues of their grievances. This could lead to formation of regional, nativist organisation and fronts so as to mobilise the already fermenting ethno-regional grievances.⁷ We have such examples in Kamtapuris hostility in North Bengal.

During 9 B.C. an ethnic group establishes a reign in North Bengal called as 'Komboech'. The term of 'Koch' is derived, Sunity Kumar Chatterji says, from the word of "Komboech";..... it origins from ethnic group of Bhutanese-Chinese in the one hand, this ethnic group permanently settles

in the North Western region of India....., Punjab region, in the Western region this 'Komboech' used to speak aryan language, by caste they are not Bhutanese-Chinese on the other hand.⁸ There are many examples about Koch-Rajbanshis in the Mahabharat also. It is proved as an old ethnic group of people. Practically, this ethnic group of people lives around the areas from the Western part of Assam to undivided Bengal; from the Western side of Behar to Mithila and from the Western bank of Mechi river of Nepal to the Eastern bank of Kashi river. Some one said that a big group of descendant tribal has entered into Assam first, then the North-Eastern part of India. Koch Rajbanshi is an integrate part of this group, who comes from the East.⁹ It is assumed historically, the Rajbanshi is transformed from ethnic of Koch. This all (unsuccessful invasions of Mohammed B. Bukhtiyar and other Mohammedans) goes to prove that the Koch people were a powerful caste and well versed in the art of war of those times.¹⁰ This has been touched on before, so we begin the history of the great Koch Tribe at the rise of one Shankaldip, a Koch chief, as poet Firdusi, which gave a better semblance of facts than do the legendary ideas of Bisso, whom local tradition asserts to be the founder of this dynasty. Shankaldip rose to power in the middle of the fifth century, and when Huien Tsiang visited Assam, the kingdom of Kamarupa apparently extended from the Karatoya river; near Jalpaiguri, as far as Sadiya along the North bank of the Brahmaputra, where, it seems, the Koch people lived amicably with the Chutiyas, who even then may have been deteriorating from having been once a powerful community.¹¹ This community of people is regarded as Rajbanshi, some historian says, as Mongal-Dravidian-Nigro etc. The Koch or Rajbanshi, J.A.Dass, calls as non-aryans and Mongolean people in 1911. The Koch belongs to Tamulian extraction and lived before the Aryans came, Hodgson says, "Hojos' grandson Visva Sinha became Hindu, renounced the name Koch and adopted

Rajbansi". Braverly calls it as a Rajbansi and Polia are the same ethnic group of people. This ethnic group is not aryans but it origins from kin of Dravibian-Bhutanese famit, says Dalton. But Odennel says, "another interesting tribe is the Rajbansi or Koch of North-Eastern Bengal, the localisation of whose racial position has long been a subject of dispute. They are however, only the third wave of Mongols who have advanced through the eastern passes the first being the Chandal, the second the Koch and the last the Aham." It assumes that this ethnic group of peoples' blood is a mixture of Dravidian - Austro - Mangolean impacts to be black or copperian. this group of people is, in nature, small eyes, straight heir, broad jaw. There are yellow and white colour people among the Rajbansi. About this Dr. Charu Sanyal dealt with in the 'Rajbansi of North Bengal'. In this region most of the Rajbanshis are Hindu and Sanskritized as a Kshatriya. About the Rajbanshis, A.J.Dass says, 'who are predominant in the Terai and the remnants of the aboriginal race of Koches, it may be said that they have become Hinduised But their adhesion to Hinduism is comparatively recent is shown by their own customs in regard to burial, food and marriage as well as by the existence upto recent times.¹²

Languages, like nations, are from earliest of times closely associated with power. While, a nation is often regarded by its citizens as a repository of political and material power, a language symbolizes for many of its speakers, a real or imagined fortress of intellectual, literary or cultural power. According to some historical linguists of 19th century, languages, like nations, grow to speak of power, prestige and importance, and then begin to decline and die. No language, however, disappears from active use without leaving behind its successors, worthy or not.¹³ The process of nationality-formation is one in which objective differences between ethnic groups acquire

increasingly subjective and symbolic significance, are translated into a consciousness of, and a desire for, group solidarity, and become the basis for successful political demands. There are two stages in the development from ethnic category to community. Depending on the context, this stage may involve such changes as the creation of a self-conscious language community out of a group of related speakers.¹⁴ The leaders of the movement to create a language community may, at the same time, stake a claim to the dominance of that language in a particular territory; the supporters of the demands for a religious community may also seek protection for the language or script in which their religious texts are written and may promote the identification of the language with the religion and encourage its increasing use by all believers.¹⁵ From the perspective of political sociology of language in India, a realistic option for a lingua franca exists, the problem is that there is more than one. In Third World societies like India, again, there is a tendency towards smaller regional or ethnically based communities, and there is a danger of the state disintegrating into smaller fragments.¹⁶

The language issue of Rajbanshi is taken for the mother tongue, or demand for the development of Kamtapuri language. Critics calls it as a dialect of Bengal. At that time, there were seven daily newspaper in Bengali and English. These speak of a very sad, neglected position of the Kamatapuri language. But, , Dr. T.C.Rastogir opposes it and says, "The writings of the so called Paschim Bangla Bhasa or Asamiya Bhasa should be regarded as the writings of the Kamata language (Kamta Bhasa) in as much it is not dead but still a living language of the Kamta region. The Kamta language is not Rajbanshi dialect or a dialect of a caste or tribe. It is the language of the people for the region described above.

The Kamta language should not be regarded as a mere dialect of Bengali or Assamese language. It is the language in which the first vernacular writings of the region were attempted and may be called the root of the present Bengal and Assamese language.¹⁷ In linguistic Survey of India, Dr. Grierson, the speaking language of the common people of the area of Cooch Behar, Bagura and Dinajpur calls as Rangpuri or Rajbanshi Bhasa.¹⁸ During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rangpur was in the hands of the Rajas of Kamta, to which country passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Camtah', or Comoty, on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (pl.iv) that is shown map no. 8.1. The town of Kamta, or Kamtapore, lay on the eastern (? western) bank of the Dharla river, which flows south-west of the town of Kuch Behar.¹⁹ The speaking language of this big areas has been called by Surendra Chandra Roy Chowdhury as 'Kamata Behari' argueing that of geographically in the name of old Sen and Modern Koch dynasty broadly instead of Koch or Rajbanshi narrowly in name of ethnic group.²⁰ But, in the old Rajbanshi dialect there was very little difference between the written and the spoken language.²¹

Kamtapuri is a "Language of the heart, a medium of self-expression", a way of displaying their ethnic distinction and cultural richness, their existence as people who deserve to be treated as equals in a modern, democratic society.²² But, why did the editors of the Gazetteer terminate the language as (Bahe) is still questionable and contradictory issue of this ethnic group of people and makes agitation against it, that is, "The Rajbanshis of rural areas in general and also most Hindus and Muslims - who have been living in the district for generation - speak a dialect of the colloquial Bengali which the educated people designated as 'Baha'"²³...." until the recent

Map No. B.1

বাংলাদেশ

অগ্রসরীয়া

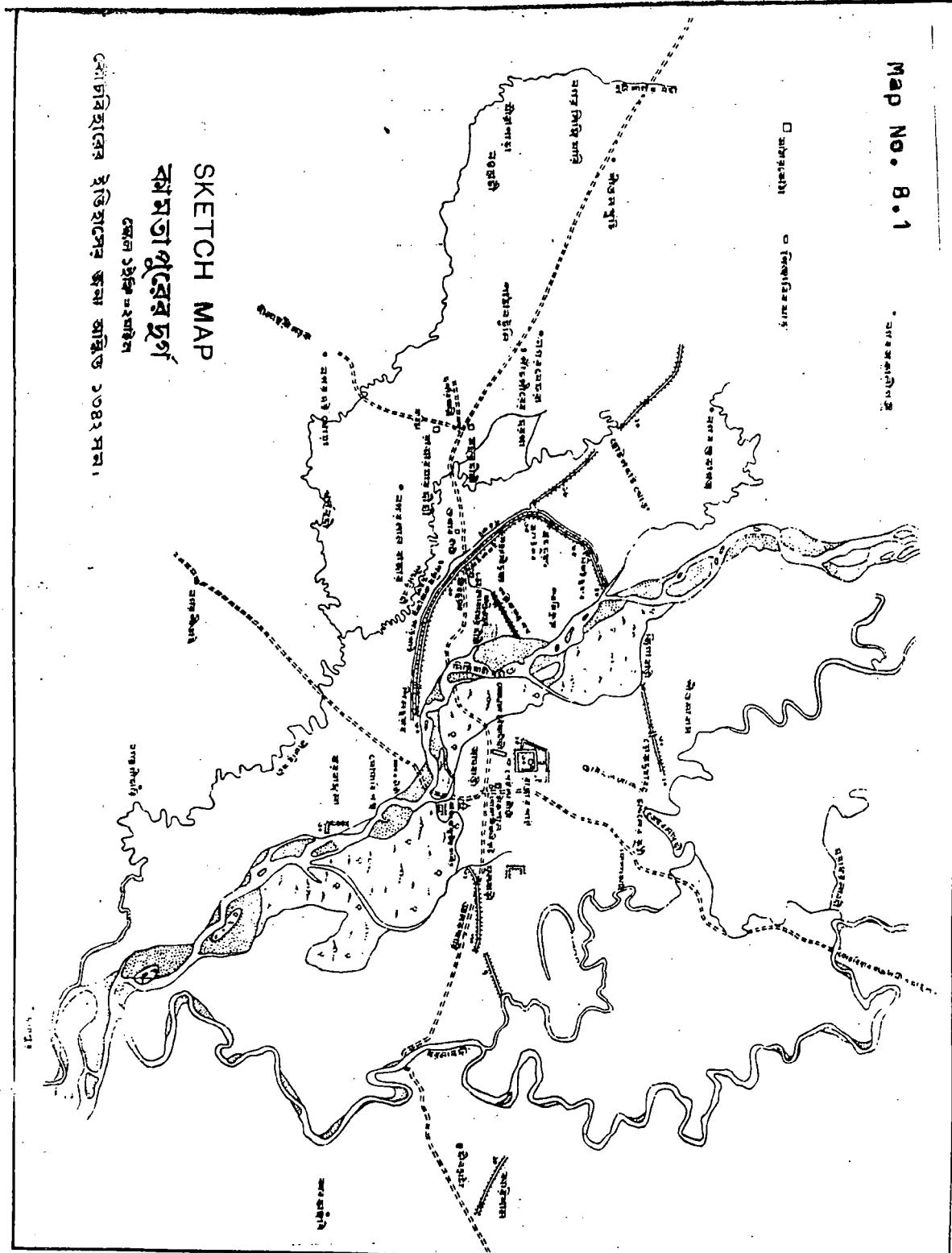
প্রক্ষেপিত্বায়

SKETCH MAP

কুমিল্লা পুরো ছাগ

জেল ১৫৩৮ ২২৩৩

বেঙ্গল চৰিয়াৰে ইতি হাসেন জন্ম আৰুত ১০৪২ মৈ।



happenings, the four major communities in the hills and plains of Darjeeling district - the Nepalis, the Tribals, the Bengalis, and the original inhabitants (Mech, Rajbanshi, Lepcha, Bhutia etc) lived peacefully and amicably.²⁴ In another pamphlet the protagonists of Gorkhaland have gone to the extent of describing Lepcha, Oraos, Santals, Mechs, Bhojpuris, Modesias and Scheduled Caste Bengalees (mostly by Rajbanshi) that is practically every one living in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri excepting upper caste Bengalees as Gorkhas.²⁵ Against the terminology of 'Bahe', 'Tribal', 'Gorkha', in different public documents at different times is used to designate the Rajbanshi, a general meeting is being summoned up at Atharokhai, Shivmandir under the convener of the committee Surendra Nath Barman, that was circulated through Uttar Banga Sambad on 25 December, 1986 at 2 p.m.²⁶ Campaigning against these ill-treatments, several outfits in North Bengal want constitutional recognition for Kamtapuri language and an area for "self-rule". This fresh surge of consciousness has given birth to a dream that involves a separate state, and the Kamtapur Peoples' Party has already drawn up its area of "Self-rule" - North Dinajpur, South dinajpur, Malda, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and portions of Darjeeling - all North Bengal districts.²⁷

Extraneous agencies seem to be working in Tandem with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland to forge an alliance between all the secessionist and separatist ethnic movements by the apparently innocuous mobilization of "indigenous peoples" in the North -East. A common feature is the plea for right to self-determination for all indigenous and tribal peoples.

The inspiration has evidently come from the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Right of Indigenous People Commission. Two dubious organisations, the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples' Organisation (UNPO)

and the Asian Indigenous Peoples' Pact (AIPP) - the NSCN is a member of both - are actively engaged in sustaining the venture. The process began in 1993 during the observance of the International Year of Indigenous Peoples in Manipur, Nagaland and Meghalaya.

The UN - defines indigenous people as "descendants of people who inhabited the present territory of a country, wholly or partially, at a time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived from other parts of the world, overcome them by conquest, settlement or other means and reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial condition."²⁸ The UN draft declaration seeks to provide indigenous people the right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own languages and to establish structure, conduct and control their own educational system and institutions.²⁹ The UN Draft declaration also inspired to the ethnic groups of people of North Bengal. The Adivasis like the Oraons, the Mundas, the Kharias, the Turis, the Mahalis speak different languages. So do the Jharus, the Lepchas, the Nepalis, the Totos, the Rabhas and the Meches. The Oraons speak Kurukh which is of the Dravidian family, the Mundas, the Kharias, the Twis, the Mahalis speak Mundari and its dialects. The Mundari belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family. In fact, with the exception of the Oraons, all the Adivasi groups in the tea belt use Sadri, a cocktail of Hindi and Tribal dialects. There is agitation in Assam for Bodoland. The fear is it may greatly influence the Meches, the Rabhas in contiguous North Bengal into launching a similar movement, Swapan Kumar Das warns and doubts, it may also encourage the proponents of the Kamtapuri or the Rajbanshi movement.³⁰

While time may be best judge of that KPP leaders maintain they are

ready to run the ultimate test of mental strength. The Left parties, the Marxists included, are on their toes. Ever since the observance of a bandh in these six North Bengal districts in September 1998, the local units of the CPI(M) have been busy assessing the cause and possible effects of the movement. That the bandh did not elicit widespread response in unimportant; West Bengal's ruling party has chosen not to play down such "aberrations". Local CPI(M) units have advised their cadres to toe the grassroots route and establish fresh contact with the people. The party is keen to convey the message that such a movement which is mounted up by the KPP is the result of wicked minds. More recently, two CPI(M) ministers - Dinesh Dakua and Jogesh Barman - and the Jalpaiguri district committee secretary of the party held a number of meetings at Panbari in the Dooars constigating the KPP. They called on the people to stay free of the Kamtapuri activists . And there in lies the rub : the left parties must be wary of the growing strength (or public acceptance) of the movement.

The KPP, meanwhile, has found friends in several outfits, like the Uttarakhand Dal, the Kamtapur Gana Parishad, the All Kamtapur Students' Union, and the Kamtapur Vasha Sahitya Parishad. Of them, the AKSU, which was the main sponsor of the bandh, seems the most potent force. In fact, ever since it came into existence in 1985, the AKSU has been able to portray itself as a threat to the CPI(M), which has been enjoying a formidable power base in this area.

The AKSU demands caught the fancy of the Kamtapuris. Among the 13 demands, the realisation of which the bandh was purportedly observed, are :

*Inclusion of Kamtapuri programmes on All India Radio and Doordarshan;

* Inclusion of Kamtapuri in the University Syllabus;

and

*The setting up of a University in CoochBehar.

This, of course, involves a perceptible change in the AKSU's activities over the years. Initially, it was rather content with its non-political profile. But then this students' organisation shed its inhibitions and forged a working relationship with the Uttarakhanda Dal. The detente, however, was short lived. At present, the KPP is its closest ally.

Meeting the authorities in Delhi, including President K R Narayanan, Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee and Home Minister L K Advani, is high on the AKSU agenda. Last December, they had similar plans but the lack of funds forced them to put things on hold. But the financial constraints aside, the indifference from the Prime Minister's Office is what seems to have upset them most. There was absolutely no acknowledgement of their massive addressed to Mr. Vajpayee.

Some other organisations like the Vasha Sahitya Parishad are said to have rallied to the cause. Besides keeping close contact with AKSU and KPP leaders, the VSP has organised seminars and meetings at various places. At one such seminar held recently, the speakers included a couple

of IAS Officers. Political references were carefully avoided. The speakers dwelt exclusively upon the evolution and development of the Kamtapuri language. A research foundation was set up under the Chairmanship of Girendra Nath Roy, head of the English department, North Bengal University.

Apparently such intellectual activities should not constitute cause for concern, but the Left parties do see ominous signs. In fact, wiser from its Gorkhaland experience, the Left leadership fears that the AKSU, KPP and other Rajbanshi organisations may just make inroads into their electoral bases in North Bengal districts.³¹ If constitutional recognition of their language is the immediate goal of the Kamtapuri activists, political opponents hold that their agitation will serve as a convenient "route" to a "dangerous destination".

Socio-economic component of Regionalism

Although there is a considerable scholarly consensus on this general description of the origins and course of the Kamtapuris crisis, it is sometimes supplemented by accounts which introduce economic factors into it more centrally or reduce the political struggles to merely 'contributory' status. In the first category are interpretations which urge us to pay more attention to economic and social factors, which are often bracketed at the same time with other root factors such as the 'communal ethos' or attacks on civil liberties. The stronger, usually Marxist, arguments go further and insist that economic and class forces are primary and the political - communal factors merely reflections of the underlying class forces, whose leading segments operate to manipulate the political-communal situation.³²

Before one can assess the relative weights to be assigned to political, cultural and economic factors in the Kamtapur situation, one must be clear about what aspect of the crisis is to be explained. The focus here will be primarily on the extent to which social and economic factors must be included in a complete explanation of the degeneration of the Kamtapur/Uttarkhanda crisis as follows.

Social

Caste perse as a social institution may not lead to regionalism. But when caste turns into caste-craziness, it serves as an important factor of regionalism. Caste turns into caste-craziness when it is combined with dominance. In an open-class system, it depends almost exclusively on the individual's achievement, while in a closed, that is, traditional society, status, to a great extent, is determined by birth. Thereby, the closed society is fragmented into several fixed status-groups. These groups are 'castes' which are 'hereditary, endogamous, usually localized groups, having traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy.³³ The Rajbansi society is basically traditional, embracing plural identities and segmental divisions in surname viz. Roykot, Karjee, Thakuria, Saikiya, Hazarika, Omra, Nawab, Gohai, Bhauiya, Barua, Dauri, Sardar, Patra Kayanthe, Kotoyal, Adhikary, Das, Bhandar, Thakur, Majumder, Sawa, Mantri, Sanapati, Mostafi, Chaklader, Daptraria, Madhi, Boksi, Chatra, Nagir, Borokanta, Kushnabish, Dakua, Dawan, Vitar Katak Dawan, Hisabia, Jamdaria, Darbarkha, Sardar, Paik, Kotal, Anwar, Iswar, Ukkil, Sikder, Patwary, Basunia, Pujari, Kitania, Chowdhury, Muhuree, Gomosta, Dalai, Talapatra, etc. are entitled according to posts of services under the His Highness Cooch Behar Maharaja. Roughly speaking, the commission is

concerned with permanent appointments to all new posts and vacancies, excluding ordinary departmental promotions, and appointments to superior posts and those in His Highness' Private and Household Departments. The commission registered approved candidates, and any person desirous of having his name registered for the state service can apply to the chairman through local officer where he resides.³⁴

Ethnological identification of the group was started from the first decade of 19th century is not possible to conclude the distinct decision due to disagreement among the social scientists and ethnologists. It is fact that this group of people is being to aware about their actual identification which is arisen from the disagreement of social scientists and ethnologists and started their contradiction against the assertion of Buchanan Hamilton, Borkanan, Hodgson, Risely etc. In course of time, they tried to derive away the social superstition. From this stage, a the social and religious reformation are started, let us discuss it.

The first and foremost aims of reformations was to drive away the social superstition and narrow-mindness from the society for attaining contradiction against it, but not either the process of acceptance or rejection of westernization of these ethnic groups, because, the English ethnologists tried to identify the Rajbanshi as Koch completely baseless. Indeed, in 1838 Buchanan Hamilton in his 'Eastern Indian', designed the Rajbanshi as a "Tribe" and denoted Rajbanshi and Koch are same group of people is followed by English researchers, W.W.Hunter, Hodgson etc. In 1872 census report, this group of people is designated as a mixture of Koch-Rajbanshi-Polia. Needless to say, justification of ethnocity of Rajbanshi is not basic

end of work, yet the decisions and proposals of English researchers about it are doubtful is being to realise that they need a campaign against its reality. It is said that on the 10th February, 1891, a general meeting was held where Rajbanshi group of people assembled where they took decision unanimously against the census strategies and proceedings of government. Horman roy, President of the meeting, sent a representation to enlist the Rajbanshi to F.A.Serain, Rangpur District Collector in the process of census to design them as "Bhango-Kshatriya". To solve the ambiguity, whether Rajbanshis are 'Bhanga Kshatriya', F.A.Scrain sent a prayer to learned people of Rangpor Dharma Sabha for appropriate consent on it. Receiving it, they sent a prayer of reply to enlist them as 'Braitya Kshatriya' instead of 'Bhanga Kshatriya'. But, this type of solution was not acceptable. On the 15th March 1891, another meeting was held under the presidentship of Landlord Prosannya Chowdhury, an unanimously decision was taken in this manner, if it wishes to write sub caste 'Rajbanshi' should be drawn as 'Braitya Kshatriya'.

Again, sensation issue was started regarding sub-caste of Rajbanshi in the first part of 20th century. In 1901, Nagendra Nath Basu, in his Encyclopaedia wrote the meaning of the word, Rajbanshi as a barbarian that was glanced and started the agitation against it by the Rajbanshi people in the area of North Bengal: In 1901 census report is written conspirately that the Rajbanshi and the Koch are the same group of people and sub-caste is same. As a result the Rajbanshis started an agitation not only against it but fight social ill-treatment and backwardness of people also. During this stages of agitation Takur Panchanan Barman, a pleader of Rangpur launched a socio-religious movement. He took a legal opinion about identification of

caste consulting with learned men of Kanjhee, Nabardeep, Methila, that was circulated among the Rajbanshi people regarded as 'Kshatriya Ethnic Group'. On the 1st May 1910, at time of census work, for developing socio-ethnic condition of Rajbanshi-Kshatriya people he formed a 'Rangpur Kshatriya Samiti' unanimously at a general meeting which was held at Rungpur Natya Mandir where 400 dignitaries attent from different parts of North Bengal, Goalpara of Assam. The meeting was presided by learned advocate of Jalpaiguri, Mr. Madhusudan roy. It was the first assemblage of Samiti arrived a unanimous decision that the Rajbanshi and the Koch are the two separate ethnic group of people whose socio-cultural behaviour is not same the Rajbanshi is not the Koch but the Kshatriya group of people. It is asserted that O.Mally edited the census report of 1913 following their decision of caste.

The decision of the Samiti was followed under two heads:

Firstly, the Rajbanshis of the area of CoochBehar, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Goalpara, Purnea designed themselves as Kshatriya and used the surnames as 'singha', 'Barman', 'Roy' etc. sent a representation to the respective district Collector to grant it, and

Secondly, on January 1912 the third general convention of Samiti was held. With more than thousand delebrative representatives took decision and it was also followed by Methila's learned Brahmins supervisions and recommendations that being self-forgetfulness, degraded and omitted to go through the purificatory rites, the Rajbanshi lost his Kshatriyaship and might be revived or sanskritized itself by UPBITA/sacred thread worn by the males of the twice born after a fire oblation according to edicts. On the 10th February

1912, at the 'Mahamillon Khatya' was held at bank of the Korotoa river where 1,82,154 Rajbanshis were sanctified by UPBITA after a oblation of fire. In the year more than the 292 million khatyas were held at different parts of North Bengal.³⁵

Agitation was strengthened with social reformation along with UPABITA of the Samiti. The branches of Kshatriya Samiti were established at different villages of North Bengal Mandal Samiti was formed under the leading of rural kshatriya Samiti with an aim of circulating the ends and principles to the people on the process of decentralization, says Upen Barman. It is said that a branch of Kshatriya Samiti was established at Chow village, district of Dinajpur in 1920. The process of modernization - Sanskritization - social reformation was started in the grassroot level under the samiti as well. It was rudderred by the Headmaster of Normal School, Mr. Gobinda Roy of Dinajpur broadly. On 20 Aswin 1325 BS he published a Kshatriya Sang, "ATHYADAYA" at Rangpur Kshatriya Samiti which played the vital role to the Rajbanshis.³⁶

After sanskritization or 'UPBITA,' the trend of social reformation was being continued the area of Rajbanshis by Kshatriya Samiti. It inaugurated an era of social reform, concentrating chiefly on the amelioration of the condition of woman and formation of Kshatriya army. Besides Samiti had an all-embracing programme including, among other things, education of women and their gradual emancipation from all restraints, mass education through Kshatriya Patrika and NARI-UTDHARNARI MANGAL SAMITI, adult education by night school and formation of new schools, financial development through kshatriya Bank, Loan Office, removal of caste distinctions, prohibition of drinking and abolition of cruel rites and practices.

The members of mandal Samiti engaged to express the social reforms through HARISABHA, religious discussions, and moral education at rural level who wore bromochari cloths. The protection of life was envisaged in the hands of president and secretary of samiti at rural level. The social reforms were mainly directed towards removing the sufferings and disabilities of woman through committee. The greatest evil from which the women suffered was the denial of education, partly to early marriage and partly to a superstition. Even an educated woman was bound to become a widow following such practices.³⁷ In research work on 'UTTARBANGAR DHARMA O SAMAJ SANSKAR ANDOLON'; Dhananjoy Roy asserts in 1925 about four hundred Kshatriyas participated for the 1st World War from Dinajpur and different parts of North Bengal, as an army. In the last part of 1928 "Chatrisha Andolon (26 charter of demands) was started at rural areas of Dinajpur by Rajbanshis including land revenue.³⁸

After 1930, the violation of the modesty of a woman was being commenced in Rangpur, Maymensingh, Dinajpur widely, Mrs. Vendi Barman, a daughter of Mr. Khola Barman under the Khansama police station, district of Dinajpur was taken away by some militants behaved outrageously and assaulted her unutterably in 1933. A sensational situation was created arounding such issues among the Rajbanshis which was informed to central organisation of society. Being aggrieved Mr. Panchanan Barman managed to get some education and ventilated their grievances through a poem, "DUNGDHORI MAO" (holding a staff mother) for women education and Reference may be made in this connection to a poem, "DUNGDHORI MAO" was published in the newspaper like PATHIK, BASUMATI, KSHATRIYA PATRIKA, PROBASI etc. from Midnapore.³⁹

The most important social reformation concerning the Rajbanshi religion was the promotion of their perceptions from being converted Christian, almost immediately after the restrictions against the missionary work in the area of North Bengal were removed by animation. Inspired by the zeal of spreading gospel among the natives they naturally thought that it was first of all necessary to eradicate the superstition, use of coarse among rural women, a short garment covering the privities only the chiefly used by werestless, Dowry system.

Dr. Rajat Subhra Mukhopadhyay dealt with his Special lectures on Uttarkhand movement, "The recent Uttarkhand phenomenon is an ultimate outcome of struggle for power and associated privileges between the indigenous communities (particularly the Rajbanshis) and the immigrant the dynamics of the Rajbanshi society clearly show that since early 20th century the Rajbanshi Jotedars gradually lost their economic dominance over others in the region because of considerable alteration in the old land ownerships structure. Changes in the old land holding pattern led to the emergence of a class of new landed states elites who were mostly immigrants to this region. In such a situation, when the Rajbanshis were gradually loosing their economic power, they turned their attention to achieve a kind of social authority over others by means of Kshatriyaization. But, this Kshatriya mobility movement later appeared as a less successful device to raise their overall social status (corporate) and authority in the society.

Now the only and ultimate avenue remaining open to the Rajbanshis for achieving a kind of authority over alien population is the avenue of power and politics. To win the struggle for power the Rajbanshi leaders have finally brought the Kamtapur issue into the forefront. These leaders are fully aware

of the fact that although numerical strength is an important basis of power, by itself it does not count much because of class and political (party) cleavages within the community. In such a condition what is required, is the formation of a new political organisation The emergence of Uttarkhand party (Uttarkhand Dal) and their present stir for a separate Kamtapur state reveal the desire on the part of a class of Rajbanshi leaders to grab the power and to exert their absolute political authority over everyone."⁴⁰

ECONOMIC

The economic component of regionalism in India is the much talked-of regional economic imbalance. Plural societies contain sub-systems that are distinct from each other in terms of their levels of development. Among them, some may acquire an advantage over others due to locational, demographic or political factors. This advantage makes them more powerful economically and therefore, politically. This power (political and/or economic) is again used to maintain and elevate the position acquired. Along with these existing inequalities operates the process of unequal distribution of available resources. The size of the country, its stupendous problems after Independence and most important of all, the erratic policies of decision-makers often lead to an uneven distribution of resources in different regions. Inequitable distribution of the economic resources amongst the different socio-cultural sub-regions proliferates their asymmetrical development. Regional demands in most cases are concerned with removing the disparity between the more developed and less developed regions.⁴¹ This gives an added momentum to regional movements as the response of suffering units in the plural society. This awareness of the people of many parts of India, particularly in the more backward parts, like North Bengal that they are

being neglected by both the centre and the state in the distribution of available resources in the country, is gradually increasing. The development issues or economic deprivation, as projected by the Gorkhaland leaders were mere rabble-rousing against the state government, e.g. since Independence Darjeeling district got nothing except 'eye-wash by offering petty things and minor repair works.' The figures given by the state government appear to be convincing in comparison without backward districts as Purulia, Bankura, Birbhum and other North Bengal districts (CoochBehar, Jalpaiguri, South and North Dinajpur, Malda) with regard to per capita plan expenditure, aggregate amount of capital expenditure, rate of unemployment, etc. Even strong critics of the State governments' negligence to Darjeeling's sad economic plight (closure of 25 tea gardens causing 30,000 people out of employment, relative growth of Sikkim), had to admit that huge investment has been made through Hill Development Council which literally turns to be a playground of CPI(M) Cadres.⁴² There are many rivers in North Bengal, yet agriculture have been suffering from lack of irrigation. The rate of production has increased as in the area of Bankura, Birbhum, Midnapur, Purulia but not as such as in North Bengal. In 1965-80 the rate of production has increased at three times at Bankura, but decreased at the same rate of production in the plains of North Bengal specially in Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and CoochBehar respectively. From 1981-82 to 1990-91 the rate of production in agriculture of Bankura was 9.5 percent whereas in Jalpaiguri it was only 2 percent. The status of four districts of North Bengal (West Dinajpur, CoochBehar, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri) is lower level of the League table of production. At the rate of agricultural production of Malda was 5th

position in 1965-80 but at present reduced and stands 10th position is shown below.⁴³

Chart No. 8.1

League table for districts agricultural developments

1965-80 years	1981-90 years
1. Hooglee	1. Bankura
2. Howrah	2. Birbhum
3. Nadia	3. Midnapore
4. Burdwan	4. Purulia
5. Malda	5. Nadia
6. Murshidabad	6. Howrah
7. Midnapore	7. Burdwan
8. Bankura	8. 24 Parganas
9. 24 Paraganas	9. Hooglee
10. Birbhum	10. Malda
11. Jalpaiguri	11. Murshidabad
12. Darjeeling	12. West Dinajpur
13. West dinajpur	13. CoochBehar
14. CoochBehar	14. Darjeeling
15. Purulia	15. Jalpaiguri

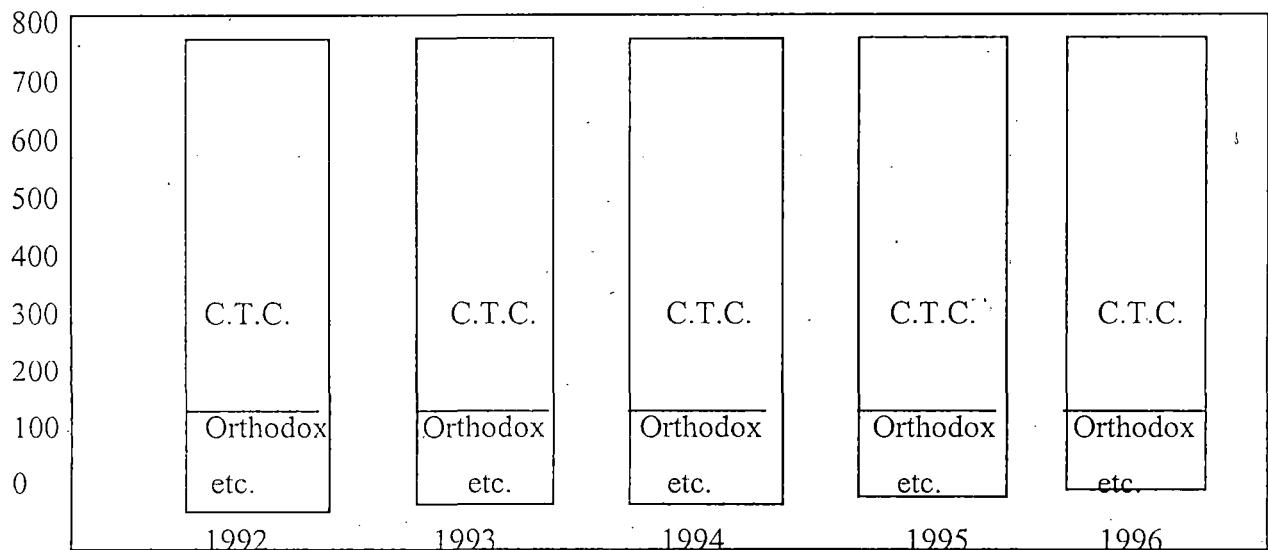
Source : * Dr. Manas Dasgupta, RAJYAR KRISHIR UNNATIR JOUR UTTARBANGA ANAPUSTIT, Uttarbanga Sambad, 27 October, 1994.

States and regions feel exploited in another way.:

Some states and regions are rich in natural resources like minerals, water, fertility of the soil, forests and the like. But, because, of discriminating central policies, they remain or are forced to remain at a backward position while their natural and agricultural products are taken away to other states which make the latter economically well off.⁴⁴ North Bengal, for example, is very rich in Tea, Timber, Tobacco and other resources. Sal, Shisu, Segoon and Mehagoni grow here are valuable trees. UKD assumes, the forests in North Bengal consist of 8 lakhs acres of land.⁴⁵ The government of West Bengal earned more than Rs. 40 crores from forest resources in the financial year of 1996-97.⁴⁶ Jogesh Chandra Barman, Minister of Forest says that North Bengal forest consists of 3 thousand sq.km. alongwith 40 percent of its planted area and remaining part is reserved for wild animals. More than Rs. 25 crores has been earned by state government annually.⁴⁷ The forestry of North Bengal is enriched with the plantations of 'Sinkona' and various production of a kachcha materials viz. bamboo, cane, woods, which would be help to solve the unemployment problem if industries and factories should produce. The production of tea of North Bengal is famous in the world. There are 275 tea gardens in about 6 lakh acres of lands.⁴⁸ It is estimated that all India tea crop production for the season 1996 would be 780 million kgs which would be almost 26 million kg higher than the previous season. The production has been a record for the industry as may be evident from Table A (See Table No. 8.1). There has been substantial growth in almost all the north Indian estates, in Assam, Dooars and Darjeeling. Dooars is estimated to achieve 128 million kgs (season 1995- - 124 million kg) while Darjeeling would be 11 million kg (season 1995-10 million kg) and Terai would be 26 million kg (season 1995 - 25 million kg). The overall

north Indian crop is estimated to be around 600 million kg which is nearly 32 million kg higher than the previous year. The orthodox crop which stood at 90.6 million kg for season 1995 moved up to 101 million kg a record growth of nearly 11 million kgs while CTC production stood at 679 million kgs which was an all time high, nearly 6 million kgs, ahead of the previous year.⁴⁹

Table-8.1

ALL INDIA TEA CROP (in million kgs)

Table-8.2: ESTIMATED CROP DURING AND UPTO DECEMBER 1996
 (figures in thousand kgs.)

District/State	During December		Upto December		Inc(+) or Dec(-) In	
	1996	1995	1996	1995	1996 over 1995	During upto
Assam Vally	10744	14968	370569	356204	-4224	20365
Cachar	6958	8057	48295	42929	-1099	5366
Total Assam	17702	23025	424864	399135	-5323	25731
Darjeeling	824	743	11288	10403	81	885
Dooars	9194	10588	127993	124308	-1394	3685
Terai	478	391	26094	25594	87	500
Total W.Bengal	10496	11722	165375	160305	-1226	5070
Others	468	487	9387	8535	-19	852
Total N. India	28666	35234	599626	567973	-6568	31653
Tamil Nadu	8993	8421	113755	116486	572	-2731
Kerala	4754	4346	61962	64971	408	-3009
Karnataka	365	349	4691	4492	16	199
Total S. India	14112	13116	180408	185949	996	-5541
All India	42278	48350	780034	753922	-5572	26112

An analysis of Indian tea exports (details as per Table A) during the past three and a half decades shows important trends. India's dominant share in the world tea market during the early sixties have declined and export volumes have stagnated, due to Indian tea faced competition from Kenya and Sri Lanka since the mid-eighties. It was Kenyan tea, in particular, which replaced most of Indian tea in world markets. Kenya's exports increased from 10 million kg in 1960 to reach 217 million kg. 1995 in and to a large extend catered to UK market. UK buyers normally pay high premiums for good liquor, naturally graded Indian CTC teas with bloom and bright full cups, and also for Darjeeling teas. This is borne out by the higher unit realization in the UK markets as may be observed from Table B (See p. ^{237-A}).

Regional parties in North Bengal, like UKD asserts that the government of India earns huge foreign money from not only tea but jute a large quantity of which grows in north Bengal. Tobacco grows more than one lack acres lands, maize more than 1.5 lakhs acres land, dal, sugar cane, varieties oil seeds, spiers, raw silk, cotton and muga grow here in large scale. Oranges in Darjeeling, mango, pine-apple, Jack-fruit, apple Banana, Nut and coconut grow in large scale in all most all the districts of North Bengal. Besides these, different minerals resources are available in North Bengal.⁵⁰ The North Bengal hill areas enriched with dolomite resources.⁵¹ Zink, Mica, Copper lead, coal, lime stone and Tungstane are available here.⁵² All these have made North Bengal, a land of growing popular resentment naturally and tensions, UKD articulates that the income of North Bengal is 2/3 of the total income of South Bengal. Per head expenditure overal of south bengal people is Rs. 16 but in North Bengal is only Rs. 1 . The government of West Bengal got Rs. 687 crores in first, second, and third five year plan, only Rs. 15 crores have been spent for North Bengal. More than Rs. 2500 crores had been spent previously during fifth five year plan for West Bengal but only Rs. 31 crores had been spent for North Bengal.⁵³

Table-8.3

p.257a

INDIAN TEA EXPORTS IN MILLION KG.

Countries	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1994
U.K.	121(33%)	93(47%)	63(28%)	46(21%)	25(12%)	22(11%)	28(19%)
Germany	2(1%)	4(2%)	5(2%)	6(1%)	3(1%)	4(2%)	6(4%)
Poland	-	2(1%)	12(5%)	12(5%)	7(3%)	7(3%)	20(13%)
C.I.S.	1C(5%)	28(14%)	157(29%)	64(29%)	97(45%)	129(62%)	37(25%)
West Asian							
Countries-	9(5%)	8(4%)	22(10%)	32(14%)	38(18%)	22(11%)	23(15%)
Others	51(26%)	62(32%)	65(30%)	64(28%)	44(21%)	25(11%)	36(24%)

Table A193(100%) 197(100%) 224(100%) 224(100%) 214(100%) 209(100%) 151(100%)

Countries	1980		1985		1992		1994	
	value	unit	value	unit	value	unit	value	unit
	Rs./lakhs	Rs/kg.	Rs./lakhs	Rs./kg	Rs./lakh	Rs./kg	Rs./lakh	Rs/kg
U.K.	8715.04	(19.13)	6520.55	(25.80)	16337.01	(56.47)	13102.31	(51.12)
Germany	1696.28	(26.75)	1367.54	(44.68)	6349.47	(117.80)	7170.79	(117.09)
Poland	2087.78	(17.71)	2433.74	(32.85)	6061.20	(39.56)	9601.20	(40.47)
C.I.S.	12493.83	(19.57)	30570.86	(31.65)	24118.49	(51.86)	26894.28	(63.07)
West Asian								
Countries	6926.92	(21.67)	14603.23	(38.43)	22065.11	(66.86)	15756.54	(68.50)
Others	209082.92	(18.40)	28637.27	(33.36)	24601.79	(55.55)	26388.88	(59.85)

Table B 42902.77 (19.15) 69529.96 (32.49) 99533.07 (56.89) 98914.00 (65.64).

The number of games in the politics of North Bengal bear examples in which significance of economic factors have been put not to a secondary position. Standing at the top and lower position in the ladder of development, the Kamtapuri movement gadded for enforcing ethno-linguistic majority. Indeed, economic factors as the outsiders, Sajal Basu says in his 'regional movements', domination in service and industry, the lack of employment opportunities for the educated natives etc. were responsible for the 'Sons of the Soil' sentiment in North Bengal. But, instead of fighting for economic demands. Bengali and the Bengalees (Brahmin, Kastha and Baidya) as a whole were taken as symbols of domination and exploitation. In North Bengal, the sentimental wound (of neglect/non-recognition of Kamtapuri language, ethnic identity) was the effective input for mobilising the popular emotion. The divided, uncertain linguistic composition of Kamtapuris could by no means assure them of their identity security. In such cases of endangered self-image, shifting of identity symbols hardly come to be of any help. The perceived identity crisis and apprehension of a probable swarmed away may sway over the collective mind. The only way to relative them is to envelop into process of governance and rules of the game.

One point, however, is to be remembered. The grievances of Kamtapuris against economic injustice and a demand for distributive justice have produced regional tensions no doubt, but such movement, except in very few cases like the Khalistani movement or recent ULFA agitations, have not challenged the very existence of state power. In case of Kamtapur, they understand that their ultimate purpose will be fulfilled if they remain within the fold of the Union with an equitable share in the planned economy developmental programme of the country.

Political Component of Regionalism

The religious symbols improvised and utilised by Indian leaders in mobilising nationality sentiments, could rarely touch the emotion of the minority communities and the indigenous groups. Most of the distant regions and the peripheral groups remained outside the fringe of the mainstream nationalist movement. These regions and groups subsequently opted for separate statehood demand and/or demand for autonomy with special status, e.g. Punjab, Madras, Assam, North Eastern hill region, Jharkhand, Uttarkhand, hill district and plain areas of North Bengal. In the case of plain areas of North Bengal, a regional or sub-regional consciousness lying latent in the group is gradually transformed into regional or sub-regional ideology which ultimately shapes regional or sub-regional movements.⁵⁴ Mr. Atul Roy, for example and his group have actually exploited the latent emotions of the simple plain areas' people (Rajbanshis) that they are systematically ignored by the government of West Bengal and deprived of their legitimate share in the country's resources. The demand for Kamtapur as at present championed by Mr. Atul Roy and his K.P.P. was raised in order to enable them to gain politically that is to acquire political eminence and political support base in the plain areas of North Bengal.

In the same way, Uttarkhand Dal (UKD) - a regional political organisation of North Bengal - is trying a resurface after a prolong lay off by raising the demand for a Kamtapur state. The UKD, which had initially proposed carving out a Kamtapur state comprising six North Bengal districts, was up staged by the KPP which instead, demands that the region between lower Assam and Bihar Purnea district made a separate state. The UKD does not support Gorkhaland activists' demand to include a part of North Bengal plains in the proposed Gorkhaland hill state.⁵⁵ has shown in map. no. 8.2. But at a time when the hill people are cutting across party affiliations to demand a separate

Gorkhaland state in Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong and Jalpaiguri's Dooars area. some organisations are demanding autonomy for the Dooars area. The question of including the Dooars area within the proposed Gorkhaland state may create disharmony in the area. The groups supporting the statehood demand include the Congress, the left parties, North Bengal Jharkhandi groups, the Santosh Rana and Kanu Sanyal CPI(ML) factions and the Uttarkhand Dal. The Tapasili Jati Adibasi Sangstha of the Dooars belt and tea workers affiliated with CITU, NPPW and RSP's Dooars Cha Bagan Workers are also in favour of the demand. They are mobilizing public opinion and holding closed door meeting in three zones - the Eastern Dooars, Central Dooars and Western Dooars. The parties have elected convenors for the three zones - Mr. J.B.Chetri has been elected for the Eastern Dooars, Mr. Tek Bahadur Chetri, the President of the Uttarkhand Dal for the Central Dooars and Mr. Indra Bahadur Gurung and Mr. Netra Bharka jointly for the western dooars. The convenors are holding meetings with their frontal organisation leaders to determine future polity. They are also preparing a draft plan, to be implemented to achieve their statehood goal. The CPI(M) and other left leaders are worried and determined not to fragment West Bengal. The leaders want to face the situation politically.⁵⁶

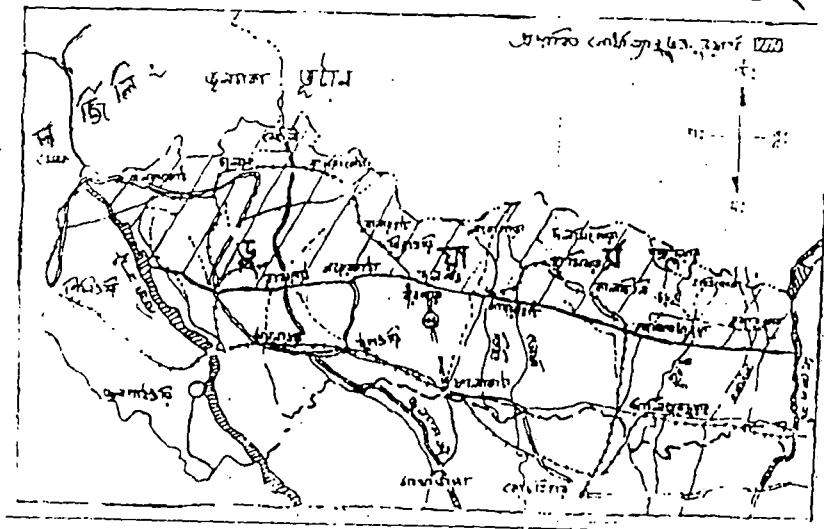
The political issues persistently asserted by the leadership during the anti foreigner movement included, among others, the following :

First, the immigrant Bengalis (Hindus and Muslims), because of their insecure position, are used as 'vote banks' by the opportunist North Bengals' politicians belonging mostly to the Congress and to the other left national parties. This 'vote bank' system has corrupted North Bengals' politics and ruined the economic prospect of the qualified North Bengal's youth.⁵⁷

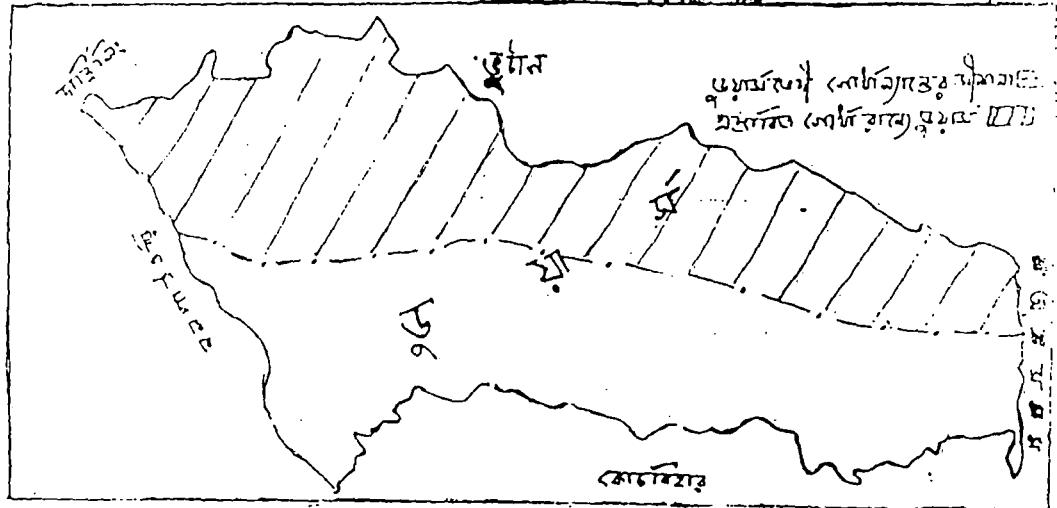
Second, the politics of population and attempts in enforcing ethno-lin-

হৃয়াস নিয়ে ‘গোর্ধাল্যাণ্ড’’র মানচিত্ৰ কৱছে জি পি।

Map No. 8.2



ପଃ ଡୁଆର୍ସକେ ଆଧାଆଧି ଭାଗ କରେ ନିତେ ଚାହିଁଜି ପି ଏଫ୍



gual majority may lead the populace to the extreme limit of apprehending a swarmed away of the local community. The imaginary figures far outweighed the official figures of refugees, the increase of percentage of voters and growth rate of different religious groups in North Bengal. In West Bengal, no official estimate of number of Muslim infiltrators is available. The newspaper reviews and estimates based on various sources held that during 1981-85, the total number of Muslim infiltrators might stand at 47,45,000.⁵⁸ A review of crime in the border area said, according to State Home Department Sources, about 5.5 lakhs Bangladeshi infiltrators enter West Bengal every year and do not return..... during the last decade 4.41 million people have come to West Bengal.⁵⁹ Besides, such migration takes place in India and where is shown:

Table No. 8.4

How much migration takes place in India ? And where ?

Year	Rural to rural	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to urban
	(as percentage of total migrant population)			

1971	69.1	10.4	14.6	5.9
1981	65.3	11.3	16.7	6.1
1991	64.5	11.8	17.7	6.0

Total no. of migrants : 158.7 million in 1971

201.1 million in 1981

224.9 million in 1991

Source : Manpower profile India 1997, A Statesman infographic

The Statesman 19 November, 1997.

Such figures and occasional reports on the issue do not have any impact on state politics. And all the political parties leaders have been held responsible for legalising infiltration through recommending ration cards for the infiltrators, the numbers of which surpassed the total population of West Bengal. Infiltration

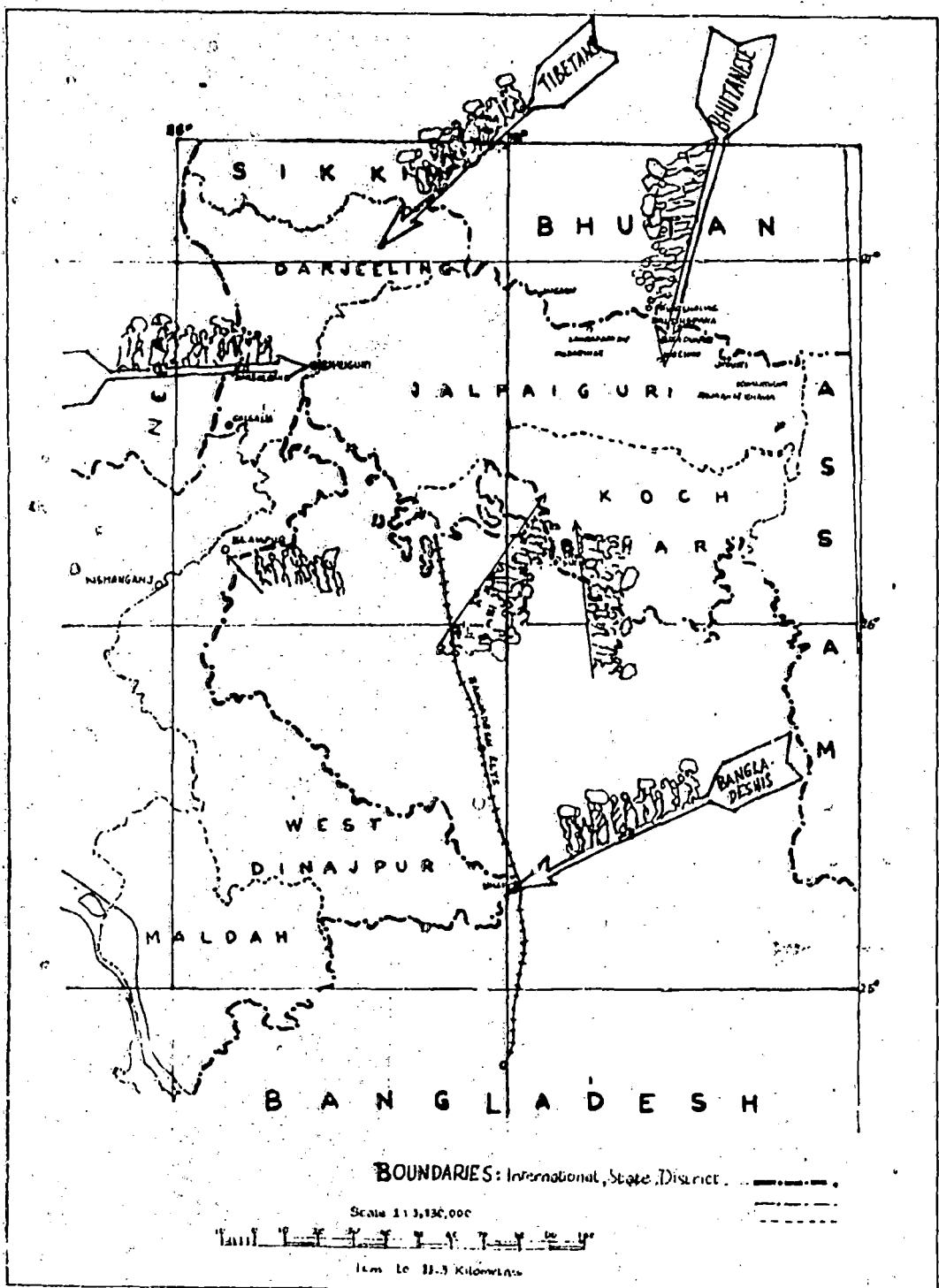
has remained a chronic phenomenon in West Bengal since the Bangladesh war in districts of North Bengal, viz., Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Darjeeling, the rise of Muslim population during 1971-81 had been alarming.⁶⁰ Social scientists have also expressed views concerning the push-pull factors "Push and Pull Factors" also greatly influence people's migration from one place to another. Better employment opportunities, education, recreational and housing facilities are known as "pull factors" while poverty, indebtedness, social persecution, unemployment, natural calamities fall under the "push" category. K. Devi in his book , 'Human Society' said the causes of human migration had "never been systematically understood." This phenomenon has become very significant in recent years due to industrialisation and urbanisation. Political factors are also crucial. Sometimes politicals play important roles in persuading people to migrate: International wars and treaties also force people to move from one place to another in the form population transfer or political asylum. During the nine-month long liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971, about 3 million refugees took shelter in West Bengal and more than 200,000 people did not return. For cultural and historical reasons the border separating Bangladesh and India is often violable. the economic conditions prevalent in Bangladesh have have resulted in unbridled influx. The 1981 census revealed that in eight border district of West Bengal the population grew at over 30% between 1971 and 1981 whereas in the remaining districts the growth rate is relatively low that is shown in North Bengal Map No. 8.3 on reverse page. The Islampur sub-division in West Dinajpur, a narrow corridor strip of less than 10 km wide at some places separating Bangladesh and the Purnea district of Bihar is one of the main routes used by Bangladeshi infiltrators who are still heavily concentrated at Saidpur and other neighbouring North Bangladesh towns. The route is preferred because its shortest and safest way to Bihar. The increasing presence of infiltrators and the domination of outsiders from south Bengal might have induced the

Rajbanshis of North Bengal to organise a convention in North Bengal (1986). Formerly known as Koches, the Rajbanshis had a kingdom called Kamtapur until 1494 when it was taken over by Hossain Shah. the convention called for a revival of Kamtapuri state comprising Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Dhubri district which are inhabited by the Rajbanshis. It also decided to raise funds internationally to advance the cultural heritage of the Rajbanshis.⁶¹ They also organised a sit in demonstration in Calcutta 1988 without any significance fall out. Neither of the above issues, viz. infiltration and Kamtapuri, could rouse the popular emotion or reaction in West Bengal. At present ethno-religious idioms, and threat to the cultural and linguistic identity have been present in the State politics.

Third, owing to their Bengali origin, the immigrants consider themselves to be of a superior culture, look down upon the Rajbansi people.

However, we should keep in view the qualitative differences between the aspirations of an oppressed community, backward ethnics, and the regional parochialism based on religion and language. The perceptual deprivation of religious, linguistic communities often take the form of intolerant 'sons of the soil' or 'drive out the outsiders' movements. This is not to suggest that ethnicity and movement of ethnic aspirations do not take such anti-outsider stance. Basically, the Jharkhand movement was initially based on such a slogan, but it gradually transformed into a multi community supported movement. The Mulki movement in Telengana fizzled out due to its limited base, so also the kamtapuri demand in North Bengal.⁶² The move is aimed at countering the state government's claim that the party is 'separatist', said Mr. Sudhir Singha, a member of the KPP central committee. The party draws its inspiration from the mass movement for the formation of Gorkhaland in the late eighties and is

Map No. 8.3



banking heavily on its student wing, the AKSU. Mr. Singha admitted that the KPP stands a slim chance in making an impact on electoral politics. But, he pointed out, the party participated for the first time in the Panchayat elections for the Siliguri Mahakuma Parishad in April 1999. It has representatives in some gram panchayat - particularly in areas where the Rajbanshis are the majority community. Mr. Singha alleged the state government was apathetic to the KPP's "genuine demands of separate state." The demand for giving constitutional recognition to the Kamtapuri language has also fallen on deaf ears. The KPP believes that the Rajbanshis do not belong to the Bengali community, Mr. Atul Roy, party Secretary, said. The Rajbanshis have nothing in common with Bengalis either in terms of language or culture. Though the KPP agitation was launched about 26 years ago in protest against the exploitation of Rajbanshis by other communities, the movement has gathered in momentum only in the past year or so. The Rajbanshis claim that their lands were usurped by Bengalis after the 1947 partition.⁶³

With the 13th Lok Sabha polls round the corner, a stand off between the KPP and the ruling Left Front - a staunch critic of the movement - seems imminent as both would be eyeing the Rajbanshis vote bank.

LEFT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MOVEMENT

The Left forces contend that there has not been any phenomenal immigration of Bengalis, Nepalis and Biharis to Assam and North Bengal, as the movement claims. Second, educated unemployment is a problem not merely of the Rajbanshis, but of all other linguistic communities of the state, among whom the incidence of unemployment, educated or not is much greater than among the Rajbanshis people. Third, the citizenship certificates used by any

authority of the union government, whether in Assam or outside, cannot be disputed. Moreover, according to the national leaders' assurances at partition (1947), all people of Indian origin, but later belonging to the newly carved Pakistan or still later (1971 onwards) Bangladesh, are to be treated on a par with the rest of Indians in case, for any reason, they are forced to migrate to India. Hence, the Bengali refugees cannot be discriminated against on legalistic issues like citizenship. If they have no citizenship certificates, the onus lies on the government at the central and state levels to regularise the matter through the issue of necessary certificates. Fourth, the real problems of North Bengal are of under-development and under utilisation of its economic potentials.⁶⁴ New avenues of employment could be opened through increased investment in industries, agriculture, railways and other fields. Thus, the energies of the unemployed youth, now being exploited by anti-democratic forces of Indian or imperialist origin could be fruitfully channalised for their own purposes.⁶⁵ Finally, behind the Kamtapuri movement in North Bengal could be detected the secret hands of ISI, after bomb blast at the railways platform of New Jalpaiguri, claims it.⁶⁶ But, the KPP leadership has denied it has links with a militant outfit that calls itself the Kamtapur Liberation Army which is believed to have been involved in last mouth's bomb explosion at the New Jalpaiguri railway station.⁶⁷

VARIOUS RESPONSES

To rationalise the economic basis of ethnic harangue against outsiders/immigrants is not exceptional articulation of Kamtapuris, became a rhetoric with middle class or newly literate Rajbanshis due to prolonged exploitation, aggregation of grievances, humiliation etc. Regional imbalance and developmental disparities exist both at the state and sub-regional levels. Due to imbalance in developmental growth, if a sense of relative deprivation and aggression

complex out of it lead to the formation of politicized ethnicity and or communalisation of groups; then it, should have occurred move in the developing regions than in less developed or more developed part of it. The Indian Marxists have been victims of self-contradiction in interpreting the regional movements. The capitalist path of development with its inherent result the centralisation of power, consolidation of classes and contradiction in ruling classes or the effects of the working classes - remain the age old formula. The state autonomy movement may be traced back to either the contradictions among the ruling classes or efforts of the working classes, peasantry to fight for a democratic economy etc. The same author, however, attributes as special quality to state autonomy movement in West Bengal like Kamtapuri, which is supported to be different from other autonomy movements. Another Marxist theoretician interpreted language politics and fight for linguistic states as essentially a step in combatting the feudal aspects of the society. Subsequent developments in language situation in the states and sub-regions, and the rise of ethnic regionalism as a reaction to marginalisation, despeasantisation, and pauperisation caused by development (termed as ethnocide), have exposed the irrelevance of conventional Marxist approach towards the ethno-regional problems.

The age-long Leninist concept of right to self-determination of the exploited nations has also been upheld by the Marxists. The CPI adopted this theory to demand the creation of provinces on the basis of natural homelands to form linguistically and culturally homogenous national units with the right of secession. The Muslims, Sikhs, Gorkhas, Rajbanshis were considered as exploited nations. Thus, the demands for Pakistan, sikhistan, Gorkhastan, Rajbanshistan'Kamtapuristan were supported by CPI(ML) and CPI. The sovient model of federation viz. setting up a supra-national state on

the basis of this theory was supposed to be the solution for multi-ethnic, multi-lingual states. The four-tier federal system of USSR is composed of 185 communities having 145 languages federated in the Union of Russian Republic, the independent Republics and autonomous Regions. In theory, the republic possess the right to secede, and nationalities' right to their own language and culture is secured. But due to the monolithic character of the ruling communist party and supreme power of the party's politbureau and central committee overall other institutions, the Soviet federation became a mere paper document. Not only Stalin, even Khrushchev also accelerated the drive for Russification in the non-Russian republics and aggravated the ethnic problems. Stalin considered nationality as a historical category and the tribal group as ethno-graphical category. The recent ethnic upsurges in non-Russian republics and the emergence of independent there Baltic republics have invalidated his categorisation. In course of discussing the ethnic identity movements in the sub-regions, we should show how this ethno-graphical category has taken a historical dimension and nation-nationality has been reduced to a category of ruling ethnos.⁶⁸

Todays' Kamtapuri agitation related with ethnic issues, is an important to emphasis dialectical analysis where Mr. Asit Roy accepted many socio-political scientists opinions to enlarge ethnic elaboration as so for viz, Mr. Souran Basu, Santosh Rana, Leader of CPI(ML), Prof. Partha Chatterjee, Calcutta Centre for Social Science and a prominent Research Scholar, Mr. Ranjit Sen. Regarding question of ethnicity, "It is not question arises to give right of self-determination to Indian as a separate union, because there is no exploiter group, like Jurist Russian group. Demand for autonomous administration of Kashmir, North-East region is a democratic elements

ethically. To recognise the self determination of Tribe helps to improve socio-economic and ethno-cultural condition". Mr. Santosh Rana clearly stated that since 1947, who captured the power were higher Hindus caste Hindi dominated people exploited on these scheduled castes, tribes and other backward classesx which is a great hindrance to form a new nation within Union. The vital obligation of labour class is to support ethnic articulations without condition which are asserted within democratic set up, says Bholanath Bandhapadhyaya, exploited ethnic groups of people will gain the common political support.⁶⁹

On the other hand, the Indian National Congress, as a party, had that multiple factional composition which used to accommodate and articulate various castes, ethnic groups' interest demands. But that composite structure has been disrupted due to various pressures and developments since 1971. The organisational network for various group interest articulation has been replaced by a vote bank based on charisma, money power and force. For this reason, as far instance, the State Congress in West Bengal had no role but to remain an observer to regional movements viz. Gorkhaland, Kamtapuri etc.⁷⁰

So, the whole gamut of nation-nationality, ethnicity complex has been set by interpretations, decisions of the authorities. The Kamtapuri agitation, movement for ethnic demands often start in a low key. The state reprisals and domineering attitude of the majority community induce the agitators to take recourse to more militant on their demands. This situation of confrontation actually gives rise to assertion of regional, sub-regional distinctness often proximating to nationalism. The Kamtapuri cases would illustrate this. The interaction of various identities - ethnic, linguistic,

regional, religious often in mixed forms may lead to emotional, violent outburst in sub-regional demands, Dr. Sajal Basu considered to be contrary to unity and integrity of the country. The Rajbanshi and the Kamtapur, inspite of so many nativist separatist outburst, have expressed their commitment to unity and integrity of the country. As we have experienced, the localised outburst could be accommodated when sincere attempts were mom. Even the Staunchest expressions have been absorbed in the process. There is no reason, why the authorities should not adopt a consensual approach instead of a confrontational one, to accommodate and provide autonomy to institution and social identities of Rajbanshis.

Kamtapur movement is not fundamentally a problem of law and order, but one of collective existential alienation. Hence it would also be a grave error to try to suppress the movement with the help of the armed forces, or to marginalize them through the bestowal of minimal local autonomy and pseudo-philanthropic economic "packages."⁷¹

The first correct step for solving the problem of Kamtapuri agitation in North Bengal is to recognise the truth that the movements derive their strength for historically accumulated collective grievances which are often rooted in genuine deprivation and injustice, economic, political and cultural. The logical corollary of this recognition of reality would be to end such dominance and deprivation through a radical and equalitarian restructuring of the developmental and distributive strategies of the government, with special reference to the ethnic minorities.

The second necessary step is to adopt a pluralist instead of an integrationist approach to the Kamtapuris ethnic problem. This group of

people does have historically shared common social and cultural bonds which they try jealously to preserve and defend. "It is wholly undemocratic as well as unaesthetic to pulverise these bonds in the name of national integration", says Joyantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, "... the ethnic minorities have to be accepted as equal units in a federal, preferably confederal, state structure rather than unwanted and peripheral adjuncts of a centralised state system".⁷²

Finally, the demand for statehood of Kamtapuri within the Indian Union should be placed in a proper historical and political perspective considering the historical and structural injustice as well as the administrative financial viability. In this context, the traditional theory of decentralization of power, have to be modified in order to accommodate the objective social reality of ethnic identities and formations. What is urgently needed is an objective assessment of the whole situation by all concerned, keeping in mind the greater interest of the nation as a whole. National policies should be properly evolved and directed towards this end.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Bharati Mukherjee, "**Regionalism in Indian Perspective**", K.P.Bagchi and company, Calcutta, Delhi, 1952; p.44.
2. Myron Weiner, **Sons of the Soil : Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India**, Oxford, Delhi, 1978, p.4.
3. Paul R Brass, **Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison**; Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1991, p.18.
4. George de Vos, "Ethnic Pluralism in George de Vos and Lota Romamucci Ross (eds.), **Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change** (Palo Alto, Calif; Mayfield Publishing Co., 1978), p.16.
5. Paul R Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism : Theory and Comparison; p.19
6. Erik Erikson, Dimensions of a New Identity, New Delhi, 1975, p.27,
7. Sajal Basu, **Regional Movements : Politics of Language, Ethnicity - Identity**, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla; Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1992, p. 48.
8. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Jati, Sanskriti O Sahirtya - Mitra O Ghosh 10, Shyama Charan Dey Street, Calcutta; 3rd edition, Praban, 1352 B.S., p. 18 (Bangla).
9. Ashoke Gangopadhyaya, **Jana Binas (Ethnic diversity)**, SILIGURI ANCHALER RAJBANSI SAMPRODYA Sambad, 3 December 1992.

10. Colonel Shakespeare, History of Upper Assam, etc. p. 24.
11. IBID, p.20.
12. Ashoke Gangopadhyaya, JANA BINAS, Uttar Bangal Sambad, 3 December, 1992.
13. Franson D. Manjali, Language and Power : Breaking Open New Pathways; (A nation is regarded by its citizens as a repository of political power; similarly, a language symbolizes for its speakers a fortress of intellectual power), The Statesman 7 March, 1995.
14. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social communication, op. cit. pp. 41-44.
15. Paul R Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism : Theory and Comparison, p. 22.
16. M Saleem Kidwai, Upholding the Nation-State, - attempts to study the phenomenon of the state on the basis of review "Dynamics of State formation : India and Europe compared ed. by Martin Doarnbas and Sudipta Kaviraj; Sage. the volume is based on a selection of papers presented at a seminar in New Delhi in 1990 organised by the Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives. the Statesman (Literary), 19 January, 1998.
17. Dr. T.C.Rastogir; Language; Moulana Azad Academy Journal, Lucknow, May 31, 1993. It was argued in favour of language of Kamatabehari by Anirudra Barman asserting with this writings of Dr. Rastogir. Uttar Banga Sambad, 27 December 1996.

18. Shri Punandumohan Sahanbih, Kamata Behari Bhasa Samandya Jatkinchit; (Bangla) 1800 part, 1318 B.S.Sahitya Parishad Patrika. It was read on convention of Uttar Banga Sahitya Sammilan, Malda.
19. H.Blochman, The Contribution of the History and Geography of Bengal, p.32.
20. Surendra Chandra Roy Chowdhury, RANGPOLER DASIYA BHASA, (Bangla); Editor, 1200 part, No.1, Sahitya parishad patrika.
21. Horendra Chowdhury, the Cooch Behar and its Land Revenue Settlement, Cooch Behar State Press, 1903; p.201.
22. Pabitra Dey, The Politics of Language : several outfits in North Bengal want constitutional recognition for the kamtapuri language and an area for 'self-rule' incorporating six North Bengal districts - has already been drawn up. the Statesman (N B Plus), 12 February, 1999.
23. Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, 1981; p.77.
24. Gorkhaland Agitation; The issues, An Information Document, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta - 20000/29.10.1986, p.6.
25. IBID, Second part, p.3.
26. Uttarbangla Sambad, 24 December 1986.
27. Pabitra Dey, The Politics of Language, The Statesman, 12 February 1999.

28. Rabijit Choudhury, News Letter writer, wrote openly through "Separatist Movements gaining ground" from Guwahati, Assam, The Statesman, 10 March, 1995, p.9.
29. Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights as contained in document E/C.N.4/ Sub. 2/1988/25; Part- 11/10.
30. Swapan Kumar Das, Linguistic Jingoism: The Bodo agitation, warns, may greatly influence the proponents of the Kamtapuri movement in North Bengal. The Statesman (N B Plus), 12 February, 1999.
31. Pabitra Dey, The Politics of Language, The Statesman, 12 February, 1999.
32. Paul R Brass, Ethnicity and nationalism : Theory and Comparisom, p. 221.
33. M.N.Srinivas, Caste in Modern and other Essays, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, p.3.
34. Cooch Behar, 1936-39, published by Authority, The State Press, Cooch Behar, p.24.
35. Ichhamuddin Sarkar, SANSKAR ANDOLON THAKA PRITHAK RAJYAR DABI - PROSANGO DANDIK PROBAHA UTTARBANGAR RAJBANSHI SAMAJER 'UTTARKHAND' 'ANDOLON'; Souvenir, presented on ICHR sponsored National Seminar on "The Kingdom of Kamata Kuch-Behar in Historical Perspective". Organised by Akshaya Kumar Maitraya Museum, NBU in collaboration with Cooch Behar College, on 23rd and 24th March 1996, page E-(1-6).

36. Dananjoy Roy, UTTARBANGAR DHARMA O SAMAJ ANDOLON, page 25.
37. Ichhamuddin Sarkar, Sanskar Andolon Thaka Prithak Rajyar Babi - 1996, page - E-(7-8).
38. Dananjoy Roy, UTTARBANGAR DHARMA O SAMAJ ANDOLON - page 25-26.
39. Jitendra Mohan Barman (ed), Jagoran, Calcutta, 1993, page, Index VII.

DUNGHORI MAO'

THAKUR PANCHANAN BARMAN

"CHAMKI UUTHILA DUKRON SUNI DUNGDHORI MAO.
DISA DUAR NAI, KHALI KULLAHAR, DHAKHA SANGSARARVAD.

BAP-BHAIAR GHAR, SOYAMIR KOLA, AAR-YITASA NARI
THAKA

JOR KARIA NURIA GUNDA NIEYA YITASA TAKA.

BARA VANGIYA, SOYAMIK MARIA, BON JUIK DHAKKA THUIA.

PAI DHARA NARI, TAKA BHANGI NIGAI, MUKAT KAPAR DIA

HIYA FATA TAR, ATRAN OTHA, SAONA KAKAR CHADI

DUKRON TAR TAO SUNA YAY, AKAS-BATAS VADI

BATA JAJOYA GULA JARO HAYA, KALI FAL FAL KARI CAI

DUNGDORI MAO KORDHAY HAKIA GYNE DHARIA YAY."

(Started, Dungdhori, My mother, harking scream. Looked the go of the day.
The gangstar,a the hoodlums looting a spouse

From her hut, lawful and social.
 The hut of her husband, father and brother,
 killing husband, breaking fence, pushing
 sister and daughter,
 And destroying the pole the spouse clinging to, Month shut up with cloth.
 Yet, her cry, heart rending, bursting out through the cloth.
 Is heard in air and sky.
 Dull males thronged staring meekling.
 But, Dungdhori, my mother, rushed in wrath,
 chargling with a mighty gyne in her hand.)

40. Dr. Rajat Subhra Mukhopadhyay, Uttarkhand movement - A Sociological Analysis, Special Lecture VIII (unpublished), Centre for Himalayan Studies, North Bengal University, April 1987. pp.33-34.
41. Bharati Mukherjee, Regionalism in Indian Perspective, Calcutta, 1992 , p. 66-67.
42. Mahendra P. Lama, "Unquite Hills, The Statesman, 21 April, 1988.
43. Uttarbanga Sambad, 27 October, 1994.
44. Bharati Mukherjee, Regionalism in Indian Perspective, K.P.Bagchi & Company, Cal, 1992, p.68.
45. A UKD's representative letters was sent to Hon'ble Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India by Chairman of the Presidium, Jalpaiguri, 22 April 1980, p.2.

46. Jogesh Ch. Barman, Minister of Forestry, West Bengal 'ARANYA THAKA AAYA KAMCHA', Uttarbanga Sambad, 28 November, 1997.
47. Uttar Banga Sambad, 7 November 1996.
48. UKO's representations, 22 April 1988, p.2.
49. Record tea crop in 1996, News service, The Statesman, 20 February, 1997.
50. UKD's representations, 22 April 1988.
51. Krishnendu Datta, Ominous portents, The Statesman (N.B.Plus) 27 November 1998.
52. Uttarbanga Sambad, 26 December, 1996.
53. UKD's representation, 22 April, 1988, p.4.
54. Bharati Mukherjee, Regionalism in Indian Perspective, 1992, p. 64.
55. UKD revives demand for Kamtapur State, News Service , The Statesman 8 January, 1999.
56. IBID, "Autonomy sought for Dooars area, 20 October 1996.
57. My interviews with leading Rajbanshis and others intellectuals in North Bengal (15 March 1995- 10 June 1999) confirm this finding.

58. Pundit Umashankar, PASCHIM BANGLAY ANUPRABESH O AMADER KARTABYA, Howrah, 1986, p.1.
59. The Statesman, 3 November, 1985.
60. Ananda Bazar Patrika, 6 October, 1985.
61. Satis Kakati, 'Perils of Small States', The Statesman, 19 June, 1986.
62. Sajal Basu, Regional Movements, 1992, p.123.
63. Joydeep Sengupta, KPP Plans mass movement; News Service, The Statesman, 22 July, 1999.
64. S.K.Dass, "Spotlight on Assam I & II", The Statesman, 2 and 3 November, 1980, p.8.
65. P. Ramamurti, op.cit. cf. S.K.Dass ' Statemate in Assam', The Statesman, 30 and 31 December, 1980.
66. Uttarbanga Sambad, 7 July 1999.
67. cf. Joydeep Sengupta, KPP Plans mass movement, News Service, The Statesman, 22 July, 1999.
68. Sajal Basu, 'Regional Movements', 1992, p. 8-9.

69. Bhola Nath Bandhapadhyaya, BHARATA JATISATYAR SAMARSA O BAMPANTIDAR KARTOBA, MURLAYAN, BARSA 24, SARADIYA 1395, B.C., 16.
70. Sajal Basu, Regional Movements, 1992, p.64.
71. Joyantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, ETHNIC SEPARATISM; Global Lessons for India, The Statesman, 14 February, 1997, p.6.
72. IBID.

APPENDIX - I

Datt

D. O. No. F. 15(10)-P/40

MINISTRY OF STATES,

NEW DELHI.

The 30th August, 1940.

MY DEAR MAHARAJA SAHIB,

In connection with the Agreement concluded between the Governor-General of India and Your Highness for the integration of Cooch Behar State Your Highness raised certain points for clarification; the Government of India have considered them and except the following arrangements :-

- (1) It is the intention of the Government of India to administer for the present the territories of the Cooch Behar State as a Centrally-administered area under a Chief Commissioner.
- (2) All contracts and agreements entered into by Your Highness before the date on which the administration is made over to the Government of India will be honoured except in so far as any of these contracts or agreements is either repugnant to the provisions of any law made applicable to the State or inconsistent with the general policy of the Government.
- (3) The allowances at present drawn by Her Highness the Rajmata will be continued for her life time and will be paid out of the revenues of the State. Your Highness' brother and other members of the Ruling Family will also be paid allowance from the revenues of the State as per list attached.
- (4) The responsibility for the Cooch Behar State Forces will be taken over by the Government of India from 12th September, 1940. If these forces are disbanded or any of the men discharged they will receive the pension or gratuity or compensation to which they may be entitled under the rules of the State.
- (5) Adequate guards will be provided for the protection of Your Highness' person and property.
- (6) No land or building being Your Highness' private property shall be requisitioned or acquired without your consent and without payment of full compensation.
- (7) Electricity from the State Power House for the main residence of Your Highness and family within the State will be provided at the fixed rate for six months immediately before the transfer of administration to Government of India.
Water supply will be provided free of charge to the main Palace of Your Highness and family within the State.
- (8) The management of the temples and Debutter properties in the State may be entrusted to a Trust which shall consist of Your Highness as President, 3 nominees of Your Highness and 2 nominees of Government. This Trust will be in charge of all temples in the State and will also administer the properties of the temples both inside and outside the State. In the event of the abolition of the zamindaris which are Debutter property Government will ensure that the Trust has adequate resources to fulfil its object.
- (9) Your Highness may create a Trust for the marriage of the son and daughter of Isharani of Cooch Behar with a corpus of Rs. 1 lakh. The Trustees will be besides Your Highness, Their Highnesses of Jaipur and Dewas Junior.
- (10) The Civil List Reserve Fund of Rs. 10,00,000 shall be Your Highness' private property and shall be left by Your Highness in Trust for meeting expenditure in connection with Your Highness' marriage or special repairs to the Palace and any unforeseen expenditure.
- (11) The administration of the Maharajunior Trust Fund with a corpus of Rs. 4,00,000 shall be formally vested in a Trust of which Your Highness and Their Highnesses of Jaipur and Dewas Junior shall be trustees.

- (12) Your Highness will be entitled to hold customary Durbars and troops present at the capital will take part in the Dusserah and other celebrations.
- (13) Your Highness will retain your present rank in the Indian Army.
- (14) Government will endeavour to associate the name "Narayan" with the Cooch Behar State Forces even after their absorption in the Indian Army.
2. The Ministry of States has issued a Memorandum on the privileges and dignities which has been finalised in consultation with the Rajpramukhs of Unions and other States. Your Highness will see that the Memorandum deals adequately with the various suggestions made by the Rulers from time to time regarding their rights and privileges.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

V. P. MENON.

Lieutenant-Colonel His Highness
Maharaja Sir Jagaddipendra Narayan
Bhup Babadur, K. O. I. E.,
Maharaja of Cooch Behar,
Cooch Behar, (Bengal).

~~SECRET~~

List of allowances to members of the Ruler's family to be paid out of the revenues of the State; vide para 1(8) of the Collateral Letter.

Serial No.	Names of the allowance-holders.	Amount. Rs. a. p.
1.	Princess Sukriti Dovi (Widowed aunt of H. H.)	4,800 0 0 p. a.
2.	Princess Sudhira Mandir (Aunt of H. H., living in England)	12,000 0 0 "
3.	Minor daughter and minor son of late Rani Isha Devi (Sister of H. H.)	8,400 0 0 "

NOTE :—The allowances will be paid to the minor son till he attains the age of 25 and to the minor daughter till she gets married after which the allowances will cease.

4.	Maharajkumar Indra Jitendra Narayan (H. H.'s younger brother)	80,000 0 0 p. a.
----	---	------------------

NOTE :—Out of this amount Rs. 6,000 per annum will be paid to Isha Rani Kamala Devi for the maintenance of his two children. The allowances for the children will be discontinued when the daughter is married and the son attains the age of 25.

		Ra. a. p.
5.	Isharani Kamala Devi (wife of Maharajkumar Indra Jitendra Narayan)	6,000 0 0 p. a.
6.	Rajkumar Gautam Narayan (H. H.'s first cousin)	18,000 0 0 "
7.	Kumar Rajat Narayan and Kumar Sushendre Narayan	180 0 0 p. m.
8.	Kumar Rajendra Narayan	36 0 0 "
9.	Jahnobi Debi Isorani	300 0 0 "
10.	Jhapeswari Isorani	17 0 0 "
11.	Chhayamoyee Kachhuani	10 0 0 "
12.	Brajendre Narayan	7 0 0 "
13.	Niroda Sundari Isorani	5 0 0 "
14.	Burada Sundari Isorani	40 0 0 "
15.	Indrawari Isorani	17 0 0 "
16.	Ban Chandra Karji	10 0 0 "
17.	Swarnamoyee Isorani	10 0 0 "
18.	Sarat Kumar	10 0 0 "
19.	Kumar Prasfulla Narayan	50 0 0 "
20.	Kumar Jogendra Narayan, Kumar Dwijendra Narayan, Kumar Debendra Narayan and Padmanabha Balu Isorani	50 0 0 "
21.	Jabenita Narayan Kumar	15 0 0 "
22.	Homanta Singh Kumar	8 0 0 "
23.	Kumar Bikashendra Narayan	25 0 0 "
24.	Kumar Kunalendra Narayan	25 0 0 "
25.	Kumar Pritindra Narayan	25 0 0 "
26.	Kumar Bhabendra Narayan	25 0 0 "
27.	Bhoolini Isorani	70 0 0 "
28.	Hara Sundari Isorani	20 0 0 "
29.	Hara Sundari Isorani on behalf of her minor daughter	10 0 0 "
30.	Dayanmoyee Isorani conjoining with her widowed daughter	15 0 0 "
31.	Monorama Isorani	10 0 0 "
32.	Monorama Isorani on behalf of her minor daughter	3 8 0 "
33.	Rukmini Kunari	5 0 0 "
34.	Kumar Bhupendra Narayan	7 8 0 "
35.	Kumar Purnendu Narayan	25 0 0 "
36.	Lalita Dovi Isorani	5 0 0 "
37.	Kumar Rupendra Narayan	7 8 0 "
38.	Subbamoyee Isorano	10 0 0 "
39.	Kumar Sailendra Narayan	25 0 0 "
40.	Kumar Dwipendra Narayan	18 0 0 "
41.	Trikulendra Narayan	5 0 0 "
42.	Prodip Narayan	5 0 0 "
43.	Dip Narayan	5 0 0 "
44.	Anarendra Narayan	8 5 0 "
45.	Kumar Dharendra Narayan	15 0 0 "
46.	Amrendra Narayan	8 5 0 "
47.	Zarama Debi	8 5 0 "
48.	Kumar Tipuendra Narayan	10 0 0 "
49.	Kumar Anuradha Narayan	22 8 0 "
50.	Kumar Dwijendra Narayan	22 8 0 "
51.	Padma Kunari Isorani	15 0 0 "
52.	Chandra Prova Isorani	10 0 0 "

		Rs.	s	p.	p. m.
53.	Chandra Prova Ishorani on behalf of her 1 minor daughter and 4 minor sons at the rate of Rs. 5/- each	23	0	0	"
54.	Promila Ishorani	10	0	0	"
55.	Kumar Tripurendra Narayan	00	0	0	"
56.	Kumar Upendra Narayan	100	0	0	"
57.	Sabahni Kumari	5	0	0	"
58.	Kumar Tikhindra Narayan	5	0	0	"
59.	Kumari Hiranmoyee Debba	8	0	0	"
60.	Kalika Devi	5	0	0	"
61.	Tiloktama Debba	5	0	0	"
62.	Saraju Bala Ishorani	23	0	0	"
63.	Sushila Bala Ishorani	25	0	0	"
64.	Sushila Bala Ishorani on behalf of her one minor daughter	10	0	0	"
65.	Promila Ishorani on behalf of her one minor daughter at the rate of Rs. 5/- each.	0	0	0	"

Attested,

S. NARAYANASWAMY,

30/8/49.

Dy. Secy., Ministry of States.

Office

D. O. No. P. 15(19)-P/19.

NEW DELHI,
The 30th August, 1940.

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

With reference to Article 4 of the Agreement concluded today between Your Highness and the Governor-General of India I write to inform Your Highness that the Government of India agree that the immovable and movable properties mentioned in the list attached shall be Your Highness' private property for the purposes of that Article.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon.

Lieutenant Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir
Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, K. C. I. E.,
Maharaja of Cooch Behar,
Cooch Behar (Bengal).

Statement showing the private properties, both movable and immovable of His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

A. Immovable property which will be the family property of His Highness and preserved for future successors.

1. Palace in Cooch Behar and its compound, including garages, stables, offices, godowns, staff quarters, dolls house, squash court, vegetable garden, quarter guard, sentry posts, mechanics' quarters, gardeners' quarters, Old Durbar Office, Old Dynamo House, Rajendar, staff bungalow occupied on rent by C. M. O., Sunny Cottage (occupied by A. D. C. to H. H.), Jhoo's quarters and land (to the west of Ram Bholi High School) reserved for Palace servants' houses (area 602 bighas 12 kattas 2 dhurs)—See Plan No. 1.
2. Unfinished house under construction for the use of Private Secretary to His Highness, marked PQRS in Plan No. 1. The Government of India will pay to His Highness the amount required for completing it.
3. Houses known as "Bekh Niwas" and "Megh Mandir" for His Highness' guests and staff, as per Plan No. 2.

B. Private properties with full rights of disposal.

I. Immovable.

- (a) Within Cooch Behar State:
 - (i) Prince Victor's House and compound (excluding the area PQRS on which a house is being built for the use of the Private Secretary to His Highness)—See Plan No. 1.
 - (ii) Nilkutti House No. 1, Nilkutti House No. 2, and khas land reserved for Maharaj Kumar's House—See Plan No. 3.

Note:—His Highness has agreed that Nilkutti House No. 3 may be used by the Chief Commissioner, Cooch Behar on payment of rent for a period not exceeding five years.

- (iii) Shooting Camp Godown, with land attached for storage of tents and other equipments. Plan No. 4.
- (iv) Phulkhanna with attached land and banana garden (including office, store, maharats' quarters and all items of elephants' harness and equipment). Plan No. 5.
- (v) Daley Farm (known as Model Dairy Farm) with buildings, equipment and land attached. Plan No. 6.
- (vi) For shooting:—

Area hatched in red.—Area 4104 acres, including air strip and boat office—Plan No. 7. This area is at present entirely uncultivated and no tenants or lessees have any rights in it. For want of tractor it has not yet been possible to bring it under plough so far. During the next five years it will be brought under plough, keeping such area uncultivated as may be required for grazing of two stock belonging to His Highness. The farm will also be used for supply of hay and fodder to His Highness' ponies and other live stock.

(iii) Kula-fod grazing farm for grazing of dairy cattle and supply of fodder for them. Area 102 bighas 18 kattas 11 dhurs. Plan No. 8.

(iv) Two plots of land measuring 104 bighas and 7 bighas 10 kattas 13 dhurs, respectively, reserved for the residences of Palace servants. Plot No. 9.

(b) *Outside Cooch Behar State:*

1. Woodlands Palace (No. 8, Alipore Road), Calcutta with all buildings and lands, tanks, play grounds, godown, servants' quarters etc. Area 28.14 acres. Plan No. 10.

2. Darjeeling Estate comprising 28 houses, large and small, a garage, some vacant sites and a few leased sites. Maps of these properties will be obtained from the Darjeeling Estate Office in due course, if necessary.

Note:—His Highness has agreed to make available to the Chief Commissioner, Cooch Behar the House at Darjeeling at present occupied by the Chief Minister, Cooch Behar for a rent for a period not exceeding two years.

H. Movable property (with absolute right of disposal):

1. All articles, such as silments, furniture, hangings, carpets, decorations, objects of art, manuscripts, books, photos, pictures and paintings, electric and sanitary fittings, fans and electric appliances etc. trophies, watchow and clocks, cutlery and crockery, glass and silver wares, centre pieces, bronze, flower vases, etc., in the immovable properties mentioned under 'A' and 'B' of the list of immovable properties—wherever they may be stored for the time being.

2. All art treasures and old arms.

3. All articles of jewellery—all jewellery was purchased by the Ruler out of their personal funds from time to time.

4. All cash and bullion and articles of gold and silver and investments held by the Ruler—other than the cash and investments etc., handed over to the administration.

5. Motor Vehicles as per list attached.

6. Elephants as per list attached, along with articles used for the animals on normal and ceremonial occasions and Shikar.

7. Ponies, horses and other live stock as per lists attached along with saddlery, equipment etc.

8. Bonanza Beach Craft Plane which was purchased by His Highness out of his privy purse and "L 4" which was presented to him. His Highness will be entitled to use, free of haul charge,

(a) the hanger in Cooch Behar for stabling his private air craft,

(b) the landing grounds in Cooch Behar and other places in the State,

and

(c) the petrol godown for storage of petrol for his aeroplane.

9. Tents, charianas, camp equipment and other shooting camp articles as per list attached.

10. Articles, as per lists attached, for ceremonial and religious functions. Government will have the right to inspect the articles periodically.

11. Electric and other P. W. D. material, belonging to the Palaces and stored in the respective departments will be the private property of the Ruler.

C. Forest areas within the Cooch Behar State in which the Maharaja of Cooch Behar will have exclusive shooting and fishing rights:

1. The area hatched in white in Plan No. 7.

2. The reserved forest area hatched in white in Plan No. 11.

3. The reserved forest area hatched in white in Plan No. 12.

Only the Ruler, or any one else with his permission, will be free to shoot and fish in the above mentioned forests.

The Ruler and members of the Ruling Family will also have the right to shoot any where else within the State as at present. His Highness or the Ruling Family will not be required to take out any shooting or fishing license or permit. In the private property of His Highness as well as within the Forest areas exclusively set aside for shooting and fishing as aforesaid, His Highness and the Ruling Family will have unrestricted shooting rights as at present.

Attested.

B. NARAYANAIAH,

30/9/40

By, Secy., Ministry of States.

LIST OF MOTOR CARS.

(1) In Palace Garage :—

1. No. C. B. 203 Ford (Staff).
2. No. C. B. 250 Studebaker (Guests).
3. No. C. B. 201 Ford (Guests).
4. No. C. B. 40 Buick (*His Highness*).
5. No. C. B. 30 Packard (*Her Highness*).
6. No. C. B. 3 Austin 20—Station Wagon.
7. No. C. B. 6 Austin 10.
8. No. C. B. 34 Chrysler.
9. No. C. B. 2 Rolls Royce.
10. No. C. B. 150 Chevrolet (*Lent to State Pilot*).

(2) At Calcutta :—

11. No. C. B. 18 De Moto.
 12. No. C. B. 205 Cadillac.
 13. New Bentley.
 14. No. C. B. 202 Studebaker.
- His Highness.*

(3) At Bombay :—

15. No. C. B. 30 Willys Knight (*Her Highness*).
16. No. BMY 5203 Chevrolet (*Her Highness*).

Unserviceable

17. No. C. B. 6 Vauxhall (*Her Highness*).

LIST OF HORSES.

(a) In Cooch Behar Palace Stable :—

1. Royal Link.
2. Alan-a-dale.
3. Jason.
4. Pink Champagne.
5. I-will.
6. Phuji (Pony).
7. Surajee (Pony).

(b) His Highness' personal Race horses :—

(i) With Trainer Mr. De Cruz :—

8. My Choice.

(ii) With Trainer Major R. B. Kannard M. O. :—

9. Arjun.
10. Moonglow.
11. Hung Kong.
12. King Kong.
13. Queen of Bannockburn.
14. Deep Purple.

(iii) With Kunigal Stud Farm :—

15. Water Dyne.
16. Jack Ledge Diamond.

LIST OF ELEPHANTS.

(i) His Highness will retain the following :—

Trained

1. Jawantia.
2. Bir Bahadur.
3. Birjoo.
4. Bhim Singh.
5. Chila Roy.
6. Mohan Bahadur.

7. Jit Bahadur.
 8. Kaju Bahadur.
Makhsa.
 9. Gera Prosad.
 10. Protap Bahadur.
 11. Indrajan.
Females.
 12. Hila Devi.
 13. Rambha.
 14. Ayesha Devi.
 15. Menaka Devi.
 16. Padma Rani.
 17. Bindu Rani.
 18. Kamalig Devi.

(ii) The following will be given to the State :—

- Tusker.*
 1. Molian Prosad.
 2. Syd. Prosad.
 3. Ben Bahadur.
Females.
 4. Uttara Devi.
 5. Beela Devi.
 6. Devika Rani.

LIST OF OTHER LIVE STOCK.

(i) Model Dairy Farm :—	
1. Buffalo in milk	2 (one to dry soon).
2. Buffalo to calve	1
3. Buffalo dry	2
4. Stud Bull	2
5. Heifer (cow)	2
6. Heifer (Buff)	1
7. Mule calf	2
Total	12

(ii) Phulkhana :—	
8. Bullocks	5 pairs.
(iii) Police Gardens :—	
9. Bullocks	6 pairs.
10. Sheep	22

LIST 'K'

LIST OF SHOOTING CAMP ARTICLES.

1. Rack	..	61	20. Commode	..	34
2. Gun Rack	..	3	27. Pitcher	..	30
3. Hat-Rack	..	7	28. Brass Flower Vase	..	4
4. Chair	..	173	29. Waste Paper Basket	..	11
5. Deck Chair	..	35	30. Ice Cream Machine	..	2
6. Flower Vase Stand	..	4	31. Mouth	..	4
7. Jalechowki	..	60	32. Bucket	..	32
8. Stool	..	47	33. Parrot	..	18
9. Trapoy	..	35	34. Heater (Room)	..	6
10. Washing hand table	..	33	35. Kettles	..	2
11. American Camp Bed	..	22	36. Wooden Tray	..	20
12. Tiffin Table	..	9	37. Bedchim	..	2
13. Tiffin Bench	..	2	38. Ink pot Stand	..	20
14. Bath Tub	..	31	39. Vapor Cabinet	..	28
15. Lemonade crate	..	4	40. Door Mat	..	40
16. Water Boma	..	3	41. Fire Extinguisher	..	12
17. Dressing Table	..	7	42. Pinot	..	6
18. Ice Box	..	2	43. Doleolidi	..	3
19. Iron Bed	..	7	44. Anguti	..	4
20. Banat Table	..	3	45. Fire Gratings	..	10
21. Dining Table	..	2	46. Knife Sharpener	..	3
22. Pantry Table	..	4	47. Hat case	..	1
23. Camp Table	..	40	48. Wooden Chest	..	4
24. Wooden Cot	..	1	49. Tea Spoon	..	08
25. Chamber Pot	..	37			

60. Table Spoon	..	36	117. Table Lamp	..	63
61. Desert Spoon	..	118	118. Caudle Stand	..	30
62. Fork	..	172	119. Lantern	..	48
63. Mustard Spoon	..	47	120. Paraffinax Lamp	..	0
64. Flat Spoon	..	13	121. Brass Pot	..	70
65. Fish Fork	..	47	122. Soap Case	..	31
66. Flat knife	..	47	123. Washing Hand Basin	..	32
67. Table knife	..	90	124. Washing Hand Jug	..	29
68. Ash Tray	..	55	125. Enamel Jug	..	24
69. Silver Donga	..	10	126. Tiffin Carrier	..	5
70. Cooking Spoon	..	23	127. Milk Jug	..	5
71. Silver Flower Vase	..	11	128. Ilion Pot	..	0
72. Towel rack	..	18	129. Dog	..	0
73. Silver Tray Round	..	8	130. Iron Pan (Kural)	..	7
74. Ice Stand	..	8	131. Fry Pan	..	26
75. Peg Measure	..	2	132. Saucy Pan	..	37
76. Match Stand	..	4	133. Mug	..	37
77. Candle Stand	..	2	134. Flat Plate	..	26
78. Dinner Bell	..	1	135. Donga	..	18
79. Butter Stand	..	1	136. Enamel Plate	..	111
80. Menu Stand	..	7	137. Mould	..	67
81. Silver Cup	..	6	138. Gong	..	2
82. Ring	..	4	139. Polka	..	8
83. Cap Stand	..	3	140. Red Banat	..	9
84. Flat Vase	..	1	141. Bath Towel	..	105
85. Peg Stand	..	2	142. Banat Table Cover	..	60
86. Cigar Stand	..	1	143. Blanket	..	20
87. Thermos	..	28	144. Napkin	..	128
88. Flower Vase	..	30	145. Bath Mat	..	23
89. Sandwich Box	..	24	146. Bed Sheet	..	50
90. Enamel Glass	..	23	147. Dining Table Cloth	..	25
91. American Tea Cup	..	67	148. Long Tray Cloth	..	27
92. Pepper Pot	..	60	149. Apron	..	11
93. Soup Plate	..	42	150. Mosquito net	..	20
94. Full Plate	..	112	151. Pillow case	..	66
95. Half Plate	..	83	152. Quince bed cover	..	23
96. Quarter Plate	..	83	153. Face Towel	..	60
97. Saucer	..	107	154. Mattress cover	..	0
98. Egg Cup	..	47	155. Teapoy cover	..	24
99. Lemon Squeezer	..	4	156. Tray cloth	..	28
100. Butter Pot	..	17	157. Matvyl	..	10
101. Salad Bowl	..	6	158. Dressing table cover	..	60
102. Sugar Basin	..	11	159. Beron	..	2
103. Mustard Pot	..	60	160. Soft cover	..	8
104. Tea Cups	..	13	161. Quilt	..	31
105. Coffee Cup	..	81	162. Tashak	..	34
106. Tray	..	8	163. Pillow	..	07
107. Mirror	..	45	164. Weighing scale	..	0
108. Milk Jug	..	30	165. Mortar (grinding)	..	1
109. Cream Pot	..	7	166. Null sponer	..	2
110. Tea Pot	..	33	167. Chopper	..	2
111. Pen-holder Stand	..	9	168. Potato Chopper	..	2
112. Water Pot	..	12	169. Lime Squeezor	..	2
113. Ink-pot	..	24	170. Tin Opener	..	7
114. Pin cushion	..	3	171. Butter Machine	..	2
115. Paper Weight	..	1	172. Cork Scrow	..	3
116. Gum Pot	..	21	173. Cooking knife	..	16
117. Beer Opener	..	3	174. Cleaning Fork	..	18
118. Glass Vase	..	6	175. Flit Pump	..	2
119. Jam Pot	..	6	176. Helicore	..	0
120. Decanter	..	41	177. Pilot	..	3
121. Glass Plate	..	70	178. Screw Driver	..	2
122. Glass Finger Bowl	..	72	179. Big scissor	..	2
123. Water Jug	..	23	180. Watch	..	0
124. Tumbler	..	235	181. Kerosene Kuri (lamp)	..	3
125. Cigarette Case	..	6	182. Pussep	..	3
126. Wine Glass	..	330	183. Super Can	..	2

184. Light Post ..	6	191. Steel Trunk ..	9
185. Stove ..	2	192. Leather Suitcase ..	2
186. Jajim ..	2	193. Wooden Ladder ..	6
187. Petromax ..	11	194. Big Spoon ..	2
188. Jharan (Duster) ..	2	195. Butter Spoon ..	1
189. Admirali ..	1	196. Blotter ..	3
190. Wooden Box ..	6	197. Bruno Paper ..	8 pkt.

LIST OF TENTS.

1. Captain's Tent 40x27 complete with main room 3 and 4 Verandah.	1	17. Necessary tent ..	69
18. Samiana 40x40 ..	1	18. Samiana 38x38 ..	1
19. Samiana 34x34 (condemned)	1	20. Samiana 24x24 (condemned)	1
21. Samiana 20x20 (do) ..	1	22. Civil Service Samiana 30x28.	2
23. Hill Tent 10x10 ..	1	24. Field Officers tent 40x40 (too old) ..	6
25. Miniature Swiss Cottage ..	2	26. Inner Fly of old Swiss Cottage ..	1
27. Upper Fly of old Swiss Cottage ..	1	28. Inner Fly of miniature Swiss Cottage ..	3
29. Upper Fly of miniature Swiss Cottage ..	1	30. Upper Fly of Shikari Pal ..	1
31. Shikari Pal ..	2	32. Old Sleeping Pal Single ..	1
33. Motor Garage white Gun Room ..	1	34. Gun Room ..	2

ARTICLES FOR CEREMONIAL AND RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS.

COOCH BEHAR PALACE DOUBLE LOOK.

Serial No.	Date of receipt.	Particulars of articles.	No. of articles.	Weight.	Remarks.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.		Gold Atardan (Silver lid)	1	88 T-5a-3R	
2.		Gold Atardan (With silver chungi without lid).	1	85T-11a	
3.		Gold Golap Pash No. 1	1	42T-7a-2R	
4.		Do No. 2	1	43T-10a-1R	
5.		Gold Surai (lac on the bottom)	1	60T-9a	
6.		Gold Jhari	1	160T-12a	
7.		Gold Hookka	1	1 Sr-15 Ch-10a	
8.		Gold Chhilm	1	12T-11a-2R	
9.		Do	1	8 Tales	
10.		Gold Sarpesh	1	13T-11a-4R	
11.		Gold Sarjosh with lid	1	41T-14a	
12.		Gold Arakdan	1	2T-3a-8R	
13.		Do Do. with 10 imitation stones.	1	4T-14a	
14.		A Hookka mounted with gold plate.	1	35T-6a-2R	
15.		Do mounted with Gold Plate.	1	52T-6a-2R	
16.		Gold Kalka (with stone)	1	8T-4a-3 1/2R	
17.		Gold Syringo	1	40T-6a	
18.		Do	1	11T-10a	
19.		Gold Plate for Botole	1	57T-14a	
20.		Gold Khuchi for drawing Attar.	1	2A-9R	
21.		Do	1	4A-1/2 R.	
22.		Gold Plate for collecting Nazar during Durbars.	1	67T-10a	

1	2	3	4	5	6
110.		Silver shota	2	8Sr-4T-4A.	
111.		Do	1	18r-3T-8A.	kept in the single lock.
112.		Silver Bhaphu (with Tahatal and Mahulal)	6	08r-08T-10A.	
113.		Tahatal Mahulal (old)	4	10T-10A.	
114.		Silver umbrella frame	3	14Sr-60T.	
115.		Do umbrella Handle	1		
116.		Silver Pauchchatra (Silver Atar 30, Pan 104 with wooden frames silver plated)	2	48r-73T-8A.	Kept in the single lock.
117.		Arani-Chhatra handle	4	6Sr-52T-8A.	Broken.
118.		One Darpunkha mounted with silver plate.	1	23r-33T-8A.	
119.		Silver handles of Chumars	6		Only handle exists.
120.		Handles of flags mounted with silver plates (with Trishul)	8	4Sr-55T.	
121.		Bamboo frames of old flags mounted with silver plates			
122.		Silver Guruz	1	0Sr-1T.	
123.		Silver Pratip	2	4T-1A.	
124.		Do	6	13T-12A.	
125.		Silver Jhinuk	1	2T-11A-3B.	
126.		Cord Case made of silver wire	1	4T-0A.	
127.		Silver Tray	1	88r-43T-8A.	
128.		Do	1	88r-23T-8A.	
129.		Silver Thali	60	3 Ml-88-14C-1R-13 Mame.	
131.		Silver cups (Big)	240	1 Ml-188r-1T-4A.	
133.		Silver cups (medium)	300	1 Ml-218r-10Ch-4T.	
134.		Silver Ghrتاباتی	60	48r-10Ch-2T-4A.	
135.		Silver glass	60	148r-2Ch-2T-4A.	
138.		Silver Rekub (plate) Big	60	22Sr-4Ch-1T-12A.	
139.		Do (Small)	60	128r-13Ch-1T-10A.	
140.		Do	8	31T-2A.	
141.		Gold gilded silver Ghor	3 parts		
142.		Silver Choudi	12		
143.		Ornamental silver	4		
144.		Dinner Chouki			
145.		Silver plated Choudi	3		
146.		Do	1		
147.		Silver Pira	4		
148.		Silver Foot Stool	3		
149.		Silver Bar (Small)	1	8T-14us.	
154.		Do (Big)	1	20T-12us.	
155.		Silver Handles of Chumars (made of buffalo horns)	2		Only handles exist.
156.		Silver mounted throne	1		
157.		Silver doll	8	118r-47T.	
158.		Silver cutter	11	1Mv-20T.	
159.		Silver Mukhary	6	48T-0us.	
160.		Silver Mokhe	12	84r-23T-8us.	
161.		Silver Lion	4	338r-40T.	
162.		Silver Chair	2		
163.		Poiras	9	25r-70T-8us.	
164.		Do	1	7Nr-30T-8us.	
165.		Do	1	7Nr-6T.	
166.		Paduka Mridha	2	8M-10 Ch.	
167.		Chandana of Silver	4	00T-0us.	
168.		Ambori Howars	1		
169.		Silver Chepa	8	1Mv-70T-12us.	
170.		Silver Puskar	1	00T-17us.	
171.		Silver Puskar of Ambori	1	00T-0us.	
172.		Horn shell	8		
173.		Silver Thali (12 parts)	4	40T-17-us.	
174.		Silver plated Kanchan Tharpas	1	13 T-0us.	
175.		Silver ornaments of Nekha	1	1T-10us-21L.	
176.		Silver ornaments (broken)	1	2xT-11us.	
177.		Broken parts of Tharpas and other articles	1	42T-0us.	

1	2	3	4-	5	6
177.	Silver case (small)	1	6T-11as.		
179.	Silver case of Ink-pots	1	25T-12as.	Without Inkpot.	
180.	Silver Surpouch of Chilimoni	2	72T-2as.		
181.	Jarao Dhal (Shield)	1	4 Sr. 11 Ch.		
182.	Khanda of Nagpur with case	1	1 Sr. 8 Ch. 2 T. 8 as.		
183.	Nagpuri Hooka	1	70T. 2 as.		
184.	Do Chilim, Surpouch,	1	30T. 11 as.		
	Arakalan with lid				
185.	A pipe set with diamond	1	3T. 2R.		
186.	One Morshi pipe of Nagpur set with pearl	1	10T. 8 as. 8R.		
187.	Nagpuri Guppi set with Diamond and pearl	1	0 T. 10 as.		
188.	A pipe of Alibba Hooka	1			
194.	Bhutia Dagger	1			
195.	Bhutia Sword	2			
196.	Japanese Sword	2		One missing.	
197.	Bhutia Dagger	1			
198.	A medal received from Allahabad Exhibition	1	0T-2as-8R.		
199.	Delhi Coronation Medal, 1911	1	3T-10as-8R.		
200.	One copper Medal of 1900-10 of the Punjab	1			
201.	N. W. F. province	1			
202.	German Silver Tokma	0			
204.	Silver Medals	3	0T-10as-8R.	Only handle exists.	
	German Silver Handle of Chamars	2			
205.	Gold gilded Ballam	4	10Sr-7T.		
206.	Sword and Guppi with Gold Tahalal Mahalal (without gold)	5		Secretary to H. H.'s letter No. 408 dated 4. 8. 11. noted in page 23 of the old register (kept in the single lock).	
207.	Tray made of Bronze Gilded	1			
208.	Brass Pushkar	1	23T-2as.		
209.	Gilded Chammar handle	1	05 Tolus	Only handle exists.	
212.	Juridur Silk Cloth	8			
213.	Red bordered Juridur	1			
	Silk Dhuti				
214.	Pugree	1			
218.	Green Mudni Pugree	1			
217.	Gold coloured Mudni	1			
218.	Light brown silk cloth	1			
219.	White silk Sarvo	1			
	Do Do				
220.	Red coloured Musso	1			
221.	Red cloth	1			
222.	Ash coloured Bhagidur Musso	1			
223.	Red and Gold coloured Musso	1			
224.	White coloured Bonnard	1			
225.	Sarvo and Ghadi	1			
226.	Itui coloured Musso	1			
227.	Gold coloured Kingdarp	1			
228.	Orange coloured	1			
	Bonarwan Musso				
229.	Jury bordered shawl	1			
230.	Gold coloured very shaddar	1			
231.	Green coloured Musso	1			
232.	Bhutiar Musso	1			
233.	Black velvet musso	1			
234.	Two pieces of velvet	1			
				Received from the Mysurbhanj State.	

GOOD REINH RAILAGE SINOLE LOOK.

List of Models and etc.

Old No.	New No.	S. No.	Particulars of article.	No. of Article.	Weight	Hemwts.
298.	1	Brocade Blousard		1		
299.	2	Sidlo pillow		2		
300.	3	Takka		2		
301.	4	Hooded jacket Blousard		4		
302.	5	Takka		4		
303.	6	Sidlo pillow		6		
304.	7	Jard coat		18		
305.	8	Pillow		8		
306.	9	Small Blousard		10		
307.	10	Pillow		10		
308.	11	Small coat		10		
309.	12	Takka		8		
310.	13	Small coat of the Takka		8		
311.	14	Blousard jacket below this		1		
312.	15	Cape		1		
313.	16	Takka side pillow		2		
314.	17	Takka		2		
315.	18	Takka Blousard for the taking of		3		
316.	19	Hoodie		1		
317.	20	Pillar		1		
318.	21	Kids		1		
319.	22	Old Blousard of Takka		1		
320.	23	Sidlo pillow		1		
321.	24	Old Blousard (Takka)		1		
322.	25	Old Blousard (Takka)		1		
323.	26	Sidlo pillow		1		
324.	27	Sidlo pillow		1		
325.	28	Sidlo pillow		1		
326.	29	Old Blousard (Takka)		1		
327.	30	Vidhi pillow (Takka)		1		
328.	31	Wavy cloth (Takka)		1		
329.	32	Blousard for the taking of		1		
330.	33	Wavy cloth (Takka)		1		
331.	34	Wavy cloth (Takka)		1		
332.	35	Wavy cloth (Takka)		1		
333.	36	Wavy cloth (Takka)		1		
334.	37	Wavy cloth (Takka)		1		
335.	38	Blousard for the taking of		1		
336.	39	Blousard for the taking of		1		
337.	40	Blousard for the taking of		1		
338.	41	Blousard for the taking of		1		
339.	42	Blousard for the taking of		1		
340.	43	Blousard for the taking of		1		
341.	44	Blousard for the taking of		1		
342.	45	Blousard for the taking of (small)		1		
343.	46	Blousard for the taking of		1		
344.	47	Blousard for the taking of		1		
345.	48	Blousard for the taking of		1		
346.	49	Blousard for the taking of		1		
347.	50	Blousard for the taking of		1		
348.	51	Blousard for the taking of		1		
349.	52	Blousard for the taking of		1		
350.	53	Blousard for the taking of		1		
351.	54	Blousard for the taking of		1		
352.	55	Blousard for the taking of		1		
353.	56	Blousard for the taking of		1		
354.	57	Blousard for the taking of		1		
355.	58	Blousard for the taking of		1		
356.	59	Blousard for the taking of		1		
357.	60	Blousard for the taking of		1		
358.	61	Blousard for the taking of		1		
359.	62	Blousard for the taking of		1		
360.	63	Blousard for the taking of		1		
361.	64	Blousard for the taking of		1		
362.	65	Blousard for the taking of		1		
363.	66	Blousard for the taking of		1		
364.	67	Blousard for the taking of		1		
365.	68	Blousard for the taking of		1		
366.	69	Blousard for the taking of		1		
367.	70	Blousard for the taking of		1		
368.	71	Blousard for the taking of		1		
369.	72	Blousard for the taking of		1		
370.	73	Blousard for the taking of		1		
371.	74	Blousard for the taking of		1		
372.	75	Blousard for the taking of		1		
373.	76	Blousard for the taking of		1		
374.	77	Blousard for the taking of		1		
375.	78	Blousard for the taking of		1		
376.	79	Blousard for the taking of		1		
377.	80	Blousard for the taking of		1		
378.	81	Blousard for the taking of		1		
379.	82	Blousard for the taking of		1		
380.	83	Blousard for the taking of		1		
381.	84	Blousard for the taking of		1		
382.	85	Blousard for the taking of		1		
383.	86	Blousard for the taking of		1		
384.	87	Blousard for the taking of		1		
385.	88	Blousard for the taking of		1		
386.	89	Blousard for the taking of		1		
387.	90	Blousard for the taking of		1		
388.	91	Blousard for the taking of		1		
389.	92	Blousard for the taking of		1		
390.	93	Blousard for the taking of		1		
391.	94	Blousard for the taking of		1		
392.	95	Blousard for the taking of		1		
393.	96	Blousard for the taking of		1		
394.	97	Blousard for the taking of		1		
395.	98	Blousard for the taking of		1		
396.	99	Blousard for the taking of		1		
397.	100	Blousard for the taking of		1		
398.	101	Blousard for the taking of		1		
399.	102	Blousard for the taking of		1		
400.	103	Blousard for the taking of		1		
401.	104	Blousard for the taking of		1		
402.	105	Blousard for the taking of		1		
403.	106	Blousard for the taking of		1		
404.	107	Blousard for the taking of		1		
405.	108	Blousard for the taking of		1		
406.	109	Blousard for the taking of		1		
407.	110	Blousard for the taking of		1		
408.	111	Blousard for the taking of		1		
409.	112	Blousard for the taking of		1		
410.	113	Blousard for the taking of		1		
411.	114	Blousard for the taking of		1		
412.	115	Blousard for the taking of		1		
413.	116	Blousard for the taking of		1		
414.	117	Blousard for the taking of		1		
415.	118	Blousard for the taking of		1		
416.	119	Blousard for the taking of		1		
417.	120	Blousard for the taking of		1		
418.	121	Blousard for the taking of		1		
419.	122	Blousard for the taking of		1		
420.	123	Blousard for the taking of		1		
421.	124	Blousard for the taking of		1		
422.	125	Blousard for the taking of		1		
423.	126	Blousard for the taking of		1		
424.	127	Blousard for the taking of		1		
425.	128	Blousard for the taking of		1		
426.	129	Blousard for the taking of		1		
427.	130	Blousard for the taking of		1		
428.	131	Blousard for the taking of		1		
429.	132	Blousard for the taking of		1		
430.	133	Blousard for the taking of		1		
431.	134	Blousard for the taking of		1		
432.	135	Blousard for the taking of		1		
433.	136	Blousard for the taking of		1		
434.	137	Blousard for the taking of		1		
435.	138	Blousard for the taking of		1		
436.	139	Blousard for the taking of		1		
437.	140	Blousard for the taking of		1		
438.	141	Blousard for the taking of		1		
439.	142	Blousard for the taking of		1		
440.	143	Blousard for the taking of		1		
441.	144	Blousard for the taking of		1		
442.	145	Blousard for the taking of		1		
443.	146	Blousard for the taking of		1		
444.	147	Blousard for the taking of		1		
445.	148	Blousard for the taking of		1		
446.	149	Blousard for the taking of		1		
447.	150	Blousard for the taking of		1		
448.	151	Blousard for the taking of		1		
449.	152	Blousard for the taking of		1		
450.	153	Blousard for the taking of		1		
451.	154	Blousard for the taking of		1		
452.	155	Blousard for the taking of		1		
453.	156	Blousard for the taking of		1		
454.	157	Blousard for the taking of		1		
455.	158	Blousard for the taking of		1		
456.	159	Blousard for the taking of		1		
457.	160	Blousard for the taking of		1		
458.	161	Blousard for the taking of		1		
459.	162	Blousard for the taking of		1		
460.	163	Blousard for the taking of		1		
461.	164	Blousard for the taking of		1		
462.	165	Blousard for the taking of		1		
463.	166	Blousard for the taking of		1		
464.	167	Blousard for the taking of		1		
465.	168	Blousard for the taking of		1		
466.	169	Blousard for the taking of		1		
467.	170	Blousard for the taking of		1		
468.	171	Blousard for the taking of		1		
469.	172	Blousard for the taking of		1		
470.	173	Blousard for the taking of		1		
471.	174	Blousard for the taking of		1		
472.	175	Blousard for the taking of		1		
473.	176	Blousard for the taking of		1		
474.	177	Blousard for the taking of		1		
475.	178	Blousard for the taking of		1		
476.	179	Blousard for the taking of		1		
477.	180	Blousard for the taking of		1		
478.	181	Blousard for the taking of		1		
479.	182	Blousard for the taking of		1		
480.	183	Blousard for the taking of		1		
481.	184	Blousard for the taking of		1		
482.	185	Blousard for the taking of		1		
483.	186	Blousard for the taking of		1		
484.	187	Blousard for the taking of		1		
485.	188	Blousard for the taking of		1		
486.	189	Blousard for the taking of		1		
487.	190	Blousard for the taking of		1		
488.	191	Blousard for the taking of		1		
489.	192	Blousard for the taking of		1		
490.	193	Blousard for the taking of		1		
491.	194	Blousard for the taking of		1		
492.	195	Blousard for the taking of		1		
493.	196	Blousard for the taking of		1		
494.	197	Blousard for the taking of		1		
495.	198	Blousard for the taking of		1		
496.	199	Blousard for the taking of		1		
497.	200	Blousard for the taking of		1		
498.	201	Blousard for the taking of		1		
499.	202	Blousard for the taking of		1		
500.	203	Blousard for the taking of		1		
501.	204	Blousard for the taking of		1		
502.	205	Blousard for the taking of		1		
503.	206	Blousard for the taking of		1		
504.	207	Blousard for the taking of		1		
505.	208	Blousard for the taking of		1		
506.	209	Blousard for the taking of		1		
507.	210	Blousard for the taking of		1		
508.	211	Blousard for the taking of		1		
509.	212	Blousard for the taking of		1		
510.	213	Blousard for the taking of		1		
511.	214	Blousard for the taking of		1		
512.	215	Blousard for the taking of		1		
513.	216	Blousard for the taking of		1		
514.	217	Blousard for the taking of		1		
515.	218	Blousard for the taking of		1		
516.	219	Blousard for the taking of		1		
517.	220	Blousard for the taking of		1		
518.	221	Blousard for the taking of		1		
519.	222	Blousard for the taking of		1		
520.	223	Blousard for the taking of		1		
521.	224	Blousard for the taking of		1		
522.	225	Blousard for the taking of		1		
523.	226	Blousard for the taking of		1		
524.	227	Blousard for the taking of		1		
525.	228	Blousard for the taking of		1		
526.	229	Blousard for the taking of		1		
527.	230	Blousard for the taking of		1		
528.	231	Blousard for the taking of		1		
529.	232	Blousard for the taking of		1		</td

1	2	3	4	5	6
4.		Foot bangles	2	1282 Tolas.	
5.		Ornament of elephant's neck	13	204 T-8 ms.	
6.		Ornament of elephant's tail	1	737 T-12 ms.	
7.		Sarpoch Palak	2		
8.		Ornament of elephant's ears	2		
9.		Furdanada	1	308 Tolas.	
10.		Gajaproha garland	4		
11.		Suryaamukhi	2	370 Tolas.	Old.
12.		Ornaments of Tuskers	4	42T-4 ms.	Do
13.		Palak	2		Do
14.		Foot bangle	1	606 Tolas.	
15.		Ornaments of elephant's tail	1	642 Tolas.	
16.		Pancha Kandha	6	1139 Tolas.	
17.		Pancha Haar	6	630 T-12 ms.	
18.		Pancha Peori (Bangles)	6	210 T-12 ms.	
19.		Kirnara	6	411 T-4 ms.	
20.		Pancha Dhunuchi	6	322 T-4 ms.	
21.		Velvet cap	6		
22.		Velvet Churjama	7		

STATEMENT NO. III.

MAHARAJ KUMAR TRUST FUND.

	Rs.
8 % Loan 1040	2,01,000
3 % Loan 1040	1,00,000
3 % Loan 1040	60,000
TOTAL	4,60,000

AGREEMENT MADE THIS twenty-eighth day of August 1949 between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

Whereas in the best interests of the State of Cooch Behar as well as of the Dominion of India it is desirable to provide for the administration of the said State by or under the authority of the Dominion Government:

IT IS HEREBY AGREED AS FOLLOWS:—

ARTICLE I

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar hereby cedes to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers in and in relation to the government of the State and agrees to transfer the administration of the State to the Dominion Government on the 12th day of September 1949 (hereinafter referred to as "the said day").

As from the said day the Dominion Government will be competent to exercise the said powers, authority and jurisdiction in the said State through such agency as it may think fit.

ARTICLE II

His Highness the Maharaja shall continue to enjoy the same personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles which he would have enjoyed had this agreement not been made.

ARTICLE III

The Ruler as the Maharaja shall each year from the said day be entitled to receive for his lifetime from the revenue of the State annually for His Privy Purse the sum of Rupees eight lac forty thousand two of all taxes. After him the privy purse will be fixed at Rupees seven lac only. This amount is intended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and his family, including expenses on account of his personal staff, maintenance of his residence, marriages and other ceremonies etc. and will neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever.

The Government of India undertakes that the said sum of Rupees eight lac fifty thousand shall be paid to His Highness the Maharaja in four equal instalments in advance at the beginning of each quarter from the State treasury or at such treasury as may be specified by the Government of India.

ARTICLE IV.

His Highness the Maharaja shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all private properties (as distinct from State properties) belonging to him on the date of this agreement.

His Highness the Maharaja will furnish to the Dominion Government before the 16th September, 1940 an inventory of all the immovable property, securities and cash balances held by him as such private property.

If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of His Highness the Maharaja or State property, it shall be referred to a judicial officer qualified to be appointed as a High Court Judge, and the decision of that officer shall be final and binding on both parties.

ARTICLE V.

All the members of His Highness' family shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territories of the State, immediately before the last day of August, 1947.

ARTICLE VI.

The Dominion Government guarantees the succession, according to law and custom, to the *gaddi* of the State and to His Highness the Maharaja's personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles.

ARTICLE VII.

No enquiry shall be made by or under the authority of the Government of India, and no proceedings shall lie in any Court in Cooch Behar against His Highness the Maharaja, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him or under his authority during the period of his administration of that State.

ARTICLE VIII.

(1) The Government of India hereby guarantees either the continuance in service of the permanent members of the Public Services of Cooch Behar on conditions which will be not less favourable than those on which they were serving before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India or the payment of reasonable compensation.

(2) The Government of India further guarantees the continuance of pensions and leave salaries sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja to servants of the State who have retired or proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement, before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India.

ARTICLE IX.

Except with the previous sanction of the Government of India no proceedings, civil and criminal, shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duties as a servant of the State before the day on which the administration is made over to the Government of India.

In consideration whereof Mr. Vayal Panganai Menon, Adviser to the Government of India in the Ministry of States has appended his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Governor General of India and Lieutenant Colonel His Highness Maharaja Jagadipendra Narayan Singh Bahadur Maharaja of Cooch Behar has appended his signature on behalf of himself, his wife and successors.

JAGADIPENDRA NARAYAN,
Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

V. P. MENON,

Adviser to the Government of India, Ministry of States.

APPENDIX - II

Registered No. C207

Calcutta



Gazette

Sambad

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1950

PART III—Acts of the West Bengal Legislature.

GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL.

Legislative Department.

NOTIFICATION

No. 2199L.—6th December 1950.—The following Act of the West Bengal Legislature, having been assented to by the President, is hereby published for general information:

West Bengal Act LXIII of 1950

THE COOCH BEHAR (ASSIMILATION) OF STATE LAWS ACT, 1950.

[Passed by the West Bengal Legislature.]

[Assent of the President was first published in the Calcutta Gazette, of the 7th December, 1950.]

An Act to assimilate certain State laws in force in Cooch Behar to the State laws in force in the rest of West Bengal.

WHEREAS it is expedient to assimilate certain State laws in force in Cooch Behar to the State laws in force in the rest of West Bengal;

It is hereby enacted as follows:

Short title
and com-
menc-
ment.

1. (1) This Act may be called the Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Definitions.

2. In this Act,—

(a) "appointed day" means the date appointed under sub-section (2) of section 1 for the coming into force of this Act;

(b) "Cooch Behar" means the merged territory of Cooch Behar in the State of West Bengal;

(c) "State law" means so much of any Act, Ordinance, Regulation, rule, order or by-law as relates to any of the matters enumerated in List II in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India.

Abdi-
tion of
State
Laws.

3. (1) All State laws which immediately before the appointed day extend over are in the State of West Bengal but do not extend to, or are not in force in, Cooch Behar shall, as from that day, extend to, or as the case may be, come into force in Cooch Behar.

(2) All State laws which, immediately before the appointed day, are in force in Cooch Behar but in the rest of West Bengal shall on that day cease to be in Cooch Behar except as respects things done or omitted to be done before that day.

The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.

(Section 4 and Schedule I.)

(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-sections (1) and (2), the Cooch Behar Acts specified in Schedule I as in force in Cooch Behar immediately before the appointed day shall continue to be in force therein after the said date subject to the adaptations specified in that Schedule, and the State laws specified in Schedule II shall not extend to, or come into force in, Cooch Behar:

Provided that the State Government may, by notification in the *Official Gazette*, appoint a date on which any of the Acts specified in Schedule I shall cease to be in force and any of the Acts specified in Schedule II shall extend to, or come into force in, Cooch Behar.

(2) Nothing in this section shall be deemed to restrict or affect in any way, any shooting or fishing rights guaranteed or assured to His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar under any covenant or agreement made with the Government of the Dominion of India, before the commencement of the Constitution of India.

Provision for removal of difficulty. If any difficulty arises in relation to the transition from the laws mentioned in sub-section (2) of section 3 to the laws mentioned in sub-section (1) thereof, the State Government may, by order notified in the *Official Gazette*, make such provision as it considers necessary for the removal of such difficulty.

SCHEDULE I.

[See section 3(3).]

(1) The Cooch Behar Village Choukidari Act, 1893 (Cooch Behar Act III of 1893).

Throughout the Act.—For "Fouzdarai Abilker" substitute "District Magistrate".

Preamble.—For "State" substitute "district".

*Section I.—In sub-clause (1), for "by a Sanud under his hand and seal" substitute "by an order published in the *Official Gazette*"; for "State" substitute "district".*

In sub-clause (2), for "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur in Council", in the two places where they occur, substitute "the State Government"; for "Cooch Behar Gazette" substitute "Official Gazette".

In the first proviso, for "Cooch Behar Municipal Act I of 1885" substitute "Cooch Behar Town Committee Act of 1903 (Cooch Behar Act IV of 1903) or the Cooch Behar Municipal Act, 1944 (Cooch Behar Act III of 1944)".

Section II(d).—In sub-clauses (2) and (3), for "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur in Council" substitute "the State Government"; for "Cooch Behar Gazette" in the two places where they occur, substitute "Official Gazette".

In sub-clause (2), for "granted a Sanud given under the hand and seal of" substitute "given an order in writing by".

Section III(B).—In clause (b), for "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur in Council" substitute "the State Government"; for "Cooch Behar Gazette" substitute "Official Gazette".

Section V.—For "Ramas 1" substitute "Rupees 2" and for "one pice or quarter of an anna" substitute "two pico or half an atom".

Section XXXIII.—In clause 6th, for "State Council" substitute "State Government".

In clause 13th, for "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur in Council" substitute "the State Government" and for "Cooch Behar Gazette" substitute "Official Gazette".

Section XLIII.—For "Superintendent of the State" substitute "Divisional Commissioner".

Section XLIV.—For "Cooch Behar State" substitute "the district of Cooch Behar".

*The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.**Schedule I.)***(2) The Cooch Behar Cess Act, 1893 (Cooch Behar Act V of 1893).**

Throughout the Act.—For "His Highness the Maharaja in Council", "His Highness in Council" and "His Highness" substitute "the State Government" except where otherwise mentioned; for "Naib Ahilkar" substitute "Deputy Collector"; for "Naib Ahilkar of the subdivision" substitute "Deputy Collector in charge of the subdivision"; for "Revenue Minister" substitute "Collector".

Long title and preamble.—For "State" substitute "district".

Section 2.—Omit definition of "Naib Ahilkar"; in the definitions of "Lukherajdar" and "Mokoraridar", after "State" insert "of Cooch Behar before merger".

Section 6.—Omit section 6.

Section 7.—Omit "if he think fit".

Section 18.—For "the State" substitute "Government".

Section 25.—For "State Council" substitute "Divisional Commissioner or the Board of Revenue".

Section 31.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section 34.—For "His Highness the Maharaja in Council" substitute "the Divisional Commissioner and the Board of Revenue", in the marginal note for "State Council" substitute "Divisional Commissioner and Board of Revenue".

Part III, Chapter V.—For the heading "Constitution and Administration of the Communication Improvement Fund" substitute "Temporary Provisions".

Section 36.—For section 36, substitute the following:

"Communication Improvement Cess, etc., District Board for Cooch Behar, the part of the Consolidated Fund of the State, until the constitution of a District Board for Cooch Behar, the amount produced by the Communication Improvement Cess and all sums levied or recovered as fines, penalties or otherwise in respect of the cess under this Act, shall form part of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal; and the cost of repair and maintenance of roads, bridges and other means of communication and the cost of construction and maintenance of any other work of public utility shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal".

Sections 37, 38, 39 and 40.—Omit these sections.

(3) The Cooch Behar Revenue Sales Act, 1897 (Cooch Behar Act V of 1897).

Throughout the Act.—For "Naib Ahilkar" substitute "Deputy Collector"; for "Revenue Minister" substitute "Collector of the district"; for "Cooch Behar Gazette" substitute "Official Gazette"; for "Council" substitute "Board of Revenue, West Bengal"; and for "Civil and Sessions Judge" substitute "District Judge".

Long title.—" " substitute "district".

Section 1.—" " substitute "Government".

Section 4.—" " substitute "Government".

Section 11.—For "as may, under the provisions of the preceding section" substitute "as under the provisions of the Kist Act, Cooch Behar, 1898 (Cooch Behar, 1898)".

The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1960.

(Schedule I.)

Section VII(A).—For "Revenue Officer" substitute "Collector"; for "State" substitute "Government"; for "Section 7 of the Cooch Behar Public Demands Recovery Act (II of 1890)" substitute "the Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913 (Bengal Act III of 1913)".

Sections IX, XIII, XXI, XXVII, XXXII and XXXIII.
—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section XVI.—For "State" substitute "district".

Section XXVII.—For the words "Naib Alikar may refer to any Sub-Naib Alikar subordinate to him" substitute "Deputy Collector in charge of a subdivision may refer to any other Deputy Collector or any Sub-Deputy Collector of the same station"; in clause 3, omit "or Sub-Naib Alikar".

Schedule A.—For "State" substitute "district", wherever it occurs.

(4) **The Kist Act, Cooch Behar, 1898 (Cooch Behar Act I of 1898).**

Throughout this Act.—For "State" substitute "Government".

(5) **The Cooch Behar Town Committee Act of 1903 (Cooch Behar Act IV of 1903).**

Throughout the Act.—For "Cooch Behar Gazette" substitute "Official Gazette"; for "His Highness the Maharaja in Council", or "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur in Council" substitute "State Government"; for "His Highness in Council" substitute "State Government".

Section V.—In sub-section (13) for "His Highness the Maharaja" substitute "State Government".

Section VIII.—For "to him may seem fit" substitute "may be specified in the notification".

Section XI.—For "Fouzdar Alikar" substitute "District Magistrate"; for "State Engineer" substitute "Executive Engineer"; for "Naib Alikars" substitute "Officers".

Section XIII.—For "the State" substitute "Government".

Section XV.—For "His Highness the Maharaja" substitute "State Government"; for "State Funds" substitute "Consolidated Fund of the State".

Section XVII.—For "His Highness the Maharaja" substitute "State Government".

Section XX.—Omit "provided that when a member of the State Council is also a member of the Town Committee, he and not the Vice-Chairman, shall preside".

Section XXIX.—For "The accounts of the Town Committee shall be subject to audit by the Audit Office of the State in the way that accounts of all other departments of the State are so subject" substitute "The Town Committee shall make arrangements, subject to the approval of the State Government, for the examination and audit of accounts of the Committee and may direct the publication of such accounts".

Section XLIII A.—For this section substitute the following:

"Powers and duties of Chaukidars.—XLIII A. Chaukidars appointed under this Act shall exercise all the powers and perform all the duties and be subject to all the liabilities of police officers as prescribed by any law for the time being in force so far as such powers, duties and liabilities are not inconsistent with or otherwise expressly provided for by this Act."

The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.

(Schedule I.)

Section XLV and XLVI.—For "Fouzdar Aliikkar" substitute "District Magistrate".

Section XLVII.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section L.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section LXVIII.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section LXI/II.—For "His Highness the Maharaja" substitute "Government".

Section C.—For "State" substitute "Government".

(6) **The Cooch Behar Tenancy Act, 1910 (Cooch Behar Act V of 1910).**

Throughout the Act.—For "Mail Aliikkar" substitute "Deputy Collector"; for "State Council" substitute "Government"; for "State", wherever it occurs in the expression "not paying revenue to the State", substitute "Government".

Preamble.—For "State" substitute "district".

Section 1.—For sub-section (2), substitute—

"(2) It shall apply to the whole of the district of Cooch Behar."

Section 3.—In clause (a) of sub-section (1) for "State" substitute "Government"; in sub-section (3) omit "in the State"; in sub-section (5) for "State" substitute "Government"; in sub-section (8) for "State" substitute "Government"; in sub-section (9) for "State" substitute "Government"; omit sub-section (16); in sub-section (20) for "State" substitute "district"; in sub-section (23) for "State" substitute "Government" and omit "in the State"; in sub-section (27) omit "as introduced into the State".

Section 4.—Omit "as introduced into the State".

Section 5.—In clause (a) for "State" substitute "Government".

Section 8.—In the explanation, for "State" substitute "Government".

Section 10.—In the proviso for "State" substitute "district".

Section 11A.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section 31.—Omit "of the State".

Section 36.—In sub-section (1) for "His Highness in Council" substitute "State Government".

Section 39A.—In the proviso to section 39 omit "as introduced into the State".

Section 40.—For "the Cooch Behar Limitation Act, 1921" substitute "any other law for the time being in force".

Section 41.—Omit "in force in the State".

Section 47.—For "Civil Judge", where it occurs for the first time, substitute "District Judge, Additional Judge or Subordinate Judge"; for "His Highness in Council" substitute "High Court"; in the proviso for "Civil Judge" substitute "District Judge".

Section 49.—For the words "Revenue Minister" in the second paragraph, substitute "Dewan or Revenue Minister of Cooch Behar or by the Chief Commissioner or the Collector".

Section 53.—In the proviso to sub-section (2) for "His Highness in Council" substitute "State Government".

Section 65.—In sub-section (3) after "appears" insert "to the Court" and for "Civil Judge" substitute "District Judge".

The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.

(Schedule I.)

Section 66.—For "State" substitute "district".

Section 68A.—In sub-section (2) for "Civil Judge" substitute "District Judge".

Section 73.—In sub-section (4) for "State" substitute "Government".

Section 79.—For "Revenue Minister" substitute "Collector".

Section 82.—Omit "as introduced into the State" from both the sub-sections (1) and (2).

Section 88.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section 89.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Schedule V. In Part II, for "Civil Judge" substitute "District Judge"; for "Revenue Minister" substitute "Collector".

In Part III, for "Cooch Behar Limitation Act, 1921" substitute "Indian Limitation Act, 1908".

(7) **The Cooch Behar Municipal Act, 1944 (Cooch Behar Act III of 1944).**

Throughout the Act.—For "State" substitute "district" except where otherwise specifically provided; for "Cooch Behar Gazette" substitute "Official Gazette"; for "Durbar" substitute "State Government"; for "Fouzdar" substitute "District Magistrate".

Section 1.—In sub-section (2) omit "after publication in the Cooch Behar Gazette with the assent of His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur".

Section 4.—In sub-clause (b) of clause (10) for "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur in Council" substitute "State Government".

Omit clause (15).

Section 15.—For clause (ii) of sub-section (2) substitute "(ii) is a citizen of India, and".

Section 25.—In sub-section (1) omit "and section 171J of the Cooch Behar Penal Code concerning an election under this Act"; in clause (c) of sub-section (1) omit "section 171J of the Cooch Behar Penal Code concerning an election under this Act and"; in sub-section (3) omit "and section 171J of the Cooch Behar Penal Code concerning an election under this Act".

Section 26.—In sub-section (1) for "Civil Judge of the State" substitute "District Judge"; in clause (a) of sub-section (2) insert "1908" after "Code of Civil Procedure".

Section 33.—In clause (b) of sub-section (1), for "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur, his heirs and successors" substitute "the Union of India".

Section 60.—For "State" substitute "Government".

Section 63.—In sub-section (3) for "Cooch Behar Registration Act, 1921" substitute "Indian Registration Act, 1908".

Section 65.—In clause (c) for "State funds by His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur or by the Durbar" substitute "Consolidated Fund of the State".

*Section 74.—For this section substitute the following:—
"Audit of 74. The accounts of the Municipal Funds shall be audited at such times and in such manner as the State Government may prescribe."*

Section 122.—In the first proviso to sub-section (1) for "State" substitute "Government".

THE COOCH-BEHAR (ASSIMILATION OF LAWS) ACT, 1950
No. LXII of 1950. (Under pages 91-)

An Act to assimilate certain laws in force in Cooch-Behar to the laws in force in the rest of West Bengal.

[7th December, 1950.]

Be it enacted by Parliament as follows : -

1. Short title and commencement. - (1) This Act may be called the Cooch-Behar (Assimilation of Laws) Act, 1950.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

2. Interpretation. - In this Act, -

(a) "appointed day" means the date appointed under sub-section(2) of section 1 for the coming into force of this Act;

(b) "Cooch-Behar" means the merged territory of Cooch-Behar in the State of West Bengal;

(c) "law" means so much of any Act, Ordinance, Regulation, rule order or bye-law as relates to any of the matters enumerated in Lists I, II, III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution.

3. Assimilation of laws. - (1) Save as provided in sub-section (2), all laws which immediately before the appointed day extend to, or are in force in, the State of West Bengal, but do not extend to, or are not in force in, Cooch Behar shall, as from that day, extend to, or as the case may be, come into force in, Cooch-Behar, and all laws, which, immediately before the appointed day, are in force in Cooch-Behar, but not in the rest of West Bengal, shall on that day cease to be in force in Cooch-Behar, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before that day.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), the Muslim Personal Law (Hijriat) Application Act, 1937 (XXVI of 1937), shall come into force in Cooch-Behar only on such date as the State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint; and Cooch-Behar Act II of 1897, known as the Muhammadan Inheritance Act, 1897, shall continue in force in Cooch-Behar until that date, and shall on that date cease to be in force except as respects things done or omitted to be done before that date.

4. Provision for removal of difficulties. - If any difficulty arises in relation to the transition under section 3 from one law or group of laws to another law or group of laws, the Central Government may, by order notified in the Official Gazette, make such revision as it considers necessary for the removal of such difficulty.

K.V.K.SUNDARAM,
Secty. to the Govt. of India.

The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.

(Schedule I, and Schedule II.)

Section 190.—For clauses (a) and (b) substitute—

“(a) prescribing the standard weights and measures to be used within the municipality, namely,—

(i) Government standard weights, that is to say, one maund consisting of 30 seers, one seer consisting of 80 tolas and one tola consisting of 180 grains; or

(ii) a standard cubit consisting of 18 inches for the measure of commodities other than land; or

(iii) both the weights and the measure of length mentioned in sub-clauses (i) and (ii) respectively;

(b) providing standards of the weights and measures so prescribed;”

Section 191.—For sub-section (1) substitute—

“(1) Where the Commissioners of any municipality have made by-laws under section 100 prescribing standard weights and measures to be used within the municipality, they may, at a meeting by an order published in the prescribed manner, prohibit the use within the municipality of any maund, seer or tola or any cubit measure other than such as conform with the standard prescribed in the said by-laws.”

In sub-section (2) for the words “when such standard weights or measures or both are in force” substitute “when such order has been published”.

*Section 193.—For “Cooch Behar Food Adulteration Act, 1941” substitute “Bengal Food Adulteration Act, 1919”.**Sections 221 and 233.—For “Cooch Behar Penal Code” substitute “Indian Penal Code”.**Section 227.—In clause (c) of sub-section (1) for “His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar” substitute “State Government”.*

SCHEDULE II.

[See section 3(3)]

(1) The Bengal Land Revenue Scales Act, 1859 (XI of 1859).

(2) The Bengal Land Revenue Scales Act, 1868 (Bengal Act VII of 1868).

(3) The Village Chaukidari Act, 1870 (Bengal Act VI of 1870).

(4) The Bengal Village Chaukidari Act, 1871 (Bengal Act I of 1871).

(5) The Cess Act, 1880 (Bengal Act IX of 1880).

(6) The Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (VIII of 1885).

(7) The Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919 (Bengal Act V of 1919).

(8) The Bengal Municipal Act, 1932 (Bengal Act XX of 1932).

By order of the Governor,

S. K. D. GUPTA,

Secretary to the Govt. of West Bengal.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF STATES

Dated New Delhi, the 1st September 1949.

N O T I F I C A T I O N

Whereas the Central Government has full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers for, and in relation to, the governance of the State of Cooch Behar;

Now Therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sections 3 and 4 of the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, 1947 (XLVII of 1947) and of all other powers enabling it in this behalf, the Central Government is pleased to make the following order :

1. SHORT TITLE, EXTENT AND COMMENCEMENT :-

- (1) This Order may be called the Cooch Behar (Administration) Order, 1949.
- (2) It extends to the whole of Cooch Behar.
- (3) It shall come into force on the 12th day of September, 1949.

2. DEFINITION : - In this Order, "Cooch Behar" means the whole of the area, which immediately before the commencement of this Order, is comprised within the State of Cooch Behar.

3. APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF COMMISSIONER : - There shall be a Chief Commissioner appointed by the Central Government as the head of the administration of Cooch Behar.

4. APPOINTMENT OF FUNCTIONARIES : - (1) Subject to the control of the Central Government, the Chief Commissioner may appoint such Judges, Magistrates and other Officers as may be necessary for the administration of Cooch Behar and may, by general or special order, determine their jurisdiction, power, duties and functions.

(2) Without prejudice to the provisions of sub-paragraph (1), all Judges, Magistrates and other officers who were immediately before the commencement of this Order, were exercising lawful functions in Cooch Behar or any part thereof shall, until other provision is made by the Chief Commissioner, continue to exercise their respective functions in the same manner and to the same extent as they were doing before the commencement of this Order.

5. EXISTING LAWS TO CONTINUE : - All laws in force in Cooch Behar or any part thereof immediately before the commencement of this Order, shall continue in force until repealed or amended by a competent legislature or authority;

Provided that all powers exercisable under the said laws by His Highness the Maharaja or the Government of the State shall be exercisable by the Chief Commissioner.

6. CONTINUANCE OF EXISTING TAXES : - All taxes, duties, cesses or fees which immediately before the commencement of the Order, were being lawfully levied in Cooch Behar or any part thereof shall continue to be imposed and applied to the same purpose, until other provision is made by a competent legislature or authority.

A. B. Chatterji,
Joint Secretary to the Government of India

1/2.11.
copies.

APPENDIX - III

D.O. No. - M/5/3/76-1045

Phone - 221933

MONIRA KHATUN

Dy. Superintending Archaeologist

Archaeological Survey of India

Eastern Circle

'Narayani Building'

27, Brabourne Road

Calcutta-1, the 10.6.76.

Dear Shri Narayan,

Please refer to the resolution of the Parisad dated 16.12.75 and the representation dated 7.4.1975 regarding the protection of the historical relics and the palace of the ex-ruler of Cooch Behar. I am visiting Cooch Behar between 21.6.76 and 22.6.76 for inspection of the said Palace.

I would therefore request you kindly to render your kind co-operation in the matter of accomodation, transport etc. which will facilitate my inspection of the Palace and other monuments. I shall be thankful to you for an early reply.

Thanking you,

Yours fsincerely,

Sd/ M.Khatun

9.6.76

(Monira Khatun)

Shri K.P. Narayan,
President,
Uttar Bungla Sanskritik Parisad,
Jahnabee Lodge, H.N. Road,
Cooch Behar.

APPENDIX - IV

BANDE MATARAM
UTTAR KHANDA DAL
Head Office: Kantivita, P.O. Kantivita
Distt. Darjeeling,
NORTH BENGAL.

To

Smt. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister,
Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

Madam,

We the representatives of Uttar Khanda Dal under the leadership of Shri Sampad Roy, The General Secretary of Uttar Khanda Dal hereby demand separation of North Bengal in the Name of Kamtapur State comprising of five districts viz. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Maldah on the points described below. Further we like to remind you that a representation already given to your hands on 22.4.1980, a copy of which is enclosed herewith again.

The points on Demand Separation of Kamtapur State, are as follows:-

- 1) Declaration of Separate province (Kamtapur) in North Bengal comprising of five districts viz-Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Maldah demanded immediately as because we the native people of North Bengal those who belong to Kamtapuri language as their mother tongue want to be removed from all sorts of exploitations, tortures, deprive and ill execution of ill motive officers by which we have been completely converted into a landless, homeless, jobless and street beggars and also slaves within the period of 33 years' rule of Calcutta centric politics.
- 2) Restoration of Culture, History, language of Kamtapur is demanded and immediate step for reviving the same, to be taken.

- 3) The native people (Hindu, Muslims and other castes) of North Bengal who are using Kamtapur language i.e. 'Tui'- 'Mui' Bhasa in their daily respective home affairs is not written by the enumerators in the census of 1981 which is to be strictly followed by enumerators according to the instruction No. 66 in page No. 30-31 clearly mentioned in the census guide book (in Bengali). As the enumerators have at Random written Bengali as a mother tongue of the native people of North Bengal in place of Kamtapuri having ignored the Rule noted above. So Uttar Khabanda Dal strongly urges to re-enumerate the census 1981 again.
- 4) No Foreign persons to be entertained here (North Bengal) those who have been transferred/are transferring from Assam, Tripura and other provience and strict step to be taken in the present census operation so that their names should be excluded immediately.
- 5) The people of North Bengal should be removed^{okupku} from all shorts of loans, due to cause of drought which is admitted by the West Bengal Govt. vide G.O. No. 2607(14) INPT 19M (INPT)/63-78 Calcutta dated 23.10.1978 and G.O. No. 2516 (12) INPT dated 23.9.78. The South Bengal's some portion affected by flood and the people of affected area getting much and various helps from the West Bengal Govt., Central Govt. and also from foreign. But the people of North Bengal though became victim by draught at the same time are getting no consideration or help neither from the West Bengal Govt. nor from the Central.

In fine, we therefore request that you will kindly take immediate step for the demands noted above so that we may be released from the same very early otherwise we shall be compelled to lodge agitation if we do not have any response in due course.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Dated: _____ March, 1981

Sampad Roy
(SAMPAD ROY)
Gen. Secretary

APPENDIX - V

ALL KAMATAPUR STUDENTS' UNION (A. K. S. U.)

Head Office :— KURSAMARI, MATHABIANGA, COOCH-BEHAR.

Ref. No.....

New Delhi

Date.....Jan. 1999.....

To

His Excellency
Shri K.R. Narayanan
President of India
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi

MEMORANDUM

In the matter of

A representation of the ALL KAMATAPUR STUDENTS' UNION of Kusamari, Mathabhanga, Cooch Behar (Pin 736146), under Articles 347 and 350A read with ART. 257 and 239A of the Constitution of India

and

In the matter of:

- a) Recognition of Kamatapuri regional language;
- b) Adequate facilities for instruction in the Kamatapuri Language to children belonging to Kamatapuri linguistic minority group; and
- c) Control of the Union over West Bengal State in respect of identity, culture, language and equal treatment of Kamatapuri people of erstwhile Cooch-Behar Part C State.

May it please Your Excellency,

The State of Cooch-Behar prior to attainment of freedom from the British was a princely Kingdom ruled by the Maharaja, the last king H.H. Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan, who entered into an agreement between the Governor General of India and himself on 28th day of August, 1949. (Annexure A).

2. Cooch-Behar was the residuary part of ancient Kamatapur Kingdom which extended from Narayanpur in North-East Assam over 500 miles from Cooch-Behar Capital with one language, one culture and one ethnic identity without any variation separating one region and community from another, while Cooch-Behar remained the centre of art, literature and culture together with the political control over the vast northern sub-Himalayan Belt of Eastern India from Parashuram Kunda on the East and Koshi river on West, Himalayan Terrains

on the North and Bay of Bengal on South. By turning the pages of history one finds eastern part of the Kingdom was known as Kamrupa, Western part as Paundre Bardhan, South-Western part as Banga and Northern Part the Durjoylinga (present Sikkim, Darjeeling and Bhutan (Kingdom). The Archaeological Survey of India vide its pamphlet Cooch-Behar as recently as 19-25th September, 1995 has given an idea of the heritage of Cooch-Behar Rajya (Annexure B).

3. The agreement with the Governor General of India dated 28th August, 1948 was followed by a D.O. letter No. F.15(ID)-P/30 dated 30th August, 1949 from V.P. Menon, of the Ministry of States to Lt. Col. H.H. Maharaja Sir Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Cooch Behar conveying to him that Government of India intended to administer territories of the Cooch-Behar State as a centrally administrative area under a Chief Commissioner, but nowhere it was sounded by the Central Government that the State of Cooch Behar would be deprived of its status as a part C State described in Table III - Territory of India at Serial No.14 (Cooch Behar) (Annexure C)

4. Further late Sardar Ballabhvai Patel, Home Minister of India in his letter dated Bombay 11th September, 1949 categorically stated that 'the people of Cooch Behar will work with single mindedness and devotion to duty as a united team for their own betterment and to achieve their due place in the political and administrative set-up of India'. (Sardar Patel's Letter to Shri Nanjappa, Chief Commissioner of Cooch Behar (Annexure D).

5. The States of Sikkim and Cooch Behar in a group was separately allotted a seat in the Membership of the Constituent Assembly vide Table II of Introduction of the Constitution of India as on 31st December, 1947 at Sl.No. 18 although West Bengal was distinctly shown under "Provinces" (at serial No.3) (Annexure E).

6. The people of Cooch Behar State however, found themselves as subordinated to the State of West Bengal, deprived of the ethnic identity, removal of their mother-tongue from primary schools and administrative and massive pressure of a class of people who are culturally and linguistically different from the Kamatapuri (Cooch Behar) peoples of the North.

7. It appeared that the Government of West Bengal had passed a Cooch Behar State Acquisition Act, 1969 in order to grab the people and their land holdings, together with total annihilation of Kamatapuri ethnic people who differently worshipped as Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians but

linguistically one and culturally integrated whole of 1 crore 20 lakhs inhabitants joined in by a few lakhs of refugees from West Bengal and Adivasis from Southern Bihar to work on plantations. There are a few lakhs of Nepalis of the aboriginal Gorkha (Kirat) ethnics in Darjeeling (Sadar) subdivision for whom Kamatapuri language is common tongue totally different from the language of South Bengal i.e. foreign to the indigenous peoples of the whole Cooch Behar State as it was at the time of Cooch Behar's accession to the Dominion of India and decades thereafter.

8. The erstwhile Maharaja of Cooch Behar Shri Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup challenged the "acquisition" of Cooch Behar State at Calcutta High Court which adjudged that Cooch Behar being a Sovereign State, could not be acquired by acquisition by West Bengal State Government, but by defiance of all ethics, democratic virtues and laws of natural justice and violation of human rights of the indigenous peoples of Cooch Behar State i.e. Kamatapur, all their identity, language, culture and political rights have been engulfed by Bengalisation from the power-that-be based at Calcutta (Annexure F).

9. While in North Eastern Region of India, Manipur a princely State with 18,37,117 population, Tripura with 27,57,205 and Sikkim with 4,06,457 souls taken in the same group of pre-independence "States" were retained as separate States in the Region and Goa, Pondicherry, Daman Diu etc. were retained as separate Units without difference in languages with adjoining larger States, Cooch Behar with as much as one crore indigenous and naturalised ethnics living together under sovereign rulers, have been deprived of their democratic rights for the sake of benefits and pleasure of others almost alien to them.

10. The grievances of the indigenous Kamatapuris, who have their civilisation dating back to the pre-Christ millennium and literature dating back to the seventh century AD more widely flourishing in eleventh to seventeenth centuries during peak resurgence of the Cooch Behar Kings engulfing the whole of Kamrupa (major part of present Assam), are that they are being demographically overwhelmed by propagated and encouraged migration from Bangladesh at the cost of socio-economic and linguistic with cultural security of the indigenous ethnics of the old State, but archaeology and history cannot be ignored and destroyed.

11. Because of their poverty (70 percent below the poverty line), loss of farm holdings under distress sale and state acquisition for settlement in the name of rehabilitation (even after 27 years of the latest cut-off date for

migration of Bangladeshis) while Kamatapuris ousted from the Indian enclaves surrounded by Bangladeshis are begging for shelter and living in our market-places together with deliberate killing of their mother-language from primary schools, have all led them to a point of revolt, but keeping in tune with the sermons issued by the erstwhile leaders of fight for freedom, the timid, docile, down-graded and downtrodden and therefore, poverty-stricken masses of the indigenous Kamatapuris are being relegated to an ethnic forcibly ignored by West Bengal State Government more particularly under the stewardship of leaders whose root is East Bengal which became Bangladesh, a land foreign to India.

12. The only acceptable and professed to be official declaration is that erstwhile Cooch Behar State would remain a Part C State with a Chief Commissioner as a Union Territory but without any constitutional relation codified by the Constituent Assembly, very silently Cooch Behar (Kamatapur) was, in a clandestine manner by manipulation and machination, are wholly omitted from Part VIII of the Constitution of India purely and simply to grab 21,780 sq.km. of its land which escaped division of the region for the benefit of nearly 20 lakh people who were forcibly driven out from East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

13. Your Excellency, if a detailed enquiry is made, by appointment by Your Excellency, a special officer not drawn from the Bengali Cadre but one assisted by non-Bengalis knowing the locally exchanged indigenous languages vis-a-vis Bengali (Official) language under the provisions of article 350B of the Constitution, Your Excellency will be convinced that a fraud has long been perpetrated on the Kamatapuri ethnic people and their language with the richest East Indian heritage. In fact, later period Bengali was derived from the Kamatapuri language developed in Kamatapur Kingdom (later called Cooch Behar).

14. The documents annexured bear out the truth of these averments and further proof will be confirmatory to our submissions if only a cursory investigation amongst the indigenous Kamatapuri is held and considered. A part of the documentary proof is provided by the West Bengal Government which depicts non-Bengali inhabitants as Bengalis although they are not identifiable as alternatives also. Even Bengalis were only recently given a pamphlet to "introduce" North Bengal (Kamatapur) (Annexure F).

15. Simmering discontent of the Kamatapuris has been a matter of discussion in prestigious Sunday Times of India as will appear from the clipping from its issue dated 13 December, 1998 (Annexure G).

In the above premises, we the organisation of students drawn from Kamatapuri indigenous ethnic peoples of the ancient Cooch Behar princely State most respectfully pray to Your Excellency to take following steps to help us recover the basic rights of our people:

- i) direct the State of West Bengal to recognise Kamatapuri language of at least 67 lakhs inhabitants of 21,784 sq.km. of former Cooch Behar Part C State under article 347 of the Constitution of India and simultaneously appoint a Special Officer under article 350B subject to such officer being acceptable for us,
- ii) Central Government scheme to educate the children of Kamatapuri people in their mother language, be introduced under Central Supervision,
- iii) as a token of such recognition by Government of India introduce 2 hours time daily to broadcast didactic programmes in Kamatapuri on farming, economy, talks and other indigenous cultural AIR sessions instead of broadcasting pop music foreign to our listeners with limited programme on Television,
- iv) Ensure local development by creating employment under the Government with 70 per cent overall reservation for indigenous Kamatapuri young men and women,
- v) Direct that trade & industry notify all job vacancies to Employment Exchange and prevent direct appointment by depriving eligible local and indigenous unemployed persons,
- vi) Ensure financial assistance to indigenous entrepreneurs in trade and industrial projects,
- vii) Ask the State Government of West Bengal to grant State Holidays on the Birthday of Vishwa Mahabir Chilarai on Maghi Purnima Day and name a portion of National Highway (Siliguri to Cooch Behar) in memory of the greatest Kamatapuri Hero Chilarai.
- viii) Direct that North Bengal University be renamed after Maharaja Narayanan who was the greatest learned King of Kamatapur, who spread learning.
- ix) Direct that the ancient Cooch Behar Raj Palace, Gosanimari Rajpat and other antiquarian and archaeological heritage be protected and the whole of the Cooch Behar Palace be preserved as Kamatapur Museum (instead of being made a Hotel as contemplated),

- x) In the ensuing census of the people of the districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, all 3 (South, North & West) Dinajpur and Maldah with mother-tongue and citizenship be correctly enumerated by compulsorily employing one indigenous enumerator on each batch of workers.

It is further submitted that in order to protect the indigenous identity, language and culture of the Kamatapuri people of ancient Cooch Behar Kingdom, Your Excellency may be pleased to restore Part C State status and classification of this state as per the documents submitted and create under article 239 (Part VI) of the Constitution as extended and provide the (more than) 120 lakhs inhabitants of these 5 major districts since administratively enlarged to 8, Self Government in the same way as was done in respect of Manipur, Tripura and Sikkim besides Goa, Pondicherry etc. which are geographically not larger than old Cooch Behar (Tripura only 1,486 sq.km., Nagaland 16,579, Mizoram 21,081).

May Almighty grant you a long life of glory and success in building this largest democracy of the world.

L.S. *[Signature]*

2. Kedar Nath Sinha-vice-President *Adviser*
3. Biswajit Ray Pradhan - *Do*

4. Bishnu mani Patowary *① Dhiren Chandra Ray*
(S.S.) *② Narendra Nath Ray*

Encl:

1. Agreement Annexure 'A'
2. V.P. Menon's letter 'C'
3. Table of Status 'E-A'
4. Sardar Patel's letter 'D'
5. Introduction letter 'E-1'
6. W.B. Parishoy 'B 2 C'
7. Maharaja's challenge 'F'
8. Press clipping 'H'

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Primary Sources

Census of India, 1981, West Bengal, Part II-B, Series-23, Primary Census Abstract, S.N.Ghose of the Indian Administration Service Director of Census Operation, West Bengal.

Census Reports of India : 1901-1991.

Cooch Behar District at a Glance, 1990; A.K.Jain, Deputy Commissioner, Cooch Behar, the 25th November, 1980.

Key Statistics of the District of Cooch Behar, 1984 and 1989 published by District Statistical Officer, Bureau of Applied Economicà and Statistics, Government of West Bengal, Cooch Behar.

Key Statistics of the District of Cooch Behar, 1993, Published by District Statistical Officer, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Government of West Bengal, Cooch Behar.

Key Statistics of the District of Cooch Behar 1996-1997; Assistant Director Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Government of West Bengal.

District Statistical Handbook, Cooch Behar 1993; Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal.

Key Statistics of the District of Jalpaiguri, 1993; District Statistical Office; Bureau of applied Economics and Statistics; Government of West Bengal : Jalpaiguri.

Key Statistics of the District of Malda, 1994; Office of the District Statistical Officer, Bureau of Applied Economics & Statistics, Government of West Bengal; Malda.

Key Statistics of the District of Darjeeling, 1995; District Statistical Office; Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Government of West Bengal, Darjeeling.

Key Statistics of the Districts of Uttar Dinajpur & Dakshin dinajpur, 1996 & 1997 (combined) ; Office of the Assistant Director, Bureau of Applied Economics & Statistics, Government of West Bengal , Bâlurghat, Dakshin Dinajpur.

Census of India 1991, West Bengal provisional population totals, paper I, of 1991, H.Chak Nastry, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal.

b. Gazetteers

The Calcutta Gazettee, Registered No. c 207; Part III – Acts of the West Bengal Legislature, Government of West Bengal. Legislative Department's 'Notification No. 2199L – 6th December 1950 –The following Act of the West Bengal Legislature, having been assented to by the President, is hereby published for general information West Bengal Act LXIII of 1950; The Cooch Behar (Assimilation of State Laws) Act, 1950.

The Calcutta Gazette, Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB (Part-I) /95/SAR-354 – Extraordinary published by authority, Bhadra 21, Tuesday, September 12, 1995; Saka 1917; N. Krishnamurthi, Chief Secy. to the Govt. of West Bengal No. 905-TW/EC / SC/0/MR –1/95 (I).

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB/SC-247; No. WB(Part-I)/96/SAR-92; Wednesday, May 22, 1996, U.K.Ray, Secy. To the Govt. of West Bengal. No 271-TW/EC / MR – 1/95(1).

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB/SC-247 No. WB(Part-I)/96/SAR-7; Thursday; December 21, 1995; U.K.Ray; No. 1253 – TW/EC.

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB/SC-247; Np. WB (Part-I)/95/SAR-439; Thursday, December 7, 1995; N. Krishnamurti. No. 1204-TW/EC MR-242/95.

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB(Part-I)/95/SAR-438; Thursday, December 7, 1995; N. Krishnamurti No. 1203-TW/EC MR-242/95

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB/SC-247; No. WB(Part-I)/95/SAR-440 ; Friday, December 1, 1995; U.K.Ray. No. (1177-TW/EC) (MR-70/92).

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247 No. WB (Part-I)/95/SAR-8; Monday, January 9, 1995, U.K..Ray (31-TW/EC) (MR-113/93).

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB(Part III)/94/SAR-48; Friday, September 2, 1994; S. Maitra, Special Officer & Ex Officio Jt. Secy. To the Govt. of West Bengal. No. 1601-L-2nd September, 1994.

The Calcutta Gazette; Registered No. WB/SC-247; No. WB(Part III)/96/SAR-18; Friday, July 12, 1996; S. Maitra; No. 1272-L. – 12th July, 1996.

Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, 1981.

c. Other Reports & Official Documents :

Merger Agreement: Between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar , Ministry of States; New Delhi, the 30th august, 1949 – D.O. No. F 15(19) – p/49.

Notification, dated New Delhi, the 12th September 1949, Government of India, Ministry of States.

The West Bengal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Reservation of Vacancies in services and Posts) Act, 1976; Vide West Bengal Act XLII of 1980 & Vide West Bengal Act XLII of 1994.

Ministry of Home Affairs, Report of the commissioner for Linguistic Minorities (4th Report), New Delhi; Government of India, 1962.

Report of the States' Reorganization commission, New Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955.

Report of the Backward classes commission (Part I), vols. I and II, New Delhi : Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1980.

Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights as contained in document F/CN, 4/Sub. 2/1988/25.

Government of West Bengal, Gorkhaland Agitation; Information Document, I & II, 1986 & 1987.

U.N.I. Backgrounders: Vol. V, No. 15 (April 10, 1980), New Delhi : United News of India, 1980.

UTTARBANGA PARICHAYA ; Information & Cultural Department of the Govt. of West Bengal. Calcutta, 1998, (Bengali).

PURA O NAGARANNAYAN : Kuri Bachhar, by Mr. Ashok Bhattacharya, Ministry of Rural Development of W.B., 1997 (Bengali).

BHUMISANSKAR PRASANGE by Mr. Surya kanta Mishra, the Ministry of Panchayat, the Govt. of West Bengal (It is a respective part of the hon'ble Chief Ministers' speech on the 9th October, 1992) Information and Cultural Department, Basumatij, Cal, Dec. 92 (Bengali).

NUNATAMA MAJURI NIRDHARAN O PRAYAG PRASANGE, The Government of West Bengal, Department of Information & Culture.

Durga Das, Patel's Correspondences 1945-55 (compiled) Navajiban publishing House, Ahmedabad, vol.7.

d. Memorandum and Resolution.

UKD's : UTJAS's ; CPI(M)'S ESTAHAR (1951-94); HITASADHANI Dal's NBCA's ;Kshtriya Samiti's; KPP's; AKSU's; UUSM'S; GLNF's and other ethnic organisations – resolutions, memorandum, Letters, Booklets, leaflet etc.

e. Personal Interviews between March 1995 & November 1999 with

- (i) Leaders of UKD : Mr. Prabhas Singh Sastri, Bhabesh Das, Rabi Sarkar, Purna Narayan Singh (Assam), Panchanan Mallick, Sampat Roy.
- (ii) Leaders of Hitasadhani Dal : Mr. Harish Chandra Sarkar, Late Jatin Roy Singh.
- (iii) Leaders of NBCA : Dharmanarayan barma, Dharmanarayan Das & Late Promanendra Narayan.
- (iv) Leaders of UTJAS : Prabhat Barman, Ranjana roy, & Jugolkishore Roybir.
- (v) Leaders of KPP : Atul Roy.
- (vi) Leaders of AKSU ; Biswajit Roy

f. Books & Periodicals :

Ahmad, Imtiaz (1984) "Political Economy of communalism in Contemporary India", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol.19.

Apter, David (1967), The Politics of Modernization, Chicago Press.

Aptheker, Herbert (1981) The Nature of Democracy Freedom and Revolution, Calcutta : M.K. Mukherjee, Temple Press.

Bagchi, Amiya Kumar (1982) : The Political Economy of Under-development Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Bandyopadhyaya, Jyontanuja, ETHNIC SEPARATISM: Global Lessons for India, "The Statesman February 14, 1997.

Barman, Dharma Narayan (1991), "A Step of Kamta Behari Language," Jalpaiguri: Suruswati Press.

Barman, Jitendra Mohan, 1993, 'JAGORAN' Calcutta (Bengali)

Baral, Lok Raj (1990), The South Asian Case "REGIONAL MIGRATIONS ETHNICITY AND SECURITY", New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

- Basu, Sajal (1992) REGIONAL MOVEMENTS : Politics of Language, Ethnicity – Identity, New Delhi : Manohar.
- Basu, Durga Das (1980), Introduction to the Constitution of India, New Delhi : Prentice Hall of India Private Ltd.
- Bhambhani, Chandra Prokash (1981) "Public Administration" (Theory and Practice), New Delhi : (Meerut city), Leading Educational Publishers.
- Brass, Paul (1980) "The Politicization of the Peasantry in a North Indian State , " in Journal of Peasant Studies, vol. 8.
- Brass, Paul (1990), The Politics of India Since Independence, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Brass Paul (1991) Ethnicity and Nationalism : Theory and comparison, New Delhi : Sage.
- Chakraborty, Saroj (1984) , THE UNHEAVAL YEARS IN NORTH-EAST INDIA (A documentary in-Depth Study of Assam Holocausts) 1960-1983, Calcutta : Sree Saraswati Press, Ltd.
- (1982) , MY YEARS WITH DR. B.C.ROY, (A Centenary volume), Calcutta : Sree Saraswati Press Ltd.
- Chalam, K.S. (1990) , "Caste Reservation and Equality of Opportunity in Education", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 25, pp. 2333-39.
- Chattpadhyay, Dilip Kumar (1990), HISTORY OF THE ASSAMESE MOVEMENT SINCE 1947, Calcutta: Minerva Associates.
- Chattpadhyay, Suniti, (1352), (B.S) JATI, SANSKRITI O SAHITYA, Calcutta : Kalika Press, (Bengali).
- Choudhury, R.D. (1982) "Some flock sculptures preserved in Assam State Museum, Gauhati; Abhimanda Bharati.
- Chowdhury, Ambikacharan (1991), The Koches Around the World", Assam : Ratnapeeth.
- Das, Biswanath (1991) KOCHBEHARAR PRACHIN KATHA, Calcutta : New Ganga mata Printings.
- Das, Veena (1990); "Introduction", in Veena Das, ed, Mirrors of Violence : communities Riots and Survivors in South Asia, Delhi : Oxford University Press.
- Das Gupta, Jyotirindra (1988). "Ethnicity, Democracy and Development" in Atul Kohli, ed., India's Democracy : Analysis of changing State Society Relations, New Delhi : Orient Longman.

Das, Swapan Kumar, LOSING A LEGACY ? The Statesman (N.B.Plus) (Calcutta),
January 20, 1999.

Das Sukumar (1982), UTTARBANGER ITIHAS, Calcutta; : Tushar :Printing Works.

Dass, S.K. "Spotlight on Assam I & II, "The Statesman (Calcutta) November 2 & 3, 1980.

Engineer, Asghar Ali (1987) "Ethnic Conflict in South Asia, " Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 22: 13.

Esman, Milton J., (1979) Ethnic Conflict in the Western World, Ithaca : Cornell University Press.

Frankel, Francine (1989) "Caste, Land and Dominance in Bihar : Breakdown of the Brahmanical Order; in Francine Frnakel and M.S.A. Rab, eds, Dominance and State Power in India : Decline of a Social Order, Vol.1, Delhi : Oxford University Press.

Ghosh, Ananda Gopal (1985) in "DESHIA RAJYA COOCHBEHAR PASHIM BANGER SANGA SANGJOKTIKARANA DR. CHARU CHANDRA SANNYALLER BHUMIKA", Jalpaiguri: Charu Chandra Sara Grathia Committee.

Gopalakrishnan, R. (1996), Socio-Political Framework in North-Eastern India, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Gupta, Dipankar (1995) Political Sociology in India, Contemporary Trends, New Delhi : Orient Longman.

----- (1982) Nativism in a Metropolis: The Shiv Sena in Bombay, Delhi : Manohar.

----- (1990) "The Indispensable Centre : Ethnicity and Politics in The Indian Nation States", Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol. 20,pp. 521-38.

Gupta, Bhabani Sen, "The Ethnic Cauldron" India Today, August 31, 1983.

----- "Regional Security" The Indian Doctrine" India Today, August 15, 1983, p.14.

Gupta, Jyotirindra Das (1975). "Ethnicity, Language Demands and National Development in India" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan eds. Ethnicity : Theory and Experience, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Gupta, Ranjit, "Origin and Growth of Gorkha Separatism", Times of India (New Delhi), March 1, 1988.

Gowda, M.V.Srinivasa, 'Social Facets of Economic Development, Employment News (Weekly), (New Delhi): Vol. XVI No. 52, March 28-April 3, 1992.

- Hasan, Zoya (1980). "Minority Identity, Muslim women's Bill Campaign and the Political Process", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 22, pp. 44-50.
- Inderjit , "Tunes for Talk on Gorkha Issue" Economic Times, July 22, 1986.
- Johari, J.C., (1996). Indian Political System [A Critical Study of the Constitutional Structure and the Emerging Trends of Indian Politics], New Delhi : Anmol.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark (1988). "The Logic of Religious Violence" in Contributions to Indian sociology, vol. 22, (N.S.) pp. 65-88.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta (1988). "A Critique of the Passive Revolution", in Economic and Political Weekly vol. 23, pp. 2429-44.
- Khan, Ziauddin (1983). "National Integration in India : Issues and Dimensions, New Delhi; Associated Publishing House.
- Kohli, Atul (1990). Democracy and Discontent : India's Growing Crisis of Governability, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kothari, Rajni (1988). "Integration and Exclusion in Indian Politics", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 23, pp. 2223-27.
- "Ethnicity" The Illustrated Weekly of India, March 6, 1988.
- "The Great Divide" The Illustrated Weekly of India, September 1, 1985.
- (1970). Caste in Indian Politics, Delhi : Orient Longman
- Lateef, Shahida, (1980). "Ethnicized Social Change" in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 15, pp. 625-33.
- Mahajan, V.D., (1990). Ancient India, New Delhi : S. Chand and Company Ltd.
- Majumder, Chandra Guha, "Separatists at it again : The Statesman, July 7, 1998.
- Marx, Karl (1969). "Wage Labour and Capital" in Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, Selected Works (in 3 vols), vol. 1, Moscow : Progress Publishers.
- and Frederick Engels (1969). "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works (in 3 vols), vol 1, Moscow : Progress Publishers.
- Modan, T.N., (1987). "Secularism in its place," in The Journal of Asian Statistics vol. 46, pp. 747-59.
- Mukherji, Partha (1987) , "Study of Social Conflicts : Case of Naxalbari Peasant Movement", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 22, pp. 1607-1618.

- Mukherjee, Bharati (1992). Regionalism in Indian Perspective, Calcutta : K.P.Bagchi & Company.
- Mukherjee, B.N. & P.K.Bhattacharyya (ed) (1987). Early Historical Perspective of North, NBU, NBU Press.
- Nandy, Ashis (1984). "Culture, State and Rediscovery of Indian Politics", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 19 pp. 2078-2083.
- Natraj, V.K. (1990). "Backward Classes and Minority in Karnataka Politics" in Ramaswaray Roy and Richard Sisson, eds., Diversity and Dominance in India's Politics, vol. II, New Delhi : Sage.
- Nisbet, Robert (1961). The sociological Tradition, London; Heinemann.
- Oomen, T.K. (1990). State and Society in India : Studies in Nation Building, New Delhi: Sage.
- (1990). Protest and Challenge: Studies in Social Movements, New Delhi : Sage.
- Phadnis, Urmila (1989). Ethnicity and Nation-Building in South Asia, New Delhi: Sage.
- (1984). Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka : An Overview (Mimeo) Delhi : Gandhi Peace Foundation.
- Ram, Rahul (1971). Modern Bbutan, New Delhi ; Vikas Publishing House.
- Roy, Jogodesh Chandra, "Why Kamatapur ? "Jalpaiguri (Bangla).
- Rudolph, Lloyd and susanne H. Rudolph, (1967). The Modernity of Tradition : Political Development in India, Bombay: Orient Longman.
- (1987). In Pursuit of Lokshmi, Delhi : Orient Longman.
- Sanyal, Charu Chandra (1965) . The Rajbansis of North Bengal, Calcutta A: Asiatic Society.
- Shah, Ghanshyam, (1990). "Caste Sentiments, Class formation and Dominance in gujarat", In Francine Frankel and M.S.A. Rao, eds, Dominance and State Power; Decline of Social Order, Vol.II, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Shakir, Moin (1980). "Electoral Participation of Minorities and Indian Political System "in Economic and Political Weekly, Annual number, vol. 15, pp. 221-28.
- Sheth, D.L. (1987). "Reservations Policy Revisited", in Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 14, pp. 1957-62.

- (1989). State, Nation and Ethnicity : Experience of third WORLD COUNTRIES", IN Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 24, pp. 615-25.
- Smith, D.E. (ed.) (1966). South Asian Politics and Religion Princeton; Princeton University Press.
- (1963). India as a Secular State, Princeton; Princeton University Press.
- Tarapot, Phanjoubam (1996). Insurgency Movement in North Eastern India, Delhi. Vikas Publishing House.
- Uprety, Prem, R. (1984). Nepal: A Small Nation in the vartex of International Conflicts, Kathmandu : Pugo Mi.
- Vanaik, Achin (1990). The Painful Transition Bourgeois Democracy in India, London : Verso.
- Visaria, Pravin M., "Migratioin Between Analysis : India and Pakistan, 1951-61" Demography, 6:3 August 1969.
- Weber Max (1958). The Proitestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York: charles Scr5ibers and Sons.
- Weiner, Myron and Mary F. Katzenstein (1981). India's preferential politics; Migration, The Middle classes and Ethnic Equality, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Wood, John K., (1990). " Reservations in Doubt : The Background against Affirmative Action in gujarat in Ramashray Roy and Richard sisson, eds. Diversity and Dominance in I*ndia's Politics, vol. II, New Delhi : Sage.
- Young, Crawford (1976). The Politics of cultural Pluralism Madison – Wisconsin; The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Ziring, Lawrence , (1980). Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development Kant; West View Press.
- (1964). From Islamic Republic to Islamic State in Pakistan, in Asian Survey, 24:9, pp. 931-46.

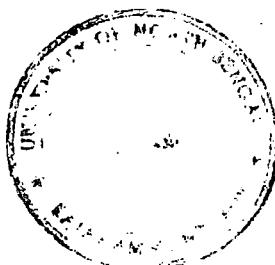
g. News papers :

The Hindustan Times (Engligh)

The Statesman ("")

Times of India ("")

Asian Age ("")



The Telegraph	(")
Uttarbanga Sambad	(Bengali)
Dainik Basumati	(")
Ananda Bazar Patrika	(")
Gana Sakti	(")
Nutan Prithivi	(")
Pratahik Samachar	(")
Aajkal	(")
Yugantar	(")
Pratidin	(")
Bartaman	(")

H. Periodicals

- The Indian Journal of Political Science
 Social Scientists
 The Economic and Political Weekly
 Seminar
 Keesing's Contemporary Archives
 Teaching Politics
 Asian Survey
 Asian Recorder
 Third World quarterly
 Administrative Change
 Political Studies, London
 Data in India.