

Chapter-6

Separatist and Agitational Activities: The Response of the Government

It has been mentioned at the beginning of chapter-4 that the activities of the Uttarkhanda Dal during the entire period of our study would actually be discussed in two different phases that too in two different chapters. The first phase has already been discussed in chapter-4. In this chapter, attempt shall be made to discuss the second phase i.e. separatist and agitational activities of the Dal and at the same time an attempt will be made to gauge the response of the govt. It has also been stated in previous chapter (chapter-4) that the activities of the Dal were only limited to strengthening its organizational structure, extending its public relation in different parts of North Bengal, criticizing the attitude of the Govt. of West Bengal towards the socio-economic and cultural developments of this part of West Bengal. Thus, there found no sign of separatist attitude in its activities in the first phase i.e. during almost one decade from its very foundation.

However, it is very interesting to note that at the beginning of 1980s and onwards, the Uttarkhanda Dal radically changed not only its aims and objectives but even its modus operandi. Thus, turning a complete volte-face, the Dal has raised, for the first time, the demand for a separate state of 'Kamotapur' consisting of five districts of North Bengal (at present 7 districts) viz., Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Malda and thereby added a new dimension to the political scenario of post independence West Bengal. It was a new dimension in this sense that a political organization, completely dominated by a section of an ethnic group of Rajbanshi people in post independence West Bengal made such demand for a separate state of 'Kamotapur' for the first time. It was since then that the Dal started its separatist and agitational activities for acquiring a separate state of North Bengal, first it was named as "Kamotapur Mukta Pradesh" and later only 'Kamotapur' which will be explained later in this chapter.

It is very important to point out that though this demand for a separate state of Kamotapur, for the first time, was raised by a section of Rajbanshi people in post independence West Bengal, but it would be wrong to ignore the historical background of

such demand in the region under study by various political organizations just on the eve of our independence and also in post independence era.

Now, let us discuss the historical background of such demand. Historically it was found that the first demand for the formation of a separate state for a scheduled caste people of the northern region of Bengal in modern period towards the end of the colonial rule was made by Sri Jogendranath Mondal, the leader of a East Bengal scheduled caste community in a public meeting at Kharibari in the Darjeeling district of Bengal on the 4 May 1947. He strongly opposed the proposed partition of Bengal and stated that “if it is being implemented at all, then we demand a separate state viz. ‘Rajasthan’ in the name of Rajbanshi People. The proposed Rajbanshi state (province) will consist of Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur district as well as Purnea district of Bihar and Goalpara district of Assam.”¹ But it is very interesting to note that in the proposed ‘Rajasthan’ province of Sri Mondal the native state of Cooch Behar was not included, though it was a citadel of the Rajbanshi community. Historians say that as Sri Mondal was an outsider and belonged to a non-Rajbanshi scheduled caste community of Eastern Bengal, so he did not include Cooch Behar state in his proposed state of Rajasthan.² However, at the same time we should keep in mind that the political fate of the native state of Cooch Behar was not decided till then and also it was not decided whether it would remain independent or join in India or Pakistan. Again, another question may be put here that why did Sri Mondal only included the Rajbanshi inhabited area and not other non-Rajbanshi scheduled caste area including his own district of Barishal. He just, it may be said, was advocating for the Rajbanshi people only, though he belonged to non-Rajbanshi scheduled caste community. It was a fact of great mystery.

However, the first demand of the local people i.e. the Rajbanshis, for a separate state was raised by a section of Rajbanshi community of the Cooch Behar *Hitasadhani Sobha*, a local group or party, controlled and dominated by the Muslim and Hindu Rajbanshi *Jotedars* (Landlords) which has already been mentioned in chapter-2. But it is to be mentioned that the *Hitashadhani Sobha’s* concept of separate state was totally different from that of the Uttarkhanda Dal, the main theme of our discussion. In fact, the *Hitasadhani Sobha* was concerned about Cooch Behar native state. However, in the different stages the *Hitasadhani Sobha* had changed its demands. In the first stage, it demanded a separate state, in the second

stage, it demanded that Cooch Behar should be a centrally administered territory, in the third stage, it demanded that Cooch Behar should be merged with Assam and not with West Bengal.³ But ultimately the demand of *Hitasadhani Sobha* for a separate state was not acceded by the Central Govt. However, its demand to make Cooch Behar a centrally administered territory was partially conceded by declaring Cooch Behar state a Chief Commissioner's province after its merger with India on 28th August, 1949. Ultimately, by an order under section 290A of the Govt. of India Act, 1935 Cooch Behar was transferred and merged with the province of West Bengal on 1st January, 1950.⁴ It is very relevant to note in this connection that the *Hitasadhani Sobha's* activities greatly influenced the people of the Dooars of Jalpaiguri district. A section of the Rajbanshi people of both the Hindu and Muslim Communities demanded the inclusion of Western Dooars (belonged to British India) with Cooch Behar state.⁵ However, this demand was ultimately not conceded. It should also be mentioned that in later course of Dooars' history it was found that it became the birth place of the Uttarkhanda Dal and later, Kamatapur Peoples' Party.

Again, it would not be irrelevant to mention here another political development that happened after the accession of Cooch Behar to the Indian Union. It was found that a section of the Rajbanshi of Cooch Behar wanted the merger of Cooch Behar with Assam but on the other hand, another section of Rajbanshi community wanted a separate state if not a union territory status. In this political doldrums of Rajbanshi community, a great Rajbanshi political personality and member of Lok Sobha Sri Upendra Nath Barman of Jalpaiguri and Sri Umesh Chandra Mondal, a Gandhian Rajbanshi pleader of Dinhata, Cooch Behar firmly supported the merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal.⁶ It may be said that it was Sri Upendra Nath Barman who spear headed the crusade against the inclusion of Cooch Behar with Assam and his effort greatly strengthened the cause of West Bengal. It would not be irrelevant to refer here that the lack of community solidarity between the Rajbanshi of Goalpara (Assam) and Cooch Behar in the pre State Reorganization Commission (SRC) period and post independence period caused a great loss to that community in relation to the re-unification of the Rajbanshi of Assam and North Bengal of West Bengal. It has been pointed out by the historians of the region that "if Goalpara had been reunited with West Bengal, the Rajbanshi would become the half of the population of North Bengal district despite the influx of

refugees from the erstwhile East Pakistan.”⁷ However, it has been observed by the political observers that this golden opportunity of the re-unification was lost due to the lack of farsightedness of Sri Sarat Chandra Singha (later the first Rajbanshi Chief Minister of Assam) and others. It should be mentioned that Sri Sarat Chandra Singha of Assam had organized a movement against the inclusion of Goalpara with West Bengal when a tug-of-war was started between West Bengal and Assam with regard to the merger of Cooch Behar with Assam and Goalpara of Assam with West Bengal. However, when the State Reorganization Commission went to Assam to gauge the mind of the local people, the majority of Rajbanshi of Goalpara district under the leadership of Sri Sarat Chandra Singha and Goalpara immigrant Muslims under the leadership of Md. Omaruddin organized a mass movement against the inclusion of Goalpara with West Bengal.⁸ They demanded, on the contrary, the merger of Cooch Behar with Assam. It is said that had Sarat Chandra Singha showed his commitment to community solidarity, the course of the history of the Rajbanshi in the post SRC period might have been totally different.⁹

Thus, it would not be wrong to mention that it was the most important turning point in the history of the Rajbanshi community of North Bengal and North East India in the post colonial period.

In another political development which took place immediately after independence, it was found that some chosen representatives of different political parties of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri Sikkim and Darjeeling met at Darjeeling on 30th October, 1949 to discuss the question of a separate state for this region. These parties were viz., ‘All India Gorkha League’ of Darjeeling, Sikkim Praja Sanmelan of Sikkim, Cooch Behar State Praja Congress of Cooch Behar which is opposed the merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal, District Committee of All India Gorkha League of Jalpaiguri.¹⁰ About this meeting Mr. Nanjappa, the Chief Commissioner of Cooch Behar state wrote to the joint secretary, Govt. of India on 22nd November, 1949, “It is interesting to note that the Hitasadhani Party is willing to merge Cooch Behar with Gorkha District of Darjeeling or with Assam. Their real intention appears to be to try to maintain their political influence in this area.”¹¹ However, they formed a committee named “Uttarakhand Pradesh Sangh or Uttarakhand Sangha Committee” with Rupnarayan Singha as its president and adopted a resolution in the meeting to carry on their

political exercise and power for the formation of a separate state to be called 'Uttarakhand.'¹² It can be stated here that though the proposal was viable geographically but politically it was problematic because at that time Sikkim was under an independent monarchical rule of the 'Chogyals' (name of the ruling dynasty of Sikkim) though Cooch Behar was a native state. Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling were under the Govt. of West Bengal. Notwithstanding the abovementioned committee submitted a memorandum in this regard to the Prime Minister of India, but the demand was not conceded.¹³ In subsequent time, it was found that when Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India visited Darjeeling in 1952 the Gorkha League renewed the old demand for the formation of a separate "Uttarakhand State" but this time also the prime minister did not pay any heed to the demand.¹⁴

Again in May 1955, when the two members of the State Reorganization Commission viz, Dr. Hridaynath Kunzou and Dr. K.M. Pannikar visited Darjeeling, the 'Sarba Sampradaya Zella Samgathan' (All communities' district organization) demanded the formation of a separate state consisting of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Darjeeling, and Sikkim.¹⁵ It is to be stated in this connection that the state Reorganization Commission was formed in August, 1953 by the Govt. of India under the chairmanship of justice Fazal Ali and other two members viz. Hridaynath Kunzru and Dr. K. M. Pannikar. However, it is also evident that at that time the Gorkha League separately placed the same demand. But both the demands were out- rightly rejected by the member of SRC.¹⁶

Apart from the above mentioned political developments with regards to the demand of a separate state for the region, organized mostly by various political organizations within the state of West Bengal, the same demand was raised outside the state of West Bengal when the State Reorganization Commission was formed in August 1953. It is very interesting to note that this demand was put forward not by any political organization but by the Govt. of Bihar. Bihar demanded the creation of a new state to be known as 'Uttarakhand' consisting of three districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar to the S.R.C. However, when in the second week of May 1955, two members of S.R.C. which has already been mentioned visited Darjeeling and invited the West Bengal leaders to express their view on Bihar's claim, the then chief minister of West Bengal Dr. B.C.Roy succeeded to convince the members of S.R.C. to keep these three districts within West Bengal.¹⁷

It would not be wrong to mention that the above mentioned political developments regarding the demand of a separate state for this region was the first phase between the period from 1947 and the visit of the members of S.R.C. in Darjeeling in May, 1955. And it is very interesting to note that from 1955 to 1980 no such demand for the creation of a separate state for this region was raised by any kind of organization. It may be pointed out that it was a general phenomenon all over India that immediately after independence various regional political organizations and ethnic group of people aspired for a separate state of their own within the federal structure of India. The demand for a separate Andhra state for the Telegu people was an example. Again, the formation of a State Reorganization Commission to review the reorganization of various provinces of independent India on the linguistic line led the various linguistic aspirants and regional political organization to place the demand of separate states and the region of our study was not exception to that. Another special aspect of the demand for a separate state in the region of our study was that claimants of the state only included the three districts of northern part of North Bengal i.e. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling barring one exception when Sikkim was included. Interestingly West Dinajpur and Malda the other two districts of North Bengal were not included. It will be found in later developments that the Uttarkhanda Dal included all the five districts of North Bengal in their proposed state of Kamotapur for the first time. However, it will be discussed in the second stage or phase of the demand for a separate state.

However, it is very interesting to note that the 'Gorkha League' frequently demanded a separate state till 1955 which has been mentioned earlier but after 1955 no such demand was raised by this party. On the contrary, they participated in the Bidhan Sabha election of the State of West Bengal, sent its M.L.As to the Assembly and even Deoprasad Rai, the leader of 'Gorkha League' had become a minister, in charge of Tribal Welfare Department, Govt. of West Bengal in United Front Govt. in 1967.¹⁸ It is also very interesting to state that after 1977 when govt. was changed and Left Front came to power 'Gorkha League' joined hand with the Uttarkhanda Dal and submitted memorandum to the govt. of West Bengal demanding the socio-economic and cultural development of the region which has already been mentioned in chapter-4. It has also been explained in chapter-4 that though the Uttarkhanda Dal was formed in July 1969 but no demand for a separate state was raised by

this regional political organization till 1980.

Now the new political phenomenon which was occurred from 1980s may be regarded as 2nd phase. It was found that from 1980s onwards again the demand for a separate state in the region under study was raised by two major regional political parties viz. the Uttarkhanda Dal (U.K.D.) and Gorkha National Liberation Front (G.N.L.F.). The former raised such demands in the plains of North Bengal and the latter in that of Darjeeling. But it is no doubt very interesting to note that though in earlier occasion, the Uttarkhanda Dal and the Gorkha League (a hill based party) jointly fought against the Govt. of West Bengal for the all round development of North Bengal especially after 1977 (chapter-4). But it is very peculiar to note that in the new changing political scenario the U.K.D. and the G.N.L.F. did not raise their joint voice for a separate state of North Bengal. It was also found that though the Uttarkhanda Dal included all the districts of North Bengal in its proposed state but the G.N.L.F. kept its demand confined to three hill subdivisions (Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong) of Darjeeling district where the Gorkhas are a major ethnic group of people. Though, it was found that the G.N.L.F. later made an effort to include the *Tarai* and *Dooars* of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. Side by side, it was also found that the demand of the Gorkhas was on the basis of ethnic identity but the main slogan of the Uttarkhanda Dal was socio-economic and cultural backwardness of the region and against the Calcutta centric rule at least at the initial stage of its separatist movement. Interestingly, it was found that when the Uttarkhanda Dal turned its movement gradually into linguistic and ethnic identity base movement and towards violent one to some extent, it tried to communicate with Subhash Ghising, the G.N.L.F. supremo which will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

However, it has already been stated at the very beginning of this chapter that from 1980 onwards, the Uttarkhanda Dal raised the demand for a separate state which initially was named “Kamotapur Mukta Pradesh” in *Uttarbanga* (North Bengal).¹⁹ But later it was found that the nomenclature of the proposed state was renamed as only ‘Kamotapur.’²⁰ This demand for a separate state of North Bengal (Kamotapur) consisting five districts viz. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Malda was no doubt the first of its kind in the history of the plains of North Bengal nay West Bengal. It has also been stated earlier that West Dinajpur and Malda districts were not included in the proposed separate state in earlier

occasions or in the first phase, demanded by the various political organizations of the region. From this point of view it was also the first initiative taken by the U.K.D. to include those two districts- West Dinajpur and Malda.

However, before going into the details with regards to the demand of a separate state, made by the Uttarkhanda Dal and its activities with that regard it would be very relevant to mention here that a separate state with the nomenclature 'Kamatapur' was first raised by the Uttarkhanda Dal in West Bengal but not first in post independence India. In fact, it first came from Assam in 1955 when a representation under the leadership of Santosh Borua of Gouripur (Assam) submitted a memorandum to the S.R.C. for the creation of the separate 'Kamatapur Rajya' consisting of Goalpara of Assam, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, and West Dinajpur of West Bengal and the same was supported by the personalities like Raja Ajit Narayan Deb, Raja of Sidli (Assam) and Prakitesh Chandra Borua (Lalji) of Gouripur royal family.²¹ This demand was however, not conceded by the S.R.C. It is very interesting to note that Darjeeling district was not incorporated in their demand which was included in all the proposed state demanded during this time. It was again in 1967 that the Kamatapur Sangram Parisad of Assam raised the demand of 'Kamatapur Rajya' (province) when the Plain Tribal Council (P.T.C.), headed mainly by the Bodos, had demanded the Udayachal Rajya.²² Thus, it was found that the demand for a separate state with the nomenclature 'Kamatapur' raised by the U.K.D. was the first only in post independence West Bengal and not in India.

Now let us discuss the relevant question that why did the U.K.D. make a U turn on its policy and objectives and raised the demand of a separate state within the Indian federal system long after almost one decade since its foundation in July 1969. However, the first argument in this regard was put forward by the president of the U.K.D. Sri Panchanan Mallick in his interview, published in a leading Bengali Journal, issued from Calcutta. In this interview Sri Panchanan Mallick alleged that as the then chief minister of the Govt. of West Bengal Sri Jyoti Basu did not feel it necessary to acknowledge their memorandum which they went to submit jointly with the 'Gorkha League' party on September 1977²³ demanding immediate development of North Bengal and redress their grievances nor even the chief minister felt any courtesy to meet them, so the U.K.D. leadership was compelled to turn to the demand for a separate state to the central govt. Now the think tanks of the U.K.D. thought

that only a separate state of North Bengal could satisfy the aspiration of the people of the region and free them from clutches of Calcutta centric rule.²⁴ Thus, it is clear from the interview of Sri Panchanan Mallick and other leaders of the Dal that as their grievances and demands were neither sympathetically considered nor paid heed to by the Govt. of West Bengal for quite a long period, they had no alternative but to resort to the demand of a separate state to the Central Govt. bypassing the Govt. of West Bengal. However, the same tone was reflected in the memorandum, submitted by the president of the U.K.D. to the then Prime Minister of India Smt. Indira Gandhi on 24th August 1981. It was mentioned in the memorandum that “the people (of North Bengal) had become displeased and restless because of their genuine fear of extraction 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 organize themselves in a separate state under the name and style of Kamotapur state within the union.”²⁵

However, though the leadership of the Uttarkhanda Dal had given direct blame to the then Govt. of West Bengal for leading them to the demand of a separate state of their own but it is evident that the leaders of the Dal were psychologically inspired with the demand of separate state raised by some regional political organizations in Bihar and Assam before the year 1980. It is well known that the Jharkhand movement in Bihar took an important turn with the formation of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (J.M.M.) in late 1972 which raised the demand the Jharkhand state under its charismatic leader Sibhu Soren.²⁶ It should be mentioned in this regard that one leader of the U.K.D. wrote a letter to the president of the Dal mentioning that Jharkhand Dal was demanding Jharkhand where Purulia, Bankura and some parts of Midnapur were included and if the grievances and demand of Uttarkhanda Dal were not conceded to by the Govt. of West Bengal, the demand of a separate state should be raised.²⁷ It was also stated in a leaflet of the Uttarkhanda Dal: “If Jharkhanda of Ranchi, Gorkhas of Darjeeling, Uttarakhandists of U.P., Bodos of Borolands, Mizos of Mizoram, Nagas of Nagalandspeoples of Chhatishgarh can unite for their demand, why not we can?”²⁸ So, we cannot ignore the psychological inspiration that the leadership of the U.K.D. received from the Jharkhand movement prevailed in Bihar in 1970s and also the movements prevailed in other states of eastern India. That the movement for separate state of the U.K.D.

was directly or indirectly influenced by the regional political movements going on at that time in Assam was evident when it was mentioned in the memorandum of the U.K.D. submitted to Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, “.....in recent times the Dal has witnessed with almost pain that the Govt. of Indiadid not pay any heed to the movement in Assam on the issue of detection, deletion and deportation of foreign nationals till the movement took seriously violent turn.....”²⁹ It was found that after a few month of submitting the above mentioned memorandum, the U.K.D. was taking resolution in its party meeting that the foreigners coming from Bangladesh, Assam and Tripura should not be given refuge in the districts of North Bengal and the people without citizenship was not to be given voting right and even the Dal demanded the recognition of the Kamotapuri language with a strong voice.³⁰ It should be remembered that the movement for the expulsion of the outsider or foreigner (*Bangal Khedao*) in Assam was started in 1979.³¹ Thus, the influence of contemporary political developments in Assam on the psycho of the leaders of Uttarkhanda Dal cannot be ignored in toto. It can rather be said that the Uttarkhanda Dal was enlivened (rejuvenated) with a new vigour (life) with the success of the AASU (All Assam Student Union) in 1980s of the last century. Apart from this, the leadership of the Uttarkhanda Dal has regular correspondence with that of the AASU and the centre of their meeting was the temple of Sankardev at Madhupur Dham of Assam and similarly the U.K.D. had also its correspondence with A.G.P. (Assam Gana Parishad).³²

Thus, it may be mentioned from the above discussion that in the second phase of the activities the Uttarkhanda Dal was largely influenced and inspired by the contemporary regional movements prevailed in India particularly in Eastern and North Eastern India especially in Bihar and Assam. It will be found in later discussion that the U.K.D. though initially raised the voice of socio-economic and cultural deprivation as the reason for demanding a separate state but gradually it was found that it included in its demand note the recognition of Kamotapuri language and expulsion of foreigners. Thus, ultimately the question of identity crisis of the indigenous group of people came to the fore.

However, there may be more other reasons for the demand of a separate state of Kamatapur by the U.K.D. apart from the aforesaid reasons. However, the Dal with a view to materialize its new demand followed a series of separatist and agitational activities since

1980s and onwards.

The first and foremost step the Dal had taken in this regard was the amendment of its constitution on February 1980 and the same was published on August in 1980. In the amended constitution of the Dal the new objective incorporated in it which goes thus: “The objective of the Uttarkhanda Dal is to form a dignified separate state within the federal structure of India for the all round developments of the neglected, oppressed and exploited people of North Bengal.”³³ It should be remembered that before this amendment of the constitution of the Dal, its main objective was the commitment to socialism.(detail discussion in chapter-3).

However, it is to be mentioned here that the first formal decision in the form of party resolution for a separate state of Kamotapur was taken by the Dal in its Central Committee meeting (*Kendriya Sanmela*n), held at Bijlimani Primary School of Darjeeling district on 31st May, 1980. It is very relevant to mention that one representative from the Gorkha League Sri Y. V. Subba from Kalimpong was present in the Sanmela as a special guest.³⁴

After the above mentioned formal decision for demanding a separate state, the think tanks of the Dal decided to mould public opinion in favour of their demand. In this regard they circulated leaflets appealing the people of all level of North Bengal irrespective of caste, creed, religion and political affiliation to support the demand for the creation of a separate state. It is evident in the leaflet and in its memorandum submitted to the prime minister of India, dated-24th August, 1981 that the Dal submitted one memorandum to the Prime Minister of India for the first time in earlier occasion but no resolution of the Dal in this regard was found.³⁵ However, it is to be mentioned that initially, the leadership of the Dal expressed repeatedly their dissatisfaction against the Calcutta centric rule, step motherly treatment and indifferent attitude towards the socio-economic development of North Bengal and these were the primary reasons for raising the demand of a separate state of North Bengal, as had been claimed by the leaders of the Dal and the same was reflected in the aforesaid leaflet of the Dal. But only after one year it was found that the think tanks of the Dal added other issues to justify the demand for a separate state. They raised the issue like the huge infiltration of the Bangladeshis in North Bengal and blamed the Calcutta centric rulers and Calcutta based govt.

for looking to the interests of the refugees at the cost of and with the sheer neglect of the indigenous people. It was even found that the leadership of the Dal expressed their fear of the gradual extinction of the socio-political and cultural domination along with severe economic position of the indigenous people of North Bengal. Because, these new influx of the Bangladeshi refugees, most of whom were basically agriculturists, began to refuge and live in the country side (village) of North Bengal specially in the two districts i.e. Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri which were largely inhabited and dominated by the Rajbanshi people. The continuous flow of the infiltrators and refugees changed the demographic picture of the villages of North Bengal, specially northern part of North Bengal where the majority was Rajbanshi population.³⁶ It should be kept in mind and had already been mentioned in earlier chapters that the economy of Rajbanshi population mainly dependent on land and agriculture. And now the Bangladeshi refugees and infiltrators made inroads in the agricultural land and thereby aggravated the economic grievances of the indigenous people. In other words, the huge influx of Bangladeshis made tremendous pressure on agricultural lands of North Bengal. It is to be mentioned here that the refugees who migrated to the above mentioned area immediately after partition of Bengal in 1947 mostly belonged to caste Hindus (Higher Caste Bengalis of erstwhile eastern Bengal) and took shelter in the *bazar or mofussil* town area and as a result there was no any kind of confrontation with the local Rajbanshi people. Rather it was a matter of cooperation and cohabitation between them to some extent. But as it has been mentioned earlier, the picture was different after 1980. However, the above mentioned new issue which was raised in 1981 was well reflected in the memorandum, submitted by the president of the Uttarkhanda Dal, Sri Panchanan Mallick to the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi on 24th August 1981. It was mentioned in that memorandum: “As a result after thirty three 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.”³⁷ In later course of the movement, it has already been stated, the leadership of the Dal termed them (refugees who came after 1971) as foreigners and demanded their expulsion and allowed no citizenship and voting right. It has also been mentioned in this chapter that the leadership of the Dal was influenced largely by the foreigners’ expulsion (*Bangal khedao*) movement of AASU. In fact, the Dal wanted to mould public opinion in favour of its demands for separate

state blaming the W.B. Govt. for sheltering the infiltrators in this region of West Bengal. However, such foreigners' expulsion movement was also organized by "Uttarbanga Taposili Jati O Adibashi Sangathan" popularly known as UTJAS which was formed in early 1977. The UTJAS was middle class based youth organization. It should be mentioned in this connection that though it fiercely opposed the separate state demand of Uttarkhanda Dal but in some cases as mentioned above their demands were identical with the U.K.D.³⁸ One of the members of the policy making body of the Uttarbanga Tapasili Jati O Adibashi Sangathan Sri Jugal Kishore Roy Bir stated in an interview that his organization did not support the formation of a state on the basis of only language and culture.³⁹ In addition to this, earlier the president of UTJAS Sri Pravat Sen Ishore a lawyer by profession denied outrightly any relation with the Uttarkhanda Dal.⁴⁰ Thus, it was found that all the aims and objectives of the U.K.D. and UTJAS were not identical.

However, it would not be irrelevant to refer here that some sociologists and political scientists think that the main motive behind Uttarkhanda agitation was to brand a section of people (*bhatias*) as outsiders and demand their expulsion from North Bengal.⁴¹ But an in depth analysis of the activities of the Uttarkhanda Dal proved the fact that the leadership was not against the *bhatias* (Rajbanshis usually address the immigrant Bengalis from the lower place of Eastern Bengal as *bhatias*) in general. It has already been mentioned that the activists of the Dal were very sympathetic towards the refugees who migrated to this region after 1947. It was even found that Sri Bimal Bhattacharya (a so called Bhatias), a Bengali Brahmin and a resident of Dhupguri town, Jalpaiguri, was the candidate of the Uttarkhanda Dal in Dhupguri Assembly (General) seat in the Bidhan Sabha election, held in March, 1972.⁴² Again it should be mentioned that leadership of the Uttarkhanda Dal demanded the expulsion of the foreigners who were from Bangladesh, Assam and Tripura making 1971 as the base year. The Dal nowhere mentioned the term *Bhatia*.⁴³ In this connection it seems that the problem cannot be explained fully within a particular sociological and theoretical framework.

Another new issue which has been raised by the Dal after 1980 which was very important deserves analysis. Along with the above mentioned issue, the think tanks of the Dal began to demand the recognition of the Kamotapuri language.⁴⁴ It is very interesting to note that before raising the demand for the recognition of Kamotapuri language, the leadership of

the Dal used the nomenclature with regard to this local language the 'Rajbanshi language'. In this regard mention may be made of a literary journal named 'Kalsanji' issued by the literary wing of the Uttarkhanda Dal in 1970s.⁴⁵ But it was found that when the conception of the separate state of Kamotapuri came to the fore and the same was demanded by the U.K.D. and the Dal was trying to rename the language too as 'Kamotapuri' and demanded its recognition.

However, it can be argued that the motive behind the change of nomenclature of the language by the *Uttarkhandists* was political to a large extent. In this regard, it would not be irrelevant to mention here the report of the State Reorganization Commission, submitted its report in October, 1955. In its report while it laid down the due consideration to administrative and economic factor for the reorganization of the state, it recognized for the most part the linguistic principle and recommended redrawing of state boundaries on that basis.⁴⁶ The Uttarkhanda Dal perhaps was inspired by this report of SRC and wanted to use its linguistic provision as one of the legal weapon in favour of statehood demand. In this regard, Sri Harimohan Barman, a veteran leader and an ideologue of the U.K.D. and a retired Headmaster of a Higher Secondary School is of the opinion that as the name of the dialect 'Rajbanshi' had the overtone of communal colour, the Dal took the decision to use the nomenclature 'Kamotapuri' to avoid the same and at the same time it would help a lot for acquiring a separate state of Kamotapur in this region.⁴⁷ Thus, the argument so far as put forwarded by the *Uttarkhandists* was that this local language (as was termed by the *Uttarkhandists*) is the mother tongue not only of the people of the Rajbanshi community living here at North Bengal, but a large number of local Muslims (*Nasya-Sheikh*), jogis and some other people also regard it as their mother tongue and they have been speaking this language for generations at least since the creation of the Kamata kingdom in early medieval period. Thus, it was argued by the *Uttarkhandists* that statistically more than fifty percent of the population of North Bengal speak this language and thereby it was viable to make a separate state of North Bengal on the linguistic basis as was recommended by the S.R.C. At present the protagonists of the Kamatapur Peoples Party and some Rajbanshi intellectuals like Dharmanarayan Barma also follow the same argument mentioned above.

However, when the census of 2011 was began, it was found that the '*Ai Bhasa Nathikaran Pancha*' organized by those who plead for the term Kamatapuri language made

an appeal to the people of North Bengal specially who speak this language to write the term ‘Kamotapuri’ in the column of language and strongly slammed those who were pleading for the term ‘Rajbanshi.’ Some of the names of the members of this organization deserve special mention. The names were viz. Sri Naren Das, a pleader and once the founder leader of UTZAS from Jalpaiguri; Dr. Dhiren Das, a school teacher from Dinhata; Dr. Girindra Narayan Roy, a Professor , Dept. of English N.B.U. and two K.P.P. leaders- Atul Roy, president of the K.P.P. and Nikhil Roy, the general secretary.⁴⁸ In this regard, the content of another leaflet should be mentioned here which goes thus in Rajbanshi/Kamotapuri language.

“Hamara Kamotapuri, Kamotapuri Hamar Bhasa ,

Jar Nai Apon Bhasa , Kaneko Nai Tar Asha,

Bhasay Rakhe Man Bhasay Mansir Paran

Bhasa Nai Jar Tay Marar Saman”⁴⁹

The free translation goes thus : we are Kamotapuri and Kamotapuri language is our mother tongue, those who have no their own mother tongue , they have no any hope because language or mother tongue is the symbol of self respect, is the symbol of a life of a race or community. So, those who have no language are as good as dead.⁴⁹

Side by side another section of Rajbanshi intellectuals formed an organization named ‘Rajbanshi Academy.’ The members of the Rajbanshi Academy also made an appeal to the people of the same group of people mentioned above to write the term ‘Rajbanshi’ in the column of language and also in the column of race. They argued in this appeal letter that the Sahitya Academy had also given recognition to this language with the nomenclature ‘Rajbanshi’ language offering first ‘*Bhasa Sanman*’ to Dr. Girija Sankar Roy, a Rajbanshi scholar and a member of Rajbanshi Academy. The members of Rajbanshi Academy were Dr. Girija Sankar Roy; Dr. Nikhilesh Roy, Dept. of Bengali, North Bengal University; Dr. Dipak Kr. Roy, Dept. of Bengali, North Bengal University; Dr. Nirmal Kr. Roy, Dept. of

Philosophy, North Bengal University; Prof. Kanak Sarkar, Jadavpur University; Prof. Haripada Sarkar, Calcutta University; Keshab Chandra Singha, Vishyabharati Vishya Vidyalaya and also some other college teachers and school teachers.⁵⁰ Thus, it is found that there is a controversy among the Rajbanshi intellectuals which till now is going on. In the meantime the Govt. of West Bengal has established Rajbanshi Bhasa Academy.

Whatever nomenclature might be of the language as argued by the above mentioned two groups of Rajbanshi intellectuals, but one argument is there that in the wake of Uttarkhanda movement, the inclination towards Rajbanshi dialect as a distinct language (Kamotapuri) of the region merely an attempt to establish a separate identity for the Rajbanshi. Thus the leaders of the Uttarkhanda Dal wanted to bring the language issue not only to strengthen the loyalties of the Rajbanshis to this movement but also to prevent the community from being assimilated into Bengali fold. Moreover, by bringing this language issue into the fore, they wanted to show how as a result of linguistic reorganization of states, having a mother tongue other than state language, they have become 'minorities', in the linguistic ethnic term, in their own territory. Apart from this, by mobilizing the Rajbanshis on language issue, they perhaps wanted to make a ground that at least linguistically there was sufficient ground to create a separate Kamotapur State."⁵¹

However, the Uttarkhanda Dal also tried to mould public opinion in favour of their demand through the circulation of leaflets, pamphlets and holding a series of public meetings. In this regard we can mention of a pamphlet which was circulated on 22. 06. 1980 appealing the people of North Bengal irrespective of caste, creed, religion for favouring the statehood demand. It was found that the Dal not only vehemently criticized the Calcutta centric rule of the Govt. of West Bengal but it was termed as internal colonialism i.e. North Bengal was being exploited by the political leaders of all Calcutta based political. In the same pamphlet, the leaders of the U.K.D. made focus on the pristine glory of early medieval Kamotapur Kingdom.⁵² It was found in leaflets that the leadership of the Dal used the famous call of Mahatma Gandhi made in 'Quit India Movement' in 1942 '*Karenge Ye Mareng*' (Do or Die) in order to inspire their activists for acquiring separate state of North Bengal.⁵³ The Dal also changed its earlier slogan. Previously, the party slogan was 'Bande Mataram' (chapter-3)

and now it adopted a new slogan of the Dal i.e. '*Joy Kamotapur*.'⁵⁴ Thus, it should be mentioned that the Dal continued its activities to win over the mind of the people of the region till 1984 i.e. in favour of statehood demand up to the Lok Sobha election of 1984.

It is to be mentioned that the U.K.D. though raised the demand of a separate state but at the same time the leadership was not abstained from participating in the Bidhan Sobha election in 1982 and the Lok Sobha election of 1984. The leadership of the Dal participated in those elections with the manifesto of the separate statehood demand with the hope of garnering public opinion in their favour. But the fact is that the response of the people of North Bengal in this regard was not very encouraging. The people of North Bengal did not respond well even to such issue of Uttarkhanda Dal like expulsion of foreigners, the recognition of Kamotapuri language along with other issues advocated by them since the foundation of the Dal. It was found that the Uttarkhanda Dal achieved no mentionable success in the election (chapter-5) and even in some Assembly seats and Lok Sobha seats its candidates lost security deposits.

Thus, it was found that the U.K.D. had no social support base in any level. It has already been mentioned in chapter-4 that there were several causes for this situation. It has been stated earlier in this chapter that the presence of strong Left and Nationalist parties in this region did not provide any opportunity for the U.K.D. for expanding its organization. Again it is mentioned earlier that the pro-people policy of the Left Front Govt. at that time like the introduction of Panchayati system, *Barga* operation, Bank loan facilities for the poor and marginal cultivators prevented the lower class people for supporting the U.K.D. In this regard we may cite the observation of a social scientist that 'in recent years some spectacular changes have taken place at local level political processes as well as power structure. Extreme politicization on class line made considerable dent in the domain of power traditionally enjoyed by the Rajbanshis. Now classes rather than castes act as strong interest as well as pressure groups in political sphere.Therefore, in the new political process and mobilization the leaders moulded in an older milieu have certainly lost their age old supremacy over local level power structure.'⁵⁵

However, the above mentioned failure of the Uttarkhanda Dal in the elections which

revealed the weakness of its organizational strength and public support base led the think tanks of the Dal to change their techniques, for garnering support of the Rajbanshi population. It was found that the leadership of the Dal for the first time decided to use the 'Panchanan Card' to unite the Rajbanshi community as a whole. In this regard, the Dal tried to project Roy Saheb Panchanan Barma, the great social reformer of the Rajbanshi society at the first half of the twentieth century (mentioned in chapter-2) as the symbol of the religious 'guru' of the party. The decision was taken to use the prefix '*Sri Sri Thakur*' before Panchanan Barma's name i.e. "Sri Sri Thakur Panchanan Barma". Again, it was decided that as Panchanan Barma was a devotee of Lord Shiva, so the followers of the U.K.D. would follow the same god i.e. Lord Shiva. Accordingly, it was decided to change the colour, shape and symbol of the flag of the Dal. The colour of the flag was decided to make red with triangular shape (considering the religious flag of the Rajbanshis generally is posted at the top of the temple of Lord Shiva and also posted at the premises of the *gram than* of every Rajbanshi family). In the middle of the flag there would be a symbol of noon sun.⁵⁶ Thus it was found that the Dal, for the first time, played the card of Rajbanshi ethnic sentiment making Roy Sahib Panchanan Barma as its religious guru. At the same time the religious sentiment of the Rajbanshi population was tried to be exploited by the leadership of the party. It was again decided to adopt the gospel of the Gita as the main ideology of the party.⁵⁷ The think tanks of the Dal very shrewdly made effort to exploit the Panchanan sentiment, *Gram Thakur* (Shiva) sentiment and Vaishnava sentiment (making the gospel of the Gita their main ideology) of the Rajbanshi population. It should be remembered that most of the Rajbansahi people believe in Vaishnavism and *Hari shankirtan* (religious devotional song of Lord Krishna) and *Hariseva* (religious feast in the name of Lord Krishna). In those religious ceremonies or feasts, recital from *Sri Mat Bhagabat Gita* was must. Thus, it can be stated that the Dal now was proceeding towards the policy of ethnic solidarity. Though the Dal aimed at channelizing all these sentiments of the Rajbanshi people to the movement for a separate state but very interestingly, it was seen that there was no any specific policy with regard to other autochthones of the region viz, the indigenous Muslims (*Naisya-Sheikh*), Bodos, tribals etc so far as adopted by the leadership of the Uttarkhanda Dal.

The natural sequence of the above mentioned organizational policy of the Dal was the

‘religious pledge’ that was to be taken by the activists and the supporters of the Uttarkhanda Dal. It was the oath of unconditional allegiance to the Dal and commitment to the demand of the separate state of Kamotapur. However, this religious oath was first taken by the president of the Dal, Sri Panchanan Mallick on the 21st September 1985 at the oath taking ceremony, organized at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Dal, held at the premises of the residence of Sree Panchanan Mallick at Bhangarhat, Maynaguri Block, Jalpaiguri. The aforesaid ceremony was arranged on special religious day of the 536th Shankarabda and the auspicious day of ‘Radha Asthami.’ The ceremony was performed following the religious rites. First, the president of the Dal was anointed by a Rajbanshi religious priest Sri Manta Kamini Mohan Adhikary putting *Chandan-Tilak* (sectarian mark on the forehead with paste sandal wood) on the forehead and after that the oldest member of the Dal Sri Manta Satyendra Nath Basunia made the president (now Sri Mant Panchanan Mallick) to recite the oath sentences which was written in Rajbanshi language and the same goes the following.

‘Aji Panchai Asvin Deobar 536 Tama Shankarabdat Radha Asthami Tithit Mui Iswarer Namat Pratigya Karo Je Kamata Rajya Pratisthar Karanat Sarba Prakar Dayitya Palane Raji Thakim.’⁵⁸

The free translation goes thus: ‘I, on the 536 Shankarabda and on the auspicious day of Radha Asthami do hereby swear in the name of god that I must perform every kind of responsibility for the sake of establishing Kamota Rajya’.

It is to be stated that the top leaders of the Dal began to prefix the term ‘*Sri Mant*’ before their name in place of ‘*Sri Yukta*’ following the prefix used by the religious Vaishnavite saint Sri Mant Shankaradeva. It should be mentioned that Sri Mant Shankaradeva was the Vaishnavite guru of North Eastern India in the medieval period who got patronage at the court of Naranarayan, the king of the Koch Kingdom of Cooch Behar.⁵⁹ It was Shankaradeva who perhaps first preached the Vaishnava cult among the Rajbanshis.

However, after the oath taking ceremony of the president of the Dal was performed, the next turn was for the activists presented at the ceremony. Now the president of the Dal made them recite the pledge mentioned above. The activists who took oath on that very day

were 175 (one hundred and seventy five) in number. It is very relevant to mention the name of those oath takers along with their address which were entered into the resolution. The same has been mentioned bellow.

Sl.	Name	Address
1.	Sri Panchanan Mallick	Bhangerhat
2.	Sri Laxmi Narayan Deb Barman	No Address
3.	Sri Shirish Ch.Ded Singha	No Address
4.	Sri Kamini Mohan Roy	No Address
5.	Sri Debendra Nath Roy	No Address
6.	Sri Suranjan Roy	No Address
7.	Sri Rukkini Roy	No Address
8	Sri Bhabesh Ch. Roy	No Address
9.	Sri Manindra Nath Roy	No Address
10.	Sri Jitendra Nath Roy	No Address
11.	Sri Laxmi Kanta Roy	No Address
12.	Sri Lalmohan Roy	No Address
13.	Sri Bulendra Nath Roy	No Address
14.	Sri Badal Ch. Adhikari	No Address
15.	Sri Sachindra Nath Roy	No Address
16	Sri Satyendra Nath Basunia	No Address

1. It should be mentioned that after this serial, the name of the oath takers, their fathers' name, age and address are clearly signed and mentioned by the individual oath takers. So, it is mentioned here in ditto as it was entered in the Resolution.⁶

Sl No.	Name	Father's Name	Age	Address
17	Sri Narayan Ch.Dakua	Padma Dakua	41	Madhya Khagra Bari
18.	Sri Manindra Nath Roy	Tarini Mohan Roy	55	Nirendrapur
19.	Sri Tarapada Roy	Mohan Roy	24	Nirendrapur
20.	Dhirendra NathRoy	BidyamanRoy	50	Ratherhat
21.	Sri Kahar ChanRoy	Sri Jhila	40	Ratherhat
22.	Sri Thailu Roy	Sri Thanda Roy	30	Daukimari
23.	Sri Bijay Roy	Dhairya Mohan	22	Daukimari
24.	Nripendra Nath Adhikary	Kokil Adhikary	25	Daukimari
25.	Munu Roy(Lt.)	Shukurchan	26	Daukimari
26.	Sahadeb Roy	Brajomohan Roy	22	Churabhandar
27.	Jagadish Basunia	Satyen Basunia	25	Do
28.	Gobinda Mohan Roy	Ananda Roy	28	Do
29.	Sarbananda Roy	Bisaru Roy	30	Ratherhat
30.	Tarani Kanta Roy	Sadaru Roy	25	Do
31.	Fatik Ch. Roy	Dhan Mohan Roy	25	Do
32.	Jagadish Ch. Roy	Tipa Roy	28	Do

33.	Dinesh Roy (Lt.)	Jitendra Roy	22	Do
34.	Harikanta Barman	Jitendra Nath Barman	28	Domohini
35.	Shibendra Nath Sharma	Shashi Prasad Sharma	55	Ratherhat
36.	Brajendra Nath Roy	Joymohan Roy	49	Dwarikamari
37.	Chitta Roy	Shiben Roy	24	Ratherhat
38.	Madhusudhan Roy	Shibendra Roy	23	Chapsad
39.	Biswanath Roy	Jitmohan Roy	55	Ratherhat
40.	Ramsing Roy	Rajmohan Roy	75	Do
41.	Ramendranath Roy	Surendranath Roy	22	Kathalbari
42.	Amulya Roy	Jogendranath Roy	32	Do
43.	Madhusudhan Barman	Baidyanath Barman	26	Do
44.	Gajendranath Sharma	Manikanta Sharma	50	Ratherhat
45.	Ajay Roy (Lt.)	Jogendranath Roy	23	Domohini
46.	Suresh Roy (Lt.)	Mutu Roy	25	Dwarikamari
47.	Sahadeb Roy (Lt.)	Mahadeb Roy	25	Ratherhat
48.	Soma Oraon	Bas Oraon	55	Khagenhat
49.	San Roy (Lt.)	Chaitamohon Roy	50	Dwarikamari

50.	Ganesh Ch. Roy	Shashimohan Roy	22	Ratherhat
51.	Bholanath Roy	Thandamohan Roy	24	Dwarikamari
52.	Jogesh Roy	Dupuru Roy	50	Ratherhat
53.	Jitendra Roy	Jogendranath Roy	68	Khagrabari
54.	Rathindranath Roy	Rukkini Ranjan Roy	49	Boalmari, Jalpaiguri
55.	Subhas Roy Sarkar	DwijendranathRoy Sarkar	19	Do
56.	Bhotta Sing Roy	Godala Roy	58	Jhar Baragila
57.	Banka Behari Barman	Basanta Kr. Roy	47	Bhuskardanga
58.	Halindranath Adhikary	Bhengana Adhikary	30	Uttar Khagrabari
59.	Dharen Roy	Brajomohan Roy	20	Ratherhat
60.	Shyam Mohan Roy	Nava Roy	20	Do
61.	Sadhu Roy	Indramohan Roy	55	Churabhandar
62.	Nalini Roy	Gourikanta Roy	35	Do
63.	Ramkishore Roy	Ramsundar Roy	45	Bhangarhat
64.	Jitendranath Roy	Harendranath Roy	53	Ratherhat
65.	Bimal Ch. Roy	Saren Roy	20	Do
66.	Kalin Roy	Layman Roy	25	Dwarikamari

67.	Rajkumar Roy	Manindranath Roy	25	Do
68.	Birendranath Roy	Jhila Roy	30	Do
69.	Sataru Roy	Pancha Roy	32	Churabhandar
70.	Pravas Roy	Priyanath Roy	30	Do
71.	Bhadramohan Roy	Mangulu Roy	30	Do
72.	Basanta Ch. Adhikary	Binod Adhikary	22	Dwarikamari
73.	Domasu Roy	Harimohan Roy	45	Do
74.	Sakindranath Roy	Jibdhan Roy	45	Char Churabhandar
75.	Bankim Ch. Barman	Khirod Ch. Barman	29	Do
76.	Namala Kanta Roy	Jaymohan Roy	28	Dhaulaguri
77.	Anukul Roy	Hariprasad Roy	50	Dwarikamari
78.	Malin Ch. Roy	Jajneswar Roy	35	Do
79.	Saday Kr. Roy	Thanda Mohan Roy	15	Do
80.	Prafulla Ch. Roy	Sadhu Mohan Roy	25	DO
81.	Keshab Sharma	Khoka Ch. Roy	18	Ratherhat
82.	Jogesh Roy	Mongal Chan Roy	20	Do
83.	Paltan Bagchi	Dhirendranath Bagchi	34	Do
84.	Dinanath ROY	Dharani Mohan Roy	25	W. Magurmari

85.	Kachua Roy	Shabda Roy	65	Ratherhat
86.	Katar Roy	Kerkeru Roy	55	Do
87.	Dharen Roy	Nenda Roy	25	Do
88.	Arjun Pande	Chulai Pande	65	Do
89.	Biswanath Roy	Dhan Prasad Roy	60	Do
90.	Dinabandhu Sharma	Sadakanta Sharma	40	Do
91.	Surendranath Roy	Shibendranath Roy	60	Do
92.	Budhmohan Roy	Mohan Roy	50	Do
93.	Shasanka Shekhar Roy Basunia	Gajendranath Basunia	29	Bhuskar Danga
94.	Shyamal Kr. Roy	Shyamacharan Roy	22	Do
95.	Bichuram Roy	Hari Roy	45	Ratherhat
96.	Dhajin Roy	Gobra Roy	42	Do
97.	Dwigambar Roy	Sudhamohan Roy	44	Dwarikamari
98.	Dalim Ch. Roy	Bini Roy	45	Do
99.	Bimal Roy	Suredra Nath Roy	30	Ratherhat
100	Birendranath Roy	Tunu Roy	32	Do
101	Madhu Adhikari	Bhadu Adhikari	24	Do

102	Jaydev Ch. Roy	Dhiren Roy	16	Bashila Danga
103	Ajay Kr. Roy	Dhana Mohan Roy	18	Dwarika Mari
104	Tukusu Roy	Khirod Roy	50	Do
105	Taraman Roy	Venda Mohan Roy	52	Do
106	Balcharan Roy	Fakai Ch. Roy	52	Bhagerhat
107	Bhusan Roy	Bartaman Roy	41	Dwarikamari
108	Sadhan Ch. Roy	Indramohan Roy	32	Dwarikamari
109	Joykanta Roy	Mankanta Roy	32	Bhangerhat
110	Nagendra Roy	Bidyamohan Roy	45	Dwarikamari
111	Chantamohan Roy	Rasik Ch. Roy	58	Do
112	Keshav Ch. Roy	Chandrakanta Roy	51	Bhangamali
113	Suredranath Roy	Bhogamohan Roy	42	Dwarikamari
114	Bhagin Roy	Budharu Roy	20	Basilar Danga
115	Satish Ch. Roy	Garo Roy	70	Bhangerhat
116	Bhabendranath Roy	Kailash Ch. Rpy	65	Ratherhat
117	Shakalu Roy	Fodang Roy	22	Dwarikamari
118	Perperu Roy	Tartaria Roy	45	Dhaolaguri
119	Gokul Ch. Roy	Gajen Roy	21	Dwarikamari

120	Fatumohan Roy	Sukhmohan Roy	49	Dhaolaguri
121	Mohan Roy	Tunu Roy	16	Ratherhat
122	Suresh Ch. Roy	Sakindra Roy	25	Do
123	Haren Roy	Kutha Roy	20	Dwarikamari
124	Kalani Roy	Baneswar Roy	28	Do
125	Joymohan Roy	Nenda Mohan Roy	30	Do
126	Sachin Roy	Mohan Roy	17	Do
127	Dhajen Roy	Andharu Roy	25	Do
128	Dhulia Roy	Mudikanta Roy	60	Ratherhat
129	Jagadish Barman	Umananda Barman	40	Dhupguri
130	Basunath Barma	Tisya Ram Roy	50	Salbari
131	Rabindra Roy	Kutha Roy	25	Dwarikamari
132	Bidesh Roy	Dhipa Roy	22	Ratherhat
133	Jatindranath Roy	Pailsanju Roy	58	Dwarikamari
134	Amulya Kr. Mallick	Ratneswar Mallick	34	Ratherhat
135	Amulya Roy	Ram Ch. Roy	18	Chura Bhandar
136	Satish Sharma	Gita Nath Sharma	40	Ratherhat

137	Nirendranath Roy	Kalin Roy	40	Amguri
138	Rathal Ch. Adhikary	Rasikmohan Adhikary	40	Dhapra
139	Bhabani Roy	Farku Roy	55	Daukimari
140	Harendra Nath Roy	Ramkanta Roy	40	Dhaolaguri
141	Kaleswar Roy	Dulu Roy	42	Dhoulaguri
142	Kartik Roy	Majkila Roy	25	Bakshir Danga
143	Bishwer Adhikary	Rachana Adhykary	17	Do
144	Deo Roy	Gadela Roy	52	Chura Bhandar
145	Praneswar Roy	Mahikanta Roy	60	Do
146	Biren Roy	Chandra Mohan Roy	25	Ratherhat
147	Deben Roy	Dupuru Roy	60	Dhaolaguri
148	Laxmi Roy	Braben Roy	40	Do
149	Dhiren Ch. Roy	Budhmohan Roy	20	Ratherhat
150	Babulal Roy	Sukhdev Roy	35	Dwarikamari
151	Dinesh Roy	Somaru Roy	30	Do
152	Prabin Ch. Roy	Thalla Roy	27	Ratherhat
153	Gajen Roy	Kutha Roy	20	Dwarikamari

154	Asala Roy	Gondo Roy	20	Ratherhat
155	Nimai Sharma	Upen Sharma	25	Do
156	Nagendra nath Roy	Taraknath Roy	48	Betgara
157	Purna Ch. Sharma	Kalimohan Sharma	60	Ratherhat
158	Nityananda Sharma	Sitanath Sharma	45	Do
159	Ramesh Roy	Satish Roy	25	Dwarikamari
160	Mahim Roy	Chintamohan Roy	33	Do
161	Santosh Roy	Sonamohan Roy	25	Do
162	Satyanath Das	Shamimohan Roy	31	Do
163	Golimohan Roy	Bamamohan roy	18	S. Khagrabari
164	Satish Ch. Adhikary	Harish Ch. Adhikary	17	Do
165	Sunil Roy	Sachin Roy	25	Ratherhat
166	Gobinda Roy	Thella Roy	22	Chura Bhandar
167	Upendranath Roy	Dhirendranath Roy	47	Purba Daha
168	Dhirendranath Roy	Bhogdev Roy	60	E. Salbari
169	Nebu Roy	Jorkatu Roy	35	Do
170	Dhupendranath Roy	Kalikanta Roy	45	Do

170	Dhupendranath Roy	Kalikanta Roy	45	Do
171	Surendranath Roy	Jyotish Roy	35	E. Bhangamali
172	Niranjana Roy	Nagendranath Roy	19	Purba Daha
173	Bikash Roy	Surendra Nath Roy	20	Purba Daha
174	Bimalakanta Chakraborty	Srikanta Chakraborty	64	Salbari
175	Malindranath Roy	Laxmikanta Roy	nil	Purba Daha

It is to be mentioned that though the beginning of taking oath by the activists of the U.K.D. was at the residence of the president of the Dal at Bhangarhat but later on it was found that the Jalpesh temple near Maynaguri of Jalpaiguri district had become the venue of oath taking programme. It was reported by a well circulated daily newspaper that a section of leaders were committed to the creation of a separate homeland for themselves 'Kamotapur' as they called it. It was mentioned in that 'daily' that every member was asked to swear by the 'Gita' that he would not give up the struggle until Kamotapur became a reality and then he is blessed with water which is first 'purified' by pouring it on the *Shivalinga* in the temple. When they were asked why choose a temple as the venue for political deliberation, the people who gather there have readymade answer for this "just as the agitation for 'Khalistan' began from golden temple so will that for Kamotapur take off from Jalpesh."⁶¹ But the leaders like Manindra Nath Roy gave paper statement that they were against the 'Khalistan Movement' of the Panjab.⁶²

However, the oath taking programme of the Dal was not only confined to the Jalpesh temple or the Jalpesh temple was not the only venue for that but also it was found that the Dal organized such oath taking programme to the new active activists of the Dal in the villages. The responsibility of such oath programme was given to the representatives of the president.

The representatives also had to take oath for that purpose which goes thus in Rajbanshi language.

‘Mui Iswarer Name Pratijna Karia Kamata Rajyer Uddharer Karane Sabhapati Mahashaier Pratinidhi Hisabe Sapath Kariya Parichalanar Dayitya Bhar Grahan Karinu.’

The free translation goes thus: ‘I, in the name of God swearing that I will perform the responsibility to organize ‘oath taking programme’ as a representative of the president.’

We can mention here the name of some of such representatives of the president of the Uttarkhanda Dal which are as follows.⁶³

1. Sri Yadav Chandra Tandra, Age-72 S/O Late Krishna Kanta Tandra, Village-West Dharmapur, Po.-Jorpakri,P.S.-Maynaguri Dist-Jalpaiguri, Oath was taken on 28.01.1987.
2. Sri Haren Roy, s/o-Kaichalu Roy, Village-Uttar Jhar Khattimari, PO.-Lataguri, P.S. Malbazar,Jalpaiguri,date-08/02/1987.
3. Sri Dharendra Nath Roy, s/o-Bhogdev Roy, Village-Salbari,PO.- Jalpesh Mandir, P.S.- Maynaguri, Dist. Jalpaiguri,Dated- 13.02.1987.
4. Sri Jogendra Nath Roy, s/o-Late Rupnath Roy, Village-Sakirajot, P.O.-Rajganj, Dist-Jalpaiguri. No date is mentioned .
5. Sri Shashimohan Adhikari, s/o Late Bangshimohan Adhikari, Village-Dabgram, Po.-No -1 Fulbari, P.S.-Rajganj, Dist.-Jalpaiguri. Date is not mentioned.
6. Sri Debendra Nath Roy, s/o-Late Golai Roy, Village-Panchabati, P.O.-Debi Thakurbari, P.S.-Rajganj, Dist-Jalpaiguri.
7. Sri Saken Roy, s/o-Late Mohan Roy, Po.-Shikarpur, P.S.- Rajganj, Dist.-Jalpaiguri, date-05.04.1987.
8. Sri Nabakumar Deb Adhikary, s/o-Late Mahendra Deb Adhikary,Village-Sardarpara, P.O.-Belakoba, P.S.-Kotowali, Jalpaiguri, date-04.07.1987.

All the above mentioned representatives of the president of the U.K.D. having the responsibility to perform oath taking programme to the new activists signed on a particular oath taking letter along with their fathers' name and address. However, all these above mentioned persons belonged to Rajbanshi ethnic group. But it is very important to mention that some persons belonged to indigenous Muslim community (*Nasya-Sheikh*) also took oath in the name of 'Allah' for performing oath taking programme to the new party supporters. However, the draft of the oath letter and the name of such two representatives are mentioned below.

"Mui Allahar Name Shapath Karea Kamotapur Rajyer Dabite

Sabhapati Mahashaer Pratinidhi Hisabe Shapath Grahan Karya

Parichalanar Dayitya Var Grahan Karinu" (in Rajbanshi Language).

The free translation is: 'I do hereby in the name of Allah, swear that I shall perform the oath taking programme as the representative of the president.'

In this regard the name of two such representatives are Samaru Muhammad, s/o Late Nathisuddin Muhammad, Vill.- Bhandarigach, Rajganj, Dist.-Jalpaiguri and Md. Abdul Kudduj, s/o Md. Maijuddin, Gaora, Rajganj, Jalpaiguri, date- 02.01.1987.⁶⁴

It can be said from the aforesaid oath taking programme that not only a section of Rajbanshi Hindu but also a section of indigenous Muslim though in small number took oath to dedicate themselves for the cause of acquiring 'Kamotapur' state. The oath taking programme was not confined to recite the aforesaid oath letter but also it was mandatory for the new members to swear by the Gita and the Mahabharata in case of the Hindus and by the Quran in case of the Muslims for dedicating their lives for the sake of forming separate Kamotapur state.⁶⁵

In fact, the leadership of the Dal made desperate effort to keep their supporters under control exploiting the religious sentiment in the teeth of strong presence of the national parties especially the Left Parties in West Bengal. Side by side, they were also preparing themselves to turn the movement towards violent situation as the later sequence of events

proved. The Dal also proposed to form a regiment named 'Rai Sena' ⁶⁶ after the name of Chila Roy (Shukladhwaj), the famous military general and younger brother of Maharaja Naranarayan, the king of Koch Kingdom in the early 16th century. This measure on the part of the Dal also proved the above mentioned intention. Thus, the Dal was adopting every possible means to reach at their goal of acquiring the separate state of Kamotapur.

Now let us discuss the violent activities of the Dal which it pursued in order to materialize its demands for a separate state. In this regard, it is to be mentioned that the Dal perhaps received inspiration from the neighboring state of Assam. It is very pertinent to state here that Dr. Purna Narayan Singha, the president of Bharatiya Koch Rajbanshi Kshatriya Mahasobha with its Head Quarters at Tezpur, Assam wrote a letter to Sri Panchanan Mallick, the president of the U.K.D. and also the vice president of the above mentioned organization of Assam where Dr. Singha mentioned that as the Rajbanshi of North Bengal could not lead the movement to the forceful and violent mood, they were not getting any importance or drawing the attention of the govt. He quoted the example of Jharkhandis and Gorkhaland movement under the leadership of Subhas Ghising.⁶⁷ That the Uttarkhanda movement was well inspired by the movements in Assam was also clear from a newspaper statement of Sri Panchanan Mallick where he claimed that the Rajbanshis of Assam had sympathetic attitude towards the movement for a separate state organized by the U.K.D. Even the Assam Gana Parishad (A.G.P) had supported their movement.⁶⁸ In the same statement Sri Mallick claimed that Gayetridevi, a princess of Cooch Behar kingdom and former Maharani of Rajasthan Kingdom sympathized the Uttarkhanda Movement.

However, it is very interesting to note that the Uttarkhanda Dal had formed a shadow ministry (however, an interesting turn of the policy of the Dal was reported in some daily newspapers which also should be mentioned here) of proposed Kamotapur Rashtra (not Rajya). The geographical area of this proposed Kamotapur Rashtra was defined from Dhubri of Assam to Malda district of West Bengal with Cooch Behar as its capital. The colour of the national flag of this proposed state would be yellow and green. It was reported that a meeting of the Central Committee of the U.K.D. with 22 (twenty two) activists was held on 24 September 1985 that was chaired by Sri Panchanan Mallick, the president of the Dal. In the shadow ministry Sampad Roy was declared minister in charge of the Foreign and Home

Dept.; Banku Behari Barman become a minister in charge of Agriculture and Planning Department; Bhupendra Nath Roy, minister in charge of Broad Casting and Culture Department; Sudhansu Sarkar, minister in charge of Law Department and Administrative Department was given to Sri Manindra Nath Roy.⁶⁹ The Head of the Cabinet was Sri Rukmini Roy. However, later it was completely denied by the president of the Dal, Sri Panchanan Mallick giving a statement in the newspaper.⁷⁰

It is very relevant to state on the basis of above reporting of a news paper that the leadership of the Uttarkhand Dal had the dormant aspiration of becoming ministers in a state i.e. a ministry of the Rajbanshi people. That is why, they formed such a shadow ministry. In other words, it may also be stated that such a measure of forming a ministry was taken to rejuvenate the morale of the activists and the supporters of the Dal. However, with regard to such political aspiration of an ethnic group or backward class or Dalit of India is very natural as has been observed by the scholars. Scholars argued that the main reason of such sub regional movement, generally organized by an ethnic group of people or scheduled caste group is their socio-political and economic deprivation for a long period of time and also because of the domination of the upper caste people.⁷¹

However, the movement of the U.K.D. was gradually turning towards hot mood at least in words which were published in daily news papers. The leadership of the Dal began to threaten both the State Govt. and Central Govt. that they would take the path of armed movement if it became necessary. Panchanan Mallick, the president of the Dal gave newspaper statement where he stated, 'there would be no troubles to get fire arms from foreign countries'. According to Sri Mallick, the Dal had sent representatives to the leaders of all regional parties of India and they suggested armed movement.⁷² But Sri Mallick did not mention the name of the regional parties with which they had made contact. However, the CPI (M) party, the main constituent of the then ruling Left Front Govt. was also providing fire arms to their activists to face the probable challenge of the *Uttarkhandists* which was according to its leadership just a "preventive measure". The *Uttarkhandists* also made complaint armed attack on them at that time.⁷³

Thus, it was found that the movement at this point of time was gradually drifting

towards volatile situation especially towards the end of the year 1986. However, at the beginning of the new year, the think tanks of the Dal took the decision of *Rail Rokho* (the blockade of the train movement) programme to intensify the demand of separate state of Kamotapur. It is to be mentioned that the Dal held its Central Committee meeting at its head office at Jalpesh Temple. The Dal first decided to proclaim emergency in the party because of the above mentioned programme. Then the programme of the *Rail Rokho* was resolved on 25 January 1987 for twelve hours from 6a.m. to 6p.m. The responsibility to carry out programme was given to Sri Sampad Roy, the general secretary of the Dal and other four leaders viz. Jagadish Roy, Manindra Nath Roy, Babunath Barman and Bhatta Sing Roy.⁷⁴ It is to be mentioned here that the president had no consent to this *Rail Rokho* programme. It was Sri Sampad Roy, the secretary of the Dal insisted on adopting such programme and the majority of the members of the Dal supported him.⁷⁵ However, the objective of this *Rail Rokho* programme was to draw the attention of the Central Govt. to the demand of separate state, made by the U.K.D. Because, in spite of the repeated demand for a separate state by the Dal through memoranda and letter correspondences, the Central Govt. did not respond. At the same time the Dal wanted to gauge the organizational unity, strength and morale of the activists of the Dal.⁷⁶

However, on the very day of 25 January, 1987, the 'Rail Rokho' (Train Blockade) agitation was started at Altagram Railway station, a few kilometers away from Dhupguri P.S., Dist.-Jalpaiguri. According to police report the number of agitators (Uttarkhandists) was about five thousand. In fact it was at the pattern of AASU (All Assam Student Union).⁷⁷ Ultimately, the agitators were dispersed with police firing. The police opened fifteen rounds of fire and two agitators were killed on the spot.⁷⁸ They were identified with Jagadish Roy, Vill.-Shaudangi P.S.-Rajganj, Jalpaiguri district and Gajen Roy, Vill.-Jalpesh, Maynaguri P.S. of Jalpaiguri district.⁷⁹ However, the police of Dhupguri Police station registered a FIR (First Investigation Report) against some leaders of the Uttarkhanda Dal on the same date. The description of the police case is given below as per police record.

Dph (Dhupguri) Ps case No.-10/87, dt.-25.01.87, 23-00 hrs. Po. -S. Sarkar, O/C Dph PS.

VS

1. Bulendranath Roy, 2. Gunadhar Barman, 3. Debendranath Roy (all Dhupguri), 4. Lalmohan Roy of Maynaguri P.S., 5. Bijay Roy of Malbazar P.S., 6. Badal Ch. Adhikary of MN GP. and 5000 other of PHD, Katawali, Mal, MNG (Maynaguri) M.K.G.(Makhliganj), DPH (Dhupguri), F.K.T.(Falakata) and other area of North Bengal Dist.

Apart from the above mentioned list of defendants another fresh list was prepared by the police which is mentioned below serially as per the police record.

1. Bulendra Nath Roy alias Bulu, s/o-Late Umesh of Purba Magurmari.
2. Debendra Nath Roy, s/o Late Bhupendra Nath of Madhya Daukimari.
3. Gunadhar Barman, s/o Late Dinanath of Purba Daukimari.
4. Basuruddin Mia, s/o Basenin Mia of Par Kumlai.
5. Ainul Haque, s/o Md. Ali of Do.
6. Nalu Roy, s/o Late Gangaram of Do.
7. Rupeswar Roy, s/o Late Dhowla Roy of Do.
8. Suresh Ch. Roy, s/o Late Debesh Roy of Do.
9. Ganesh Ch. Roy, s/o Late Kartik Roy of Do.
10. Pradip Kumar Roy, s/o Late Kandalu Roy of Do.
11. Pramoth Ch. Roy, s/o Dasharath Roy of Do.
12. Anil Barman, s/o Prem Narayan of Ranibari, Mathabhanga.
13. Shashikanta Barman, s/o Surendra Nath Barman of Falakata.
14. Rukini Roy, s/o Late Madan Roy of Boalmari P.S. Kotwali.

15. Kamini Mohan Adhikary, s/o Late Rajanikanta Adhikary of Rakhaldevi, P.S. Kotwali.

16. Sampad Roy, s/o Late Sebulal Roy of Bengogarh, PHD

17. Lalmohan Roy, s/o Late B. Roy of Ratherhat, MNG.

All the above mentioned accused persons were later charge sheeted on 01.11.90.⁸⁰ But no records are available for the final verdict.

It has already been noted that two activists of the Dal were killed in police firing, the Dal had made a condolence note in its Central Committee meeting on 28 January 1987 and gave them the honour of martyrdom. At the same time resolution was taken condemning police atrocities and undemocratic arrest of its activists at random by the police of the Govt. of West Bengal.⁸¹ It should also be mentioned that since then the 25th January was generally celebrated as 'Martyr Day' by the activists of the Uttarkhanda Dal.⁸² The Dal also constructed an altar in the commemoration of those two martyrs (as the U.K.D. considered so) at Shaudangi village of Rajganj Police station in Jalpaiguri district.⁸³ However, it is very relevant to mention that the *Rail Rokho* programme of the U.K.D. achieved no success at all. On the contrary, the failure of the *Rail Rokho* programme led an intra-party conflict which will be discussed in details in the next chapter (chapter-7). It is very interesting to state that the name of Sri Panchanan Mallick, the president of the Dal was not registered in police F.I.R. The Dal in protest of the police firing on the blockaders of the 'Rail Rokho' movement submitted deputation to the B.D.O. of Maynaguri under the leadership of Sri Satyen Basunia with a demand note. It was mentioned in the demand note that judicial enquiry about police firing was to be made, punishment for accused police officer, govt. help to the nearest of the family of those two killed persons, immediate release of arrested leaders and the formation of Kamotapur State. About five hundred persons took part in the deputation. It was on that very day a deputation was also submitted to the B.D.O. of Dhupguri. About two hundred activists of the Dal made procession and moved around the Dhupguri town wearing black badge on the right arm in protest of the police firing at Altagram Railway Station.⁸⁴

However, as a result of the killing of two of their activists by police firing at Altagram incident the immediate reaction of the Dal was to boycott the Bidhan Sobha Election of West

Bengal dated 23 March 1987. A leaflet which was circulated by the Dal with the address note of Panchanan Mallick, the president and Sampad Roy, the general secretary as well as Sri Jagadish Chandra Roy, the president of Yuba Uttarkhanda Dal categorically mentioned in serial no. 8(eight) of the leaflet that ‘the chief minister of the Govt. of West Bengal Sri Jyoti Basu applied his police force undemocratically on the blockaders of the ‘Rail Rokho’ movement which was going on at democratic and peaceful manners. As a result of the inhuman and cruel acts of police firing, two of their activists (the name has already been mentioned) were killed on the spot. In protest of such inhuman act on the part of the Govt. of West Bengal, the U.K.D. called for boycotting the Bidhan Sabha Election of March 23, 1987.⁸⁵ However, it was the last mentionable separatist activity of the Dal. After this the Dal was gradually losing its tempo and vigour and fast running towards intra party conflict with the result of the split of the Dal which will be discussed in details in the next chapter.

It has already been mentioned that the first demand of a separate state was raised in May 1980 and the first memorandum in this regard was submitted to the Prime minister of India in the same year. It was found that the Govt. of West Bengal expressed grave concern about this new political development in North Bengal. The high level officers of the administration, the leaders of the Left Front and the ministers of the then Govt. left for North Bengal to take stock of the situation. The then Chief Minister of the Govt. of West Bengal termed this movement as separatist and anti national while he attended a meeting with some intellectuals at Lansdown Hall of Cooch Behar town on 7 July 1980.⁸⁶ It is also been mentioned that some members of West Bengal Legislative Assembly belonged to both opposition and treasury bench expressed their deep concern about the separatist movements in North Bengal and suggested to take initiative to make the people conscious about such activities. Kamal Guha, the then minister in charge of Agriculture Department demanded whole day discussion on the matter in the full session of the Assembly.⁸⁷ Apart from this, it has already been mentioned the ‘Rail Rokho’ movement of the Uttarkhanda Dal and the response of the police of the Govt. of West Bengal. However, it should be mentioned that though the Uttarkhanda Dal time and again tried to draw the attention of the Central Govt. to their demand of a separate state of Kamotapur submitting memoranda, corresponding letters, through public meetings, *Rail Rokho* movement and even boycotting the Assembly election

of West Bengal on 23rd March 1984, but there was no any response from the part of the Central Govt. The Central Govt. did not take any initiative in this regard. It was found that the leadership of the U.K.D. alleged that in spite of their frequent request to the Central Govt., the Govt. was not responding at all and that is why, they were preparing to take the movement up to Delhi, the capital of India.⁸⁸

It is also pertinent to mention the response of the various political parties to this separatist movement of the Uttarkhanda Dal. In this regard, the left political parties which were the constituents of the then Left Front Govt. of West Bengal had given early response. It was found that the 'Jalpaiguri Jela Krishok Sobha', 'Sangjukta Krishan Sobha', 'Jalpaiguri, Agrarian Krishan Sobha' and 'Jalpaiguri Krishak Samiti'-all these were the branch organizations of the Left Front political parties jointly published a leaflet. This leaflet was the result of the joint convention of those organizations. In the joint convention, all the organizations expressed deep concern about the separatist activities not only in Assam, Mizoram and Tripura, the Uttarkhanda movement of North Bengal was also a matter of deep concern. They appealed the labour classes, farmers, middle class people and also the intellectuals not to respond to the call of the *Uttarkhandists*. They regarded the U.K.D. as a political party organized by a group of *Zamindars* and *Jotedars*. Thereby they reminded the people that they had formed a democratic platform which was free from the clutches of the *Zamindars* and *Jotedars*.⁸⁹ However, when the movement of the Uttarkhanda Dal for separate state was gradually intensifying in the year 1986, the C.P.I. (M) party, the chief constituent of the Left Front had formed a committee to investigate the separatist activities in North Bengal. The said committee was consisted of eight members including Sri Shiben Choudhury, state minister in charge of Transport and some local C.P.I.(M) leaders like Shantimay Ghosh.⁹⁰ Apart from this, a pamphlet was issued by the West Bengal committee of the C.P.I.(M) calling to resist the Uttarkhanda–Kamotapuri separatist movement. It was stated in the pamphlet that a separatist movement for forming an independent state was organized by the Uttarkhanda Dal, though the *Uttarkhandists* outwardly demanding a separate state within the Indian federal structure. It cited the example of forming a shadow cabinet ministry on 24th September 1985 under the leadership of Sri Rukini Roy of the U.K.D. However, the C.P.I.(M) blamed the Congress for helping such separatist movement in West Bengal. It was

stated in the pamphlet that the Uttarkhanda Dal was an organization of the declining Jotedars and the Congress (1) had a very sympathetic stance towards the U.K.D. However, the party considered that the class struggle was the main weapon to defeat such anti- national and separatist elements.⁹¹ However, it should also be referred that the then chief minister Sri Jyoti Basu himself directly made Congress (1) responsible for helping separatist activities of the U.K.D. He alleged that Sri Prasenjit Barman, the Rajya Sobha member of Congress (1) from Cooch Behar was involved in submitting the demand note for a separate state of North Bengal. The same allegation was made against Sri Upendra Nath Barman, the ex M.P. from Jalpaiguri. However, Sri Prasenjit Barman denied all the allegations giving statement in the Rajya Sobha.⁹²

Thus, it was found that the then Govt. of West Bengal vehemently opposed this separatist movement coining it as anti-national and so did the left parties. It was also found that the Govt. of West Bengal did not take any initiative to bring the leadership of the U.K.D. on the table of discussion regarding their demand. Rather the Govt. tried to meet the problem administratively and politically. On the other hand, the Central Govt. was completely kept itself mum about this movement.

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52. *A Pamphlet of the U.K.D.*, addressed by Sri Panchanan Mallick, president of the Dal and Sri Sampad Roy, general secretary of the Dal, printed at Uma Press, Dhupguri, date-22.06.1980.
53. *A leaflet*, circulated by the Dal, date-25.09.1980.
54. *Resolution No.-1*, Jalpaiguri District Committee, held at Shovar Hat, date-14-12 1981. (Collected, M.M.Mallick).

55. Rajat Subhra Mukhopadhyay, *op.cit.* p. 32.
56. *Resolution No. 2, Central Committee Meeting of the U.K.D.*, held at the Head Quarters of the Party, Jalpesh Temple, Maynaguri, Dist- Jalpaiguri, date-09.07.1985 (the resolution was taken in Rajbanshi language). [Collected, M.M.Mallick].
57. *Ibid*, Resolution No. 3.
58. *Oath Taking Ceremony*, organized by the U.K.D. at its Central Committee meeting, held at the residence of Sri Panchanan Mallick, the president of the Dal, Bhangarhat, Maynaguri, date-21.09.1985. (Collected, M.M.Mallick).
59. Sukumar Das, *Uttarbanger Itihas* (in Bengali), Kumar Sahitya Prakashan, 1982, Calcutta, P. 164; Khan Choudhury Amanatullah Ahmed, *Cooch Beharer Itihas* (in Bengali), Vol.1, first published 1936, Cooch Behar State Press , reprint, Hiten Nag (ed.), 2005, N.L. publishers, Siliguri, p. 61.
60. Resolution No. 2(B), Oath Taking Ceremony, *op. cit.*, date- 27 .09.1985.
61. *The Times of India*, ‘Now its separate Kamatapur’, date- 03.09.1987.
62. *Uttarbanga Sambad*, a Bengali Daily, published from Siliguri, date-17.10.1987.
63. All these representatives of the President had taken oath individually from a hand written draft and signed along with fathers’ name and address on the oath letter. (All those oath letters collected from the house of Sri Prabin Chandra Roy, an activist of the U.K.D., Belakoba, Rajganj, Jalpaiguri, date- 05.07.2012).
64. *Ibid*.
65. *Pratyahik Sambad* (in Bengali), issued from Cooch Behar, date- 26.09.1986, Friday; Also *Uttarbanga Sambad*, a Bengali daily, issued from Siliguri, date-23.10.1986, Thursday.
66. *Ibid* .

67. *A letter* (in Bengali), sent by Dr. Purna Narayan Singha, president, Bharatiya Koch-Rajbanshi-Kshatriya Mohasobha, Head Quarter, Tezpur, Assam , to Sri Panchanan Mallick, president, U.K.D., date-10.10.1986. (Collected from Smt. Tapati Mallick, the eldest daughter of Panchanan Mallick, the founder president of the U.K.D.).
68. Uttarbanga Sambad, *op.cit.* date-23.10.1986.
69. *Antar Darshan*, a Fortnightly Newspaper, published from Siliguri, date-06. 09.1986; Yugantar , a leading Bengali Newspaper, issued from Calcutta , 12.10.1986.
70. Uttarbanga Sambad, *op.cit.* date-23.10.1986.
71. Shekhar Bandopadhyaya , *Jat Pater Rajniti 'Paschat Pat' Nay*”(in Bengali), published in Ananda Bazar Patrika, a popular daily of West Bengal, issued from Calcutta and Siliguri, date-27.02.2014.
72. Uttarbanga Sambad, *op.cit.* date-14.11.1986, an interview with Sri Panchanan Mallick.
73. *Bartaman*, a daily (in Bengali), issued from Calcutta, date-24.12.1986.
74. *Resolution No.-1 and 2, the Central Committee Meeting*, held at the Head office, Jalpesh Temple, at 4 p.m., date-08.01.1987. (Collected, M.M.Mallick).
75. *An interview* with Sri Suranjan Roy, founder member of the U.K.D., Village-Chowhaddi, P.O.-Daukimari, PS-Dhupguri, Dist-Jalpaiguri, date of birth-21.12.1936, a retired primary school teacher, date of interview- 19.12.2012,
76. *Interview* with Sri Tushar Barman, an activist of the U.K.D., Vill.+P.O. - Rangalibazna, PS-Madarihat, Dist-Jalpaiguri, date of birth - 01.09.1956, date of interview-23.12.2010.
77. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, ‘Uttarkhanda Andoloner Eitihashik Prekshapat’, *op. cit.*, p. 513.
78. Lal Nakshat, *op. cit.*, date-06.02.1987.
79. *A leaflet of the Uttarkhanda Dal* calling the boycott of Bidhan Sobha Election of 1984, printed at Goutam Press, Nutanpara, Jalpaiguri. (nd).

80. File's Name, *Khatian*, DPH/1987, Dhupguri P.S., Record Room, Dist.-Jalpaiguri.
81. *Resolution No. 1 and 2, Central Committee Meeting of the U.K.D.*, held at its Head Office, date-28.01.1987.(Collected, M.M.Mallick).
82. *Interview* with Sri Prabin Chandra Roy, a leading figure of the Uttarkhanda Dal , date of birth-05.01.1942, Belakoba, P.S.Rajganj, Dist.-Jalpaiguri, date of interview-05.07.2012, a retired Primary School teacher ; Interview with Tushar Barman, date of birth -01.09.1956, Vill.+P.O.-Rangalibazna, P.S.-Madarihat, Dist-Jalpaiguri, date of interview-23.12.2010.
83. *Field Studies*, date-04.08.2012
84. Lal Nakshatra, *op. cit.*, date-06.02.1987.
85. *A leaflet* of Uttarkhanda Dal with the title 'Keno Uttarkhanda Dal 1987 Saler Sadharan Bidhan Sobha (M.L.A.) Nirbachane Vote Dane O Grahane Birota?' (in Bengali), no date is mentioned, published and circulated by Mahendra Roy, Sudhir Roy, Hiren Roy and Kamana Roy, printed at Goutam Press, Nutan Para, Jalpaiguri; Resolution No. 5, Central Committee meeting , held at its Head Office , date- 08.02.1987.(Collected, M.M.Mallick).
86. *Bartaman Dinkal*, a Bengali daily literary journal, issued from Calcutta, July,1965, p. 26
87. Uttarbanga Sambad, *op.cit.*, date - 22.08.1986, Tuesday.
88. *Ibid.*, date -17.10.1987.
89. *A leaflet*, published and circulated by Comrade Sudhan Raha on behalf of Jela Krishak Sobha, printed at Singha Printing and Binding Workers, Jalpaiguri, date -17.06.1980.
90. Uttarbanga Sambad, *op.cit.* date-22.04.1986.
91. *A pamphlet* of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), West Bengal Committee, entitled 'Pratirodher Ahawan,' published and circulated by Sushil Choudhury, on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), West Bengal Committee, 31 Alimuddin Street, Calcutta-18, printed at Ganashakti Printers (Private) limited.(nd).

92. Paribartan, *op. cit.*, date-16.08.1980.