

CHAPTER – VI

POLITICAL TRANSITION: FROM AGITATION TO CONFRONTATION

The political picture of Darjeeling Terai region is an area yet to be explored in academic research. Neither the scholars nor the people of the region here showed any kind of interest in constructing the political movement atlas in the Darjeeling Terai. As has been already discussed in Chapter V, the Darjeeling Terai never came into the limelight before the Chinese invasion in India of 1962. It does not mean that it was a sleepy political region, rather it can be said that a strong under-current of discontent of the poorest of the poor people was gradually seething in the social map of the Darjeeling Terai. The seeds of the discontent were there but could not get any avenue for outburst. Though the Chinese attack not had only prepared the ground for conflagration but also opened-up the flood gates of discontents. In this connection, it is needless to say that, geographically Darjeeling Terai is closely attached with the boarder of Nepal, Bangladesh, China on the one hand and served as a vital link of communication with the states of North East India. This is one of the major points of socio-political-ethnic upsurge in the Darjeeling districts as well as in Terai areas. But other forces were also active in supplying fuel for confrontation which will be discussed in the following way.

Due to its peculiar geographical location the area became a hunting ground of disgruntled peoples of different regions, neighbouring states and countries. The deep jungle, forest, unhealthy condition, dreaded diseases, as already mentioned in Chapter I – were all factors responsible for socio-political isolation of the rural areas of Darjeeling Terai region. Here rural areas meant the tea and agricultural belt of Terai because, though Siliguri is a part and parcel of Darjeeling Terai, it slowly turned into an urban centre in the post-partition period. There was a classic example of transformation of a sleepy hamlet- Siliguri from a Union Board to Municipal Corporation within a very short period in the previous chapter (Chapter V). But this transformation of Siliguri effected very little in the life style of rural areas of Terai region of the district of Darjeeling. Before entering into a thread-bear discussion on the political landscape of Darjeeling Terai, it would be useful to cast the eyes to the turmoil phase of the colonial period. The political participation of Terai people into the main stream, anti-colonial and nationalist freedom struggle movement was not very much highlighting but there were some

example to see their consciousness regarding Independence, unless, it would be difficult to understand the backdrop of the volatile situation of the post-independence period of the rural areas of Darjeeling Terai.

6:1 ANTI-COLONIAL MOVEMENTS IN TERAI

During the last quarter of the 19th century Siliguri with the establishment of railways and plantation economy emerged as an important colonial economic centre. There was a huge inflow of population from the South and South-Eastern parts of Bengal with the development of colonial infrastructure like railways, *kachari*, hospital, telegraph and post office and other administrative departments. So due to job opportunity a considerable number of educated middle class had settled in this area but their participation in the national movement was negligible. Most probably the middle class depended on the British administrative structure for their existence which can be counted as the main reason for their aloofness. As has been already discussed in Chapter II, many tribal like Oraon, Santal, Munda had migrated to this region to work in the tea gardens and as agricultural labourers. The two indigenous groups in Terai area of Darjeeling like Mech and Dhimal had were forced to migrate towards Jalpaiguri and Nepal Terai respectively. They were forced to give up their tribal culture and living style with the expansion of railways, tea industry and deforestation. On the other hand the major indigenous people of Terai i.e. the Rajbanshis were mostly economically affluent *jotedars* and rich agricultural farmers had already coming to an understanding with the Colonial Government. Belonging mostly to the agricultural community the Rajbanshis did not have the urge to participate in the national movement. For agricultural peasant their immediate master were the *jotedars* and the *jotedary* system which prevailed in Terai during colonial period provided a strong socio-political structure which did not allow to penetrate any kind of nationalist feeling. The importance of the Terai besides the tea gardens and frontier region it was strategically important because British recruited the Gorkha soldiers who travelled from Nepal to Darjeeling through Terai. Therefore, the British were keen to take steps to check the growth of national movement in Terai. Furthermore Darjeeling was a 'Non-Regulated' area; the Deputy Commissioner had the power to banish any suspected person from the area within the notice of 24 hours. The lawyers of the region, who were basically settlers, did not want to disturb their colonial masters in defending the natives.¹In spite of these factors there was a growth of

nationalism in this region though late and in scattered form but it affected the people of Terai.

During the last quarter of the 19th century the predominant section of the population of Terai i.e. the Rajbanshis were not much affected by the expansion of the tea gardens. In fact the tea tribal of Terai namely Santal, Munda etc. had migrated from Chotanagpur and Santal Pargans to this region and cleaned the jungles and converted the fallow lands into an agricultural one. On the other hand a good number of Bengali capitalist had invested in the tea gardens from the first decade of the 20th century as said earlier (in Chapter III-setting B). As a result there was a tendency for acquiring land for tea cultivation, apart from the Government *khas* land and forest land most of the agricultural land was the Rajbanshis.² Due to thin population and abundance of land both the buyer and sellers of the land was beneficiary and there were happy dealings. Yet the different magazines and periodicals of the Rajbanshis had expressed in numerous articles about the disadvantages and worse effects of tea gardens in the Terai region of Darjeeling. There were protests against the establishment and growth of the tea gardens in the writing of the Rajbanshi periodicals and the reason was mainly economic condition the community. It is important to cite an example of such writing (in Bengali):

*“Teraite ekta nutun sara pariachhe. Nutun cha bagan hoitechhe. Ehate janasadharaner subidha hoibe, r paramukhapekshi hoe thakite hoibe na. Arthalovei kok kinba daye pariayi hok Teraibaseer dristi ekhan arther dike pariachhe. Kajei companyder o jamir avab haitechhe na. Tahara jaler mato artho dhalitechhen Kintu Ami boli; he Teraibasi dhanee bhadramahodayagan, apnader toh arther pipasa mitilo. Kintu oi j; apnader bikrito jomita shata shata krishijibira rahiachhe, jara cha baganer kaj ghunakshareo jane na, nirakshar, langal o garu jorai jader jeebika nirbaheer ekmatra sambal ba upai ebong jara purba purush theke dukkho kaster shata nirjatan sajjho kariao apan apan matribhumi ba janmabhumi vitatuku pranpane aglaia dharia rahiachhe- tahader janno kono byabastha kariachhen ki? Cha company hoitechhe.Tader ekhan chiradiner mato janmabhumi ba paitrik bhumir maya kataia ekhaan hoite annotro saria parite hoibe.”*³(Appendix-J)

[Free English translation: There is new change in Terai. New tea gardens are opened. The common people will be benefitted, and they will not dependent on others. Either out of greed for money or due to compulsion the people of Terai has sided towards money.

So there is no absence of land for tea garden companies. They are circulating money like water..... But I say that, you, the rich *bhadramahodayagan* of Terai have already fulfilled your thirst for money. But there are many agricultural labourers who are cultivating the land and attached to it as their ancestral homeland without any knowledge about the work in the tea garden, those who only depend on plough and cattle, *bhadramahodayagan* have you thought any alternative subsistence for them? With the expansion of the tea gardens they have to leave their motherland and migrated to some other places for their livelihood.]

From the above discussion it is clear that the Rajbanshi *jotedars* had sold their lands to the newly rising Bengali capitalist class who were tea garden owners as a result of which the Rajbanshi cultivators had become landless. Actually the then Rajbanshi social leaders wanted to detach their community from the tea gardens by propagating the high tradition, aristocracy and racial pride of the community.⁴ Again it is found that due to the expansion of the tea gardens in the Terai there was a huge cutting down of trees and clearing of jungles. As a result of this deforestation of the region the ecological balance was significantly disturbed. Monsoon and rainfall had decreased. Due to the huge transfer of agricultural lands to the tea garden owners as already said in previous chapter (III setting B) , decreasing rainfall the Rajbanshi *jotedars* had expressed their discontent regarding the deforestation and disturbed ecological balance to the British Colonial Authority in the revenue bid meeting.⁵ Moreover, the above mentioned incident proves the fact that the Rajbanshis of the Terai were equally aware and concerned about the environment issues of the region. It is interestingly to note that such incident of environmental awareness and protest meeting for it had occurred in the early 20th century and it was the only protest against the Colonial Government in the entire North Bengal till that period. On the other hand the British Government had also shown eagerness to maintain the ecological balance because cutting of trees in the high altitude of the Himalayas, deforestation to a limited extent for the tea garden expansion and bricks houses in the Terai and hills were forbidden. The construction of houses was restricted and passages to flow water were built. In fact, British clearly understood that deforestation would lead to less rainfall and the expanding green colonialism in terms of tea gardens would also decline.⁶

During the days of the Non-Cooperation Movement the entire Darjeeling district including Terai region remained almost silent. However, some activities were noticed in

Darjeeling hill under the leadership of Dalbahadur Giri,⁷ who was the first men to deliver a lectures in favour of the said movement among the Nepali community and also known as '*Parbatya Gandhi*'. In Siliguri, some persons also avoiding 144 under the leadership of Sieu Mangal Singh, a petty businessman hailed from Bihar. The people of Terai, irrespective of their ethnic and linguistic identities had participated and raised their voices against the British and they were arrested. To felicitate these unknown freedom fighter a meeting was held in front of the Siliguri court which was spontaneously attended by the people of the region. Further, when these national leaders were put to trail in Siliguri court and transferred to Jalpaiguri to Siliguri prison the town station of Siliguri were covered with many people and the men and women eager to take a look at their leaders filled with nationalism.⁸ Due to Chittaranjan Das's illness Gandhiji took the responsibility to visit him in Darjeeling in 1925 and on his way back to Jalpaiguri on 9th June Gandhiji was a guest of Sieu Mangal Singh.⁹ At that time Gandhiji had addressed a meeting held in Tilak Maidan (known as Kanchanjunga Stadium) describing the objective of Non-Cooperation Movement. The people of Terai soon became engrossed in the (write in Bengali) songs:

“Gandhi Raja ailoo dyashe,

Larai kare Shyal Dase.

Porio na reshmi churi

R bilaitee saree.”¹⁰

[Note: Shyal Dase i.e C.R.Das.]

[Free English translation: Gandhi Raja came into our country; C.R. Das is fighting with the British Government. Do not wear colourful fine bangles and discard foreign *sarees*.]

After few days of Gandhiji's visit to Darjeeling on 16th June C.R. Das had expired in Darjeeling and his dead body was brought from Darjeeling to Sukna station and from Sukna station to Siliguri Town station. A huge crowd had gathered irrespective religion, race and creed displaying national unity and a spirit of anti-colonialism. A stationary shop was established during this period in Siliguri under the name of C.R. Das better known as '*Deshbandhu Bhandar*'.¹¹ During the Non-Cooperation Movement another important leader from Terai was Laban Singh popularly known as '*Swadesi Dacoit*'.¹² The local people called him so because he used to lead dacoity in the residence of rich *jotedars* and *Mahajans* only and distributed the wealth among the poor and needy.¹³ The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-1932 though affected the Darjeeling

district and Terai area much later but impact was not completely absent. In an interview taken by Ananda Gopal Ghosh from the freedom fighter Samarendra Dutta Roy that there were 65 members from Darjeeling participated a meeting during the Civil Disobedience Movement in Calcutta. They were under the leadership of Sieu Mangal Shing. However, most of them were residents of Kalimpong.¹⁴ Besides these there was Nagendra Nath Roy from Tarbandha better known as '*Tarbandha Gandhi*', Harshabardhan Das of Phansidewa, Pathar Singha of Thikni Kata *jote* who also contributed and participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement.¹⁵ In 1930s (8th May, 1934) witnessed the rise of extremism in the national movement in Dajeeling. One incident of revolutionary extremism i.e an attempt to murder Sir John Anderson, the then Governor of Bengal in the Race Course Ground near Lebong of Darjeeling created a sensational development of nationalism among the people of Terai.¹⁶ In spite of the severe police investigation they were unable to arrest the major suspects namely Ujjal Majumdar and Monoranjan Banerjee. They were successful to flee from Siliguri by train named North Bengal Express to Calcutta.¹⁷ Though they were later arrested by the police. But the incident led to different farms of suppression by the police in the town of Siliguri. The police led raids and searches in the residences of Lakhinarayan Majumdar, the then President of the Siliguri Union Board, Annanda Charan Bagchi, Bhagabatil Lal Agarwala, Sieu Mangal Singh and others.¹⁸ Furthermore, Bengali youths both girls and boys within the age of 14-40 were to have 'Identity Cards' which were either red, yellow and white. The holders of red card cards had to appear in the police station every day. White card holders were the least suspect but the yellow cards holders were to appear before the police station once a week. They were not free from suspicion.¹⁹ Birendra Roy Sarkar, the then secretary of the '*Terai Jotedars Samittee*' had strongly protested against this system and in 14th May 1934 Siliguri Bar Association and a group of Rajbanshi people had organised a protest meeting. In the early thirties of the past century (1931) Sieu Mangal Singh and Satin Sen of Barishal had claimed to form the Darjeeling District Congress of Siliguri. Though, in 1925 Congress Committee of Darjeeling was formed in Kalimpong as said earlier and the establishment of a separate branch in Siliguri led to differences between the two sections of Congress Committee in the district of Darjeeling. Ultimately in November 1931 the leadership of Provincial Bengal finally approved the Congress Committee of Siliguri as the headquarter of the Darjeeling district Congress office.²⁰ Nevertheless, in spite of above differences, opinions and circumstances, one important incident occurred in Matigara areas of Terai during Civil-Disobedient

Movement. Sieu Mangal Singh, the pioneer Congressite leader and freedom fighter of Terai delivered his lecture in favour of the Indian freedom struggle in the Matigara *hat*. The poor peasants and the tribal tea workers of Darjeeling Terai generally used to follow his lecture silently but one day these peace loving people revolted and looted the *goddis* of the *Mahajans*. Though there was no violent political motivation behind this incident but a large number of police was posted and many male and female workers were arrested and they were put in jails for a long time.²¹

The people of Terai were immensely enthusiastic and courageous to participate in the Quit India Movement. But there is a little controversy regarding the starting date of the Quit India Movement in Siliguri sub-division.²² Though, on the eve of the movement the British Government had arrested Sieu Mangal Singh and Brjendranath Basu Roy Choudhury on 16th August 1942. After the arrest of the primary leaders Bireswar Majumdar, Pratul Maitra, Dhirendranath Roy and many others took over the charges to organise Quit India Movement in Siliguri. On 9th (or 8th) September 1942²³ the well known Congressite leader as well as father of Naxalite leader Charu Majumdar, Bireswar Majumdar took the leadership to organise a procession²⁴ of 1000 men and women shouting slogans ‘*Engraj Bharat Charo*’ (English Leave India), ‘*Union Jack Nipat Jao*’ (Union Jack Decline) etc in Siliguri town. The procession went around the town and then protested in the Siliguri police station. The procession turned violent gradually as some men in the rally carried *lathis* and bamboo sticks and others started to throw stones and bricks to the police station. The situation further deteriorated and, therefore the then Sub Divisional Officer K.K.Ghosh ordered to fire to the crowd.²⁵ The Government Officials said that in this incident 4 persons were killed and 14 persons were wounded.²⁶ But according to an eye witness in that incident 7 or 8 people were killed by the police.²⁷ Among the martyrs of the incident the body of Chabila Singha and Mahabir Singha were identified and the persons who were wounded in this incident were Kartik Ghosh, Hajari Beniya, Mahadev Banedial and many others. Haridas Majumdar, Manmohun Roy, Santosh Kumar Das, Sabitri Sengupta, Baradakanta Bhattacharjee, K.N. Chatterjee (Babupara), Asutosh Biswas, Bijaykrishna Ghosh (Deshbandhupara), Sunil Kumar Mukherjee (Millan Pally), Adhir Kumar Sanyal and Nirmal Bhusan Roy (Mahananda Para), Chittadayal Chakrobatry (Hakimpara), Dr. Brojendranath Basu Roy Choudhury’s daughter Srimati Sita Basu Roy Choudhury, Srimati Kalidasi Sengupta, Dr. Gopal Chandra Ghosh and many others had participated and contributed in the this rally

against the British during Quit India Movement in Siliguri. Further names of the student of Siliguri Boy's high School who participated in this rally were Dilip Kumar Roy Sarkar, Upendranath Das and Dipendranath Roy is prominent.²⁸ Besides these names there were others from outskirts of Siliguri town namely Chaitanya Sannyasi and his wife Abueshwari Sannyasi of Mallaguri, Tarkchandra Roy Sarkar, Amritalal Roy Sarkar and Balendranath Roy Sarkar of Kharibari, Kunjalal Malakar of Atharkhai, Chandrakanta Singha and others had participated from Terai region in the Quit India Movement.²⁹

Meanwhile there was the outbreak of W W II followed by the Bengal Famine of 1943. The Colonial Government tried to enact a law by which food grains could be collected (procurement) from the *jotedars* of the Darjeeling Terai to provide the famine stricken areas. The *jotedars* of Terai at this hour became very angry and they were protested against the anti-Colonial Government as because they were the worst sufferers by this decision. In this situation to protect them, the *jotedars* of Terai formed the '*Terai Mangal Samiti*'. The first elected President of the *Samiti* was Digendranath Roy Sarkar from Siliguri and Nagendranath Roy Sarkar from Tarbandha as Secretary. Besides this Amar Roy from Ambari, Tarakchandra Roy Sarkar from Kharibari and many others became the members of the '*Terai Mangal Samiti*'.³⁰ In fact, the *Samiti* aimed to create a harmonious relationship between the *jotedars* and the tenants or agricultural labourers and maybe it was somehow successful because the Tebhaga Movement had not effected very much in Terai of Darjeeling district.³¹ An eminent sociologist Partha Mukherjee observes that the first peasant committee under the inspiration of the Communist workers was established in the Darjeeling Terai in a place called Patharghata in 1946. Even as the Tebhaga Movement came to an end in Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur districts, this newly established committee under the leadership of the three brothers Atin, Nripen and Souren Bose and Bandhan Oraon made for cible demands for two-third share of crops for the *adhiars* on the *khamar* of Bhagwan Dayal Singh, a big *jotedars* who hails from Uttar Pradesh. The police were called, seven arrests were made, and the leaders were forced to sign a bond under section 107 of Indian Penal Code undertaking to refrain from such illegal activity in that region.³² On the other hand according to Kalipada Dhar, a veteran fighter of Terai states that the Tebhaga Movement was restricted up to Kamlabagan and Phansidewa areas in Terai.³³ But the official records declares that Tebhaga Movemnt was

organised by the Communists in December 1946 and it had spread to 4, 5 and 6 no Union of the Siliguri town, Bagdogra and Naxalbari under Kharibari *thana*.³⁴

Actually due to the feudal structure of social and economic system and scanty population the growth of national movement and its participation was not so strong before the 1942 Quit India Movement. In the Siliguri *thana* and nearby areas the participants mostly were the middle class gentry. There were also women and participants from the lower classes like workers, agriculturalists which is remarkable. Though the people of Terai were not so politically conscious in the pre-Independence period yet there were four men to sacrifice their lives and took to martyrdom during the time of Quit India Movement. It however revealed the growth of political unity and served as a preparing ground for further movement in the Terai.

On the other hand the northern part of the river Mahananda in Terai there was a wide extent of tea gardens just like a fortress. To access into the tea gardens was difficult and due to strong vigilance by the *bagan chaukidars* no secret political activities could be done in small size tea gardens of Terai. Even some of the planters used to keep 'gundda bahinee' to eliminate ruthlessly any attempt to organise any political movement in the tea gardens. The 'North Bengal Mounted Rifles', a regiment maintained by the British planters was unceremoniously disband on 14th August, 1947 i.e the day before Indian Independence.³⁵ However, the late formation of INC and Communist Party of India's wings in Terai was responsible to organise any political movements in this area. Moreover, the Congress Committee of Siliguri was dominated by the Indian Tea Planters and rich *jotedars* of Terai. These influential *jotedars* and tea planters did not allow the INC activist to perform any activities in the tea gardens as well as agricultural belt in Terai as they were performing in Assam and the Dooars region. This indicates the different outlook of the INC during the colonial period over the class cooperation. The so-called Bengali *bhadralok* class of Siliguri town, particularly for their superior mentality kept aloof themselves from the Rajbanshis and the tribal of the tea garden.³⁶ During the mid- forties of the past century, the Communist cadres of Darjeeling Terai were engaged to mobilise the peasants and the tea workers under one umbrella. Among them Bhupen Bhowmik, and the three Bose brothers were prominently named Souren, Biren and Athin. At that time forty workers and their families of a European tea garden of Terai named Ganggaram were evicted and the evicted families of the said garden appealed the Communist cadres of Terai for help. But no such help, even a protest could

be done by the Communist against the authority of the said garden.³⁷ This incidence indicates that till the Independence of India the Communist could not hold strong roots in the rural areas of Terai. Though after this incident Bhupen Bhowmik with the help of a *sardar*, Jaladhar by name tried to form an union for the workers of Merry View Tea Estate. But the management of the garden came to know all these secret developments and they took some measures against the participants. Sabrati Mia, a leading initiator in this respect was suspended immediately and was driven out from the garden. The commissions of *sardar* Jaladhar for his supplying collie in the garden was stopped, and he was told not to enter the garden in near future.³⁸ Thus an effort to form an union in the tea areas of Terai could not be materialise. In the meantime the General Election came closer and the Siliguri Bidhan Sabha was formed including Rajganj of Jalpaiguri and Siliguri *thana* region. A peasant leader of Tebhaga Movement Radha Mohan Barman contested in the election in favour of the Communist Party of India against the INC candidate of Jalpaiguri Raja Prasanna Dev Raikat. Raja Prasanna Dev Raikat won the election but it gave the Communist to form a '*Kisan Samiti*' in the Darjeeling Terai. This type of incidents in the Terai create ideological differences among the Communist cadres in latter period and a group lead by Charu Majumder, Kanu Sanyal and many others formed a historic Naxalbari Movement in the Darjeeling Terai after Chinese aggression in 1962 will be discussed in the up- coming parts of this chapter.³⁹

6:2 POLITICAL TURMOILS IN TERAJ AFTER INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

But after partition and Independence of India the slow but steady transformation in the demographic pattern of Darjeeling Terai radically changed the political scenario in this area. The helpless refugees of East Pakistan had taken shelter initially in the Siliguri and surrounding areas but later on in the disconnected villages of Terai. In this connection it may be note that before the partition of India in 1947 the people of Bihar, Nepal, North-West Provinces of India, and other parts of India, as already discussed in Chapter II , had come here and settled permanently, though in Siliguri proper. This resulted the birth of a un-seened and un-exhibited demographic change in the Terai areas as because it was a sharply populated area. Naturally these silent demographic changes did not exhibit the eyes of people. But, after the Chinese invasion, the then Central Government of India, first time realise the important of this 'chicken neck' i.e. Siliguri, the gate way of North East India. So, with the opening of the defence establishment by the Government created a new Terai, its uni-linear demographic composition suddenly

transformed into a multi linear one. The beneficiaries of these new changes were mostly the migrant, the new settler and the refugees of East Pakistan, not the indigenous people who were mostly the Rajbanshis and the tea tribes of Terai. In this transition phase of Terai, it is necessary to throw some light on the political activities of both the national and regional parties upon the Terai. The INC was definitely a premier political organization of this area but under any circumstances the activities of the Communist Party of India could not be neglected as already discussed earlier. The Tebhaga-Telangana presents uprising had left a long shadow upon the workers of the Communist Party of the region. As already state in Chapter III that the region of Terai was an agricultural and vis-a-vis a tea-belt one. Naturally the CPI of the late 40s, 50s and 60s of the past century had actively espoused the grievances and distresses of the tea tribes as well as the poor agricultural present cultivators. The poverty stricken people of the rural Terai area had deeply impressed by the ideological programme of the CPI. The life style of the Communist cadres had also a deeply impact on the Rajbanshis and the tribal workers in the tea garden areas of this region.

Apart from partition the facts which brought in its baggage's both the element of progress and regress was the historic abolition of the *zamindari* system in 1953. It was definitely a progressive measure for liberating the exploited peasant cultivators from the hands of the landed gentry but what was more interesting is that this abolition of *zamindari* system was also become an important factors behind the ethnic unrest in the rural areas of North Bengal as well as in Terai. The abolition of *zamindari* system was a common demand of all the political groups and parties but undoubtedly the abolition was blessings to the post-partition migrated peasant from East Pakistan, though this is a general observation. On the other hand the result of this abolition in the northern districts of North Bengal i.e Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri on the one hand and, erstwhile princely state of Cooch Behar was responded in different manner. The *jotedars* or landed gentry of these areas did not well come it, equally it is true that they had the worst suffers of the abolition of the *zamindari* system. The ground reality was that the Rajbanshis i.e. the single largest ethnic group of this region was mostly depend upon agriculture. This is the main reason that the Rajbanshis did not see any interest in modern education, banking, and industries including tea garden.⁴⁰ Obviously, when the *zamindari* system was abolished and Estate Acquisition Act was passed in 1953⁴¹ the landed gentry of this area was lost their lands because the Government fixed the upper selling of the quantity of

land per family 25 acres including orchards, ponds etc. So the indigenous Rajbanshi people become pauper over night. This drag give both the positive and negative elements of the abolition of *zamindari* system in the rural areas of the Darjeeling Terai very much clearly. So the abolition of the *zamindari* system had given the birth of a new kind of agitational politics as outset and finally the confrontational politics. There after various national and state wise incidents which also effected in the Terai area is to be discussed in this phase.

The administrative structure of Terai was changed after the implementation of States Reorganisation Committee Report in 1956 by the Parliament of India. According to this some areas of Chopra police Station under Bihar were included with Darjeeling Terai. As a result of this a new problem was created. The *jotedars* of Bihar whos ancestral homeland incorporated with West Bengal could not get any compensation like its counter parts in West Bengal. Sampad Roy, a leading anti-Naxalite political leader of Chaterhat had told Dr. Ananda Gopal Ghosh in his conversation that “I could not get any compensation from the Government of West Bengal for losing the land of my forefathers. Neither the Bihar Government nor the Government of West Bengal did pay any heed to our problem.” In addition to this certain other kinds of disadvantages like tax, measurement of land etc was also created among the cultivators who were come to Darjeeling Terai area after 1956. It was a grievance of the Terai *jotedars* who came from Bihar particularly after the States Reorganization Act of 1956. In lieu of this the ‘*Banga-Bihar Sanjuktikaran Birodhi Aandolan*’ had also rocked in the political map of West Bengal but there was little response against in the rural areas of Darjeeling Terai.⁴² On the other hand the Estate Acquisition Act of 1953 was not operated in full form in the early phase in North Bengal. Naturally the *jotedars* who were mainly the supporters of INC in the rural areas of Terai had tried to keep the *khas* land or vested land in their hand by converting these land to the relatives, servants and many other persons. This way they had tried to avoid to the crisis but after the installation of the first non- Congress United Front Government (UFG) in West Bengal on 2nd March 1967, comprising CPI, CPI(M) and Bangla Congress, a breakaway group from Congress the scenario had changed drastically. It is decided to expedite the implementation of land reforms. Harekrishna Konar, veteran CPI (M) peasant leader, as land revenue minister announced a programme of quick distribution of surplus land among the landless. He also called for peasants’ initiative and organised forced to assist the process of the implementation.⁴³

This brought a tremendous change in the rural politics of northern Bengal. The Communist i.e the CPI and CPI (M), the two major partners of the UFG had formed a committee in the rural areas of North Bengal to restore the '*khas jomi*' or vested land from the hands of the *jotedars*. This attended to the birth of a serious and violent political clash in the rural areas of North Bengal as well as in Terai. Apart from this the collection of levy on rice was also polluted the social atmosphere of the rural areas of northern part of North Bengal. In this regard it would be mentioned the name of Dinesh Chandra Dakua, a veteran leader of CPI (M) who had written a book named '*Uttarer Golpo*'. In this book he had drawn a pen-picture on the economic sufferings of the *jotedars* of the northern part of North Bengal.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the collection of levy on rice was also responsible for the birth of discontents among the *jotedars* because the Government had demanded levy on rice production in accordance with the quantity of land. For example, if a *jotedar* had 75 *bighas* of land, the officials under the rules laid down by the Government demanded 4 mounds of rice in each *bigha* of land. It means the *jotedars* was forced to give levy on rice roughly 300 mounds. But the basic point is that the area is basically non-irrigated and the *jotedars* did not know the system of using fertilizers in raising the production. Though at that time the productive capacity of per *bigha* of land was roughly 4-5 mounds in these areas but the Government Officials demanded 4 mounds of rice in each *bigha* of land as said earlier. This was possible for the landed gentry and cultivators of the Burdwan, Birbhum, Hoogly etc areas because these are irrigated zones and the prosperous peasants and landed gentry was accustomed in using fertilizer for increasing their production.⁴⁵ But this 'stream roller of socialism' of the first UFG had greatly supplied the fuel for *jotedars* discontent. All these factors contributed to birth a new political alignment in northern part of North Bengal. These disgruntled *jotedars* had laid the foundation of a new political party in latter phase, known as Uttarkhanda Dal will be discuss later phase of this chapter.⁴⁶ In the meantime the Communist China had invaded India in 1962 and Darjeeling Terai became one of the affected epicentres of such event. Another incident, however not directly effect in Darjeeling Terai was the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. But the most important event during this period which gave birth, a strong confrontational politics in Darjeeling Terai was the historic Naxalbari Movement in 1967.

6:2:1 THE HISTORIC NAXALBARI MOVEMENT IN DARJEELING TERAI

The Naxalbari Movement⁴⁷ described by People's Daily, the mouth piece of the Chinese Communist Party as 'a peal of spring thunder' that 'crashed over the land of India'⁴⁸ was started in a small and sleepy hamlet under Siliguri sub-division known Naxalbari and then some parts of two other police stations of Darjeeling Terai namely Kharibari and Phansidewa comprising almost 1,67,000 souls according to the Census of 1971.⁴⁹ Though, within a short time it was spread in the different nooks and corners of the sub-continent as socio-economic struggle to fight for the rights of landless peasants against the rich landed classes like the *jotedars* and the moneylenders – the class widely seen as exploiting the poor people. The movement also became popular amongst the lower working classes in tea gardens, factories, Government and public under taking sectors and many other fields.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it is also noted that the soil of the Naxalbari was fertile for the upsurges of various peasant agitation from the fifties of the past century as said earlier.

After the split in Communist Party in India in 1964,⁵¹ the Siliguri, Sub-divisional Committee in course of time took up more pro-Chinese stand within the CPI(M).⁵² Charu Mazumder, one of the major leader of this committee and it had been clear for some time, at least since 1965, that his ideas about agrarian revolution and armed struggle, apparently based on Mao Zedong's thought, were different from the official CPI (M) position. He did not believe that land reform was possible through legal methods, but argued this path only deadened the revolutionary urges of the peasants. To be politically meaningful, land had to be seized and defended through violent means. To concretize their ideas, Charu Mazumder, Kanu Sanyal, Jangal Santhal, Khokan Majumder, Khodan Mallick, Punjab Rao, Kadam Mallick. Panchanan Sarkar, Souren Bose and many other comrades organised a peasant conference in Azmababad T.E in Naxalbari police station only sixteen days after the UFG had come to power in Bengal.⁵³ A 42 year old-delegate, who has spent 14 years of his life in jail described the 'Link' correspondent about this March conference in this manner: "There were 500 delegates at the conference and some observers. Many come with bows and arrows. A discussion began on the tactics of the movement and its objectives. In the course of the discussion it was revealed that among those whose lands had been forcibly occupied were some workers of the Bijaynagar tea estate. According to evidence collected by Left Communist leaders, 25 workers of the Merry View tea garden had also fallen victims to forcible occupation of land. Some 20 of

them were Left Communists.” Further he said in this conference Kanu Sanyal told “Everything will depend upon our committee. It will decide to whom to give and to whom not to give land. We shall not give the smallest piece of land to those who are not with us.”⁵⁴ By this time after the defeat Jangal Santhal, the official candidate of the CPI (M) from Phansidewa constituency in the General Election held in 1967 the peasants leader thing that their own party had now come in to the power because the Congress Party in the state lost to CPI (M) and its UFG allies as already stated. The leaders declare that not a single peasant would be allowed to starve as long as there were paddy stocks in the houses of the *jotedars*. The rampage that followed many erstwhile Rajbanshi *jotedars* flees their homes for safer refuge.⁵⁵ According to the sources in between April and May 1967 around 15,000-20,000 peasants became full-time activists, peasants committee formed in the villages became the nuclei of armed guards, who occupied land, burnt land records, declared debt cancelled, delivered death sentences on hated landowners and set up a parallel administration in some areas of Terai.⁵⁶

During the end of March, 1967 the authority of Sanyasithan T.E forcibly tried to evacuate the peasants from the land of Jabar Ali with the help of police. But within a very short time 200-300 peasants and some tea garden workers had assembled there and the authority became helpless. Actually after this incidence the peasants organised a procession and raised their slogan against the *jotedars*.⁵⁷ On 7th May 1967 “a sub-divisional conference of the peasants” was held in Badurjhuli or Bandarjhuli under Buraganj Gram Panchayat. In this conference various leaders promote the peasants for an agrarian struggle and Kanu Sanyal, one of the prime architects of this movement said “from tomorrow *jamindari* and *jotedary raj* will be ended.” The peasants spontaneously replied in an active manner and on 8th May an armed struggle was started in the areas of Hatighisha, Buraganj and Chowpukhuria under Naxalbari police station and some other parts of Darjeeling Terai. Crops were forcibly taken; some small *jotedars* left their houses, paddy was confiscated and it was distributed among the poor peasants.⁵⁸ On 24th May 1967 in Bangaijote village under Naxalbari police station some agricultural tribal people viz Santal, Oraon, Munda and also the indigenous Dhimal peasants along with some women and children had taken a long march with slogans like ‘*langal jar, jomi tar*’ i.e ‘who till the land, the land belong to him’[free English translation] against the *jotedars*. To suppress this procession police had fired and six women and one child had died in this incident.⁵⁹ A Sub- Inspector of West Bengal police was hit by arrows to

which he ultimately succumbed, Mr. Wangdi by name. But Amit Bhattacharya said that 11 persons including 8 women and 2 children were killed by the police. They were Dhaneswari Devi, Fulmani Devi, Gaudrau Saibani, Nayaneswari Mallick, Samaswari Saibani, Simaswari Mallick, Sonamoti Singh, Surbala Barman - the eight martyrs and Kharsingh. The two babies were about six months old each who were tied behind the backs of their mothers and whose bodies were pierced by bullets.⁶⁰ Tridib Chowdhury, the then M.P from West Bengal said that 10 tribal people were killed by the police and also express his eagerness about this incident.⁶¹ During course of time the Naxalites also killed 9 *jotedars* in their insurgency and most of them were the Rajbanshis.⁶² This led the foundation of the 'Resistance Group' under the leadership of Sampad Roy, a Rajbanshi *jotedar* of Chaterhat to protect the *jotedars* of Terai.⁶³ These gradually changed the political atmosphere and became one of the major factors in the far reaching ethnic confrontation in Terai.

The confrontation was taking its roots, a bloody and topsy-turvy situation was engraved the entire Darjeeling Terai region. The CPI (M) leaders could easily see that the Naxalbari peasants were being led into a suicidal confrontation with the state. The state level CPI (M) leader, in this situation could not further sanction the action of the Naxalbari Comrades. Persuasion was tried first and then Harekrishna Konar, the then Land Revenue Minister of the West Bengal Government went to Siliguri and, according to his version, got the leaders to agree to surrender all persons wanted by the police and to stop all unlawful activities and to cooperate in the legal distribution of land in consultation with local peasant organization. The local leaders denied any agreement and, anticipating repression, began to incite the peasants against the police. After this, things took their predictable and inexorable course, with vicious circle of attacks on police, police reprisals, and further clashes and so on. The CPI (M) was in an unenviable position, trying for some time to steer a middle course between support for rebels and police repression, and making further attempts at conciliation by sending a cabinet mission of the UFG. It appears from some sources that peasants did want to negotiate but were brushed aside by Charu Mazumder. The CPI (M) had to ultimately condemn and expel the dissident leaders or resign from the Government. It chose the former and this triggered the process of the coming together of the extreme left forces, first into a committee to help the Naxalbari peasants and later the formation of the CPI(ML)⁶⁴ in April 1969.

Sunil Sen observes that “It would be fatuous to think that the peasant struggle in Naxalbari suddenly flared up in 1967. The fact is that Naxalbari witnessed continuous peasant movement since 1946.”⁶⁵ Even Amiya Kumar Samanta says “The Terai agitation of 1967, it appears, was influenced by the general political climate of time and moulded by the attitude of the local political leaders. Charu Majumder is regarded as the main inspiration behind the agitation.....Majumder’s political attitude was greatly modelled by the Tebhaga movement in 1946-48 in which he had participated....The course of the Tebhaga movement left an indelible mark on the mind of the Majumder and he was convinced of the necessity of arming the peasantry for a more effective peasant struggle.”⁶⁶ Actually during the Tebhaga Movement of 1946 the *bargadars* were first drawn their protest against *jotedars*. Again in after 1955 there was a movement in Terai for the occupation of *benami* land. Moreover Charu Majumder and other leaders anti establishment attitude have no doubt influenced the poor peasants of this region. According to Promode Sengupta “The greatest contribution of the armed peasant rising of Naxalbari is that it has unmasked the revisionist, parliamentary leadership of the Indian Communist parties and unhealed the prime necessity for armed revolution before all. The armed rising of Naxalbari peasants was most significant episode in India’s revolutionary mass movement. Naxalbari started a new era in the liberation way of the Indian masses.”⁶⁷

One interesting facts came out during the field survey that thousands of peasants were arrested, punished or tortured during this period and, therefore, no cultivation work in the field was done by many peasants. This naturally affected their financial condition. They had no money to pay dues of the pleaders, purchase seeds for further cultivation or even purchase food for their family members. Firstly they had to sale their ornaments, cattle and goats but finally they had no other alternative but to sale their lands for fulfilment of their essential necessities and for trail in court cases. During this time some tribal workers of the tea garden in Naxalbari region had purchased their lands and became the land owner. On the other hand, many peasants of this region did the same and they were alienated from the lands and became landless. These rural people were largely Rajbanshis and later became agricultural workers under the *adibasi* workers or plucking tea leaves in *chai bagan*. In mostly happened in Buraganj region and the buyer were mainly Christian’s tribal people who did not participate in the Naxalbari Movement. This is one of the true ironies in the history of Darjeeling Terai.⁶⁸

6:2:2 UTTARKHANDA DAL AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN DARJEELING TERAI

But it is very interesting to note that at the initial stage, the effort of the Uttarkhanda Dal (U.K.D) to form party units like *Anchalik Committees*, *Thana Committees*, *District Committees* etc was confined only in two districts of North Bengal i.e Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. Thus, it may be said that the U.K.D had no any penetration or giving in interest in other three districts of West Bengal viz. Darjeeling, erstwhile West Dinajpur and Malda at this stage of its organizational activities. In this connection it is also interesting to note that till the beginning of 1980s and onwards, the leader of the U.K.D radically changed their aims and objectives and for the first time demand for a separate state of '*Kamotapur*' consisting of five district of North Bengal viz. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Terai areas of Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Malda within Indian Union. Thereby, the U.K.D, completely dominated by a section of an ethnic group of North Bengal i.e the Rajbanshis in the post- Independence West Bengal added a new dimension in the political scenario of Darjeeling Terai as well as North Bengal will be discussed in this phase briefly.

Historically it was found that the first demand for the formation of a separate state for the 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 schedule caste community in a public meeting held in Kharibari in Darjeeling Terai on 4th May 1947. In this meeting 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. '*Rajhasthan*' 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".⁶⁹ But it is very much interesting to note that the native state Cooch Behar, the citadel of the Rajbanshi community was not included in the proposed '*Rajhasthan*' province of Sri Jogendranath Mondal. Historians and the Rajbanshi intellectuals say that as Sri Mondal was an outsider and belong to a non- Rajbanshi scheduled caste community of Eastern Bengal., so he did not include Cooch Behar state in his proposed state of '*Rajhasthan*'.⁷⁰ But at the same time it is also true 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 include the Rajbanshi inhabited area and not other non-Rajbanshi scheduled caste area

including his own district Barishal is a fact of great mystery even today. However, the first demand for a separate state for the Rajbanshi community was raised by the Cooch Behar Hitasadhani Sabha, a local group or party, controlled and dominated by the Hindu and Muslim Rajbanshi *jotedars*. Though, in the different stages the *Hitasadhani Sabha* had changed their demands and concept of separate state which was totally different from that of the U.K.D.

Again in May 1955, when the two members of the State Reorganization Committee (S.R.C) viz Dr. Hridaynath Kunzou and K.M. Pannikar visited Darjeeling, the '*Sarba Sampradaya Zella Sangathan*', demanded the formation of a separate state consisting of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Darjeeling and Sikkim.⁷¹ It is to be mentioned that the S.R.C was formed in August, 1953 by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Justice Fazal Ali and other two members' i.e Dr. Hridaynath Kunzou and K.M. Pannikar. However, it is also evident that at that time A.I.G.L separately placed the demand. But both the demands were out-rightly rejected by the members of S.R.C.⁷² Apart from the above mentioned political developments within the state of West Bengal, the same demand was raised outside the state of West Bengal when the S.R.C was formed in 1953. But it is very interesting to note that this demand was put forward not by any political organization but by the Government of Bihar. The Bihar Government demanded the creation of a new state to be known as '*Uttarakhand*' consisting of three district of North Bengal i.e Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling 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 then leaders West Bengal to express their views on Bihar's claim. But the then Chief Minister of West Bengal Dr. B.C. Roy succeeded to convince the members of the S.R.C to keep these three districts within West Bengal.⁷³

Nevertheless, the first massive gathering in the Darjeeling district of the U.K.D was held in the Terai region, at Atharkhai known Shibmandir on 3rd July 1970. The meeting as presided over by Taranikanta Roy and the Dal's flag was hoisted by Yogendra Nath Battacharya, the then vice president of the UKD. The other important leaders who were present in this gathering are Girija Shankar Roy, Atin Roy, Suren Barman, Babunath Barma, Md Waezuddin Ahmed, Rabindranath Sarkar, Joynath Singha, Rameshwarlal Agarwal, Bisheshwar Chakraborty, Kalindra Nath Barman and many others. It is to be mentioned that Girija Shankar Roy and Rabindranath Sarkar were the

prime leader to strike the roots of the U.K.D in the Darjeeling Terai region especially at Patharghata, Salbari, Gosainpur, Bagdogra and in Phansidewa.⁷⁴ During this period the U.K.D apart from submitted memoranda to the State Government and semi Government institutions with their demand notes tried to propagate its ideas, objectives, programmes and other things through folk songs, poems and many other touchy methods in Terai. In this regard, it was found that a representation of the U.K.D under the leadership of Rabindranath Sarkar, the then Secretary of the U.K.D made Purna Chandra Mukhopadhyay,^{74a} the then Vice Chancellor of N.B.U and submitted a demand note mentioning the recruitment of local youths in different clerical posts of the said institution. They also alleged that the local youths were not recruited or given any kind of job opportunities since its establishment (1962). In another occasion, the activists of the Atharkhai of the U.K.D *gharoad* the Shibmandir B.D.O and submitted a memorandum with a demand note on 4th July, 1970. They demanded the preservation of grazing lands, immediately reconditioning of flood affected agricultural lands, release of the compensation of those lands acquired by military department and in that matter, the owner and *bargadars* should be compensated equally.⁷⁵

To strengthen their power the U.K.D contemplated of establishing its relation with the All India Gorkha League (AIGL), an ethnic based regional political party in the 'Darjeeling Hill' which was founded in the closing years of the colonial rule on 15th May 1943.⁷⁶ After the contact of Kalindra Nath Barman with A.I.G.L leaders in 1977, joint representations of the A.I.G.L and U.K.D under the leadership of Panchanan Mallick went to Calcutta to submit a memorandum with a charter of 34 points demands to the then Chief Minister, Government of West Bengal. It was mentioned in the addressing note that "this memorandum is being submitted by the Uttarkhanda and Gorkha League United Front" demanding all round development of North Bengal, opposing economic disparities, step motherly negligence, exploitation of the wealth of North Bengal etc. It was also mentioned that "if these demands were not redressed properly by the Government within six months, this front would start a tremendous movement in Uttarkhanda."⁷⁷ It may be noted that it was the first political alliance between the two regional and ethnic based political parties in two totally different areas of North Bengal i.e the hills and plains portion, came under one umbrella named 'United Front' in post-Independence period. In subsequent period, it was found that a political conference was organised by the U.K.D on behalf of the Uttarkhanda-Gorkha League Front at Chaterhat

under Phansidewa police station in Terai on 28th January 1978. The chief guests of that conference were from AIGL named Renulina Subba, M.L.A from Kalimpong, Deo Prasad Rai, M.L.A from Darjeeling and the then General Secretary of AIGL.⁷⁸ The U.K.D was also established a political relation with the Republican Party, was organised by the backward class communities and its main support base in West Bengal was among the schedule caste communities especially the Matuas and the Namasudras believed in the ideology of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Nevertheless, later the U.K.D, the A.I.G.L and the Republican Party united together and formed a new 'Mukti Front'. A joint public meeting of this new 'Front' was organised at Chaterhat school ground on 12th November 1979.⁷⁹

As stated earlier that though the U.K.D was formed in July 1969 but no demand for a separate state was raised by this regional political organization till 1980. The first formal decision in the form of party resolution for a separate state of Kamotapur was taken by the U.K.D in its Central Committee meeting held at Bijlimani Primary School in Darjeeling Terai on 31st May, 1980. It is very relevant to mention in this connection that one representative from the Gorkha League named Y.V. Subba from Kalimpong was in the conference as a special guest.⁸⁰ After the above mentioned formal decision for demanding a separate state, the leaders of the UKD 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 then Prime Minister of India dated 24th August 1981 for the first time a demand of a separate state consisting five district⁸¹ of North Bengal except the hill regions of Darjeeling district as said earlier. It was mentioned in this 'Memorandum' that "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 of the refugees who now lording it over the original people so to speak."⁸² After this meeting the U.K.D repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction against the Calcutta centric rule, indifferent attitude towards the socio-economic development of North Bengal and many other issues like continuous illegal huge Bangladeshi infiltration in North Bengal as well as in Terai. The leaders of the U.K.D blamed the then Government of West Bengal and the Calcutta centric rulers for looking to the interest of the refugees as the sheer cost of the indigenous people. They also

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. These new influx of the Bangladeshi illegal immigrants, most of whom were basically agriculturalist, began to settled in the country side of North Bengal⁸³ including rural areas of Siliguri and two other police station of Darjeeling Terai i.e Naxalbari, and Kharibari as already discussed in Chapter II.

These continuous flows of the infiltrators and refugees apart changed the demographic picture of the rural areas of Darjeeling Terai with the introduction of several advanced technology in agriculture became a prosperous class. Even the Namasudras among the refuges started to dominate in the 'SC' reserved government services.⁸⁴ It hampered the traditional agriculture base economic life of the Rajbanshis, major indigenous population of Darjeeling Terai, creation of the Colonial Government with the introduction of the *jotedary* system of land revenue in this region, and after the creation of new middle class considerable land passed from the Rajbanshis to non-Rajbanshis, the new moneyed class who were mostly immigrants. Actually since the early 20th century the Rajbanshi *jotedars* gradually lost their economic dominance over this region because of considerable alteration in the old landownership structure. In such a situation, when the Rajbanshis were gradually losing their economic power, they turned their attention to achieve a kind of social authority over others by means of Kshatriyaization.⁸⁵ Within a very short time these refuges or illegal immigrants became economically very rich with their hard work. Thus, in the later course of the movement, it was found that leaders of the U.K.D termed this refuges that came after 1971, the year of Bangladesh liberation, as foreigners and demanded their expulsion and allowed no citizenship and voting right. It has to be mentioned that the '*Bangal Khedao*' movement in North-East India especially in Assam by A.A.S.U by the end seventies of the 20th century influenced largely the leaders of the U.K.D. In fact, the U.K.D leaders wanted to mould public opinion in favour of its demands for separate state blaming the then West Bengal Government for sheltering the infiltrators in North Bengal region. However, such foreigner's expulsion movement was also organised by the '*Uttarbanga Taposili Jati O Adibasi Sangathan*' popularly known as U.T.J.A.S which was formed in early 1977 in the campus of the University of North Bengal by Naren Das. Though U.T.J.A.S fiercely opposed the separate state demand of the U.K.D but in some cases like illegal infiltration their demands were identical.⁸⁶

During the mid-eighties of the past century there were ideological differences among the leaders of the U.K.D. The presence of strong and nationalist parties in this region did not provide any opportunity for the U.K.D for further expanding its organization. It was found that most of the educated activist and leaders especially the youth activists of the U.K.D were gradually withdrawing their support or maintaining distance from the U.K.D. In this regard the names of Girija Shankar Roy and Rabindranath Sarkar may mention here. Therefore, the main reason behind the gradual alienation of the educated section of the Rajbanshi community from the U.K.D said by Dr. Ananda Gopal Ghosh that the new-middle class of the Rajbanshi community is more interested in getting facilities of the reservation system than any direct confrontation with the Government.⁸⁷ These resulted the birth of confrontation among the leaders of the U.K.D and finally split in 1987 in two groups under the leadership of Panchanan Mallick and Sampad Roy respectively. It is very interesting to note that both aforesaid these leaders were from *jotedary* background and themselves were *jotedars*.

Theoretically, if one can look into the whole issue of the Uttarkhand Movement it was seen that a traditional dominant community of North Bengal as well as in Terai, the Rajbanshis feel that they were dominated by the immigrants popularly known *Bhatias*⁸⁸ in every spheres of life. In this process of domination they are gradually becoming subservient to the 'alien' population. Thus the tensions and conflicts centring on the Uttarkhanda Movement are basically the result of clash of interests between the Rajbanshis and the alien population.⁸⁹ But this is not also true enough because Bimal Bhattachary, was the candidate of the UKD in Dhupguri Assembly (General) seat in West Bengal Bidhan Sabha Election held in March 1972.⁹⁰ Further the leadership of the UKD demanded the expulsion of the illegal migrants or foreigners who were came from Bangladesh, Assam and Tripura making 1971 as the base year.⁹¹ That's why the leaders of the U.K.D had instructed its members of every 'thana committee' to put pressure on the Government for setting up sufficient numbers of refuges camp so that the refuges would face no trouble. They also demanded proper rationing facilities for the refuges from the Government.⁹² This indicates that till then no anti-Namasudra feeling was germinated in the minds of the *Uttarkhandists*. Some stop- gap time after 1991 a huge number of *Bangladesi* refuges again infiltrated in West Bengal as well as in the semi-urban and rural areas of Darjeeling Terai as stated in Chapter II, resulted further conflagration with the birth of Kamatapur People's Party (K.P.P) in 1996.

6:2:3 GORKHALAND MOVEMENT AND DARJEELING TERAI

The Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) movement is a long and complicated story of the demand for and achieve a separate state for themselves by the Gorkhas of Darjeeling Hill sub-divisions in West Bengal under the leadership of G.N.L.F president Subash Ghising. The Gorkhaland Movement under his leadership started in mid 80's of the past century form a protest and spread over the entire region within a very short time still they achieve their goal as Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) in 1988. Though their movement would not effected very much in the Terai areas of Darjeeling but during the course of this G.N.L.F movement some incidence create a long term ethnic conflict over the entire region including Darjeeling Terai which could dealt in this phase. It should be mentioned in this connection that lots of researches have been done by the historian, anthropologists, economist and many other social scientist regarding the Gorkhaland agitation in the three hill sub-division of Darjeeling district but they ignored its far reaching effects in Terai.

The first recorded instance of the demand for separation of Darjeeling hill region from Bengal can be traced to the year 1907, barely forty years after the formation of Darjeeling (1867) as already stated in Chapter I. It was just two year before the Morley-Minto Reforms and it keep in mind that at the time when the idea of reforms was in air, in the wake of the great anti-partition upheaval in Bengal and the fate of Darjeeling was integrally associated with the reforms. Under these circumstances, the voice of the 'Leaders of Hill people' in the absence of any viable political or social association was registered for the first time.⁹³ Actually the Gorkhas in Darjeeling hill never thought of having special powers for themselves during the British rule, nor did they ever think of separating themselves from Bengal Presidency rather the relation of the Gorkhas with the British was very good.⁹⁴ In 1940s experienced a new turn of the events in the history of the formation of All India Gorkha League (AIGL) in Darjeeling on 15th May 1943; though it was already finalised at Siliguri in March 1943.⁹⁵ With the coming of freedom after Independence of India, the Gorkhas of Darjeeling did not want to be under the Bengal Government and wanted more powers for themselves. The white colour planters in the rich Darjeeling tea gardens were still there, predominant in influence, and the local Gorkhas did not easily accept the administrators from Calcutta. But the consequential demonstration was mild and was brought under control without much difficulty. By 1956 much had changed in the Darjeeling hills. The 'Rana Rule' in Nepal had been

overthrown by the pro-monarchical forces aided by the Government in Delhi acting in haste. Meanwhile from Limbuwan i.e the eastern province of Nepal the Gorkhas continued their mass migration into the eastern India which create an ethnic surge in Nagaland, Meghalaya and some other parts of north east India⁹⁶ in the last quarter of the 20th century. The process towards the balkanisation of India that had commenced in 1956 was not strongly opposed by J. Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, created a separatist idea amongst the Gorkhas of Darjeeling.⁹⁷ By this time the Communist Party of India (CPI) put forward the suggestion of the Gorkhas to forming a ‘Greater Gorkhasthan’ covering a large tract of the Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan zone. The memorial of the Darjeeling District Committee of the CPI submitted on 6th April 1947 to the Constituent Assembly states:

“In the opinion of the Communist Party of India, the District of Darjeeling belongs to the Gorkhas and it is their homeland. Further, it is the considered opinion of the Communist Party of India that the Gorkhas living in Darjeeling District, the adjoining state of Sikkim & the so-called independent state of Nepal.....constitute a distinct nationality.....It is the British, who have, since their conquest of India as a whole forcibly divided the Gorkhas, disrupted their growth and checked their national development in their own imperialist interests....It is the opinion of the Communist Party of India that the only way to further the national development of the Gorkha people is by granting them their right of self-determination.

The Communist Party of India, therefore, demands that after making necessary revisions of the existing boundaries, the three contiguous areas of Darjeeling District, Southern Sikkim and Nepal be formed into one single zone to be called Gorkhasthan.”⁹⁸

Actually the realization of ‘Gorkhasthan’ by the then Communist Party advocated in favour of special representation of the Gorkhas in the state legislature.⁹⁹ In early fifties of the past century there was a language movement in Darjeeling for recognition of Nepali as the official language of Darjeeling. The official response of Dr. B.C. Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal over the language movement in the West Bengal Assembly on 23.02.1961 that “The number of people speaking Nepali in the hill district, according to 1951 Census is only 19.98 percent, even if we leave out Siliguri subdivision and take Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong, it is 25.2 percent. Therefore Government felt that it would be better to wait for the 1961 Census.....and then we may be able to decide whether Nepali language should be either in a district or in a

municipality recognised as an additional language of that area.” Perhaps, Dr. B.C. Roy had some own observations regarding the figures of 1951 Census.¹⁰⁰ After some years the then Union Government signed ‘accords’ with political parties in the states under a centrifugal pull- Punjab, Mizoram and Assam and without any compelling necessity, a small area like Sikkim was given statehood- which really created an environment of the vast majority of the Nepali population for demanding a separate statehood.¹⁰¹ The attitude of the Left Front Government that has come to power in 1977 in West Bengal reflects a continuation of the Communist Party demand for regional autonomy.¹⁰² Actually, “The CPI (M) notes that the democratic awakening among the Nepali-speaking people living in the hill region of Darjeeling district and certain other adjacent areas and appreciate their urge for their regional autonomy.”¹⁰³ The Marxist thinks that the demand for regional autonomy is not same as demand for separate statehood. Statehood means separation from West Bengal and autonomy means keeping some short of link with West Bengal. On the other hand the Hill Development Council started functioning in Darjeeling in 1974 when Siddharta Sankar Roy was the Chief Minister of West Bengal.¹⁰⁴ Though the Nepali Bhasa Samiti was constituted on 31st January, 1972 but it is the Pranta Parishad that was constituted in April 1980, which popularised the theme of separate statehood outside West Bengal during the early part of the 80s in the 20th century and adopted a resolution in this manner in a convention at Sukhiapokhri on 8th August 1981 to form a separate state outside West Bengal.¹⁰⁵

So a strong under currents of the agitation of the Nepali speaking people was gradually imparting in the Darjeeling hills but could not get any avenues for violent outburst before emerging of Subash Ghising as a leader of Nepali people. The relation between the people of the hills and Terai areas of Darjeeling or better to say Nepali-Bengali relationship has always been describe by as ‘cordial’ by the then West Bengal Government. But it was not so ‘cordial’ as they are said because one refused to treat the other as equal and the other refused to accept itself as inferior. Officially there was no physical clash between the two major ethnic groups of Darjeeling¹⁰⁶ but the Gorkhaland Movement in the 80s of the past century have started a long term ethnic confrontation between the two major groups of Darjeeling i.e. the Nepalis and the Bengalis which still now is continued.

During Gorkhaland agitation there was no major incident occurred in Terai areas of Darjeeling except few scattered clash between the activists and the police personal.

But, ethnic-confrontation was started between the people of hills and plains of the district when the Government, both central and state agreed to sanction some non-Nepali majority *mouzas* under proposed (D.G.H) council and finally signed the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Accord on 23rd July 1988. The proposed D.G.H.C will cover the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling district namely Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and 18 *mouzas* under Siliguri sub-division namely Lohagarh T.G, Lohagarh Forest, Eangmohan, Barachenga, Panighatt, Baro Adalpur, Belgachhi, Sukna Forest, Sukhna part I, Pantapati Forest I, Mahanadi Forest, Champasari Forest and Salbari Chhat part II etc.¹⁰⁷ This decision of the Government created anxiety, fear and protest amongst the people of Terai because nobody knows the details about the areas of this *mouzas*.¹⁰⁸ For example Lohagarh T.G, about 30 kilometre from Siliguri town and just 600 feet from sea level is a sleepy, obscure and almost inaccessible hamlet of tea garden has remained peaceful during last four years of G.N.L.F agitation. But when they heard the news of this inclusion most of the villagers were afraid of the possibility of Lohagarh getting completely cut off due to the condition of the connecting road. There were no electric facilities, the nearest market and health centre is about 25 km away, in Naxalbari. So this inclusion was shocking to them and one of the inhabitants of this area Mr. Kalyan Mukherjee, the then general manager of Lohagarh T.G asked a news correspondent anxiously “I was surprised and still do not know the details. Do you know anything”. He further said “The people of the village are peace loving.....We are not here to dabble in politics.”¹⁰⁹ On the other hand this inclusion had created some hope among the villagers of Sukna, barely 10 km from Siliguri and about 35 km from Kurseong surrounded by dense forests and 533 feet above sea level comprising about 7000 people. During G.N.L.F agitation this area remained peaceful but a portion of this area belong to Kurseong sub-division, while remaining part belong to Siliguri sub-division “neither claims responsibility for doing development work here said” Mr. Paresh Giri, a retired Central Government employee.¹¹⁰ So this inclusion made them happy to join the D.G.H.C. But the most interesting thing is that the G.N.L.F had demanded only the Lohagarh *bustee*, comprising a few acres of land and with a Nepali-majority population, but Joyti Basu, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal offered G.N.L.F the entire Lohagarh *mouza*, which comprising several *bustee* most of them having major Bengali and tribal pockets with a total area of few hundred acres to immediate end of the Gorkhaland agitation. Similarly, the G.N.L.F demanded the portion of Sukna, which falls within the Kurseong sub-division, but the Chief Minister gave over the entire Sukna

Pratham Khanda which falls within the Siliguri police station. Again, the G.N.L.F has demanded only the Chengamari *bustee* which is another nearly contiguous area in Kurseong and the State Government has decided to grant the entire Bara Chengamari *mouza*. The other area which is also contiguous is Khaprail, but here the G.N.L.F's demand cannot be met as the land does not have a Nepali majority. But what must be noted that none of these pockets can be consider contiguous and the inclusion of any of these areas in the council would mean violation of the contiguity principal accepted in Delhi.¹¹¹ Moreover, within some time Subhas Ghisingh expressed his reservations over Mahanadi and Champasari forest areas and demanded more areas from Siliguri sub-division. The West Bengal Government had appreciated Mr. Ghisingh's point of view and accordingly had offered two points. The first option includes Chotochanga and Nipania villages and second mentions three villages near Pharu and Choto Adalpur. These two options are allowed in exchange for Mahanadi and Champasari forest areas of Terai.¹¹²

The '*Siliguri Nagarik Samiti*', North Bengal Students Union and I.N.C had protested against the proposed inclusion of certain areas under the jurisdiction of the D.G.H.C.¹¹³ Haren Ghosh, the President of the then '*Siliguri Nagarik Samiti*' told in a press conference that they were not satisfied with the stand taken by the Government. The Samiti vehemently opposed the inclusion of any portion of Siliguri Sub-Division in the proposed (D.G.H) council. He further said that "inclusion of plain areas of the proposed hill council on the basis of Gorkha Majority is against national unity and integrity."¹¹⁴ They also demanded a separate Siliguri district should be formed after the setting up of the proposed council and special steps should be taken immediately to prevent infiltration from Nepal to Naxalbari area.¹¹⁵ Nine '*Amra Bangali*' supporters, basically a group of Bengali people of Siliguri sub-division which was established during the time of Gorkhaland Movement to protest against separate statehood demand by the Neapolis, were arrested from the north gate of the Raj Bhavan for protest against this inclusion on 25.08.1988. The CPI (M) leaders of Siliguri have not said anything against the accord and the businessmen were happy because after a long time peace and stability have been restored. Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, the then President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress (I) said that there was no overt objection to the accord in the town of Siliguri but the situation is different in those areas of Terai which have been included in the council.¹¹⁶ For example Panighatta, a small village north of Naxalbari police station,

on the foothills of the Himalayas close to the Nepal border. According to the official sources Panighatta is important to Subhash Ghisingh because it is an important trading centre where the hill people sold their orange and ginger to the plainsmen. One interesting thing is noticeable in this connection that when the G.N.L.F movement was at its height, the arrogant behaviour of some youths from across the border had scared the police officials. One night in February 1988, the Customs Station at the Panitanki near Nepal border was attacked with bombs. Moreover in the beginning of 80s of the past century or at the time of 1982 Bidhan Sabha election huge number of people infiltrated from Nepal and settled in Lohagarh, Nepania and other parts of Naxalbari police station and it is ironic that these areas has claimed by the G.N.L.F¹¹⁷ and also incorporated under D.G.H.C jurisdiction. These created a strong ethnic confrontation in the two districts of the northern parts of North Bengal when the demand of Gorkhaland further started under the leadership of Bimal Gurung, the President of G.J.M.M (Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha) in the beginning of 21th century.

So during the early part of the second half of the 18th century the Company established their political suzerainty in Bengal and it was at the end of the first part of the 19th century they annexed the sleepy, uninhabited hamlet of Darjeeling Terai. But till the first quarter of the 20th century or broadly speaking during the entire Colonial Rule there were no such political consciousness among the people of Terai. However, it is very interesting to note that within the four decades after Colonial Rule this sleepy hamlet turned into one of the political upsurge centre of West Bengal as well as in India.

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

1. Sree Praudyot Kumar Basu, *Ekti Janapader Kahinee* (Bengali), Shayma Press, Hooghly, 1990, p.52.
2. Nirmal Chandra Chudhuri, *Swadhinata Sangrame Rajbanshi Samproday* (Bengali), Uttarbanga Annusandhan Samittee, Jalpaiguri, 1985, pp.49-50.
3. *Kshatriya*, Jogendranath Roy and Prasanna Kumar Barma (ed), Pancham Barsha (5th Year), Shastha Sankhya (Vol-VI), Ratnakar Press, Rangpur, 1332 B.S.
4. Sadhan Guha, 'Uttorer Jatilata O Darjeeling Zella', *Siliguri Purobarta* (Bengali), Biren Chanda (ed), Siliguri Pourasabha, Siliguri, 1986, p.42.
5. *Babu Joges Chandra Mitra, Final Report On The Survey And Settlement Operations In The Darjeeling Terai 1919-1925*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1927, p.07.
6. Ashok Kumar Ganguli, 'Uttarbanger Cha Shilpa Gathaner Prayas, Prasar, Provab O Parienoti (1856-2000)', in Dr. Ichhamuddin Sarkar(ed), *Aitihye O Itihase Uttarbanga* (Bengali), N. L. Publishers, Siliguri, 2002, p.451.
7. Dalbahadur Giri was born in 8th March, 1887 at Darjeeling. He was the second son of his father Shivlal Giri and passed his entrance examination from the local Government High School in 1905. In 1906 a public meeting was organised at the Nripendra Narayan Hindu Public Hall in Darjeeling to protest against the division of Bengal by the British Raj. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was the main speaker. Dal Bahadur Giri and host of other hill people were present in this meeting as volunteers. He attended the Congress Conference held in 1918 in Delhi. On the last day of the Conference, Mahatma Gandhi took him away and talked to him separately. Visibly inspired by the close contact with Gandhiji, Dalbahadur Giri came back to Darjeeling determined and dedicated to be fire brand revolutionary. He established a Congress office at a small hamlet known as Pedong in Kalimpong in 1921.
8. Satyendra Narayan Majumdar, *Amar Biplob Jiggasa* (Bengali), Manisha Granthaloy Pvt. Ltd, Calcutta, 1973, p.26.
9. Bijay Chandra Ghatak, *Siliguri Sahorer Itibritoo* (Bengali), Jaghreetee Press, Jalpaiguri, 1389 B.S, p.27.

10. Nirmal Chandra Chudhuri, *Swadhinata Sangrame Uttarbanger Adibasi* (Bengali), Uttarbanga Annusandhan Samittee, Jalpaiguri, 1983, p.05.
11. Bijay Chandra Ghatak, *Siliguri Shaharer Itibritto* (Bengali), Jagriti Press, Jalpaiguri, 1389 B.S, p.27.
12. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1* (Bengali), Depali Publisher's, Siliguri, 2009, p.64.
13. Satyendra Narayan Majumdar, *Amar Biplob Jiggasa, Op.Cit.*, p.28 .
14. Dr. A.G. Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1, Op. Cit.*, p.65.
15. Nirmal Chandra Chudhuri, *Swadhinata Sangramae Rajbanshi Samproday, Op.Cit.*, p.58.
16. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1,Op.Cit.*, p.66.
17. Nripen Bose, 'Smriticharana', *Uttardhwani*, Biren Chandra (ed), Sharad Sankhya, Srijanee Printers, Siliguri, 1984, p.15.
18. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1,Op.Cit.*, .67.
19. Nripen Bose, 'Smriticharana', *Uttardhwani*, Biren Chandra (ed),*Op.Cit.*, p.15.
20. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1,Op.Cit.*, pp.58-67.
21. Satyendra Narayan Majumdar, *Amar Biplob Jiggasa,Op.Cit.*, Manisha Granthaloy Pvt. Ltd, Calcutta, 1973, p.27.
22. The popular writers like Nirmal Chandra Chudhuri, *Swadhinata Sangramae Rajbanshi Samproday*, Uttarbanga Annusandhan Samiti, Jalpaiguri, 1985, p.58 and Bijay Chandra Ghatak, *Siliguri Sahorer Itibritoo*, Jaghreetee Press, Jalpaiguri, 1389 B.S, p.28 said that the Quit India Movement in Siliguri was started on 05.09.1942 but the print media states that it was started on 09.09.1942, *Amrito Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, Dated: 15th September, 1942.
23. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1,Op.Cit.*, pp.99-100.
24. *Souvenir*, Centenary Celebration, Siliguri Bar Association, 2009, p.116.

25. Sree Proudut Kumar Basu, *Op.Cit.*, pp.66-67.
26. *The Quit India Movement-1942*, Vol-I (Golden Jubilee Vol), Dr. Ladli Mohan Raychaudhury, Department of Information and Cultural Affairs, Government Of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1993, p.39.
27. Sree Proudut Kumar Basu, *Op.Cit.*, p.67.
28. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1, Op.Cit.*, p.100.
29. Nirmal Chandra Chudhuri, *Swadhinata Sangramae Rajbanshi Samproday*, *Op.Cit.*, Uttarbanga Annusandhan Samiti, Jalpaiguri, 1985, p.58.
30. *Ibid.*, p.59.
31. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1, Op.Cit.*, p.100.
32. Partha Mukherji, 'Study of Social Conflicts Case of Naxalbari Peasant Movement', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 19th September 1987, p. 1614.
33. Dr. A.G.Ghosh and Dr. N.S. Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash O Samaj -1, Op.Cit.*, p.81.
34. 'Government Report On Tebhaga, March 1947' in *Abibhakta Banglar Krishak Sangram tebhaga andolaner artha- rajnaitak prekshit- parjalochana-punarbichar* (Bengali), Susnata Das, Naksastra Prakashan, Calcutta, 2002, p.151.
35. Sarit Bhowmik, *Class Formation In The Plantation System*, People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1981, p.139.
36. Satyendra Narayan Majumdar, *Amar Biplob Jiggasa, Op.Cit.*, Manisha Granthaloy Pvt. Ltd, Calcutta, 1973, pp.17-18.
37. Manoranjan Roy, *Samrajya Birodhi Sangram O Shramik Aandolan,.....*, Calcutta, 1987, p.146.
38. *Ibid.* p.147.
39. Nripen Bose, 'Smritir Aangina Padacharana', *Uttardhwani*, Biren Chandra (ed), Sharad Sankhya, Town Press, Siliguri, 1403 B.S, p.10.

40. Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Nirmal Chandra Roy, *1947 Parabarti Uttarbanga Two*, Sangbedan, Malda, 2014, p.59.
41. In 1937 under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud, a Commission was set up and in 1940, the Commission recommended that the 'Permanent Settlement' outlived its utility and it was necessary to abolish all the intermediary rights between the State and tillers of the soil. The Bengal Administration Inquiry Committee also in 1945, held the same opinion from administrative point of view. After the Independence of India, the question of 'Land Reforms and Planning' was given serious consideration, and ultimately the recommendation mentioned above, were accepted and something more, the result being enactments for abolition of *Zamindari* and *Jotedary* system and land reforms measures. The Bill was published in an 'Extraordinary' issue of the Calcutta Gazette on 5th May, 1953. It was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on 7th May 1953 and with the concurrence of the Legislative Council, it was referred to a Joint Select Committee of 25 Members. The Bill was passed by Assembly on 25th November, by the council on 1st December and assent of the President was published in the 'Extraordinary' issue of Calcutta Gazette, dated 12th February, 1954 when it became the Act. Though it is not itself a composite land reforms legislation. It is the only first step viz, State Acquisition of Estates, the other reforms legislation being the Land reforms at, 1955 relating to the rights, obligations and incidence in respect of the holdings of the cultivators, assessment of rational revenue on land holdings, consolidation of holdings, provisions about *bargadars*, provisions for recording of occupiers on homestead land etc. For details see *Compendium of Lecture Notes*, Analysis, Research & Training Institute, Shalbani, Medinipur, pp.28-29. For further details see, *Bhinha Mata Saha Bangiya Bhumi Rajyswa Tadanta Commissioner Pratibedhan* (Bengali), West Bengal State Book Board, Calcutta, 1999.
42. Interview with Dr. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, Ex-Prof. Department of History, NBU, Jalpaiguri, Dated: 11.06.2014.
43. Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee, *India Since Independence*, Penguin Books, 2007 (First Published in 1999), Haryana, p.591.

44. For further reading, see Dinesh Dahua, *Uttarer Golpa*, Deep Prakashan, Calcutta, 2005.
45. Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Kartick Saha, *1947- Parabarti Uttarbanga-1*, N.L. Publishers, Siliguri, 2013, p.27-28.
46. Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Nirmal Chandra Roy, *1947 Parabarti Uttarbanga Two, Op.Cit.*, pp.58-59.
47. There are so many authentic and educative books about the history of Naxalbari Movement. Some of these are Sumanta Banerjee, *In the Wake of Naxalbari A History of the Naxalite Movement in India*, Subarnarekha, Calcutta, 1980; Phatik Ghosh, *Naxal Andolan O Banglar Katha Sahitya* (Bengali), Bangiya Sahitya Sansad, Calcutta, 2012; Pradip Basu(ed), *Srijane O Manane Naxalbari* (Bengali), Setu Prakashani, Calcutta,2012; Suniti Kumar Ghosh (ed), *A Historic Turning-point A Liberation Anthology*, Vol-1,S.K,Ghosh, Calcutta,1992 and also his *Naxalbari Before and After Reminiscences and Appraisal* , New Age Publishers, Kolkata, 2009; Ashoke Kumar Muhkopadhyay, *The Naxalites Through The Eyes Of The Police*, Days, Calcutta, 2000. In this phase I had been only highlighted some ethnic conflict and its far reaching consequences which had occurred during and after Naxalbari Movement in 1967.
48. Amit Bhattacharyya, 'Naxalbari : Its Significance and Impact on Indian Politics, Society and Historical Study and Culture', *Omnibus Of North Bengal* ,Vol-I, Anita Bagchi(ed), B.R.Publishing Corporation, Delhi,2015,pp .359-360.
49. Barun Dey and Others, *West Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*, Superintendent of Printing, Calcutta, 1980, p.98.
50. Lt. Col Vivek Chandha, *Low Intensity Conflicts In India- An Analysis*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005, p.390.
51. Manobina Gupta, *Left Politics In Bengal*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2010,p.10.
52. Partha Mukherji, *Op.Cit.*, p. 1615.
53. Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee, *Op.Cit.*, p.592.
54. Pradip Basu, *Naxal Barir Purbakshan*, Proressive Publishers, Calcutta, pp.43-44.

54. Partha Mukherji, *Op.Cit.*, p. 1615.
56. Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee, *Op.Cit.*, p.592.
57. Souran Bose, *Charu Majumder Katha*, Calcutta,1989, p.101.
58. *Ibid.* pp.104-106.
59. Sukumar Das, *Uttar Banger Itihash* (Bengali), Kumar Sahitya Prakashan, Calcutta, 1982, p.230.
60. Amit Bhattacharyya, *Op.Cit.*, p.363.
61. Prashanta Kumar Mazumdar, *Satabarshe Tridip Chowdhury* (Bengali), Dasgupta & Company Private Ltd, Calcutta, 2012, p.83.
62. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, Dated : 27.12.1994.
63. Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Nirmal Chandra Roy, *1947 Parabarti Uttarbanga Two*, *Op.Cit.*,pp.86-87.
64. Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee, *Op.Cit.*, pp.592-593.
65. Sunil Sen, *Peasant Movement in India Mid 19th and 20th Century*, K.P. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1982, p.215.
66. Amiya Kumar Samanta, *Left Extremist in West Bengal an Experiment in Armed Agrarian Struggle*, Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1984, p.68.
67. Promode Sengupta, *Naxalbari and Indian Revolution*, Research India Publications, Calcutta, 1983, p.02.
68. Field Survey and interview with some participants of Naxalbari Movement in March 2013. They requested me not to disclose or mention their names.
69. Jagadish Chandra Mondal, *Mohapran Jogendra Nath Mondal* (Bengali), Vol-II, Calcutta, 1979, pp.22-23.
70. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, 'The Uttarkhanda-Kamatapuri Movement: A Historical Perspective', *Proceeding of North East Indian History Association*, 10th Session, Shilong, 1989, p.401.
71. *Desh*, A Bengali weekly Literary Journal, Calcutta, Dated : 13.09.1986, p.34.
72. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, 'The Uttarkhanda-Kamatapuri Movement: A Historical Perspective', *Op.Cit.*, p.404 and Satyendranarayan Majumder, *Patabhumie Kanchanjanga* (Bengali), Manisha, Calcutta, 1963, pp.20-22.

73. Saroj Chakraborty, *The Upheaval Years in North East India 1960-1983*, Sree Saraswati Press, Calcutta, pp.24-25.
74. *Yoga Yog*, Mouth piece of U.K.D, Bulletin No-1, Bisheswar Chakraborty, Temple Street, Jalpaiguri, 1st August 1970.
- 74a. He was the third Vice-Chancellor of the University of North Bengal followed by Prof. B.N Dasgupta and Prof. A.C Roy.
75. *Yoga Yog*, Mouth piece of U.K.D, Bulletin No-1, Bisheswar Chakraborty, Temple Street, Jalpaiguri, 1st August 1970.
76. Tanka Bahadur Subba, *Ethnicity, State and Development, A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1992, p.84.
77. *Memorandum*, 'Uttarkhanda Dal and All India Gorkha League United Front', Published by Bhupendranath Roy, the then Joint Secretary of UKD, Rupshri Press, Maynaguri, 1977.
78. *A Leaflet*, Published by Sampad Roy, the then General Secretary, UKD. No date is mentioned.
79. *A Handbill*, Circulated by the U.K.D, the A.I.G.L and the Republican Party, Published by Sampad Roy and Others, 1st November, 1979.
80. *Resolution No. 1*, Kendriya Sanmelaan of the U.K.D., Bijlimani Primary Vidyalay, Darjeeling, Dated 31st May, 1980.
81. Because at that time there was one Dinajpur named Paschim Dinajpur and later in 1996 it was divided in to two district named Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dijajpur.
82. *A Party Leaflet* of the UKD, Uma Press, Dhupguri, 1980 and Memorandum, Submitted to Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Honourable Prime Minister of India, by Panchanan Mallick, Chairman of the Presidium, Uttarkhanda Dal, New Delhi, Dated: 24.08.1981.
83. Dinesh Dakua, *Hitasadhani Theke Greater Cooch Behar* (Bengali), Deep Prakashan, Kolkatta, 2005, pp.22-23.

84. Kartick Saha and Ananda Gopal Ghosh, 'Histoty of Migration in North Bengal : A Case Study of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts during Colonial and Post-Colonial Period(1869-1971)', *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol-LIII, No-1 & 2, Dilip Coomer Ghose (Ed), Institute Of Historical Studies, Kolkata, September, 2013, pp.40-41.
85. Rajatsubhra Mukhopadhyay, *Uttarkhand Movement A Sociological Analysis*, Special Lecture, Centre For Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal, Dated: 24.02.1987, pp.27-33.
86. *Dainik Tribarta*, A Bengali Daily, Cooch Behar, Dated: 01.02.1989.
87. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, 'The Uttarkhanda-Kamatapuri Movement: A Historical Prespective', *Op.Cit.*, p.407.
88. The Rajbanshi Bengalis usually address the immigrant Bengalis from the Lower Provinces of Eastern Bengal as *Bhatias*.
89. Rajatsubhra Mukhopadhyay, *Op.Cit.*, p.28.
90. Election Manifesto of the Uttarkhanda Dal, *Uttarbanga*, A daily Bengali Newspaper, Dated : 28.02.1972.
91. *A Demand Note*, Addressed to the Government of India, circulated by the UKD on the occasion of a delegate conference held at Batasi Football Ground under Kharibari Police Station , Darjeeling (Terai), Dated :14.01.1984.
92. Proceedings of Central Committee (UKD) Meeting, Jalpesh Temple, Maynaguri, Jalpaiguri, Dated : 16.05.1977.
93. Dyutish Chakraborty, *Gorkhaland : Evolution Of Politics Of Segregation, Special Lecture*, Special Lecture, Centre For Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal, April, 1988,p.14.
94. *The Times of India*, A English Daily, New Delhi, Dated : 01.03.88.
95. Dyutish Chakraborty, *Op.Cit.*, p.15.
96. Dr. Bani Prasanna Misro, the then Director of the Centre for Himalayan Studies is pointed out of Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling as a result of the transferred anger for the injustice meted out of their brethren in Meghalaya and Assam. He divides the 'Nepalis' in India into two major categories- one who was born in

Nepal but somehow migrated into India and another of Indian origin. Both of them enjoy equal status, rights and privileges as they suffer from similar disabilities. A major disability which the second category of Nepaleses suffers from, particularly in the North-East India, is proving that they are Indian citizens in a place where there is no established norm or criterion to prove it. For further details see B.P. Misra, 'Behind Gorkhaland Agitation', *Mainstream*, Vol-25, No-07, 1st November, 1986, pp. 15-26.

97. *The Times of India*, A English Daily, New Delhi, Dated : 01.03.88.
98. 'Memorial of the Darjeeling District Committee of CPI on Gorkha National demand for a free Gorkhastan submitted on 06.04.1947 to the Constituent Assembly' quoted in *Why Gorkhaland*, Pranta Parishad, Darjeeling, 1986, pp.31-32.
99. Dyutish Chakraborty, *Op.Cit.*, p.23.
100. *Ibid.* pp.28-29.
101. *The Times of India*, A English Daily, New Delhi, Dated: 01.03.88.
102. Dyutish Chakraborty, *Op.Cit.*, p.37.
103. Manas Dasgupta, *The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political And Economic Dimensions*, Centre For Himalayan Studies, Special Lecture IX, University Of North Bengal, March, 1988, p.07.
104. *Ibid.* pp.13-25.
105. Dyutish Chakraborty, *Op.Cit.*, pp.40-41.
106. Tanka Bahadur Subba, *Op.Cit.*, p.203.
107. *The Amtita Bazar Patrika*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 23.08.1988.
108. *The Hindustan Times*, A daily Newspaper, New Delhi, Dated: 10.08.88.
109. *The Telegraph*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 29.07.1988.
110. *The Telegraph*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 30.07.1988.
111. *The Statesman*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 31.07.1988.
112. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 09.08.1988.
113. *The Telegraph*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 11.08.1988.

114. *The Telegraph*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 12.08.1988.
115. *The Statesman*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 12.08.1988.
116. *The Statesman*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 26.08.1988.
117. *The Statesman*, A daily Newspaper, Calcutta, Dated: 25.08.1988.