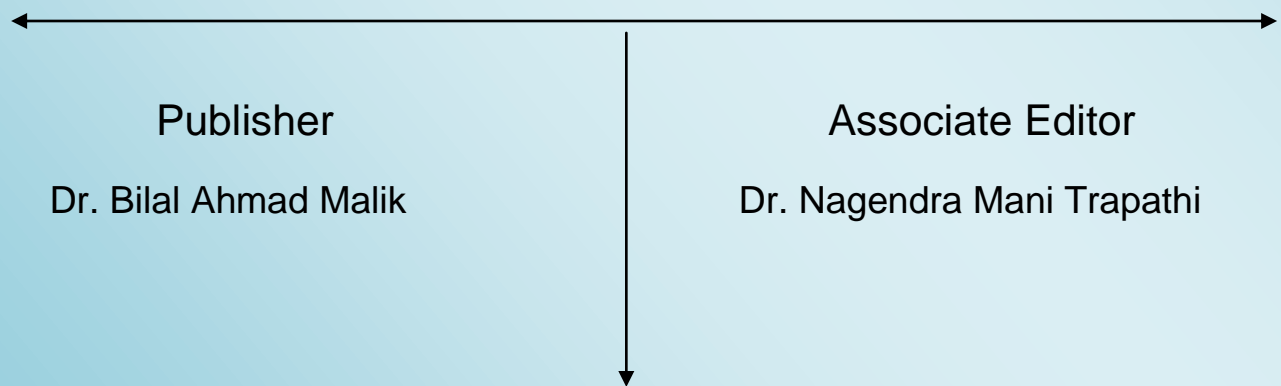


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REVISITING UTTAR KHANDA DAL MOVEMENT

BY

JAGABANDHU ROY

INTRODUCTION

After the independence of India, there was consistent immigration to northern part of west Bengal from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and part of Assam. Consequently significant changes have taken place in the population structure of this region. The Rajbanshi now feel that this large -scale immigration of refugee has resulted in their economic misery and hardship. Out of this feeling, the young belt of Rajbanshi Kshatriya samiti of North Bengal desired to form a new political party for the people of North Bengal, which would deal with the development of North Bengal only.¹ Revolte by a group of educated young member of the thenj Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samiti to convene a general meeting of the common people irrespective of caste and creed viz. Rajbanshi, Brahmin, Kamar, Kumar, Khen, Basak, Suri, Hari, Muslims etc. who were concerned about all round development of North Bengal. This group demanded strengthening of the activities of original Kshatriya Samitifounded and led by Raisaheb Thakur Panchanan Barma, M.A.B.L., M.L.C., M.B.E., when it was a socio-political party of undivided Bengal and that is the Kshatriya Samiti which elected a few members like Thakur Panchanan Barma, Nagendra Narayan Roy etc. to Bengal Legislative Council.

The revolt originated at Charer Bari Villege under police station Maynaguri, Dt. Jalpaiguri at a distance of 20/21 miles from Jalpaiguri Towns at the annual General Meeting of Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samiti on 31.05.1969 (7th Jaishtha 1376 B.S.) when the following dignitaries were the office bearers for the year 1967-68 (1374 B.S.).

1. Lalit Mohan Singha : Chunagarh, North Dinajpur, President (since Deceased)
2. Bhupendra Nath Roy : Vice President, Kharija Berubari, Jalpaiguri(since deceased).
3. Oanchanan Mallick : Vice President, Bhangar Hat, Jalpaiguri. (since deceased)
4. Haripada Roy : General Secretary, Jayantipara, Jalpaiguri.
5. Mahadeb Sarkar : Asstt.Secretary, Kushmundi, South Dinajpur
6. Girija Sankar Roy : Assistant Secretary, Barnes, Jalpaiguri.
7. Kalindra Nath Barman : Member (since deceased), Panchanan Ashram, Rath Khola, Siliguri.

¹ Annual General Meeting of Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samiti on 31/05/1969; (17th Jaishtha 1376 B. S.) cited in Haripada Ray; "The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement" in .S. Barma ; "Socio-political Movement in North Bengal(A Sub-Himalayan Tract)", vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007., pp. 111-112.

and 14 other members from different districts of North Bengal and Goalpara district of Assam. They shouted slogan against the three distinguished political leaders viz. Upendra Nath Barman, ex-MP, Jajneswar Roy, ex-M.L.A. and Jagadananda Roy, ex-M.L.A. and Deputy Minister, who were present in the general meeting – Upendranath Barman as a Chairman of the open session and two others as guest speakers.² The participants refused to listen to the lecture. They wanted formation of a new political party for the North Bengal People – The party which would deal with the development of North Bengal only. They were no longer ready to put up with the all round torture by the South Bengal leaders on the people of North Bengal. They got impetus from the SHWETA PATRA (White paper) published by the then MP Maitrayee Debi addresses to the then Prime Minister , India, Demanding proper allocation of financial allotment for all round development of north Bengal . But during her lifetime , the demand had neither been fulfilled nor was it given any publicity.³ However , accepting the proposal for the formation of a new political party for the people of North Bengal, most of the old leaders retired from the Executive Committee of the Kshatriya Samiti and a new committee was formed on 31/05/1969 with the following members-

- President : Harimohan Roy, Rangali Bazana, Jalpaiguri.
- Vice-President : 1. Panchanan Mallick(since deceased), P.O. Bhangarhat,
Dt. Jalpaiguri
: 2. BhupendraNath Roy(since deceased), P.O.
Kharija Berubari, Dt. Jalpaiguri.
- General secretary : Haripada Roy, Jayantipara, Dt. Jalpaiguri.
- Assistant Secretary : 1.. Kalindra Nath Barman (since deceased), Panchanan
Ashram, Rath Khola, Siliguri.
2. Pulin Bihari Roy(since deceased), Mill para , Dhupguri,
Jalpaiguri.
3. Sripada Sarkar, North Dinajpur,
4. Digendra Lal Roy (since deceased), P.O. Bhotpatty,
Jalpaiguri.⁴

² Haripada Roy, “ The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement” in S Barma ; “Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)”, vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007, p.112

³ Ibid, pp. 112-113

⁴ Ibid, p. 113

There were also 10 Members from Jalpaiguri district, one from West Dinajpur and one from Darjeeling. The Newly formed committee of the Kshatriya Samiti assured that the steps would be initiated for the all round development in respect of language, culture of the Rajbanshis. The then General secretary of the Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samiti of North Bengal, Haripada Roy called a meeting on 5th July 1969 at 2 pm at Thakur Pat Rajmohan Junior High School under Dhupguri police station as the venue for discussion on the various problems of the Rajbanshis.⁵ Simultaneously, the Dhupguri Branch of Kshatriya Samiti and Rajbanshi Kshatriya Yuba Samiti convened another public meeting at the same venue on the next date at 4 pm under the presidentship of Ramprasad Roy, Bijendra Nath Roy and Nirmalendu Roy as joint secretaries. In that public meeting the political leader of different political parties were also present and on being satisfied as to the justification to form a new political party with an ad-hoc committee and named it as UTTAR KHANDA DAL.⁶ On the other hand we came to know from the constitution of Uttar Khanda Party and the memorandum of the Uttar Khanda Dal That the party formed on 5th July, 1969 at the historical Jalpesh temple complex under the Maynaguri police station in Jalpaiuguri district.⁷ Whatever may be the date, the UKD came into existence in July 1969 on the pattern of Jharkhanda Dal and the DMK.⁸ It was initiated by the priest of the Jalpesh Temple, Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, a Kamrupi Brahmin. Though the official headquarter of the UKD was located at Kantivita of Darjeeling District, the centre of gravity of the movement was concentrated in the Jalpesh Temple complex.⁹ The office barer of the UKD were as follows:

- President : Panchanan Mallick(since deceased from PSP) .
- Vice-President : Harimohan Barman (from Congress), Soma Oraon (since deceased from TMU), Bali Chandra Karjee (from Congress)
- Secretary : Kalindra Nath Barman (since deceased from KSP)
- Assistant Secretary : Pulin Bihari Ray (since deceased from congress)
- Members : Haripada Roy, Wajuddin Ahmed, Girish Chandra , Deb Singha, Sitanath

Sarkar, Babunath Barman, Sashi Bhusan Adhikary, Banka Bihari Barman(since deceased), Digendra Lal Roy (since deceased), Purna Chandra Barman, Gobinda Mohan Ray(Since deceased), Gunadhar Barman and many others.¹⁰ The main slogan of the UKD was “Bande Mataram” and “Jai Hok” . According to the version of the Uttar Khandis, the Sannyasis were the first to adopt this slogan in North Bengal in 1763 and as a successor of the

⁵ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, “Identity Crisis A Study of the Rajbanshis of North Eastern India (1891-1979), Aayu publication, New Delhi, p.177.

⁶ Op. cit., p.114

⁷ Memorandum to Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Hon,ble Prime Minister of India on 24th August ,1981 by the Uttar Khanda Dal; The constitution of Uttar Khanda Dal , 15th August , 1980.

⁸ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary , op. cit.,p. 178.

⁹ The constitution of Uttar Khanda Dal, 15th August, 1980.

¹⁰ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary , op. cit., p.178.

Sannyasis; they took “Bande Mataram” as their catchword.¹¹ A view in support of the Uttar Khandis for giving the name of ‘Uttar Khanda’ to their movement was that a large number of labourers working in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri Duars, Malda and West Dinajpur were sympathetic towards the Jharkhanda Movement. To acquire the support of the tea gardens labourers, the Uttarkhandis prefer to take ‘Khanda’ from Jharkhanda and gave the name of “Uttarkhanda” to their party.¹² The jurisdiction of the UKD comprising the five districts of North Bengal namely- Malda, West Dinajpur(North&South), Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar.¹³

POLITICAL SITUATION OF WEST BENGAL IN LATE 60'S

During this period there was a complete political chaos. This was the second term of Ajoy Mukherjee's Chief Ministership with Deputy Chief Minister Jyoti Basu under the United Front having 214 seats out of 280 seats in the State Legislative Assembly of West Bengal. The Congress won only 55 seats. The United Front Parties started taking possession of the vested lands by force and distributed the lands to their supporters in the villages which caused great chaos in the localities. In the meanwhile, Naxalites centralized their movement and on 1st May, 1969 they convened a general meeting at the Kolkata Maidan and renamed their party as C.P.I.(M.L.) at a vast gathering. On 3rd July, 1969, 500 armed police entered the Bidhan Sabha Bhawan by force and committed large scale damage to the property. On 26th November, 1969 Bangla Congress called Satyagraha against the United Front Govt. The Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee himself named the regime as the Jangla Rule Regime and Took The leadership at Satyagraha. On 30th December by blaming the C.P.M., the Forward Block Party delivered a statement. On 4th February, 1970, Bangla Congress Party left the Meeting of the United Front . On 16th March, 1970, Chief Minister, Ajoy Mukherjee resigned. After resignation of the Chief Minister, the United Front could not form the new government and the president's rule was imposed on 16th March, 1970 which continued upto 15th March, 1971.¹⁴

DEMONDS OF THE UTTAR KHANDA DAL

Under this predicament to save the people, especially, people of local origin, the newly formed Uttarkhanda Dal started its peaceful movement through public meeting covering almost all the villages of North Bengal. At the Initial stage, they started its peaceful movement within Maynaguri, Dhupguri, Sadar, Rajgang of jalpaiguridistrict and also under Mekhliganj Sub Division of Cooch Behar District. Their demands were as follows¹⁵

1. Equalisation of the value of the personal wealth in Money's worth. A raiyat under W.B.E.A. Act was allowed to possess only 25 acres of agricultural lands, the valuation of which was at that time Rs. 75000/- only, whereas a landless businessman could own truck, Bus, Shop, Factory, service without any ceiling. Why such discrimination?
2. Rationalization of Govt. and non- Govt. service i.e. ceiling of family service.

¹¹ Panchanan Mallick, “Keno Kamatapur(In Bengali Sankaraj; Rakhi Purnima)”, Kamata Sahitya Academy, 1st edition 1986, 2nd edition 1987 and 3rd edition 1995, Jalpaiguri, p.10

¹² Professor Ananda Gopal Ghosh, “Uttar Khanda Andalaner Oitihashik Prekshapat” , Itihas Anusandhan-5, p.513.

¹³ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary , op. cit., p.178

¹⁴ Haripada Roy, op. cit. pp.115-116

¹⁵ Uttar Khanda Daler Sambidhan (in Bengali), 15th August, 1980.



3. Reclassification of ration card. The landless people in business services etc. belonged to “A” category ration cards, whereas an adhiar who cultivated only 2 to 4 acres of land was categorized as “C” category ration card holders.
4. Implimentation of the slogan ‘matri Bhasa Matri Dugdha-sama’ by introducing the medium of education in mother tongue like Rajbanshi/ Kamtapuri, Bodo, Santali, Mundari, Nepali, etc. along with Bengali in primary schools and establishment of more primary schools within the radius of two kilometers without any public contribution of the locality for the purpose of construction of school building with provision of drinking water and sanitation for gorl students.
5. Renaming the North Bengal University as Thakur Panchanan Barma University.
6. Establishment the high schools within the radius of four kilometers with the entire cost borne by the Govt. for construction of school buildings with arrangement of light, drinking water and sanitation.
7. Introduction of attendance money in cash to the guardians of poorer section of the pupil in the primary schools.
8. Introduction of Free education up to class XII.
9. Establishment of Agro-based small and medium sized industries in the villages like jute spinning, weaving, paper, tobacco and timber products.
10. Introduction of subsidy to the poor and marginal cultivators by way of free distribution of seeds, manure, bullocks, agricultural equipments and cash loan on easy term at minimum rate of interest.
11. Introduction of irrigation facility free of capital cost without any capital contribution by the cultivators.
12. Establishment of free coaching centers for IAS, IPS, WBCS, and allied service course for Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates as in Kolkata.
13. Nationalization of banks and other financial institutions and introduction of proportionate reservation of seats of Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates in Govt. services.
14. Establishment of High Court, Medical College, agricultural College and more Engineering Colleges, Law College and more Technical Educational Institutions in North Bengal.
15. Promotion, preservation, maintenance and development of the cultural heritage of North Bengal and promotion of the knowledge on history, culture, language and anthropology of the people of North Bngal and North Eastern part of the country.
16. Introduction and Maintenance of quota for students in Govt. and Non-Govt. schools.
17. Maintenance of quota in license and permits for business to the Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates.
18. Development of Tourism.
- 19.

Their main agitation was against mal-distribution of allocation of money in the Annual Budget. The North Bengal has an area of about 21325 square kilometers i.e. 25% of West Bengal, inhabited by 30% of Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribe people where out of 13 M.L.As, only 3 seats are general seats. The vast assets of North Bengal like Tea, Tobacco, Timber, Tourism and other crops yielded 2/3rd of the total income of West Bengal.¹⁶

¹⁶ Haripada Roy, *op. cit.*, p.118.

UTTAR KHANDA DAL AS POLITICAL PARTY

Hence is the agitation and movement. And with this end in view soon after declaration of election of 1971 by the then Governor of West Bengal, the UKD was prepared to contest the General Election held on 10th March, 1971.¹⁷ At the initial stage they contested Maynaguri, Dhupguri, Sadar, Falakata seats of Jalpaiguri District and Mekhliganj seat of Cooch Behar District and One Lok Sabha seat of Jalpaiguri. The results are given hereunder:¹⁸

Maynaguri (SC) Constituency.

Candidates	Party	Votes secured
Bijoy Krishna Mohanta	Cong. R	39173
Haripada Ray	U.K.D.	6075

Source: Haripada Roy, "The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement" in S Barma ; "Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)", vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007 , p.119.

Dhupguri(General) Constituency.

Candidates	Party	Votes Secured
Bhabani Pal	Cong. R	11471
A. Guha Neogi	S.S.P.	11279
Wajuddin Ahmed	U.K.D.	5321
Suresh Ch. De	C.P.M.	7054

Source Haripada Roy, "The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement" in S Barma ; "Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)", vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007,p.119

Jalpaiguri Sadar (General) constituency.

Candidates	Party	Votes Secured
Anupam Sen	Cong. R	25608
Girish Deb Singha	U.K.D.	1928
Kenu Chakroborty	C.P.I.	7551

Source: Haripada Roy, "The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement" in S. Barma ; "Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)", vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007, p.119

¹⁷ Ibid.,p.119

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.119-120.

Falakata (S.C) Constituency.

Candidates	Party	Votes Secured
J. Roy	Cong. R	13410
Abhoy Barman	C.P.M.	11415
Panchanan Mallick	U.K.D.	4302

Source : Haripada Roy, “ The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement” in S Barma ; “Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)”, vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007, p..120.

Mekhliganj (S.C.) Constituency

Candidates	Party	Votes Secured
Sitanath Roy Sarkar	U.K.D.	1627
Mihir Kr. Roy	F.B.	19880
Manibhusan Roy	Cong. R	15982
Kshir Prasad barman	C.P.M.	3996
Tara Pransanna Roy Basunia	Cong.-O	3745

Source: Haripada Roy, “ The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement” in S Barma ; “Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)”, vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007, p.120.

Jalpaiguri lok Sabha (S.T.) Constituency.

Candidates	Party	Votes Secured
Tuna Oraon	Cong. R	103104
Birsan Kujur	C.P.M.	60137
Stephen Kujur	R.S.P.	40443
Soma Oraon	U.K.D.	11097

Source: Haripada Roy, “ The Genesis of Uttar Khanda Movement” in S Barma ; “Socio-political Movement in North Bengal (A Sub-Himalayan Tract)”, vol.2, Global Vision publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2007,p.120.

Why such miserable performance by U.K.D.? Haripada Ray, one of the candidates of UKD from Maynaguri constituency has remarked that the main reason was the lack of funds that were necessary for contesting the elections. He also said that from the date of initiation of the party until the date of election the workers of the

party worked hard with full devotion and defrayed the minimum expenditure from their pockets since the newly formed party had no fund of their own.¹⁹

However, the Uttar Khanda Dal prepared to participate in the general election of 1972. For the development of neglected and underdeveloped North Bengal the UKD published the election manifesto in 1972 contained the following points.²⁰

1. Protesting against the exploitation of resources of North Bengal.
2. Removing the economic differential between rural and Urban areas.
3. Giving permanent tenancy rights to the landless farmers on the vested lands.
4. Providing free education in rural areas.
5. Setting up industries according to needs.
6. Nationalizing the Tea industry of North Bengal.
7. Introducing the principle of single profession and family based job distribution with a view to solving the unemployment problems.
8. Allocating budgetary funds for North Bengal's development in accordance with the revenue earned from North Bengal.
9. Vesting of surplus houses or homestead plots of the city owners to solve the refugee problems.
10. Amending Agricultural Income Tax Law in consonance with the income Tax for the welfare of the Farmers.
11. Resolving the Chhit Mahal problem of India and Bangladesh.

In the general election of 1972, the Uttar Khanda dal had participated in 8 seats but without any success. However the UKD had continued their movement strongly for the next five years but got a setback due to the promulgation of emergency throughout India w.e.f. 26th June, 1975. At that of emergency, the Govt. of India imposed prohibitory rule and amended the "MISA". The Govt. banned many regional political parties and the movement of UKD became very weak during this period.²¹

Under the leadership of Jyoti Basu, the left front government comes into power in 1977. The Front Govt. led by C.P.I.(M) took several measures for implementation of Ceiling Laws, 'Operation Burga' and 'Panchayati Raj' administration so on. Under these circumstances, the local Rajbanshi people became victims to the exploitation and oppression of caste Hindu leaders. The UKD had tried to convince the Govt. about the deplorable condition of the Northern Bengal; but no vain.

CALL FOR SEPARATE STATE OF "KAMATAPUR"

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, P.120.

²⁰ Election manifesto of Uttar Khanda Dal, 1972, cited in *Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, "Identity Crisis A Study of the Rajbanshis of North Eastern india (1891-1979), Aayu publication, New Delhi, pp.181-182.*

²¹ *Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, op. cit., p.182.*

Under these circumstances, the UKD called for a separate state for North Bengal –“Kamatapur” which was the own territory of the Rajbanshis with glorious history and culture. The UKD gave wide publicity to this concept of separate state through leaflets, pamphlets, manifestos, and public meetings. The UKD appeal through their manifesto “On behalf of the Uttar Khanda Dal, we appeal to the people irrespective to caste, creed and religion that this party is not communal; it is a party not of Rajbanshis only, not of Bhatiyas, but for all. Hindus, Muslims, Buddhist, Christian. And Rajbanshi Kshatriyas all our brothers-we are Indian. We want our development and rights. We want separate state “Kamatapur” in North Bengal. Don’t be misled by the selfish kolkatan right-left politicians; rise to the call united for North Bengal.”²²



MAP OF KAMATAPUR

Proposed by Kamatapur Association

map prepared by arup jyoti das for kamatapur association

The Uttarkhandis were then determined to turn North Bengal as “Kamatapur state” because they argued that there are some example of union territories which had been created within Indian Federal structure depending on language and culture like Maharastra and Gujarat were developed as separate states in 1960 by partitioning the Bombay Province, Nagaland came out as a separate state from Assam in 1962, Hariyana came out from Punjab in 1966, Meghalaya was given as a separate state in 1971, and Andhra was separated From Madras in 1953. In

²² Manifesto of UKD in Bengali circulated by Panchanan Mallick, Principal President and Sampad Ray , General secretary, UKD on 22nd June, 1980. In this manifesto the UKD had explained why the party asked for a separate state . cited in *Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary , op. cit., p.183.*

support of the nomenclature of their state, the Uttarkhandis argues that they adopted the Name of “Kamatapur” because it had a long historical tradition.²³ In ancient period North Bengal christened by the name of “Kamatapur”. Moreover, according to the Uttarkhandis the name of any part of India can be changed by the amendments of the constitution. Hence, their movement cannot be suppressed on this ground. Their proposed “Kamatapur state” would be wider area of 8384sq. K.M., which would be much greater than many union territories of India from the point of view area, population and natural resources. Therefore according to the Uttarkhandis their demand of a separate state “Kamatapur State” would be legitimate from all aspect.²⁴

Uttar Khanda dal also contested in nine seats of general election in 1982. However, none of them has succeeded. In this respect it is to be mentioned here that in order to wise over the masses, the Uttar khanda Dal had contested in the election of 1971, 1972, 1977, 1982 but in each time, the candidates had lost deposit. It is also to be mentioned here that they contested generally from the reserve constituency.²⁵ Though the UKD had contested from the reserve constituency, they did not score much support of their own community. The following table shows the support of UKD candidates in assembly election of 1982.²⁶

Result of the general election of 1982 in North Bengal (UKD)

District	Constituency	Candidate	Score
Jalpaiguri	Dhupguri(SC)	Panchanan Mallick	2150
Jalpaiguri	Maynaguri(SC)	Panchanan Mallick	2959
Jalpaiguri	Jalpaiguri Sadar(Gen.)	Rukmini Kanta Ray	999
Jalpaiguri	Raiganj(SC)	Harendra Nath Barman	1264
Jalpaiguri	Madari Hat(ST)	Julias Tapno	2265
Darjeeling	Fasideowa(ST)	Edward trike	3173
Cooch Behar	Cooch Behar West(Gen)	Janawuddin Bapari	227
Cooch Behar	Cooch Behar North(Gen.)	Rabindr Nnath Sarkar	766
Cooch Behar	Mekhliganj(SC)	Mahindra Nath Ray	1118

²³ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, *op. cit.*, p.183.

²⁴ Srabani Ghosh, “Revisiting the Uttar Khanda Movement” in Sainen Debnath(ed) “Social and Political Tension in North Bengal(Since 1947)”, Siliguri, N.L. Publishers, 2007, pp.182-183

²⁵ Ananda Gopal Ghosh, “The Uttarkhanda Kamatapur Movement: A Historical Perspective”, North East India History Association(NEIHA), Kokrajhar, 2005, p.405.

²⁶ “Pashchimbanga”, 4th June ,1982 (A Bengali Weekly of the Government of West Bengal) and relevant part of the Assembly Election of 1982 cited in Ananda Gopal Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p.405.

Source: “Pashchimbanga”, 4th June ,1982 (A Bengali Weekly of the Government of West Bengal) and relevant part of the Assembly Election of 1982, cited in Ananda Gopal Ghosh, “*Uttar Khanda Andalaner Oitihāsik Prekshapat*”, *Itihas Anusandhan-5,1990, p.405*.

The above table shows that though the UKD had an influence over Jalpaigiri, Cooch Behar and Darjeeling plain, they had no influence over Malda and west Dinajpur.²⁷ However, it is to be noted that in the Panchayet election in some areas of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar, the UKD candidate had elected.²⁸

CHARTER DEMAND OF UTTAR KHANDA DAL

The charter of demands as approved by the Kendriya Parishad of UKD on 23rd April, 1989 presided over by Prabhas ChandraSingha Shastri, “Uttar Khanda Dal is the only political party which can fulfill the political, social and economic aspiration of the ‘Sons of the Soil’. This party believes that the interests of the indigenous people can be safe guarded with the fulfillment of the following demands.²⁹ –

1. Formation of Kamatapur State consisting of five districts of North Bengal.
2. Reservation of 80% of jobs Central government, State government, Semi state government and private sector for sons of the soil.
3. Relaxation of the existing rigidities in the educational institutions for the student belonging Scheduled Caste, Scheduled tribes and other Backward communities like local Muslims, Khen, Kaibarta, Teli, Kamar,kumar etc.
4. Reintroduction of English from Class III level and reintroduction of primary final examination.
5. Setting up of Navodaya School (Model School) in every district of North Bengal.
6. Introduction of Kamatapuri as the medium of education up to School Level.
7. Broadcasting of news and other programmes relating to agriculture, music, drama and other cultural functions in Kamatapuri language on all the radio stations of North Bengal.
8. Reservation of 80% of recruit from North Bengal in Defence services for the sons of the soil, setting up of Recruitment Boards in each district and relaxation of age and height for Rajbanshi, Rava and Mech Candidates.
9. Establishment of Jute, Tobacco and Bamboo based industries and reservation of 80% of employment in such industries from amongst the indigenous people.
10. Following the Indira-Mujib agreement ,1971 should be the base year of citizenship.
11. Making the temporary employees permanent at government approved wages without discrimination between male and female.
12. Arrangement of irrigation facilities for high yielding agriculture and subsidy to the farmers in periods of natural calamities like draught and flood.
13. Reservation of seats for the resident of North Bengal in North Bengal University, North Bengal Medical College, Jalpaiguri Engineering College and Cooch Behar Agriculture College.
14. No handing over the Tin Bigha of Cooch Behar to Bangladesh.

²⁷ Ananda Gopal Ghosh, op. cit., p.405.

²⁸ Ibid, p.405.

²⁹ Haripada Roy,op. cit.,pp.130-131.

15. Making non-formal teachers, teachers of adult educational institutes and Anganwadi employees permanent.
16. Exchange of the Chhit Mahals of India and Bangladesh.
17. Reservation of seats for the SC and ST in proportion of population in the Panchayat Elections.
18. Setting up of High Court in North Bengal.
19. Extension of reservation for SC and ST upto 2000.
20. Employment of one person from each of the families of the land losers for Tista Barrage, Railways, Roads, Industrial units, Schools and Colleges etc. according to qualifications.

AGITATION AND ACTIVITIES OF UKD.

Uttar Khanda Dal started a movement in 1980 A.D. called "Drive out the refugees" (Bhatiya Khedao Andolan) from North Bengal. Needless to say, that the UKD had been inspired by the AASU (All Assam Student Union) in this regard.³⁰ By the end of the 1980, this movement spread in the village level of North Bengal. It is needless to say that after Independence most of the refugees of North Bengal were Namasudras. They were in fear that they might be 'second time refugee'. Consequently conflict came out in front between the Namasudras cultivators and the supporter of UKD. The main cause of the conflict was land. The refugee Namasudras bought land from the Rajbanshis and gradually they improve their poor economic condition and within a short time, they became well established. On the other hand, the former gradually increased in number as landless farmer.³¹ This conflict between the Rajbanshis and Namasudras became more acute when the UKD called the later as foreigner who had come in this place after 1971. The UTJAS, another ethno-based organization of the Rajbanshis also claimed this demands.³²

The Koch Rajbanshi International also claimed such demands. As a result the Namasudras had organized counter organization to resist such attitude of the Rajbanshis.³³ The UKD had inspired by the success of AASU. It was AASU that inspired UKD to organize a movement called "Rail Roko Andolan" at Altagram Station in Jalpaiguri.³⁴ More than three thousand Uttarkhandis had participated in this movement. Four Uttarkhandis had died in the incident at the police firing on 25th June, 1987. That is why the Uttarkhandis observe "Martyr Day" on 25th June in every year.³⁵ It was the movement from where the Uttar Khanda Dal get set back and divided into Uttar Khanda Dal and Kamatapur Ganaparisad and gradually the movement became weak.³⁶

DRAWBACK OF UTTAR KHANDA DAL

³⁰ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, op. cit., pp.185-186.

³¹ Election Manifesto, UKD, 1982.

³² Why is the Vote Boycott Movement of UTJAS? A pamphlet of UTJAS was published by Md. Jamaluddin Minya, Bhupendra Nath Barman, Champaran Kujur, Etoya Marandi and Gautam Chakraborty.

³³ Debesh Ray, *Madarir Mayer Swatantra Rastra, Pratikshan, Sarad sanksha, 1394 B.S. This part of article later added with the novel "Teesta Parer Britanta" written By Debesh Ray where there are many instances of conflict between the Rajbanshis and Namasudras.*

³⁴ Ananda Gopal Ghosh, Uttar Khanda Andolaner Oitihashik prekshapat, Itihas Anusandhan, vol. 5, p.513.

³⁵ Ibid., P.114.

³⁶ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, op. cit., p.186.

- If we study the composition of UKD, It will be cleared that most of the leaders belongs to Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. Mr. Panchanan Mallick, Rukmini Kanta, Kalindranath Barman, Rabi Sarkar, Suma Oraon, and all other senior member were belonged to Jalpaiguri. In Darjeeling we found only Stalwart Mr. Sampad Ray, an ex-socialist cadre. We do not find any important leader in the UKD who held from Malda and West Dinajpur. Needless to say, that it was Sampad Ray who led a terrorist movement in Darjeeling Tarai region against the Naxalist terrorism who had come in North Bengal from East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) and occupied the land from the Rajbanshis³⁷ Sampad Ray's movement against the Naxal Terrorism gave impetus energy to the Uttar Khanda Dal. In an Interview, Sampad Ray says, "Most of the Jotedars who had died in the Naxal terrorism in Darjeeling Tarai were Rajbanshi Jotedars."³⁸ In spite of this enthusiastic leadership of Sampad Ray, the Uttar Khanda Movement got set back gradually due to the lack of supports of the masses. In professor Ananda Gopal Ghosh's word, "The Uttar Khanda Movement is essentially a rural based and not an urban based. They Failed to draw the attention of their educated middle class of the Rajbanshi community. It has been proved by their failure to file up any candidates in the election of the municipalities."³⁹ Rajat Subha Mukhapadhyay says that the Kamatapuri, Uttarkhanda movement was the result of clash of interest between the indigenous Rajbanshi and the Non-Rajbanshi population over control of economic resources of the region. He shows that after the Independence the relative proportion of the Rajbanshi to total population as well as to the SC/ST and Non-SC population of North Bengal has decreased considerably. Due to the Increase of non-Rajbanshi population, the Rajbanshi had limited chance to set absorb in the non-agricultural occupations in competition with the alien population.⁴⁰ In a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi in 1981, and the UKD categorically express that:

"Immediate effect of the partition, as now well known, was the huge influx of refugees from the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). West Bengal had to throw its border open and its arms of welcome wide to receive the East Pakistan refugees (Now Bangladeshi), as they were known as 'one nation', viz. the Bangalese, during the pre-partitioned societies. Hence North Bengal which happened, because of a chance of historical circumstances, to be part of West Bengal could not also raise its voice of objection and had been forced by the command of history to fall in line with West Bengal in its endeavour to accommodate the refugees. As a result North Bengal had to live with a chunk of people alien to its customs, language and culture."⁴¹ Professor Ananda Gopal Ghosh also says that in the presence of strong national party the regional parties can not get opportunities to be strong in their region. In addition to these, the neo-middle class of the Rajbanshi community is more interested to get reservation facilities than any direct confrontation with the Government.⁴² Above all, the total population of strength of the Rajbanshi is not favourable for the creation of a separate state at that time. According to the census

³⁷ Ibid., p.187.

³⁸ Personal Interview taken by prof. Ananda Gopal Ghosh with Sampad Ray, General secretary of UKD on 29th April, 1982 cited in Itihas Anusandhan Voi.5, p.513 and the author also had taken an interview with Sampad Ray on 22nd January, 2008.

³⁹ Ananda Gopal Ghosh, op.cit., p. 407.

⁴⁰ Rajat Subhra Mukhapadhyay, Socio-Economic Transformation of the Rajbanshis and Kamatapuri-Uttarkhanda Movement in North Bengal., Journal of Anthropology and Sociology, 1995, pp.223-228.

⁴¹ UKD memorandum submitted to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India on 24th August, 1981.

⁴² Ananda Gopal Ghosh, op. cit., p.407.

report of 1971, the Rajbanshis are only 13.88% of the total population of North Bengal. Naturally, the demand for a separate state is not getting wide support from the different concerns including the intellectuals.⁴³ At the end it may be said that there were various reasons for the failure of UKD. But the activities of Mirzafars and associates definitely come to the forefront for its failure. Yet the movement has not failed actually. It had shown the path and marked the heartburning for the successor and followers, who later took up the issues of heartburning and exploitation as also highhandedness of south based leaders by organizing movements under different Umbrella.

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⁴³ Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary, op. cit., p.188.

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