

Partition, Refugee Question and Homeland Politics in North Bengal

Dr. Supam Biswas

Assistant Professor of History, Banerjee Sarathibala Mahavidyalaya, Cooch Behar
Email : sutulbiswas@gmail.com

Abstract: *The words 'Partition' and 'Refugee' became intermingled after 1947. The demographic profile of North Bengal has been changed comprehensively since independence on two occasions – the partition of India in 1947 and the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971. The migration problem gave a great blow to the political, social and economic setup of the districts of North Bengal. A great demographic upheaval started taking place and the displaced persons reclaimed land from many of the indigenous communities. The outsiders established their stronghold over the govt. services. With the influx of a large number of people, confrontations started between them and the existing original inhabitants of North Bengal which ultimately gave rise to political movements demanding separate homelands for the 'son of the soil' (which they called themselves) of North Bengal.*

Keywords: Partition, Migration, Ethnicity, Bhupali, Bhatias, Kamtapur.

In the four thousand years of mythological and archaeological kaleidoscopic history of the Indian sub-continent, two dates have been regarded by professional academicians and researchers as a watershed in Indian history. The first is the bifurcation of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 and the second is the trifurcation in 1971. The 'Great Divide of 1947' had divided everything. The paper is based on post-partitioned North Bengal because North Bengal had lost her two-third lands to the newly born East Pakistan Pradesh or Province. The migration problem gave a great blow to the political, social, and economic setup of the districts of North Bengal. A great demographic upheaval started taking place and the displaced persons reclaimed land from many of the indigenous communities. The outsiders established their stronghold over the govt. services. With the influx of a large number of people, confrontations started between them and the existing original inhabitants of North Bengal which ultimately gave rise to political movements demanding separate homelands for the 'son of the soil' (which they called themselves) of North Bengal.

Demographic profile of North Bengal since 1947

Partition and independence have radically changed the demographic profile of the region. The demographic profile of North Bengal has changed dramatically since independence on two occasions – one after the partition of India (1947) and later, after the formation of Bangladesh in 1971. People mainly came from outside and started settling themselves permanently by generations. The influx of Bengali Hindus mainly from Assam and Nepalese from the North East added a new dimension to the demographic profile of the region.¹ The Nepalese were forcibly deported from Meghalaya in the 1980s and commenced their uncertain journey to Darjeeling in their quest for citizenship.² The Bengalis settled in Burma in connection with the service and timber trade and came back to India after Burma became independent in 1948. In March 1962, the military rule of General Ne Win prompted a new wave of a great majority of Burmese Indian back to India. It continued until the 1980s. Their association with Calcutta's life has led them to move to Bengal. Among them, a few settled in Siliguri. They were known as Burma Refugees. Masses of repatriated Burmese also made Siliguri their shelter after their influx in 1967.³ The large-scale exodus of the Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim after the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 all contributed to a great demographic upheaval in North Bengal since independence.⁴

The war of liberation in 1971, the deadly famine which severely affected entire Bangladesh during 1974 – 75, and the tragic death of Sk. Mujibar Rahman in 1975, the communal tension during the regime of Ziaur Rahman (1975 – 81), and the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya India in December 1992 has put negative effects on Bangladesh. The Bangladeshi Hindus felt insecure in a Muslim-dominated country. Common Bengali language, culture and religion were stronger forces for their migration to West Bengal. They were normally engaged in jobs inferior to those in which they had been before migration. Persons, who had worked as 'teachers' in Bangladesh were found to be engaged in business, self – employment and cultivation. Though many settlements for migrants were given outside West Bengal such as in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, many refugees returned to West Bengal due to unhealthy living conditions in those States.⁵

The population growth rate in North Bengal enhanced at a staggering rate immediately after the partition. The highest infiltration took place in Cooch Behar. In 1951, the total number of migrants in Cooch Behar was about 99,917 which constituted 14.89 per cent of the main bulk of the population. In 1961, it increased up to 10,19,806. Among them 7,21,927 was of Cooch Behar origin and the rest people numbered 2,97,897 migrated from outside. They mainly migrated from the adjoining districts like Rangpur and that portion of Jalpaiguri district which was partitioned off from India by the Radcliffe Award. In 1971, the number of people was about 14,14,183 of which Hindus were 11,11,017 and the Muslims were 3,00,496. There was a migration of tribal

people from the Mymensingh district into the Cooch Behar after 1951.⁶

Table-1

Number of People Migrated from various districts of East Bengal into Cooch Behar (1946 – 1951)

Districts	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	Total
Kusthia	121	13	10	06	24	03	177
Jessore	95	80	48	34	41	41	339
Khulna	01	76	55	26	84	07	249
Rajshahi	46	250	139	319	210	99	1063
Dinajpur	113	256	248	317	895	63	1892
Rangpur	904	2458	2941	7071	29319	1181	43878
Bagura	30	357	199	564	1489	24	2663
Pabna	27	330	450	439	991	68	2405
Dacca	125	1269	1394	1765	4605	236	9394
Mymensingh	496	2528	2783	449	19468	763	30497
Faridpur	19	590	369	523	993	54	2548
Baksharganj	12	176	155	113	229	19	704
Tippera	08	261	232	94	224	27	842
Noakhali	22	72	108	84	219	16	521
Chittagaong	03	191	52	199	74	06	495
Shylet	00	31	48	30	46	05	160
Total	2018	8938	9231	16013	58911	2612	97723

Source: 1951 West Bengal District Census Handbook, Cooch Behar

Table-2

Number of People Migrated from various districts of East Bengal into Jalpaiguri (1946 – 1951)

Districts	Male	Female
Kusthia	426	383
Jessore	784	653
Khulna	451	379
Rajshahi	676	546
Dinajpur	9,662	7,829
Rangpur	13,584	11,759

Bagura	671	553
Pabna	2,185	1,910
Dacca	9,005	7,147
Mymensingh	9,296	7,741
Faridpur	2,540	1,953
Bakharganj	1,056	902
Tippera	958	729
Noakhali	689	467
Chittagaong	280	248
Shylet	974	648
Total	53,264	43,847

Source: A. Mitra, 1951 West Bengal District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri

Besides the Bengali people who migrated from East Bengal, there were other categories of people poured into Jalpaiguri district from neighbouring districts like Cooch Behar. They mainly settled there as agriculturists by profession. A few dealt with the forests as timber merchants and others were recruited in tea gardens as staff where they settled permanently by generation.⁷

A large number of people numbering 1,59,907 migrated into the West Dinajpur district during 1951 - 1961. Of these, 97,839 came from East Pakistan, 33,992 from Bihar and 22,125 came from other districts of West Bengal. There were 1,087 immigrants whose birthplace could not be exactly ascertained. There had been immigrants from all the States of India except only Kerala. Nearly about 14,974 came from the neighbouring district of Malda out of 22,125 immigrants from other parts of West Bengal. As per the 1971 Census report, the Rajbansis numbering 1, 34,976 constituted the main bulk of the population of the district followed by the Paliyas (79,432). They are regarded as a sub-caste of the Rajbansis but are usually distinct in respect of intermarriage and food habits.⁸

Table-3

The growth rate of population in West Dinajpur District (1951 – 1971)

Year	Number of people
1941	8,34,726
1951	9,76,882
1961	1,323,797
1971	1,859,887

Source: District Census Handbook, West Dinajpur, Census 1971, Part X – C, Series 22, p. 4

The influx of refugees started to arrive in Malda in 1946, a year before the partition. As we know, the outrageous effects of the Noakhali riots that took place in 1946 forced the Bengali Hindus to migrate to West Bengal for safety and a better livelihood. Malda did not lag much in this field. The district received a massive volume of refugees after the riots took place in Noakhali and Tippera in 1946. A large portion of these migrants were middle-class people like landowning class, traders, teachers, leaders, doctors and so on. By their credibility, they again started their professional career in Malda. The second wave of refugees in Malda arrived in 1950 after the anti – Hindu riots took place in Khulna, Rajshahi, Faridpur, Barishal and many other places. In an urban area, the refugees mainly established their settlement in the municipal area of Englishbazar. Fulbari, Sadarghat, Singatala, Banshbari, Ramakrishna Pally, Haiderpur were some important places of their settlement.⁹

Table-4**Number of Displaced Persons from East Bengal into Malda (1946-1951)**

Districts	Number
Kusthia	36
Jessore	332
Khulna	802
Rajshahi	42,532
Dinajpur	2,609
Rangpur	430
Bagura	580
Pabna	3,056
Dacca	1,344
Mymensingh	864
Bakharganj	4,309
Tippera	2,343
Noakhali	310
Chittagaong	167
Shylet	21
Total	60,026

Source: A. Mitra, West Bengal District Census Handbook, Malda, New Delhi, 1951, pp. 72 – 79

In the Darjeeling district, with the partition of India (1947), the number of other people belonging to different caste and religions rose to high rapidly. During the next three decades, the population in Darjeeling was

overwhelmingly high. The deviation of Nepalese from Meghalaya, Bhutan and the Tibetan refugees mainly enhanced the growth rate of the population in the Darjeeling district. The number of Tibetan refugees who migrated to Kalimpong town during 1959 – 67 was 6,292.¹⁰ From Bhutan, the Nepali-speaking people (*Bhupali*) migrated to the hill and Terai area. A rehabilitation camp was set up at Jhapa, Nepal under the aegis of UNO. It is seen that during 1951 – 1961 a total number of 18,384 persons from Nepal 2,517 from Sikkim and 4,778 persons from Bhutan and other countries migrated to Darjeeling district.¹¹ Besides this group of people, a number of non – Bengali people from East Pakistan settled there. Among them, the Marwari people ranked first. They were mostly jute traders and settled in Mahabirathan, the Khalpara area of Siliguri town.¹² Nevertheless, a number of people from neighbouring districts settled here for trading and other professional causes. In the year 1961, 40,287 people from Bihar 2,206 people from Madhya Pradesh and 2,231 people from Orissa.¹³

Immigration into Darjeeling District from Outside 1961

From Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet	From other Bengal Districts	From other Indian States	From other countries outside India
47270	13720	61226	47034

Source: Minakshi Das, *The Pattern of Demographic Changes in Darjeeling Hill Areas: Implications for Future Generations*, Ph..D. thesis, University of North Bengal, 2008, p. 87

The Polemic of Ethnic Identity Crisis

The region witnessed a massive internal migration of our countrymen from state to state, district to district or from one province. Professor Samir Kumar Das has rightly commented that the “North Bengal region has acted as a gateway to migrant population over time. North Bengal is variously known as a ‘corridor’, ‘borderland’, ‘frontier’, ‘shatter zone’, ‘route area’, ‘gateway’ or ‘bridgehead’ that serves as a link between the so-called Indian mainland and the states of North – East and the countries of the southeast and central Asia. North Bengal, stands at the gateway to India’s North East, and always welcomes displaced persons to take shelter in its every nook and corner. Any turmoil in the neighbouring districts of Assam had its implications in North Bengal. This is almost a historical trend that whenever violence strikes in lower Assam, thousands of people are forced to leave the State and take shelter in neighbouring North Bengal”.¹⁴

The Assam movement reflects the issue of foreigners, mainly from Bangladesh and Nepal, who threatens the language and culture of the son of the soil of Assam. On the question of influx, the Assamese claim that it has caused considerable demographic imbalance and that it is a silent invasion of their culture. However, the Bengali Hindus who were forced to take shelter in

relief camps in Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya, migrated to the neighbouring border districts of North Bengal and later, permanently settled there. The other group of homeless people, mainly the Nepalese, made their way to Darjeeling hill. The question of their identity is considered to be the prime factor of the Gorkhaland movement.

The migration problem gave a great blow to the political, social and economic setup of the districts of North Bengal. The outsiders established their stronghold over the land and government services. With the influx of a large number of outsiders, confrontations started between them and the existing original inhabitants of North Bengal which ultimately gave rise to political movements demanding separate homelands for the 'son of the soil' (which they called themselves) of North Bengal. Once, the land of peaceful co-existence has gradually been turned to be a land of trouble and turmoil. The secessionist Uttarakhand Dal's agitations are the classic examples of this discontent and distrust.

Unsettling identities: Homeland and Politics

The movement for demanding separate land for the Gorkhas after independence was first raised under the leadership of Subhash Ghising on 22nd April 1979.¹⁵ It reached its apex form with the expulsion of a large number of Nepali citizens from Meghalaya where they were working in the Jowai hills coal mine. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) started a movement against the illegal entry of the Nepalese into Assam. The All Meghalaya Khasi Students Union (AMKSU) also followed the same policy. The Meghalaya State Government secretly aided the students union to extricate the Nepalese from the State. The evicted Nepalese were pushed to the border of Assam. The Assam Government promptly drove them to the border of West Bengal and Nepal. It was alleged that the West Bengal Government did not stand with those eradicated Nepalese and pushed them towards Nepal and Sikkim. Both the Sikkim and Nepal governments followed the same policy as West Bengal. At this critical juncture, only the Nepali people of Darjeeling extended their hand to these evicted Nepalese and shelter them. On 20 March 1986 strike was declared in Darjeeling hill. The All - India Gorkha League led by P.T. Lama and the Prantiya Parishad led by Madan Tamang comprehensively protested against this unlawful eviction of the Nepalese from the North-East.¹⁶

Alarmed at the deportation of the Nepalese from North - East, Subash Ghising - the Supremo of Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) argued in one of his speeches at Chakbazar, Darjeeling on 7 May 1986 that "if the Nepalese of Meghalaya are driven out on the ground of being foreigners, then the Nepalese of Darjeeling may be driven out in future in the same way. Who will come forward to save them? The Government of West Bengal is there for the Bengalis..... Had there been a state for the Nepalese today? There is Bihar for the Biharis, Punjab for the Punjabis, Gujrat for the Gujratis, Nagaland for the Nagas and West Bengal for the Bengalis. Then why would not there be a

Gorkhasthan for the Gorkhas? If language no longer remains the basis of States formation, everyone will lose one's State. What will happen if Bengal's name is erased? Will Bengal – Jyoti Basu (the then Chief Minister of Bengal) accept?". This speech narrated by Ghishing indubitably sparked the passion of the Nepali youths and set fire to the hill.¹⁷

In the year 1988, the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) was established under the tutelage of Subhash Ghishing. The main aim behind its formation was to establish the identity of the Nepalese living across the whole of India as the Gorkha nation. According to him, two centuries after the Nepalese started migrating to India, following the Anglo – Nepalese War of 1814 – 1815, which provided the opportunity for the British to appreciate the bravery of the Gurkhas and started recruiting them into their army right after the war. But their descendants are still labelled as 'immigrants' and 'foreigners' in various parts of India. They are even stopped at immigration check posts like Srirampur Hat in Assam and Byrnihat in Meghalaya. They have been evicted from Burma in the 1940s, North Eastern states like Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur in the 1980s and from southern Bhutan in the 1990s whereas the Indo – Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950 allowed them to enter India freely and settle there. So, according to him, if we could successfully obtain the Gorkha identity, the Nepalese living in India for generations would be recognised as legal Indian citizens rather than addressing them as 'foreigners or immigrants'.¹⁸

Next to him, Bimal Gurung picked up the torch of the Gorkhaland movement. The ministers, MLA and even the District Magistrates were debarred from entry into the hills. He openly declared that the hill people should accept nothing but only 'Gorkhaland'. The Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM) leaders put much emphasis on the Gorkha language and addressed all the people residing at the hill as Gorkha. 'We consider all inhabitants in Darjeeling like Bengali, Marwari, Bihari, Tibetan, Nepali, Bhotiya as Gorkha'. Even slogans raised like 'Lepcha, Bhutia, Nepali – Hami Sabai Gorkhali'. In this way, composite solidarity grew up in Darjeeling hill and all the communities inhabiting there by generations actively participated in the Movement. Even the 'Gorkha Janamukti Minority Forum' came up to safeguard the interests of the minorities.¹⁹ The hill politics again took a new shape with the formation of a new political party, Bharatiya Gorkha Prajatantrik Morcha (BGPM) by former GJMM leader Anit Thapa. By realising the facts, it is really difficult for us to forecast the future of Hill politics.

During the post-independence days, the demand for a separate State of Coochbehar was further intensified with the formation of the *Uttarakhand Dal* in 1969. It was the result of class interest between the indigenous Rajbangsi and non – Rajbangsi people (*Bhatias*) over control of economic resources of the region. Their foremost objective was to create a separate Uttarakhand State for the Rajbangshis comprising the Purnea district of Bihar, Goalpara district

of Assam along with the districts of North Bengal excluding the hill area of the Darjeeling district. They also endeavoured to bring other categories of people into their proposed '*Kamtapur*' State.²⁰

Rapid immigration from outside and the subsequent settlement of the Bengalis in the region, mining and extraction of natural resources and most importantly the phenomenal expansion of tea gardens in 1980s led to the slow dispossession of the Rajbangsi.²¹ The mushrooming of unauthorised tea gardens from the late 1980s is yet another development that had aided the growth of landlessness. The marginalisation and pauperization of the indigenous Rajbangsi have given rise to a general feeling of alienation and unrest among them which is further aggravated by the apathy shown by the mainstream society primarily composed of Bengali and Marwari communities.²² All those factors contributed to a large extent to thinking about themselves for safeguarding their identity. So, after long and silent suffering, they see this movement as a chance to express their resentment against exploitation.

The Greater Cooch Behar Movement was organized by the 'Greater Cooch Behar People's Association' (GCPA) mobilizing the Rajbangsis with the demand for a new state consisting of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and parts of Assam. The members of this association want to preserve the historical sites of Cooch Behar, name this state 'Greater Cooch Behar', the language will be Kamtapuri and inclusion of the history of Cooch Behar in school textbooks. They have collected some documents from 1951, 1954, 1962, and 1971 from the Royal Record Room of Cooch Behar and asked for the full-fledged implementation of the Treaty of Merger which had recognised Cooch Behar as a C – Category in the Indian Constitution. They expressed their view that an 'A' Category State like West Bengal had no right to run the administration of a 'C' Category State. As per Constitution, Cooch Behar was to be centrally administered. The Association submitted a memorandum to this effect to the District Magistrate on 26 October 1988. On 26 December 2000, the members of GCPA informed the Prime Minister of India and the Ministry of Home Affairs about their demand for the separate Greater Cooch Behar State based on the Treaty of Merger. It means that they supported the merger of Cooch Behar with India, but strongly refuted the merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal. They have described the merger of Cooch Behar with West Bengal as unconstitutional and illegal. The members of GCPA have further submitted two memorandums on 26 December 2000 and 6 April 2001 to the President of India praying for the preservation of the history and culture of Cooch Behar. They put their demand to treat Cooch Behar as a 'C Category' State as per the merger agreement.²³

Like other social groups in the region like the Rajbanshis and Gorkhas, the tribal communities of Terai-Duars have formed the Akhil Bhartiya Adivasi Vikash Parishad (ABAVP) to protect their identity and culture. Issues of

culture, tradition, livelihood and control over land and resources, have now become an integral part of tribal identity. The ABAVP, which started as a social organisation, later turned into a dominating political power. It quickly replaced both the Left and Congress-backed trade unions in tea gardens. In response to the demand of GJMM for including 398 Mouzas (administrative units) of Terai – the Duars region, they made it clear that we shall not let go an inch of the land of the Terai – Duars region to GJMM. Over the past few years, the Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) and the Akhil Bhartiya Adivasi Vikash Parishad (ABAVP) emerged as the major players in the politics of Duars. This is, indeed, a new phenomenon. The Gorkha League in the 1970s and the Kamtapuri movement could not reduce the influence of the Left and the Congress in the Duars. It was the emergence of ABAVP and GJMM in Duars that triggered the development.

However, the claims and counter-claims, according to Professor Swaraj Basu, for either a separate state or autonomy by different ethnic groups have kept the people in a state of uncertainty. However, all these movements have a similar character in the case of demanding a separate homeland. To preserve their own identity, the ethnic minorities at first launched a movement for safeguarding their culture and language and then for political economy. Unequal distribution of land and other resources, unemployment, social injustice, economic disparities, sense of alienation, deprivation and domination and failure of efficient political leadership are primarily responsible for such ethnic violence in the region for autonomy and an independent state. The insurgency has been argued to be long – a drawn and legitimate battle for securing rights to self – determination and resisting external exploitation and injustice. Violent insurgency crippled the region socially, politically and economically during the 1980s and 1990s.²⁴

At present, the movements demanding separate statehood are at a crossroads. Due to the difference of opinion amongst the leaders, the supporters are getting confused about the future of the movement. Each group are divided into so many sub-groups. There is no unity among the leaders. Now, the GJMM leaders have illegally claimed to include 198 *mouzas* of the Terai – Duars region into their proposed map for Gorkhaland. But what is funny is that the Nepalese in Terai – Duars were never the sons of the soil. They have been bought by the British Government from Nepal to work mainly in tea gardens. This led the ethnic clashes between the Gorkhas and the non – Gorkha community, mainly the Adivasis. A major portion of them is tea garden labourers by generations. Mobilisation of Adivasi tea labourers under ABAVP to assert their identity and demand their rights is the new course of the history of the region. The present political climate in Duars with frequent ethnic clashes between the GJMM and ABAVP has further deepened the sense of distrust among them.

Conclusion

Besides these identity movements, in recent times a controversial demand has been raised for a separate State or Union Territory by carving out West Bengal's northern districts. John Barla, BJP's Alipurduar MP raised various issues like underdevelopment, deprivation, the crisis in democracy, and the question of national security in support of his demand. It evokes strong emotions here as the State has faced two bloody and emotionally exhaustive partitions – the first in 1905, and then in 1947. We think that there is no need for a separate state. As North Bengal is connected with different countries, the decision to form a separate state is just like a child's play.

Professor Swaraj Basu in his article has rightly remarked that the issues of deprivation and domination, a sense of high culture and low culture, and feeling of superiority and inferiority among diverse cultural groups of the region are the highly responsible for such separate statehood demands.²⁵

The creation of smaller states is not a panacea to all the problems. After independence, Assam was bifurcated into a number of smaller states for the sake of development. In spite of this, the development aspirations are not yet met and as such, vociferous claims are now being raised for the creation of some other states – Bodo State, Karbi Anglong and Barak Valley in Assam. The creation of smaller states does not always lead to development. Yet, as of now, we are hearing of new demand for the bifurcation of West Bengal into a new state of North Bengal. The underlying thought process regarding this is that North Bengal cannot develop if it remains an integral part of West Bengal. So, North Bengal is also trodding on the same path as a separate state of the Jharkhand, Vidharva and Telangana movements. But an important thing is being put on the back burner, which is, excepting the hill areas; the native language of the people of North Bengal is Bengali. So, the question obviously arises, in spite of being Bengali, why is such a yearning to partition West Bengal into a smaller state of North Bengal.

The unending flow of immigrants from the neighbouring states and the bordering countries in this region, no matter whether it was legal or illegal, has sharply carved out a unique divide between 'we' and 'they', between the indigenous people and the immigrants. The psyche of the dichotomy in such identities creates a belligerent attitude towards each other, not often taking into cognisance of their role in the uplifting of the area, they inhabit. These truncated groups of people moving from one place to another due to partition or having been hard-pressed by the whims of the ethnic movements are desperately hung up for beating the bushes in their struggle for survival. The burden of the idiom 'immigrants' on their shoulders has been a lasting reference in the existing period of history. It is believed that a multilingual and multi-ethnic society like ours warrants a principle of multiculturalism, not a policy of cultural assimilation or cultural segregation. However, there is a subversive trend prevailing in some power blocs to achieve political

dividends from this fragile social setup. Cultural assimilation can be considered as an enforced political imprudence and at the same time, cultural segregation may lead to restlessness among the myriad ethnic groups for legitimizing one's claim for separate political identities.

Notes and References

1. Supam Biswas, *Partition Trauma, Migration and Divided Ethnicities in North Bengal*, Abhijeet Publications, New Delhi, 2022, p. 7
2. Anindita Dasgupta, 'Othering of the Not – so – other: A Study of the Nepalis in Assam', in A. C. Sinha and T.B. Subba (ed.), *The Nepalis in North East: A Community in search of Indian identity*, New Delhi, 2003, p. 237
3. Samir Kumar Das, 'Homeless in Homelands', in *Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 7, Issues III & IV, 2011, p. 80
4. Sudeep Basu, 'Organizing for Exile! "self – Help" among Indian Refugees in an Indian Tow', *Refugee Watch*, Vol. 35, June 2010, p. 2
5. Ranabir Samaddar, *The Marginal Nation: Transborder Migration from Bangladesh into West Bengal*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1999, p. 6
6. Durga Das Majumder, *West Bengal District Gazetteers Cooch Behar*, 1969, pp. 46-47
7. Anil Kumar Sarkar and Supam Biswas, *History of North Bengal Colonial ideology Entrepreneurship Society and Culture*, Abhijeet Publication, New Delhi, 2020, p. 112
8. District Census Handbook, West Dinajpur, Census 1971, Series 22, Part X – C, Govt. of West Bengal, p. 15
9. Ashim Kumar Sarkar, *Nationalism, Communalism and Partition in Bengal Maldah 1905 – 1953*, Readers Service, Kolkata, 2013, pp. 164-167
10. Barun De, *West Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling*, Calcutta, 1980, pp. 111-112
11. Manas Dasgupta, 'Demographic Pattern of the Hill Areas of Darjeeling District: A Study of the Census of 1971', in S.K. Chaube (ed.) *The Himalayas*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, p. 52
12. Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Nirmal Chandra Roy, *Swadhinata – Parabarti Uttarbanga* [North Bengal after Independence] (Vol. ii), Sangbadan, Malda, 2018, p. 86
13. Bisweswar Roy, *District Census Handbook, Darjeeling*, Part – I, Govt. of W.B., 1961, pp. 61-62
14. Samir Kumar Das, *Migrations, Identities and Democratic Practices in India*, Routledge, London and New York, 2018, pp. 35-36
15. D.P. Kar, *The Gorkhaland Movement a Clandestine Invasion*, National Library Publisher, Second edition, Siliguri, 2012, p. 85
16. Snehamoy Chaklader, *Sub-Regional Movement in India*, KP Bagchi, Kolkata,

- 2004, p. 88
17. Samir Kumar Das, *Migrations, Identities and Democratic Practices in India*, op. cit, p. 104
 18. Tanka B. Subba, 'Race, Identity and Nationality: Relocating Nepali Nationalism in India', *Millennial Asia* 9(1) 6-18, SAGE Publications, 2018, pp. 9-11
 19. Deepika Chettri, 'People's Perception of the Ongoing Movement for Gorkhaland under Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha: A Study in Kalimpong', in *The Himalayan Miscellany*, Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal, Vol's. 21& 22, 2010-2011, p. 30
 20. Rajat Subhra Mukhopadhyay, *Uttarakhand Movement: A Sociological Analysis*, Occasional Paper, presented at Centre for Himalayan Studies: University of North Bengal, 1987, pp. 32-34
 21. Sujata Dutta Hazarika, 'Unrest and Displacement: Rajbangsi's in North Bengal' in *Refugee Watch*, No. 17, December 2002, pp. 23-28
 22. Anil Kumar Jana, 'Development and Identity Politics in West Bengal: The Kamtapur Movement in North Bengal', in Ashutosh Kumar et al (eds.) *Globalisation and the Politics of Identity in India*, New Delhi: Pearson Longman, 2008, p. 117
 23. Sukhbilas Barma, 'Greater Kuch Bihar: A Utopian Movement?' in Barma, Sukhbilas (ed.) *Socio-Political Movements in North Bengal*, Vol.1, New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2007, p. 358
 24. Swaraj Basu, 'Gorkhas, Adivasis and others in North Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2012, p. 1176
 25. Swaraj Basu, 'Our Culture Their Culture: Reflections on North Bengal', in *Thakur Panchanan Barma Memorial Lecture*, Centre for Studies in Local Languages and Culture, University of North Bengal, 2013, p. 19