CHAPTER - I

Emergence of Bangladesh

In the history of Indian sub-continent, Bengal could never stand united or independent against alien or the invading outsiders. It was only Sasanka in the 7th century A.D. who tried to defy the authority of the Imperial Guptas and set up a powerful kingdom in the territories of Varendra and Gaurah. His capital was at Karna-Subarna¹. With the death of Sasanka and with the weakening of the Imperial power of the Guptas, there was in Bengal, a period of hundred years which saw lawlessness and chaos and that period was aptly described as MASTYANAYA. The people of that region in that chaotic situation then supported the Palas under the leadership of Gopala who was primarily a Bhuddhist Chief of Pundravardhana. The Palas then ruled over Bengal for more than 400 years from 750 AD to 1158 AD.² The Palas tried to extend the territorial boundary of Bengal. Though Dharmapala, the son and heir of Gopala, was defeated in the hands of the Ratrakutas of Southern India, the Palas could make them triumphant in this region after that humiliating incident. But that does not last long. The Tripartite Struggle that followed amongst the Palas, Ratrakutas and the Pratiharas stood responsible for the downfall of these powers and thus paved the way for the rise of the Senas in Bengal.³

Laxman Sen (1179--1206), the third ruler of the Sena dynasty, was defeated in 1201 AD by Iktier-ud-din Muhammed-Bin-Bhaktier-Khilji, a General of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the founder of the Ilberi Turki dynasty in Delhi. Most part of Bengal thus came under Muslim rule though Laxman Sen continued to rule in eastern part of Bengal with Vikrampur as his capital.⁴ For the next 150 years, Bengal was ruled by the Sultans of Delhi under the Khiljis and the Tughluqs. Subsequently in 1338 AD, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah defied the authority of the Tughluqs and founded an independent kingdom in Bengal with Sonargaon (near Dhaka) as his capital. But it was Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah (1342-1358) who made a stronghold in Bengal and assumed the title of 'Emperor of Bangla'. The Ilyas Shahi Dynasty which ruled Bengal in two phases i.e. from 1342 to 1410 and again from 1442 to 1487 AD is considered to the best one due to the prosperity of Bengal during the rule of the Ilyas Shahi Dynasty. A number of dynasties, namely, Abyssinian dynasty (1487-1493), Hussain Shahi dynasty (1493-1538), and the Afghan dynasty (1553-1576 AD) came to rule Bengal after the fall of the famous Ilyas Shahi Dynasty. But these dynasties could not make something remarkable for Bengal. During the Mughal period, Sher Shah Sur, a powerful Afghan
Chief, then a Mughal Jagirdar in South Bihar, challenged the authority of Emperor Humayun and defeated him in two successive wars (the battle of Chousa in 1539 and the battle of Kanouj in 1540 to make himself the supreme authority of Mughal India and thus he automatically made him supreme of Bengal also. But with the pre-mature death of Sher Shah in 1545 AD, Bengal began to be ruled by different Afghan Chiefs like the Karrani dynasty (1564-75) and the Baro Bhuiyans (Twelve Land Lords). While Akbar (1556-1605) started his campaigns to expand his empire, Bengal began to be considered most important to be included within Mughal territory because it was a lost part of the empire. The Baro Bhuiyans of eastern Bengal, namely, Isha Khan and his son Musa Khan, Osman Khan, Pratapaditya, Kedar Roy, Sona Ghazi and others bravely fought against the Mughal Imperial Power for at least 40 years and ultimately made them subdued to the Mughals in the early part of 17th century. It was Islam Khan, the military genius of Emperor Jahangir (1605-1626) as well as the Governor of Bengal from 1608 to 1613 who capitalized the disunity of the Baro Bhuiyans and got them defeated by 1613 AD. During the early Mughal days, Dhaka of eastern part of Bengal was the capital of Bengal and during later period it was at Murshidabad of western part. Aurangzeb's most trusted General and Governor of Bengal, Murshid Quli Khan, took the advantage of weakness of the Mughal rulers after the death of Aurangzeb and established an independent kingdom in Bengal in 1717AD. He shifted the capital of Bengal from Dhaka to Muxadabad which was later known as Murshidabad. The latter Nawabs could not, however, probe themselves to be competent enough to maintain its independence and in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj -ud-doula, was lost to a conspiracy organized by Robert Clive and others of British East India Company and some important personalities of Bengal like Mir Jafar, Ghaseti Begam, Saukat Jang, Raj Vallab, Jagat Seth etc. Subsequently, the Company brought Bengal under their control. Nawab Mir Kasim (1760-1764) tried to shake off the yoke of Company's rule from Bengal and thus he made a Grand Alliance with Nawab Suja-ud-doula of Oudh and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II but to the surprise of all, this alliance with almost 60,000 combined soldiers lost to the Company's soldiers of 6000 (approximately) under Major Munro in the Battle of Buxer in 1764. The Great Revolt of 1857-58 shocked the very existence of the Company administration in India and, so, the British Crown under Queen Victoria took over the charges of Indian Administration with her famous proclamation to the Indians. Bengal, thus, became a province of British -India, popularly known as the Bengal Presidency with a large part of eastern India and remained so till the independence of India in 1947.

Long before the advent of Iktier-uddin Mohammed Bin Bhaktier Khilji, one of the Generals of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, the Arabian traders started to visit various parts of India; they first landed at the western coastal region of India in the 7th century AD and they visited Bengal in the 10th
century. Some religious saints also followed the traders who preached Islamic philosophy in various parts of India. In this way, the message of Islam was spread in Bengal. For over seven centuries i.e. from 12th to the middle of the 18th centuries, Bengal remained under Muslim rule and then under the British. The British Government tried its best to divide the Bengalis on communal line and thus the British Government under Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 creating a new province, namely, Eastern Bengal and Assam, with its headquarters at Dhaka. This new province with Muslim domination was amalgamated with Assam and the rest of Bengal was left with Bihar & Orissa. Sumit Sarkar reveals the hidden intention of the British East India Company which tried to demoralize Bengali sentiment. Though there were tremendous anti-partition movements ultimately annulling it in 1911, the seed of communalism sown and nurtured by the British gave birth to communal politics in Indian sub-Continent leading to the partition of India in 1947.

It is really historic while the people of Bengal irrespective of their religious identity sought to form a unified & undivided Bengal and the proposal came from Abdul Hashim (the General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League) and Sarat Chandra Bose (a Congress leader and brother of Subhash Chandra Bose) as spokesmen of their respective communities. The Communists almost in the same line suggested a scheme for 'Greater Bengal' having in its Legislative Assembly equal number of members of these two communities. The scheme was, however, opposed by various interests-groups. The Muslim League might be a special mention. It was under the leadership of Liaqat Ali Khan of Western Wing and Sir Khawja Nazamuddin & Maulana Akram Khan from the Eastern Wing, the Muslim League, vehemently objected this attempt. The Congress under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarder Patel opposed this proposal. On the contrary, the Hindu Mahasabha leaders like Shyamaprasad Mukherjee were vigorously against that scheme. The British Govt. then decided to partition Bengal and Punjab on communal line. A group of progressive leaders of Bengal belonging to the communities, namely, Sarat Chandra Bose, Kiron Sankar Roy, Hussain Shahid Suhrwardy, Abdul Hasim, Fazlur Rahman and Satya Ranjan Bakshi resented the move and tried their level best to keep Bengal united. Abdul Hasim, however, resented a sinister motive of Anglo-American business group in this partition scheme.

The issue thus found its path in the Mountbatten Plan; Bengal and the Punjab were partitioned on the communal lines. The eastern part of Bengal and the western part of the Punjab were included in the newly formed Pakistan. The other sides of both the provinces having Hindu majority were inducted to the independent India as integral parts. The Muslim league was really successful in its endeavour in having the Muslim dominated parts of both Bengal and the Punjab. The prominent personalities of Bengal who opposed this partition scheme had to pay for that
being humiliated in various ways. The last Prime Minister of United Bengal, Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy, was eliminated from the Muslim League. With the formation of Pakistan, East Bengal gradually lost its identity to be termed as East Pakistan. The people of East Bengal did never approve of this change of nomenclature. After mid 50's, the old provinces of the West Pakistan were integrated into 'One Unit' and their old names were dropped out; by the end of 60's those names were revived and the provinces were allowed to use the previous names. At this juncture of time, a strong demand came from the Bengalis of East Pakistan to rename it as 'Bangladesh'. This demand was the outcome of an undercurrent Bengali nationalism which was fomented by various factors specially by the colonial attitude of the Military Junta of Western Wing.11

Bengal had been an exploited area over centuries. The wealth of Bengal and its fertile land attracted the greedy eyes of the British East India Company in the eighteenth century and Bengal was exploited continuously by the British particularly from 1757 till the partition in 1947. It turned to be a mere hinterland for supplying raw materials to the British industries and a market for manufactured products of Lancashire etc.12 After partition the East Bengal (East Pakistan) could not change its position due to the narrow and step-motherly attitude of the West Wing ruling group. It remained as a mere colony of its Western Wing. East Pakistan was economically exploited, politically dominated and culturally suppressed by the Pakistani ruling Junta and this Junta was a group of non-Bengali ruling elite of Western Wing who thought them superior to their counterpart in Eastern Wing. Bengali sentiment was really hurt while on February 15, 1948, Mr. Jinnah made a statement in the Constituent Assembly that

"Pakistan being a Muslim State, Urdu will be its state language".

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the same argument on March 21, 1948, at a mass meeting at Race-Course at Dacca. The statement was repeated on March 24 in the Convocation of Dacca University at Curzon Hall while the students present sharply reacted with words: 'No', 'No'.13 These statements of Jinnah infuriated the Bengalis in the Eastern Part and signaled for launching the language movement in East Pakistan. These statements were unrealistic because only 7.2% people spoke in Urdu while 54.6% people spoke in Bengali in whole Pakistan. This movement experienced bloodshed on February 21, 1952, at Dacca while a number of students of Dacca University died in police firing and that was really a turning point in the history of the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971.14

In all sectors of economy like the development, expenditure, fixed investment, gross domes-
tic product, industrial development, industrial assets, inter-Wing trade, allocation and utilization of foreign assistance, distribution of commitment of foreign economic assistance, revenue expenditure, agricultural development. East Pakistan was lagging far behind than the West.15

Politically, the West Pakistan rulers, all the time, carried in their mind pervading sense of distrust about the East Pakistanis. If Pakistan would have adopted the true democratic form of Government, there would have been political domination of East Wing in Pakistan's politics. So, right from the beginning, manoeuvring was made to reduce the representation of East Pakistan in the first Constituent Assembly. Initially there were 69 seats in the Constituent Assembly out of which 44 were from East Wing. Subsequently, 10 more seats were added to the quota of West Wing to accommodate the political leaders migrated from India to Pakistan by which number of representation of the East Wing was reduced. Ultimately, there were 34 representatives of East Wing and 35 of the West Wing in the Constituent Assembly. Despite this and other types of suppression, the Indo-Islamic consciousness which was generated just before and just after the partition in 1947 could hold these two Wings together for sometime in the name of Islam. But the people of the East Wing could understand the colonial attitude of the West Wing. The leaders of the East Wing, such as, H.S.Suhrawardy, A.K. Fazlul Haq who were the Premiers of the undivided Bengal and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, influential peasant leader of Assam & Bengal, Abdul Hamid, an influential figure as well as General Secretary of the provincial Muslim League were excluded from the political position due to their positive stand on the undivided Bengal. The exclusion of these prominent figures from the political field created a great deal of irritation in the mind of the people of East Pakistan and particularly in the minds of their followers.16

The situation gave birth to the Vernacular Elite and Awami Muslim League in East Pakistan. The Awami Muslim League founded on June 23, 1948, dropped the word "Muslim" from its name on a later period in order to project its secular image and accommodate non-Muslim members in East Pakistan and it proved to be a major opposition party in Pakistan. Under its endeavour emerged in East Wing a United Front as a coalition political party which succeeded tremendously in the general election held in 1954 defeating the Muslim League. This was another turning point in the history of Pakistan in general and in the history of East Pakistan in particular leading to the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971. This signified that

(i) the people of East Pakistan could not be mesmerized in the name of Islam
(ii) the people voted in favour of secularism and

(iii) the people of East Wing would not surrender to the domination and big-brotherly attitude of the West Wing. The political elites of West Pakistan could not swallow these bitter pills and tried various strategies to keep East Pakistan in a subservient position.17

Organizing the West Wing provinces in "One Unit" was one such a strategy. By this strategy, the combined power of four provinces in the West Pakistan helped the (West Wing's) political elites to counter-balance the statistical domination of the East Wing elites. The political instability of Pakistan after the general election of 1954 leading to the rise of Martial Law Regime in 1958 under General Ayub Khan and his various experiments with Basic Democracy jeopardized the interests of the people of East Wing. So, in the Presidential election of 1965, Mr. Ayub had to face strong opposition from Fatima Jinnah (sister of Mohammed Ali Jinnah), a candidate of the Combined Opposition Party led by specially political elites of the East Wing. During Indo-Pak War of 1965, East Pakistan found itself unsecured because the ruling West Pakistani elites were very much busy with their own security. In this juncture of insecurity and helplessness of the people of the East, Mr. Zulfiqar ALi Bhutto, then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, added insult to the injury by saying that Islamabad had arrived at an agreement with Peking (Beijing) which made 'the defence of East Pakistan as China's responsibility'. This had a positive humiliating impact on East Pakistan. The war also degraded the East economically because all its economic interests through trade relation with India was shattered creating a great deal of annoyance in the East. The War highlighted the Kashmir issue leaving aside the economic woes of the people. To the people of the East it was not peoples' war but it was a war of politics. And this led to the Autonomy Movement in the East Wing. Awami league under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman placed its famous 6-point demand creating furore throughout East Pakistan. This led to the Great Mass Upsurge in East Wing during 1968-69. The Martial Law Regime under Mr. Ayub tried to curb the movement by introducing the so-called Agartala Conspiracy Case by which the great leader of the East, Sheikh Mujib and others, were taken to the custody. But it proved to be boomerang to the Pak-government as it gave birth to Students' Movements in the East which assumed the revolutionary dimension.

Mr. Ayub had to quit leaving the power to another Military Leader, Mr. Yahya Khan. But that was not the solution; the solution was the re-introduction of democracy in Pakistan. The President had to declare General Election in Pakistan which was held between December 7, 1970 and January 17, 1971 and the Awami League won a landslide victory. But the Pak Government
hesitated to hand over the power to the Bengali political elites which led the Liberation Movement and ultimately the rise of Bangladesh in 1971.18

**Origin of Bengali-speaking people**

It is really difficult in the face of the scarcity of evidences to throw light on the racial origins of the Bengali people. Sir Herbert Risely investigated into the racial composition and origins of the Indian people and found round-headed elements amongst the Bengalis to Dravidian and Mongoloid admixture19, but the modern anthropologists differ with Sir Risley and opine that the Bengalis are originated from a group of Vaddid strain which is specially found in Srilanka;20 another section of this group is of the opinion that the Bengalis are a mixed group comprising of proto-Australoid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid strains. It is assumed that the Mongoloid strain introduced by Tibeto-Mongolians who descended to the plains of Bengal from the Himalayan base to avoid food crisis and severe cold.21 Another view is that the Bengalis are originated from the 'Bang' tribe which left their ancestral place at either Malaya or Indonesia.22 But majority of the modern anthropologists do not approve this view and opine that the Bang belongs to the Dravidian stock which were ousted from their homeland by the Aryans almost one thousand years B.C. The Bang stock then migrated to the Delta region of Ganges and the valley of Brahmaputra. The Vedas and the Jain Scriptures mention the word 'Vanga' to mean the territory where the Bang tribe used to live in the Vedic period.23 It may be mentioned here that the Imperial Guptas brought various parts of Vanga within their empire and it got its territorial identity around the fifth century A.D.24

**Changes in the Demographic profile of East Pakistan**

The political turmoil between the Congress and the Muslim League in the Indian sub-continent before and after the partition of India in 1947 had its adverse affect on the demographic profile of the stormy centres of the sub-continent affecting entire Bengal and Bihar in the eastern fringe as well as the entire Punjab in the North-Western part of India. The Hindus in prominent number left East Pakistan for West Bengal, Assam, Tripura etc. states and the Muslims left these states opting for East Pakistan. On the other hand, the Hindus as well as the Sikhs left West Pakistan specially the Punjab and the Muslims left various parts of Northern India specially the East Punjab. The following data in the tables mentioned below will speak for the above view.25
Table -1.1

Percentage of distribution and variation of major communities in Bangladesh, 1901-1981.

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>All communities</th>
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<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Variation</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>33.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>10.9</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>69.5</td>
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<td>1941</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>49.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>23.7</td>
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Notes: *Hindus include both Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes.
Census of Pakistan, for data relating to 1901 to 1961
Table - 1.2 : District wise census of population by religion, 1974-81. (In Thousand)

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<td>Christian</td>
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<td>439</td>
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<td>Bandarban</td>
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<td>1794</td>
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<td>2546</td>
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<td>4774</td>
<td>654</td>
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Table - 1.3 :  Statement 2 H Comparison of percentage of Religious communities by District of East Pakistan

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<th>Province/Division</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>Caste</td>
<td>Scheduled</td>
<td>Christians</td>
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<td>EAST PAKISTAN</td>
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<td>9.82</td>
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<td>0.83</td>
<td>41,932,329</td>
<td>76.85</td>
<td>9.99</td>
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<td>6.02</td>
<td>11.28</td>
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<td>0.18</td>
<td>9,338,452</td>
<td>79.38</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>14.07</td>
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<td>8.61</td>
<td>15.31</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>8,304,869</td>
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<td>17.93</td>
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</table>

The Land (Location and Geography)

The Ganga-Brahmaputra deltaic region has been formed by the tectonic activity of the earth's crust which folded upwards to form the Himalayas, and, correspondingly, created a trough immediately to the south of it. Two major river systems flow through this trough and these river systems have been silting up the Bay of Bengal and the result is the deltaic region. The delta proper is a level, flat land, lying between 4 and 40 feet above the sea. The whole area is made up of sedimentary silt and clay. Bengal straddles the Bay of Bengal in the South Asia. There are numerous rivers and streams and all of them drain into the Bay of Bengal. The topography is predominantly low lying flood-plain; about half of the total area is actively deltaic and prone to flooding in the monsoon season from May through September. The Ganges (the Padma in Bangladesh) flows into the country from the North West, the Brahmaputra (Jamuna in Bangladesh) enters from the North. These river systems made the land suitable for the paddy cultivation. In the North and South-East, land is more hilly and dry and suitable for the cultivation of tea. The Chittagong Hill Tracts have extensive hard-wood forests. The hilly areas of North-East and South-East are occupied by much smaller tribal groups, many of which had strongly resisted the domination of the national Government and the infiltration of the Bengalis from the plain land which resulted in the Resistance Movement in that areas. Geographically, with an area of 1, 47,570 sq. k.ms. and covered on three sides by Indian states, on the south-east by Myanmar and on the south by the Bay of Bengal, East Bengal (now Bangladesh) is located from 20° 34’ North latitude to 26° 38’ north latitudes and 88° 01’ East longitudes to 92° 41’ East longitudes. Demographically, East Bengal is most densely populated nation in the world. The majority of the population (98%) is Bengali and others belong to the tribal & other non-Bengali groups. Approximately, 85.4% of the populations are Muslim, 13.5%, Hindu and others are Buddhists, Christians etc.27

The primary language is Bangla which is called Bengali by most of the non-natives. It is an Indo-European language spoken not just by the Bangladeshi people but by people who are culturally Bengali living in Bangladesh, West Bengal, and Bihar as well as in other parts of India. Bangla varies from region to region and the people may not understand the language of a person from another district but this Bangla is the most important symbol of national identity of Bangladesh. Until 1947 Bangladesh is known as East Bengal Province and had been a part of British India. In 1947 Great Britain partitioned Indian colony into India and Pakistan on the basis ‘Two Nation Theory’. The province of East Bengal was made part of Pakistan and referred to as East Pakistan. However, the west and east Wings of Pakistan were separated by almost 1200 miles of India, creating cultural disunity between the two Wings. The ethnic group of Pakistan and Indian …..
who left India after partition were greatly different in languages and way of life from the former east Bengalis. West Pakistan was more oriented towards Middle-East i.e. Arabian culture, while East Pakistan was oriented to mixed culture of Hindu, Buddhists and Islamic etc.

Rainfall in Bangladesh varies between 120 to 400 centimetres and almost 75% of it occurs during monsoon i.e. between June to September. During October-November, the weather tends to turn cyclonic which can cause torrential downpours, and wind velocities which can simply wreak havoc. Tripura and the deltaic region has hot, humid, monsoonal climate, but the proximity to the Bay in the south and the Himalayas in the north, tend to make the temperature, humidity and rainfall uneven.28

TRIPURA — ITS LAND AND PEOPLE

One of the seven sisters (now eight sisters) and situated in the most backward North-Eastern Region of India, Tripura is a tiny picturesque hill state. It has a charming geographical entity with long beautiful ridges of green hills, valuable forests and wide valleys washed by fountain-streams and flowing rivers. Running from north to south, six parallel ranges of hills like Bada Murah, Aathara Murah, Long Tarrai, Jampui etc. divide this hilly state into a few narrow but fertile valleys. The important rivers of Tripura are the Manu, the Dhalai, the Khowai, the Howrah, the Gomati, the Muhuri and the Feni. All these are flowing through East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). These are not navigable at all but during the rainy season, boats of small and medium size can ply up and down these rivers.29 The following important features of the state of Tripura is noted below:-

a) Total Area (in sq. km.) is 10,066 sq. kms. as noted in Tripura District Gazetteers edited by KD Menon but presently the area covers 10,491.69 sq. kms. as noted in the Government of Tripura diary of 2008.

b) Location

   i) North Latitude 22° 56’ & 24°32’
   ii) East Longitude 91° 09’ & 92° 20’
   iii) Extreme length (in km.) 183.5
Tripura has a typical tropical climate; in summer temperature rises to near-about 40 degree centigrade while in winter it sometimes falls to 5 degree centigrade. The climate is very damp. Average rainfall of Tripura is about 200 cm per annum. Tripura falls under Himalayan Sub-Region: it is a region tectonic or folded and over thrust mountain chains of geological recent origin. The hills of Tripura are composed of tertiary rocks and soil is full of evergreen forest excepting some stretches of Saal and deciduous species. The Alluvial soil in the plains is fit for paddy cultivation.

Various tribal groups constituted the original inhabitants of the state of Tripura. As many as 19 tribes are recorded in Tripura of which 5 are confirmed as the original and these are Tripuri, Noatia, Halam, Jamatia and Reang. The Tripuris are the dominant tribe in the state and it formed the ruling elite of the state. The ruling dynasty, however, tried to establish its connection with the famous lunar dynasty. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, however, establishes that the Tripuris are of Indo-Mongoloid origin. Though Tripura was predominantly a tribal state, its population comprised of a considerable number of Bengali immigrants coming from the neighbouring Bengal i.e. East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Before Partition of India, it was the rulers of Tripura who encouraged the Bengali settlers to settle in Tripura for plough cultivation. Administrative compulsion and social needs of the state also compelled the Rajas of Tripura to invite the various categories of Bengalis to come over to Tripura. The civil, police, judicial, engineering, education and other services were mostly manned by the Bengali settlers. The businessmen, traders, transport operators and other professional groups like doctors, lawyers, and even Raj-Pandits (priests) were of Bengali origin. But after partition, it was mainly the communal riots which compelled the Hindu Bengalis to migrate to India on a torrential scale and the state which suffered badly due to the influx of refugees is Tripura. Within a period of 24 years i.e. from August, 1947 to March, 1971, the number of immigrants from East Pakistan to Tripura swelled to 6,09,998 as per official record. The Govt. of Tripura arranged the rehabilitation of this huge number of refugees in Tripura in the face of stiff resistance of some offended tribal groups. Gayatri Bhattacharyya observes: "Rehabilitation of the displaced persons has had far-reaching consequences on the economy, society and the culture of the state." The process also changed the political scenario of the state making the immigrants predominant in all aspect of lives and thus creating tension in the mixed society. The following table shows the reality:
Table - 1.4 : Tribal and non-Tribal Population : Changes in the Demographic Scenario in Tripura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Tribal</th>
<th>Non-Tribal</th>
<th>% of Tribal</th>
<th>% non-Tribal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874-75</td>
<td>74,242</td>
<td>47,523</td>
<td>26,719</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3, 82,450</td>
<td>2,03,327</td>
<td>1,79,123</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6, 45,707</td>
<td>2,37,4,953</td>
<td>4,07,754</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>15, 56,342</td>
<td>4, 50,444</td>
<td>11, 05,798</td>
<td>28.95</td>
<td>71.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Historical Background

Tripura erstwhile known as Hill Tipperah and simultaneously spoken as Swadin Tripura had a princely antiquity of several hundreds years. Shree Kailash Chandra Singha in his famous Rajmala Baa Tripurar Itihas (Rajmala or the History of Tripura) mentions a list of 140 Rulers of Tripura upto Birchandra Manikya(1862- 1896) and thereafter, more Rulers ruled Tripura for an uninterrupted period of about thirteen hundred and fifty years since the legendary period and up to October, 1949, the date in which Tripura merged with the Union of India.

The history of Tripura is very much intermingled with that of 'Vanga' which was at that time popularly known as Gour (Gourda). The Queen of King Chhengthum Fa or Kirtidhar, the 21st ruler of Tripura after Jangefa, inflicted a heavy defeat on Keshab Sen, the then King of Gour and annexed Meherkul. Pandit Kali Prasanna Sen Vidyabhusan after making a comparative study of different historical works has concluded that the battle of Meherkul was fought in the year 1280 A.D. From this time onwards, the rulers of Tripura came into frequent clashes with the Mohammedan rulers of Gour. One of the Sultans (Rukn-uddin-Barbak Shah, 1455-1476 AD) had offered
shelter to a refugee Prince of Tripura named Ratna Fa who regained the throne of Tripura with his help. Out of gratitude for this, Ratna Fa presented to his patron, the Sultan of Gour, with a precious Manikya (Jewel) together with 100 big elephants which were abound in the hills of Tripura. The Sultan of Gour in return conferred the title of Manikya upon Ratna Fa and the Kings of Tripura had been using it as a suffix to their names from that time onwards.36

Ratna Manikya introduced a good many innovations in Tripura and reformed machinery of administration after the Mohammedan fashion that then prevailed in Bengal. For the cultural improvement of the people and the reconstruction of the society on the up-to-date ideals, he brought from Lakshmanabati, the capital of Gour, some eminent Brahmins and Kayastas to Tripura. Moreover, during this period a host of Brahmins, Baidyas, and Kayasthas came from different parts of Bengal and got settled permanently in Tripura.37

During the reign of Pratap Mannikya, the son of Ratna Manikya, the capital of Gour was shifted to Subarnagram which brought Bengal closer to Tripura and Tripura in 1347 A.D. experienced the invasion of the Pathan Sultan of Gour who took away as booty some elephants and other wealth. Then, we find Dharma Manikya (1431 to 1462) who left some memorable works in the plains of Bengal. The well-known tanks of Comilla, Dharmasagar and Nanuar Dighi (which still exist), were excavated by Dharma Manikya and his Queen Nanua respectively. The war of Dhanya Manikya (1490-1515 A.D.) with Hussain Shah, the Nawab of Gour, for supremacy of over Chittagong, is a most memorable historical event. It was a long and terrible war and almost undecided one. Though the successor of Dhanya Manikya failed to continue its occupation over Chittagong, Bijoy Manikya (1528-1570), the son of Deva Manikya, succeeded in conquering Sylhet, Khasia and Jayantia Hills and recapturing Chittagong in a terrible battle. His coins of Saka 1454, 1456, 1458, 1476 proves the above facts. The coins of 1479 and 1482 also prove that he sent expedition against Sonargaon and proceeded up to the river Padma.38 After a gape of few years, during the rule of Yashodhar Manikya, who ascended the throne in 1600 A.D., the peace of Tripura was disturbed by the infestations of the Moghs of Chittagong and the Subadar of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan who occupied the plains of Tripura and raided Udaipur, the Capital of Tripura and also arrested the Raja. The heir of Jasodhar, Kalyan Manikya, became able to regain to some extent the lost glory of the country.39

Govinda Manikya who ascended the throne of Tripura in the mid of the 17th Century after brief reign of his brother Chhatra Manikya may be regarded another important personality of the
history of Tripura-Bangla region; he built the Gumti embankment and the famous temple of Chandranath at Chittagong which were of immense public utility are enough to perpetuate his name in the history of Bengal, yet his chief fame lies in the construction of the noted Suja Mosque (Shuja Mosjid) of Comilla which he built as a mark of friendship between himself and unfortunate Suja-ud-din. But others believe that this mosque was built Suja after his victory over Tripura. Rabindranath Tagore made him the central figure of his famous novel "Rajarshi" (the Saint King) and the famous drama "Bisarjan" (the Immersion).41

Dharma Manikya II (1714-1729), the Raja of Tripura, lost the plains of Tripura known as Tipperah in the hands of the Nayeb Nazim of Dacca who attacked the plains with the help of Jagat Roy, a descendent of Chhatra Manikya. This was renamed as 'Roshnabad' i.e. the Land of Light by the Nawab of Bengal, Suja-ud-din Khan (1727-1739 AD) in 1739. With his political wit Dharma Manikya could regain the country and receive from the Nawab of Bengal, the Zamindari right of the plains situated on the eastern side of the River Meghna covering the places north of Noakhali and south of Shrihatta on a yearly rent of 5000/-, the headquarters of which was at Comilla. From that time onwards up to the Partition of India on 15 August, 1947, the Rajas of Tripura got the peculiar position of Rajas of Hill Tipperah (Tripura after 1920) and the Zaminder of Tipperah i.e. Chakla Roshnabad. Since then the Rajas of Tripura had asserted their rights over Roshnabad as Zamindars. After partition, the Roshnabad Zamindari was acceded to Pakistan without any protest; apart from this loss, a dangerous conspiracy was plotted by the Anjuman Islamia headed by Abdul Barik, alias Gedu Mia and Sirajul Islam alias Pera Mia, President and Secretary respectively to merge Tripura to Pakistan. Gedu Mia could avail the support of Captain Maharaj Kumar Durjoy Kishore Deb Barman, the step brother of Maharaja Bir Bikram and the top executive of the state, Satya Brata Mukherjee, M.A. (Oxon), the Chief Minister of the State and a member of the Council of Regency. The Seng-Krak (a militant Wing of the Bir Bikram Tripur Sangha organized by Maharajkumar Durjoy Kishore) began to incite the tribal people trough propaganda that the Bengalee-refugees had grabbed the state Tripura. The Muslims and the Tribals in Tripura had no means to survive other than supporting the move for merger of Tripura with Pakistan.43

But this conspiracy was thwarted by strong resistant movements organized by the Tripura Rajya Proja Mandal and the Tripura State Congress Committee. The Proja Mandal staged a road-march on 12 July, 1947, and also organized a big public meeting in the Umakanta Academy Ground which was addressed by Yubaraj Ramendra Kishore Deb Barman (Nani Karta) and others. The Government of India was also apprised of the fact by the Regent Maharani and Sarder Vallabhbai Patel, the Home Minister of India, took immediate step to dismiss the conspiracy and
thus Tripura was saved from a big danger.44

The metamorphosis of the principality of Tripura is a natural phenomenon because of its geographical location and imperial designs of the Mughals, the Nawabs of Bengals and the British. The actual territorial ambit of the principality in the hoary past is now embedded in obscurity. On the basis of available sources, however, it may be stated that Tripura once covered a vast land stretching from Sylhet and Cachar in the North to Chittagong in the South and to the East it merged the hills inhabited by the tribesmen, now called the Mizos45. Once the 'Karimgange subdivision also seemed to have been included in the Tripura Kingdom.'46 According to Pemberton's Report, the 'Lushai Country' was also under the control of the rulers of Tripura.47

Tripura is seemed to be embraced on almost all sides by East Pakistan (at present Bangladesh) with an international boundary of 839 kilometers on west, south and north-east leaving only a narrow link of 53 Km. with Cachar District of Assam and 109 Km. border with Mizoram which is mostly inaccessible hill range

Table - 1.5 : Demographic Change in India vis-a- vis Tripura in between 1901 to 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Increase(+) or decrease(-) in population</th>
<th>Growth rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>238,396,327</td>
<td>+13,697,063 (+5.75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>252,093,390</td>
<td>-772,177 (-0.31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>251,321,213</td>
<td>+27,656,025 (+11.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>318,660,580</td>
<td>+39,683,342 (+14.22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>361,088,090</td>
<td>+42,420,485 (+13.31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>439,234,771</td>
<td>+77,682,873 (+21.51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>548,159,652</td>
<td>+108,924,881 (+24.80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981*</td>
<td>685,184,692</td>
<td>+137,025,040 (+25.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* Includes the projected population of Assam where Census could not be held owing to disturbed conditions prevailing there at the time of 1981 Census.

Though the growth rate of population in India shows a steady increase from 1931 to 1981, it is in no way comparable to that of the Tripura State. The Table given below will speak for the argument.

Table - 1.6 : The demographic Change in Tripura during 1901-1981.49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Decade Variation</th>
<th>% of Decade variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRIPURA</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>173,325</td>
<td>...........</td>
<td>.................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>229,613</td>
<td>+ 56,288</td>
<td>+ 32.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>304,437</td>
<td>+ 74,824</td>
<td>+ 32.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>382,450</td>
<td>+ 78,013</td>
<td>+ 25.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1941</strong></td>
<td><strong>513,010</strong></td>
<td><strong>+ 130,560</strong></td>
<td><strong>+ 34.14</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>639,029</td>
<td>+ 126,019</td>
<td>+ 24.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1961</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,142,005</strong></td>
<td><strong>+ 502,976</strong></td>
<td><strong>+ 78.71</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1,556,342</td>
<td>+ 414,337</td>
<td>+ 36.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2,053,058</td>
<td>+ 496,016</td>
<td>+ 31.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Dr. J.B. Ganguli explains the reasons behind the phenomenal growth rate during 1931-1941 as a proof of heavy immigration of the jute cultivators of the eastern districts of Bengal who were severely affected by the world-wide depression of 1929. The depression also badly affected the volume of employment in industries, government offices and various urban establishments. This widespread economic distress in Bengal might have encouraged a large number of agriculturists as well as middle-class people to come to Tripura in search of jobs and other means of livelihood.
and settlement in land.

He argues that the Second World War (1939-1945) might have also influenced population immigration on account of the fact that tempo of the governmental activities called for the services of the more people in the State. For political reasons also, some people might have entered Tripura for shelter and also some for organizing nationalist movement.

Dr. Ganguli continues to explain the reasons for the unprecedented increase of population by 78.71% in 1951-61 decade and it is directly attributable to the influx of refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In this decade, population increased by more than 5 lakhs, i.e. almost equal to the total population of 1941. During this decade the annual rate of increase in Tripura was 5.98% while the National growth rate in the same decade was 1.98%.

Besides the above reasons, as Dr. Ranjit Kumar De argues that the partition of the country and communal riots of the 1940s and 50s forced the people of erstwhile East Pakistan to come to Tripura for shelter. Since Tripura is surrounded by three sides by the present Bangladesh, migration from Chittagong, Noakhali, Comilla and Sylhet districts became very easy. At least three communal riots, namely, Raypur (Dhaka) riot of 1942, Noakhali and Chandpur riots of 1946, and riots in almost in all districts of erstwhile East Pakistan compelled the Hindu minorities to leave their country and to enter India specially in Tripura. The influx of displaced persons from East Pakistan was rather heavy during 1950 to 1952 as evident from the Table given below:-

Table-- 1.7 :  Heavy influx of refugees from East Pakistan during 1950-1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>36,200</td>
<td>1, 84,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>23,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


But as it has been shown in different Census Report, the demographic situation in Tripura in 1931 cannot be explained wholly in terms of immigration of non-tribal people from Bengal and Assam plains. There were evidences that there was continuous immigration of tribes like the
Mogs and Chakmas during the early twentieth century. Although the Chakmas migrated mainly in search of jhum land, a good number of Mogs took to plough cultivation as the main occupation retaining jhum cultivation as the subsidiary occupation. Another large group of immigrants from the North-East consisted of the Manipuries who were mainly settled as cultivators. After introduction of Tea plantation in Tripura in 1916 during the reign of Birendra Kishore, tea labourers from Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh etc. came to Tripura and got settled permanently in Tripura and they numbered 8204 in 1931. But the total numbers of tribal settlers from outside was much less than that of Bengali immigrants.52

IMPACT OF THE INFLUX OF THE REFUGEES IN TRIPURA

From the above table, it is discernible that the inflow of immigrant population increased sharply in Tripura after the partition of India in 1947. Dr. Ganguli gives the information that during the period from 1947 to 1971, a total number of 6,09,998 displaced persons migrated to Tripura for rehabilitation.53 The Govt. of Tripura under the Colony Scheme and other Prototype Schemes had rehabilitated 32,538 families consisting of 1,46,900 persons allotting 26,101 hectares of land and another 2000 families were helped to acquire lands under the Land Purchase Scheme.54 On the other hand, the Govt. of Tripura, did not take any measure to protect the interests of the tribal people; on the contrary, "an area of 777 sq. km. was de-reserved by the then Regent Mata Maharani in the year 1948 with a view to increase the land revenue and to solve the mounting rehabilitation problems that the State had to face immediately after the “partition”. (Govt. of Tripura, Salient Features of the Tripura Land Revenue and Land Reforms, Second amendments Act, 1974, as quoted in The Benign Hills of J.B. Gangali, p. 61).

Dr. Ganguli argues that the rehabilitation of refugees in the state of Tripura could take place on a gigantic scale without any marked social tension mainly because of the long tradition of joint democratic movement launched by tribal and non-tribal subjects against the rule of the Maharajas. It is, of course, true that some unhappy incidents between religious & linguistic communities took place in the early period of refugee rehabilitation but these not too much widespread and persistent.55

Dr. Ranjit kumar De, Dr. Mahadev Chakraborty, Dr. Bijan Mohanta, however, sharply differ with the above view.56 Dr. De says that the whopping landslides of immigrant population causing rapid change in the demographic profile began to affect the socio-economic structure of
Tripura to a great extent. Tribal peoples' fear increased as their majority status came down gradually from 56.37% in 1921 to 50.09% in 1941 and since then they were in minority being 31.53% in 1961. The following is the scenario:

**Table-- 1.8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Tribal population</th>
<th>% of the Tribal population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,29,613</td>
<td>1,11,303</td>
<td>48.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,04,437</td>
<td>1,71,610</td>
<td>56.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3,82,450</td>
<td>1,92,249</td>
<td>50.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>5,13,010</td>
<td>2,56,991</td>
<td>50.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6,45,707</td>
<td>2,37,953</td>
<td>36.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>11,42,005</td>
<td>3,60,070</td>
<td>31.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Dr. Mahadev Chakraborty and Dr. Bijan Mohanta provide the readers with detailed account of the disgruntlement and formidable resentment of the Tribal people of Tripura which led them to start Autonomy movement in Tripura right from the 1950s and that ultimately led to serious implications like the birth of TUJS (Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti) in 1967, ethnic riots in the 1980s, emergence of terrorist movement and demand for "Swadin Tripura".

The educated tribal youth could easily contemplate their identity crisis with huge number of refugees and the then Government's firm decision to rehabilitate these Bengali refugees at the cost of the tribal people. With the continuous immigration of non-tribal population specially Bengali-speaking people from outside specially from East Pakistan, the problem of land alienation took a
new dimension. Excessive pressure of population had severe impact on socio-economic-politico-cultural life of the people of Tripura.

**Tripura-Bangla Socio-Cultural Relation**

Despite this ethnic minority-majority problems that erupted specially from the rehabilitation of the heavy numbers of refugees in Tripura, the tribal and Bengalis are two dominant communities living together from time immemorial. As mentioned earlier, Tripura is closely related to Bengal. The contact between the two lands had been established long ago. The Zamindari Estate of Princely Tripura i.e. Chakla-Roshnabad, inhabited by the Bengalis-Hindus and Muslims, was a part & parcel of Tripura and this covered an area of 1,476 sq. km. of plain land. It was the most valuable source of income of the Raja so much so that total yield of revenue from the Zamindari exceeded that of the whole of Hill Tipperah. The ryots of the Zamindari were almost cent per cent Bengalis; as also the officials engaged for collecting revenue and managing the Zamindari.57 The people of the Zamindari Estate frequented Tripura State regularly.

The appointment of Political Agent to Agartala in 1871 initiated as well as accelerated the process of modernization in Tripura while Birchandra Manikya (1862-1896 AD) was the Raja of that kingdom. The various developments associated with the above process compelled the Kings to admit Bengalis into their Kingdom to run the administration and other services e.g. Babu Nilmani Das, formerly an officer of the Bengal Government, was appointed as the Dewan and Rai Umakanta Das Bahadur who was the Assistant Political Agent to Agartala was appointed as the Minister under Birchandra. It was the Dewan who worked out and organized the revenue and judicial administration after the pattern prevailing in Bengal province. This necessitated the appointment of a number of administrative, judicial, police, forest officials and other office employees from Bengalis as the number of educated persons amongst the tribal people was very few. Along with this modernization process, the need for opening of schools to provide facilities for the education of the tribal boys and girls were felt and some schools were opened for which again teachers were recruited from Bengal. Similarly, doctors, engineers, lawyers, businessmen and traders started coming to Tripura from Chakla-Roshnabad. Professionals like the barbers, washer-men etc. and artisan like the black-smiths, gold-smiths, and mechanics also followed the suit.58

The peasants specially the Muslim peasants of British India got impetus to come to Hill Tipperah while the King, Birchandra, declared *Jungal Aabadi settlement in* 1883 to reclaim the waste land as well as to accelerate the plough cultivation in the kingdom. The tribal of the land...
were not accustomed to plough cultivation and the Jhum, the traditional economic venture of the tribes, was not much sustainable. This settlement was not only retained by the heir-apparent of Birchandra but had given wide circulation to attract more peasants from the neighbouring British India. These resulted in the hopeful arrival of the peasants not only in the plain-land but also in the interior sites of Hill Tripura.59

It was only the Princely Tripura which adopted Bengali as its Court language for which Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar felt proud of Tripura. Even Bengal could not adopt Bengali as Court language. The relation between the Royal family of Tripura and the Tagore family of Jorasankho (Calcutta) had come down from the time of Prince Dwarakanath Tagore. The ruler of Tripura was then Krishna Kishore Manikya (1830-49). It is heard that due to the extravagancy of Kishnakisore, he was a defaulter in the eyes of the Company administration. The Royal family sought the help of Dwarakanath Tagore, an influential personality of that period and with his intervention, Krishnakishore was saved. In his boyhood days, in 1882, Rabindranath was recognized by Bir Chandra Manikya (1862-1896) by reading his 'Vagna Hriday'. The Maharaja was greatly moved by the Book and he sent Radharaman Ghosh, his first Secretary as well as a Bengali from Dacca, to Calcutta to find out the young poet. A family bond was established between the Royal family and the Tagore family which lasted for three more generations covering Maharaja Radhakishore Manikya (1896-1909), Maharaja Birendra Kishore Manikya (1909-1923) and Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya (1923-1947). Radhakishore respected Rabindranath as Friend, Philosopher and Guide. It was during the reign of Radha Kishore Manikya that Rabindranath Tagore first visited Tripura in 1306 B.E. and that was the beginning while he visited Tripura altogether seven times as Royal guest. Rabindranath had showed his interests in the administration of Tripura during the reign of Radhakishore Manikya. He showed so much interest on Tripura that he wrote a great novel "Rajarshi" and a drama "Bisarjan" taking Tripura as background.60

Radhakishore sanctioned, at the initiative of Rabindranath Tagore, a generous fund for the scientific research of Jagadish Chandra Bose, a renowned Scientist of Bengal of that period. The Englishman (12th March, 1918) described this historic incident in the following way:

"The discovery was refused publication to reach the scientific world. The period of this deputation was nearing its end and he had to make his choice of returning to India discredited or overstay in England risking his appointment or chance of convincing unbiased scientific men. While in this dilemma he received a communication from the Maharaja assuring him of his firm belief and also a large remittance towards the possibility of continuation of his researches, he was
enabled to prolong his stay and thus secure many true friends among scientific men in England who stood for fair play, resulting finally in the acceptance of his work. It was a special request of the late Maharaja that he wished to remain unknown in this connection. He has now passed away and it is permissible to speak now of one who stood by him at a time when such friendship was most needed.”

The Maharaja was a great lover of Bengali language and was much attached to Bengali literature. While he observed the indifferent attitude of the high officials of the administration in utilizing Bengali in the administrative works, the Maharaja issued a Royal Order in his own handwriting to the Raj-Mantri, Ramanimohan Chattopadhaya in 1905, which became a milestone in the development of Bengali language for whose recognition a group of Bangalee youths received death-strokes in 1952 in Dacca. The Order runs thus, “Akhane aabahaman kal Rajkarje Bangala Bhashar byabahar abong aai bhashar unnatikalpe nanarup anusthan chalia aasitese, eha Bangadeshiya Hindu Rajar pakshe bishesh gaurabjanak mone kari. Bishshata Aami bhanga bhashake pranertulya bhalobhashi----- Engreji shikskita karmcharibarger dwara rajyer ai chiraposhita uddeshya o niyam byartha naa hay se bishaye Aapni ibra drishti rakhben” He reiterated almost the same order to his next Minister Annadacharan Gupta. His son and heir Birendrkishore also was anxious about the indifferent attitude of the officers in using Bengali in the administrative works. So, Birendrakishore issued a Royal Order highlighting the necessity of using Bengali in the administrative works of the State. Bir Bikram kishore Manikya introduced Bengal-time throughout the State in a Royal Order, Dated Agartala, the 9th Kartika, 1351 (T.E.).

Radhakishore, therefore, hungered for society of literary men. This desire brought him into the contact of not only Rabindranath Tagore but also other best minds of the day. Thus, he made the acquaintances and won the friendship of His Highness Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup of Cooch Behar, Maharaja Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore, Maharaja Jagadindranath Roy of Natore, Lord Sinha of Raipur, Sir Taraknath Palit, Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and others. By this contact he won the heart of Bengal and made the culture of refinement of the house of Tripura well known to the Bengalis. A great reception was accorded to the Maharaja about this time at the Sangit Samaj in Calcutta. ‘Bisarjan’ was staged while Rabindranath himself taking the principal role. The Maharaja was garlanded by the Maharaja of Natore with a song specially composed and sung by him. ‘Bisarjan’ has immortalised the house of Tripura in the heart of Bengal and the reception of Sangit Samaj was an enthusiastic demonstration of the esteem in which the Maharaja was held by the people of Bengal. Radhakishore was a great friend of distressed literary-men. He was greatly
moved to read in the "Sanjibani" of the distress that had befallen the national poet Hemachandra due to his blindness and poverty. He extended financial assistance to Hemachandra through Rabindranath. It gave him a great relief when he learnt that Hemachandra's difficulties had been removed and said:- "I may be a small Ruler but if poet Hemachandra is allowed to end his life miserably in charitable hospital like Madhusudan Dutt woe be to the country in which he born. If my councillors are not alert in such cases, they not only commit a great wrong but will also cover me with sin." He also granted a monthly allowance to Dinesh Chandra Sen (the writer). He also paid a large sum of money to Bengal Technical Institute in Calcutta.

About 100 miles (160 kms.) of roads were constructed during the time of Maharaja Radhakishore, the most important being the Akhaura road, connecting the capital town of Agartala with the railway junction of Akhaura in British Bengal. These acts of the Maharaja strengthened the socio-cultural links between Bengal and Tripura and had an impact on the economic development of the latter via cultural changes. The Maharaja thus emerged as a socio-cultural leader of Bengal.

Rabindranath visited Tripura during the reign of Birendrakishore in 1326 B.E. and visited Thakur Boarding in Umakanta Academy where a grand reception was organized for the Honour Rabindranath achieved for India through the win of Nobel Prize in 1913. The Manipuri Dance style of Tripura was transported to Shantiniketan through Rabindranath who received Buddhimanta, a Manipuri Dance Guru, from the Maharaja. On the initiative of the Maharaja, 'Bisarjan' was staged at Agartala in the year, 1911. Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya could not forget the contribution of Rabindranath towards Bengali literature as well as the Raj family of Tripura. So, he went to Shantiniketan to award Honour to Rabindranath with the attribute of 'Bharat Bhaskar' in the year 1941. On the occasion of his 80th birth day 'Rabindrajayanti' was observed by the Royal family at Agartala along with the rest of the country and Rabindranath was honoured with the attribute. Thus, the Royal family of Agartala and the Tagore family of Jorasanko were very much instrumental in establishing brotherly relationship between the tribal and Bengali people which was further cemented through Rabindranath.
The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal—the real root of inspiration of the people in Tripura

The anti-partition agitations of the British districts in the attached zamindari, i.e. in Comilla and Sylhet had their repercussions in Tripura. A few revolutionaries from Sylhet like Sarachchandra Choudhury, the composer of Devi Yudhya Kavya, had played an important role in organizing the anti-partition agitation in its phases of Boycott and revolutionary activities at Kailashahar. The place became a safe resort for them as the British law was in-operative in princely Tripura. He along with Durgaprasad Ghosh (involved in the Feringi murder case at Dacca) and Girija Datta made frequent contacts with the students and youths of North Tripura.

16th October, 1905 was observed in Hill Tipperah both by the Hindus and Muslims by singing national songs in the processions in the midst of Bandemataram slogan. Mass prayers and Rakhi-bandhan were performed as a symbol of solidarity among the Hindues and Muslims at Kailasashar, North Tripura. This performance was a continuous process till the partition was annulled in 1911. Students participated largely in these activities at the instances of their counterparts in Calcutta, Comilla, and Sylhet. No fire was used to lit on the 16th October every year and
complete fasting took place at every corner of Kailashahar Town area. Bathing in the Manu River in the evening became a usual feature of that programme. Sometimes, Mukunda Das of Barisal, used to attend the sankirtans by singing Swadeshi songs. In a meeting at Kalidighi, Kailashahar, during 1906 which was presided over by Durgaprasanna Ghosh and attended by the students, adult male and female of both the communities, a resolution was adopted for renewing Swadeshi vow to carry on anti-partition agitation till it was revoked by the British Government. Some Manipuries also attended the meeting.\textsuperscript{66}

**Kshudiram Day Observance at Agartala**

The tragic death of young nationalist Kshudiram Bose on 11th August, 1908, caused much excitement amongst the people of Bengal, Assam, Tripura and other places. The students of Umakanta academy, Agartala, joined in a public sangkirtan and paraded the main streets with flags bearing \textit{Bandemataram}. Shree Madan Mitra, the court poet of princely Tripura, presented kirtan songs composed by him on that occasion.

Mass contact techniques followed in Bengal was also to be seen in Tripura during and after the Swadeshi movement. Although the anti-partition movement in Tripura was mainly confined to the Bengali people of urban areas, the tribal people including the members of the Royal family could not remain away from that movement. Maharaja Radhakishore Manikya himself came forward to welcome the participants of the anti-partition movement in the Royal Palace in 1905. Surendra Chandra Debbarma edited a monthly journal named \textit{Bangabhasa}. \textit{Gopabala}, a melodious poetical composition with patriotic feelings, was published by Kumar Bimal Chandra from Agartala. \textit{Kanika}, a small poetical work of Kumari Ananga Mohini Devi, also deserves mention. Kumar Mahendra Debbarma in his paper, \textit{Dhumketu}, often wrote long essays criticizing Curzonian measures. The works not only reflected credit upon their authors but showed the Raj family in the culture of the Bengali literature keeping in view of the Swadeshi days.\textsuperscript{67}

Outside the Royal family, the name of Nilkrishna Roychowdhury, an absconder from the French Chandernagore, can also be mentioned. He was involved in the murder case of Nandalal Chatterjee of Calcutta in 1908. He then took shelter at his sisters' house at Agartala. He composed many patriotic poems and few were published later on. A Bengali fortnightly named \textit{Arun} edited by Chandradaya Vindyavinode played an important role towards the newly awakened national consciousness of the people of the state outside the palace. General people and the members of the
Royal family regularly contributed in the *Arun*. It published news items on the Swadeshi-Boycott activities in the state and the zamindari. The merciless police attack on the processionists shouting *Bandemataram* organized by the Bengal Provincial conference in April 1906 at Raygarh in Barisal found place in the fortnightly. It wrote that Barisal would be remembered for its just cause of fighting against the mighty British. Thus, *Arun* in its short span of life from 1905-1908 left an indelible impression upon the minds of the people contributing towards the Swadeshi-Boycott cause.

With the movement assuming mass character, even the orthodox *Pundits* lent their support to the movement and laid down that the use of foreign salt and sugar was not sanctioned by Hindu religion. In such a surcharged situation, the *Pundits* of Tripura State and the attached zaminderi, serving in various Government and private institutions and tols convened a Swadeshi meeting at Agartala in 1906 where they pledged to work for the development of their own country.68

**Swadeshi Shop and Artisan School at Agartala**

A Swadeshi Shop sprang up overnight at Agartala along the lines of Swadeshi shops of Zamindari, Bengal Districts and Assam. The new shops tried to cater the needs of the people of Agartala who desired to purchase Swadeshi goods. The shareholders included local employees, nobility from the Raj family and some lawyers. The shop sold goods like handspun cloth, matches, nib etc. The shop was practically no loss, no profit concern and middle class venture. It could, however, popularize itself amongst the people by catering the needs of the people with Swadeshi goods.

The spirit of Swadeshi was that the people were to be educated on national lines and this necessitated opening of an Artisan School at Agartala; this was opened immediately after second visit of the state by John Woodburn, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in July, 1904. The spirit here was a diluted one because some poor students got themselves admitted for better education and better jobs.69

**A Model Farm at Agartala**

Swadeshi Movement stimulated the Royal Family of Tripura to start a Model farm at Kashipur towards the close of the 1905. The farm made considerable progress in silk-weaving besides
cultivation of mulberry, potato, sugarcane, rhea etc. The silk-warm was first brought at Agartala from Rajshahi through the effort of Rabindranath Tagore. Jogesh Chandra Chowdhury, the Superintendent of the farm was sent to Japan in 1910 to learn advanced methods with regard to silk-weaving.

Besides these two ventures—Artisan School and Agricultural farm—an example of Tagore's slogan of self-reliance or Atmasakti, we can note at least three more incidents in this connection. First, Radhakishore performed Rakhi-bandan on 16 August, 1906 along with the local Anusilanites and their supporters in the Umakanta Academi. He even did not hesitate to make a short speech in Bengali supporting the Swadeshi-Boycott activities of the Bengalis. On that occasion, he dressed himself with white dhuti and punjabi, the ideal Bengali Hindu dress. Secondly, on the death of Kshudiram Bose on April 30, 1908, the big nagar samkirtan party which paraded through the main roads of Agartala singing Swadeshi Songs of the court poet, was invited by the Maharaja inside the palace and distributed a few kilogram of batasa (a sweet-meat made of sugar) amongst them so that Kshudiram's soul might live in peace. Thirdly, the Vasanta-utsav ceremony, inaugurated by the Maharaja in 1902, was celebrated throughout the years following the partition of Bengal with befitting manner. The praiseworthy aspect of the ceremony for 1905 was the address given by the Maharaja exhorting upon one and all to sink personal differences and to join in celebrations with free heart. The main theme was, therefore, communal harmony which was at time the first need of the hour even in princely Tripura. So, there was no denying the fact that Radhakishore appeared to be an ardent supporter of the Swadeshi cause of Bengal. That does not mean that the Maharaja opposed the partition of Bengal by the British. Officially, he rather welcomed without delay the said partition. The contrary role of the king proves that he tried to come out of the strong belief that the native princes had been the 'strongholds of abominable' English system and greatest obstacles to Indian progress on one hand and he needed imperial protection on the other.

Anushilan Samiti Branch in Tripura

The off-shots of Swadeshi and Boycott movements found its easy access in Tripura as the field was already prepared by the joint ventures of the people of Tripura and of those who used the land as their safe asylum. Thus, a branch of Anushilan Samiti established at Agartala in 1906 at the initiative of Nishikanta Ghosh, Priyanath Banerjee, kshitish Banerjee, Satyaranjan Bose, Jnan Mukherjee, Matilal Mitra etc. Tripura branch of Anushilan Samiti was established its link with
Dacca and Barisal Samities through Nishikanta Ghosh. The secret Samities established in Tripura encouraged gymnastic exercises, lathi (stick) play, use of Swadeshi goods and sanitary works in the slums. Sometimes, they were trained in boxing, cycling, military drill, sword play and wrestling etc. The revolutionaries selected a safe place named Sree Pat as their shelter and for activities. The Sedition Committee Report gives the following information: - It is worth mentioning, however, in November, when the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal was paying a visit to Agartala in Hill Tippera three young men, two of whom have been since convinced of revolutionary crime were found loitering there disguised as religious devotees and gave false names when questioned.

But when they were just taking their position for making an attempt on Lieutenant Governor's life, they were arrested. Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, a prominent revolutionary, identified them as top ranking Anushilanites, namely, Shanti Mukharjee and Ashutosh Dasgupta. They were tried and jailed. The identity of the third one is not known. King Birendrakishore (1909-1923) was under great pressure and he had to dispense the then Police Super Mr. Jogesh Chandra immediately after the incident in 1909. Various measures were taken up for the reorganization of the police force of the State, but that did not contain the said activities. So, secret samities and farms were being set up in Tripura subsequently.

Thus, Tripura proved itself to be one of the principal centres for the Bengal revolutionaries. In the 1920s, some political activities started in Tripura directed, no doubt, against the British Government. As there is no scope for higher education in Tripura, the students after completing their school education would go to outside the state specially at the neighbourly Comilla District for higher education. Comilla was then the key centre of revolutionary activities, specially of the Anushilan Samiti. Having come into close contact of the revolutionaries, some of the students of Tripura became involved in the revolutionary activities. Thus, the new ideas were channelized to Tripura and Chhatra Sangha came into being at Agartala in 1927. Though physical display like wrestling, lathi (stick) & dagger play, boxing etc. were intensively put forward as their objectives, the secret mission was to train up the youths for the revolutionary activities in British India. Sometimes later, some members of the Chhatra Sangha disassociated themselves from the parent body and formed a similar other club at Agartala known as Bhatri Sangha in 1928.

The main revolutionary organizations in the then Bengal were the Anusilan Samiti and Jugantar Party. The Chhatra Sangha and the Bhatri Sangha would work for those two revolutionary organizations of Bengal. Besides, these two main revolutionary clubs at Agartala, there were also other smaller clubs at different places of Tripura e.g. Milan Sangha, Matri Sangha etc. Dr.
R.C. Majumder gives the following information: - "For the purpose of training its members, the Anushilan Samiti had two farms at Belonia and Udaipur in Hill Tipperah. These were outwardly and in part really agricultural farms, but they served mainly as centres for training. During daytime the members worked as labourers in the fields, but at night they were given training in the use of different kinds of arms and practiced shooting in the neighbouring hills. They had to work hard and lived under strict military discipline." Mention may also be made of the Murtichhera Tea Estate Farm at Kailashahar which was established at the initiative of Madhablal Chattarjee, Girija Dutt and others during 1912. Same type of work, namely, cultivation at day time and military training at night was practiced. It is likely that a close relationship between the revolutionaries and the local people like tea garden labourers and peasants was established.

**Yugantar Branch at Agartala**

Besides the above activities of the Anushilanites, a Yugantar branch was also established at Agartala sometimes in the year 1918 on the model of Eastern Bengal Yugantar. The initiative came from young men like Sanat Dutta, Hararanjan Banerjee, Tripuresh Majumder, Rajen De, Kshirode Sen, Mani Biswas and others. There is an example of another Akhra (Gymnasia) named Narsing Akhra at Agartala Motorstand during 1918-19 set up by Anatalal De.

The revolutionaries of Tripura continued their activities keeping a close touch with those of Bengal evading careful eyes of the British police. But could not escape their watchful eyes for many a day. Some of them were ultimately arrested and put to jails while other rounded up later on. They were either put behind the bars or transported to the Andaman. Keeping the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress in mind, the former revolutionaries, most of belonging to the Yugantar Party, formed the Tripura Rajya Gana Parishad in the year 1935 with Sachindralal Singh, Sukhamay Sengupta, Hariganga Basak, Kshirodhe Sen and Ashu Mukherjee. This Gana Parishad merging with Tripura State Congress at sometime earlier to the partition of India in August, 1947 helped the flourishing of the Congress Party in Tripura.

On the other hand, most of the pioneers of the Communist movement in Tripura belonged to the Anushilin Samiti. The founder members were Biren Datta, Anantalal De, Nalini Sengupta, Bankim Chakraborty and few others. Anantalal, Nalini Sengupta, had returned from the jail in Andamans. Thus, the two prominent parties formed in Tripura and led the people of Tripura were firmly allied with Bengal. Before independence, Tripura was solely dependent on the then Assam-Bengal Railways running very close to the borders of Hill Tipperah between Karimganja (Assam)
to Chittagong in British East Bengal. The railway stations of the surrounding districts of East Bengal were within a stone's throw from some of the sub divisional towns of Tripura. After the Partition of India, all these railway stations had gone to East Pakistan and Tripura had suffered a lot for this gap.

Earlier, on November 18, 1857, the Sepoys of the 34th Native Infantry rebelled at Chittagong and plundered the local treasury. Then they started forward march and began to advance towards Tripura (then spelled Tipperah), crossing the Feni River. Though the King of Tripura, Isanchandra Manikya (1849-1862 AD) could not favour them and arrested some of the insurgents and handed them over to the British Government at Comilla, the people of Tripura mainly the tribal offered them shelters and helped them to flee the State towards Cacher and Manipur. Some tribal community or tribal headmen of Amarpur area took the risk of being humiliated and arrested by the Royal Force in providing safe shelters to the mutineers.

From the above discussion, it is obvious that the people of Tripura, both Tribal and non-Tribal, were very much close together from the time immemorial. There might be wars, skirmishes, raids, annexations and political agitations but that was on the ruling-class level and, to some extent, on political level; general people had nothing to do anything with that struggles. Another important aspect is that East Bengal was the father-land or mother-land whatever it might be of the majority people of Tripura; all most all the ‘Bangalees’ of Tripura who left their mother-land before or after the partition of India in 1947 on various compulsions could not forget the Sujala-Sufala-Shashya-Shyamala Bangla. Many had their close relatives and land estates at their homeland. The people of Tripura underwent a democratic, non-communal and democratic form of Government since its merger with Indian Union in October, 1949; their counter-part, on the other hand, experienced un-democratic and theological form of government which was mostly led by the communal Military Junta specially from West Pakistan. The West Pakistani rulers not only hated the Hindu minorities in East Pakistan but they tried almost in public to disregard the Bengali Muslims of the East.

So, we find a unanimous voice of Tripura in the Tripura Territorial Assembly on March 29, 1971, immediately after the military crackdown in Dhaka on March, 25, 1971, while Sachindra Lal Singh, the Chief Minister of Tripura, boldly supported the democratic movement in East Pakistan while he responded to the demand of the unanimous House: "I fully realize the feeling of the House on the present situation in East Pakistan. We are a democratic country and in the fifth General Election our countrymen have again demonstrated their unflinching faith in democracy
and the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi by giving over-whelming support to her. It is, therefore, but natural that our people will express great concern at the development in East Pakistan where the recent happenings have stood in the way of culmination of the democratic process that was ushered in the general election in Pakistan that was held in December last and the people have been undergoing a severe trial for their faith in democracy. It is well known that we are all for a democratic way of life and whoever fights for democracy will always has our moral support. We have always condemned the massacre of unarmed civilians by the brute force of a modern army in any part of the world. Our heart goes out in sympathy for the people of East Pakistan at this hour of their trial. And I have no doubt that I voice the feeling of all of you when I say that we hope that the future generations of the people of East Pakistan will proudly say that their fore-bears did not fail them at the hour of their greatest trial. *I may reiterate that we stand for democracy and socialism and we shall condemn any forces that stand in the way of these noble ideals in any part of the world.*

Notes and References


2. ibid, pp. 161-162.


5. ibid. (for detailed account).


15. ibid. Also see *State, Class & Military Rule, Political Economy, Martial Law in Bangladesh* by Ali Riaz, Nadi, Dhaka, 1994, pp. 81-98. It is to be noted that some renowned Pakistani authors did not try to bypass the disparities between the two Wings of Pakistan. For detailed account see, *Pakistan Studies, An Investigation into the Political Economy* by Nadim Qasir, Oxford University Press, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, (n. d.) p. 67-71; *Politics and the State in Pakistan* by Mohammed Waseem, Progressive, Lahore, 1989, pp. 272-281. And also see *Pakistan 1947-58, An Historical Review* by Zarina Salamat, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1992, pp. 72-76.


17. ibid, pp. 162-195.


23. ibid.


28. ibid.


30. Govt. of Tripura : *Diary*, 2008. Also see *Tripura District Gazetteers* edited by K.D. Menon, IAS, Education Department, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1975, which puts the area of Tripura to 10,066 sq. km.; population figure as per 1961 Census was 11,42,005. The Tripura Dis-
strict Gazetteers also mention that the population in Tripura has been increasing since the days of independence as a result of the massive influx of the displaced persons from Bangladesh. p. 2. For population figure see Census of India 1981, Tripura : A Portrait of Population, Directorate of Census Operation, Tripura, Agartala, 1981, p. 22.

31. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, as cited in Gayatri Bhattacharyya, The Refugee Rehabilitation and its Impact on Tripura's Economy, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, Guwahati, 1988, p. 3.

32. Gayatri Bhattacharyya, op. cit. p. 3-7.

33. ibid. also see Dr. Mahadev Chakraborti, Autonomy Movements And National Integration: A Case Of Tripura-A Thematic Approach, A paper read in the Seminar organized by the Tripura University, Agartala, in February, 1992. Also see Dr. Bijan Mohanta, Crisis of Tribal Identity and Autonomy Movement in Tripura-An Analytical Note, and Dr. P.K. Basu, Struggle For Restoration Of Separate Status in the Backdrop of States' Reorganization Commissions Recommendations in Tripura, papers read in the Same Seminar mentioned above.

34. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Rajmala Baa Tripurar Itihas (Rajmala or the History of Tripura), Akshar Publication, Agartala, 1997, pp. 24-27. But A.C. Bhattacharyya in his "Progressive Tripura" published in 1930 (reprinted in 1985 by Inter India Publication, New Delhi), provides the genealogy of Tripura Ruling family which shows a list of 184 rulers for Tripura, pp. i-iv. So, it is difficult to ascertain the actual number of Rulers of Tripura in the face of dependable source on that issue.


36. ibid. pp. 13-14, A. C. Bhattacharyya did not mention the name of the Sultan who conferred the title of Manikya to the Raja of Tripura. There is a difference of opinion on this matter. According to Tripura District Gazetteers edited by K.D. Menon, (op.cit.) Ratnamanikya ruled over Tripura when Rukun-ud-din Barbak Shah (1455-1476 AD) was the Sultan of Gaur is evidenced by his coins. But no evidence is found regarding conferment of 'manikya' title by the Muslim ruler. The said Gazetteers further mention that same title was found inscribed on a quarter-rupee coin, dated, Saka, 1133 (1211 AD) of Vijaymanik, the Raja of Gauda, then a bordering state of Tripura. Hence, the Gazetteers write, there is a possibility
that the Tripura Kings adopted this title from the Rajas of Gauda. See p. 76. (the spelling 'Gour' and 'Gourda' are kept as these are written in the *Tripura District Gazetteers*).

37. ibid. p.14


40. Menon, K.D., op. cit. p. 91.

41. Bhattacharya, A.C., op. cit, p. 25.

42. ibid. p. 27.


44. ibid. pp. 32-37.

45. ibid. pp. 2-3.


47. Mohanta, Bijan, op. cit. p.-2.


49. ibid. p. 28


51. De, Ranjit Kumar, *Some Socio-Political Movements in India*, (A Historical Study of Tripura),


56. De, Ranjit Kumar, op.cit. pp. 8-9. Also vide Seminar papers of Dr. Mahadev Chakraborty and Dr. Bijan Mohanta read in the Seminar of Tripura University. op.cit.


59. Datta, Dwijendra and Bandopadhaya, Suprasanna, *Rajgi Tripurar Sarkari Bangla*, Education Department, Govt. of Tripura, 1976, pp.180, 187. Also, vide Debbarma, Thakur Sree Somendra Chandra, *Census Bibarani, for 1340 Tring (T / E)*, Tripura Upajati Gobeshanakendra Abong Sangrahalaya, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, Published 2nd time in 1997.

60. Mohanta, Bijan, op. cit. p. 9.

61. Bhattacharyya, A.C. op.cit. p. 44.


63. Also see Bhattacharyya, A.C., op. cit. pp. 46-47. This is a very famous incident. Colonel Mahim Chandra Debbarma mentions this famous utterance of Maharaja Radha Kishore
Manikya in his "Deshiya Rajya"

64. Bhattacharjee, P.R., op. cit. pp. 10-11.


66. Datta, Ramaprasad, Partition Movement in Bengal in quarterly Gomati, Department of Tourism & Public Relations, Govt. of Tripura, Jaistha, 1396 BE (1990), p. 21.

67. De, Ranjit Kumar, op. cit. pp. 18-19.


69. Ibid. pp. 21-22.


72. De, Ranjit Kumar, op. cit. p. 23.

73. De, Ranjit Kumar, loc.cit


75. De, Ranjit Kumar, op. cit. pp. 28-29.

76. Mohanta, Bijan, op. cit. p. 10.


78. De, Ranjit Kumar, op. cit. p. 32.
79. ibid. p. 33.


81. Mohanta, Bijan, op. cit. p. 11.

82. ibid. p. 5.

