

# **Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects**



**M. Phil Dissertation**

**By**

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**Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in  
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**UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA  
BANGLADESH**

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**Dedication**

To

The enclave people

## **Declaration**

I do hereby declare that this dissertation entitles “Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects” submitted to the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Political Science is a completely new and original work done by me.

I do also declare that this thesis or any part of it has not been submitted to any other university/institute/organization for achieving any degree.

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# Certificate

With reference to this thesis entitled “Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects” submitted by Md. Lokman Haider Chowdhury to the University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil). I certify that he has carried out his research work under my direct supervision and guidance and the manuscript of this thesis has been scrutinized and carefully checked by me. The entire thesis comprises the candidate’s own work and personal achievement and that is an important work done by him. This thesis does not contain any conjoint research work either by me or with anyone else.

The final copy of this thesis which is being submitted to the university of Dhaka, Bangladesh, has been carefully and thoroughly read and verified by me for its material and language; and it is hence a piece of work to my entire satisfaction.

**25<sup>th</sup> November 2018**

**Supervisor**

**(Professor Dr. Showkat Ara Husain)**

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(MD. LOKMAN HAIDER CHOWDHURY)



**Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in Bangladesh:  
Problems and Prospects**

**Abstract**

Enclave crisis in South Asia was a manmade suffering created by wars among empires. Only general people were the key victims of the crisis. India's inability to implement the treaty of 1958 with Pakistan and to ratify the Indira-Mujib Land Boundary Agreement of 1974 was the major cause of enclave crisis sustained for long. People suffered a lot in the enclaves for about 68 years. In 2015, the enclaves between India and Bangladesh were exchanged. Government of Bangladesh initiated steps to develop the areas. Here, the social and economic conditions of the former enclave people were tried to analyze and the socio-economic changes after exchanging enclaves were tried to explore. In this context, two pilot survey were conducted before starting data collection finally. Questionnaire survey, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) methods were followed to collect primary data; and secondary data was collected through literature review. There was different sort of discussion with local people (young people, women, school teachers, old people and other dignitaries) during data collection. Qualitative data was categorized and quantitative data was analyzed by statistical methods. Microsoft excel was used during data analyzing process. Here, the discussion on conceptual framework was tried to look upon the core social values, security and dignity; and economic security, food security, communication and so on. Challenges in different sectors of profession, education and daily life of the dwellers have been identified through analyzing data. Finally, the study adds some recommendations that may be considered as fundamental principles to transform the former enclave societies into main stream societies of Bangladesh.

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## Glossary of Abbreviations

Old Bagla	Bangladesh surrounding the former enclaves
SO	Settlement Office
Awami League	Leading Political Party in Bangladesh.
BCS	Bengal Civil Service.
BDR	Bangladesh Rifles. Bangladesh border guards. Successor to
EPR.	
BGB	Border Guard Bangladesh
Bheel	Marsh/lagoon formed by flooding, or previous river courses. Also bhil or jeel.
BJD	Bangladesh Jatiyotabadi Dal. See BNP.
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party. Hindu-nationalist Indian political party.
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Leading Political party. Also abbreviated BJD.
BSF	Border Security Force. Indian border guards.
Chakla	A landholding or administrative unit within a subah. A circle, or district.
Chakladar	Owner of a chakla.
Char	Fertile but often temporary island in a river, formed by flood deposits.
Chaukidar	Watchman, village policeman.
Chhit(mahal)	Bengali term for a detached piece of village land, often used as a synonym for enclave in a general sense.
Chhitmahali	Resident of a chhit (mahal).
Choto	Bengali for small/little.
Congress	Leading Indian political party.
CPI(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist). Main West Bengal political party.
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan.
Dafadar	Police corporal.
Dakshin	Bengali for South.
DC	Deputy Commissioner.
Debottar	Rent-free lands granted to a temple (Nath, 1989, 124).
Dewan	Financial minister of Princely State, or Mughal Subah.
Dewani	The office of dewan.
Dharma	Peaceful demonstration.
Dharma	Raja Spiritual ruler of Bhutan, together with Deb Raja.

District	Basic administrative unit of British India and its successor states.
Division	Administrative unit between a province/state and a district.
DLR	“Dhaka Law Reports”, a journal of Easat Pakistani/Bangladeshi law cases.
DM	District Magistrate. Head official of a district. Equivalent to DC.
Durbar	Royal court.
EIC	East India Company. Effective rulers of India 1757-1858.
EPCS	East Pakistan Civil Service.
EPR	East Pakistan Rifles. Pakistani border guards. Replaced by BDR.
FB	see AIFB.
FB(S)	Forward Block (Socialist). Splinter group of AIFB in 1990s.
Foujdar	Sheriff of an area within a subah in Mughal India.
Goladar	A state official.
Goondah	Hired political thug.
Hartal	General strike. Also bandh.
Hastabud	A revenue settlement.
IA	Indian Administration.
ICS	Indian Civil Service.
ICJ	International Court of Justice.
Jawan	Lowest rank in the army/police: a private.
Jeel	see bheel.
Jote	Individual revenue-paying tenancy. Often sublet.
Jotedar	Owner of a jote.
Kuthi	Grouping of 3 or 4 villages in early Cooch Behar (Nath, 1989, 127).
Lathi	Bamboo cane used for crowd control by police.
Madhya	Bengali for Middle/Central.
Mauza	A village for revenue and administrative purposes.
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly, the lower house of parliament in West Bengal.
MLC	Member of Legislative Council, the now-abolished upper house of parliament in West Bengal.
MP	Member of Parliament.
Nawab	Title assumed by rulers of Bengal in 1700s.
Nazir	Chief minister of a Princely State. Also a princely title.

Pargana	Administrative unit within a Subah. A district.
Paschim	Bengali for West.
Police Station	Revenue and administrative unit within a district. Also called a thana.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
Province	British Indian administrative unit. Equivalent to present Indian states.
Purba	Bengali for East.
Raikat	Leading noble in Cooch Behar, based near present Siliguri.
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party. West Bengal political party.
Ryot	Peasant cultivator.
Sanad	Official decree or deed.
Sadar	Name given to the chief thana or subdivision of a district, eg Rangpur thana, and Rangpur subdivision may be referred to as Sadar thana or Sadar subdivision, to avoid confusion with Rangpur district or town. Also spelled Sadr or Sudder.
Sarkar	Subdivision of a Subah.
SC	Supreme Court.
SDO	Subdivisional Officer. Head official of a subdivision.
Subah	Mughal administrative unit. A province. Subahdar Head official of a subah. Provincial governor.
Subdivision	Administrative unit between district and police station.
SUCI	Socialist Unity Centre of India. Minor Political Party.
Taluk	Landholding similar or subordinate to a zamindari.
Talukdar	Owner of a taluk.
Thak	An earth or mud pillar.
Thakbust	A revenue survey involving erection of thak pillars at important boundary points.
Thana	See Police station.
TNO	Thana Nirbahi Officer Head official of a Bangladeshi Thana.
UNION	Administrative grouping of Mauza within a police station.
Union	state-like groupings of Princely States in India 1947-56.
Uttar	Bengali for North.
Village	See Mauza.
Zamindar	Holder of a zamindari. A leading landlord and rent-collector.
Zamindari	A large rent farm or landholding, the owner acting as rent collector for the government.

(partial source: Yule & Burnell, 1902, Whyte, B. R. (2002))



# **Chapter One:**

# **Introduction**

## 1.1 Introduction:



Photo 1: In the Bewladanga enclave, Boda, Panchagarh

The word enclave was pronounced first in the Treaty of Madrid of 1526. It became a diplomatic term in 1868. It means 'shut in, or locked up' and originated from French language.

The term 'enclave' refers to a territory that is completely surrounded by a foreign country but is part of another detached country. In Bangladesh, enclave means 'Chit Mahal'.

The four big waves are responsible for the creation of enclaves. The pre-westphalian state building in Europe in the Middle Ages was the first wave. States were governed by lord. Different territory had different lords. Second wave was the time during European colonial empires were built up in the world.

Breaking up the European colonial empires was the third which created most of the enclaves.

Breaking up of the socialist multinational states, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was responsible for creating 20 enclaves during 1990-1991.

Breaking up of the socialist multinational states, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was responsible for fourth wave by creating 20 enclaves during 1990-1991.

In South Asia, enclaves have been created in 1713. Again, they have been shined in 1947 during partition of India and Pakistan. In 1949, they started to lead a pathetic journey while Coach-Bihar province was merged with India.

Battles and wars for ages gifted the dwellers 68 years of sufferings. Miseries came into reality with the inability of India to implement Nehru-Noon (Salt) Treaty 1958 and to ratify Indira-Mujib Land Boundary Agreement of 1974. So, the crisis was obviously manmade. After long history, they produced themselves in the two countries Bangladesh and India. 68 years suffering has lagged them behind highly. With resolving the crisis, the enclave people new life, new identity and new hope.

162 enclaves came into the modern life cycle and fifty one thousand five hundred and forty five (51,545) people started to enjoy free life.

But, sufferings are running them away. Now, development is going slow. Emotional distance between two group of people former enclave dwellers and people of Old Banlga is the big challenge in their new life. Discriminations between the two groups of people are becoming visisble with local public representatives. For being illiterate, most of the people cannot evaluate the new life how to lead well. Loans from different micro-credit organizations are becoming buren which may lead the people landless rapidly.

## 1.2 Literature Review

In May 1974, Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi signed an Agreement which is known as Mujib–Indira pact. In November 1974 Bangladesh ratified the Agreement in Parliament. Article 2(a) of the Constitution was amended by the Constitution (Third Amendment) Act 1974. Although Bangladesh ratified the Agreement in Parliament, amended the constitution and handed the southern half of South Berubari over India, India neither ratified the Agreement in their Parliament nor granted lease in perpetuity to Bangladesh the ‘Tin Bigha Corridor, a road connection of 178 × 85 metre’ until 31 July of 2015.

### Definition of Enclave and Exclave:

#### Enclave:

An *enclave* is a part of the territory of a state that is enclosed within the territory of another state. Enclave is a separated part of any country surrounded by the area of another country. It is a separated land of a sovereign country (Evgeny Vinokurov, (2007)).

An **enclave** is a territory, or a part of a territory, that is entirely surrounded by the territory of one other state. Territorial waters have the same sovereign attributes as land, and enclaves may therefore exist within territorial waters. (Evgeny Vinokurov, (2007))

- ❖ The republic of San Marino, enclaved by Italy, situated on the Italian Peninsula on the northeastern side of the Apennine Mountains
- ❖ Vatican City, an enclave in the city of Rome, Italy. The Vatican city has its own Government and is independent from Rome. Therefore, it is neither bounded by the rules of Rome nor Italy.
- ❖ The kingdom of Lesotho, an enclave in South Africa. (Wikipedia)

In Bangladesh, it is known as 'Chitt Mahal'. Bangladeshi land surrounded by India was called Bangladeshi enclave and Indian land surrounded by Bangladesh was called Indian enclave.

Indian enclaves in Bangladesh were mainly in Panchagarh, Nilphamari, and Lalmonirhat and Kurigram district.

The parts of a state entirely enclosed by a single other state are called **true enclaves**. If a territory is connected to the rest of the country by a single point, it will be considered as an enclave. In addition, two enclaves that are connected to each other by a single point will be viewed as separate entities. Two additional terms introduced are the mainland state and the surrounding state.

**A mainland state** is the state to which an enclave belongs and of which it comprises a part. Other terms used in the literature are ‘central state, home state or ‘motherland’.

**A surrounding state** is the state that surrounds an enclave but to which an enclave does not belong. Other terms employed in the literature are ‘host state’ and ‘neighbor country’

### **Exclave:**

An **exclave** is a portion of a state or territory geographically separated from the main part by surrounding alien territory (of one or more states). An exclave can be surrounded by several states. The Azerbaijani exclave of Nakhchivan is an example of an exclave.

**True exclave** is an extension of the concept of true enclave. In order to access a true exclave from the mainland, a traveler must go through the territory of at least one other state (Evgeny Vinokurov, (2007)). Examples include:

- Nakhchivan, which borders Turkey, Armenia and Iran, is an exclave of Azerbaijan. Additionally, Azerbaijan has three more small exclaves: Karki, Barkhudarli and Yukhari Askipara which are all inside the territory of Armenia.
- Likoma and Chizumulu Islands in Lake Malawi are lacustrine enclaves and exclaves of Malawi, surrounded by Mozambique territorial waters. (Wikipedia)

### **1.3 Justification of the study**

Enclave dwellers were never ruled by British East India Company (EIC) or British government. The enclaves were most strife torn areas with different sort of troubles and strategically important in this region. The historical importance led the long history of deprivation, suffering and frustration.

Sixty eight years deprivation made history of social inequality, underdevelopment, least economic condition, lowest social status, illiteracy and so on. Within three years, various development activities were made happen in the areas. It is time to evaluate development initiatives and the living condition. Most importantly, people’s views should be assessed. Academic research may explore the social, economic conditions and different social norms, values. Discovering the real situations of the enclaves may pave to turn the development procedures into new turn. Large portion of illiterate people may be a big challenge. But, proper and efficient initiatives may convert them into wealth of the country. This researcher has tried to

identify the challenges faced by the inhabitants to discover the possibilities. The challenges and possibilities would usher a new era. For this why, the study is highly significant.

#### **1.4 Scope of the Study:**

Twelve (12) enclaves in Bangladesh have been visited to collect data. Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Questionnaire survey, observation, FGD with women, students, older people were followed to search the most authentic information. Twelve enclaves visited from one hundred and eleven (111) enclaves in Bangladesh are: Nine families from Bewladanga (J.L. No. 39), thirty seven families from Shalbari enclave (J.L. No. 35), one family from Kajal Dighi (J.L. No. 59) enclave and one hundred fourteen families from Putimari enclave (J.L. No. 59) at Boda thana in Panchagarh were interviewed during data collection. Then, fifty six families from Dahala Khagrabari enclave (J.L. No. 1), five families from Balapara Khagrabari enclave (J.L. No. 3) at Debigonj Upazila in Panchagarh district bordering Nilphamari district were visited. After that, sixteen families from Nazirganj enclave (J.L. No. 42) at Boda thana in Panchagarh district, twenty families from Daikata enclave (J.L. No. 38) at Boda thana in Panchagarh district, seven families from Botbari enclave (J.L. No. 8) at Patgram thana in Lalmonirhat district, twenty families from Boro Khangir enclave (J.L. No. 65) at Patgram thana in Lalmonirhat district and one family from Zongda enclave and one family from Kuchlibari (J.L. No. 8) were interviewed.

#### **1.5 Objectives of the study:**

##### general objective:

To find out the problems and prospects in socio- economic conditions of the enclave people in Bangladesh.

##### Specific objective:

- 1 To find out obstacles to get nationality
- 2 To know about the bilateral political process in development of the enclave people.
- 3 To know the feature of authoritative activities in the enclaves.
- 4 To know about the living process.

#### **1.6 Methodology of the study:**

Historical and analytical method has been followed to conduct the research. Both qualitative and quantitative data has been collected. The following techniques have been carried out to collect the data. Such as:

- a) Interview
- b) questionnaire and survey

- c) Case study
- d) Focus group discussion (FGD)
- e) Observation

## **Data Analysis**

Microsoft Excel has been used to analyze the data.

## **Sources of Data:**

Primary data has been collected and focused to conduct the research. But, Secondary data has also been collected to support the study. Such as: books, journals, articles, reports, magazines, websites, and newspapers.

## **1.7 Hypothesis:**

In this study, following hypothesis has been followed.

“Enclave crisis creates the identity crisis to the inhabitants of enclave; hinders to get basic needs to lead a normal life. It hinders to bring the people into the main stream of civilized society”.

Hypothesis can be divided into different parts, for example:

1. Enclave crisis creates the identity crisis to the inhabitants of enclave which has been resolved by implementation of Land Swap Deal of 1974 in 31 July 2015.
2. Hinders to get basic needs to lead a normal life
3. It hinders to bring the people into the main stream of civilized society

## **1.8 Organization of the study**

**First chapter** delivers introduction, literature review, justification of the study, scope and objectives of the study, methodology, hypothesis, limitations of the study and conclusion

Second chapter bestows overview of the enclaves, classification of enclave and exclave and review of other writer and scholars

**Third chapter** imparts history of enclave from 1500, different treaties on enclave exchange, history cycle of Cooch Bihar, number and area of enclave of Bangladesh and India Angarputa and Dahagram enclave, Teen Bigha Corridor, Berubari enclave and conclusion

**Fourth chapter** is dedicated for the methodology followed in the study such as: study area, study design, source of data, pilot study, validation of data, data analysis, problems of data collection, sampling, respondent related information

**Fifth chapter** represents social class stratification, social conditions (basis of income, occupation, social culture, nature of family, number of earning members of family, age and gender, marital status, educational level, profession, income level), economic conditions,

household information, health condition, education, security, social bond, enclave related aspects.

**Sixth chapter** provides the analysis of the questionnaire consisting of 65 questions and focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Seventh chapter releases findings, recommendations, future research, references, appendices, photographs,

### **1.9 Limitations of the study**

Researcher had to face many challenges mentioned below to conduct the research. For example:

1. Because of being a remote, unsafe and border area, researcher had to remain alert;
2. Data collection process was time consuming. Researcher had to face different obstacles because of being quiet place and sleeping time in the villages at noon and in the afternoon
3. Because of financial limitation, it became next to impossible to increase sample size
4. Some people were trying to hide real information like age, income, exact figure of land property etc.

### **1.10 Conclusion**

But, substandard, poor socio-economic, primitive condition still remains. The study on socio-economic conditions of the enclave people has been conducted first after the enclave exchange. To develop overall condition, it is highly important to know the intensity of worst social and condition of this area. Instead of many challenges, researcher collected data from the research field. In this study, researcher paid utmost attention to unearth social norms, values, life style and economic activities of the enclave people.

# **Chapter Two: Literature Review**



## Literature review:

There is no enough work regarding this issue. But few scholars have written some articles and books.

### 2.2 Overview of Enclave:

A part of the territory of a state which is enclosed within the territory of another state is called enclave.

In the majority of cases (true enclaves, coastal enclaves, pene-enclaves with the exception of mere exclaves the same region represents an enclave in relation to the surrounding state and an exclave in relation to its main land. (vinokurov, 2007)

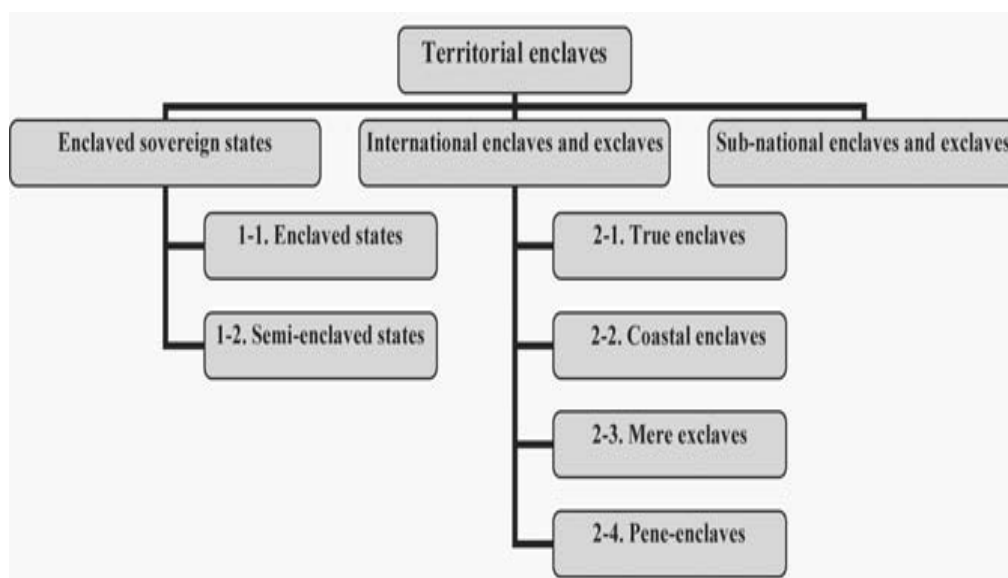
Generally, there are three types of exclaves.

First, there are a large number of exclaves that are all together enclaves in relation to the state that surrounds those.

Second, there are exclaves that are concurrently semi-enclaves (Gibraltar, Hong Kong).

And, third, there are mere exclaves that are surrounded by more than one foreign state and, consequently, are not enclaves in relation to them (e.g. Nakhichevan, Cabinda). Mere exclaves may or may not have access to the sea though it is the fact of their separation from the mainland.

### Classification of Enclaves and Exclaves:



**Figure 1: Classification of enclaves and exclaves** (vinokurov, 2007)

Throughout the text: E—enclave and/or exclave; ES—enclaved state; M—mainland; S—surrounding state. (vinokurov, 2007)

### Enclaved state:

An enclaved state is a state entirely enclosed within the territory of another state. “Enclaved states” in international law are sovereign states landlocked within another state. There are

currently three such states: Lesotho, San Marino, and the Vatican. Enclaved state or landlocked state: There are currently 42 landlocked states in the world. Two of these, Uzbekistan and Liechtenstein, are doubly land-locked, in that they can access the sea only by passing through two other states in any direction. In addition, three of the 42 landlocked states are enclaved states. (vinokurov, 2007)

### Semi-enclaved States

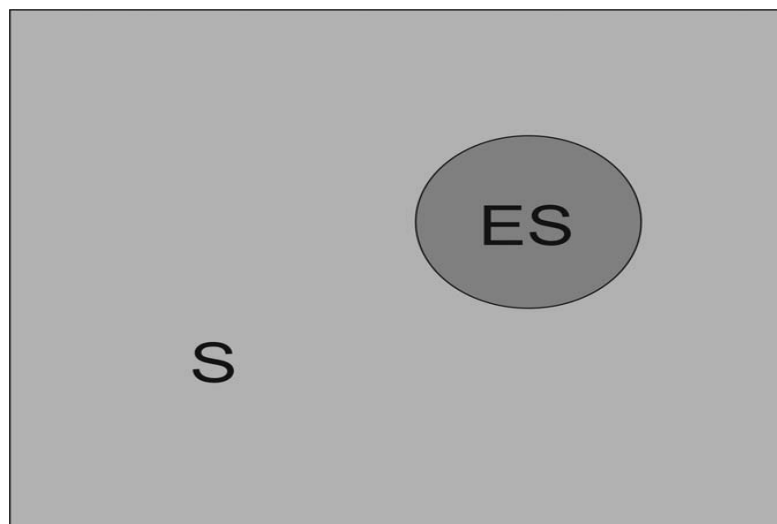
Sovereign state surrounded by another state on land but in possession of seashore is called Semi-enclaved state. Coastal enclaves are as same as semi-enclaves.

Semi-enclaved state is a state enclosed within the land territory of another state though it has possession of a sea coastline (not fully surrounded). Gambia can be taken as an example. Although it possesses a coastline, its length is small in comparison with its land border with Senegal: 80 and 740 km, respectively. This criterion is qualitative. As such, it is difficult to apply. In order to make it workable, a quantitative criterion has been introduced: the land boundary must be longer than the coastline.

<sup>1</sup>The quantitative criterion for sovereign semi-enclaves:  $L_l/L_s > 1$ ,

Where  $L_l$  is the length of the land boundary, and  $L_s$  is the length of the sea coastline. (vinokurov, 2007)

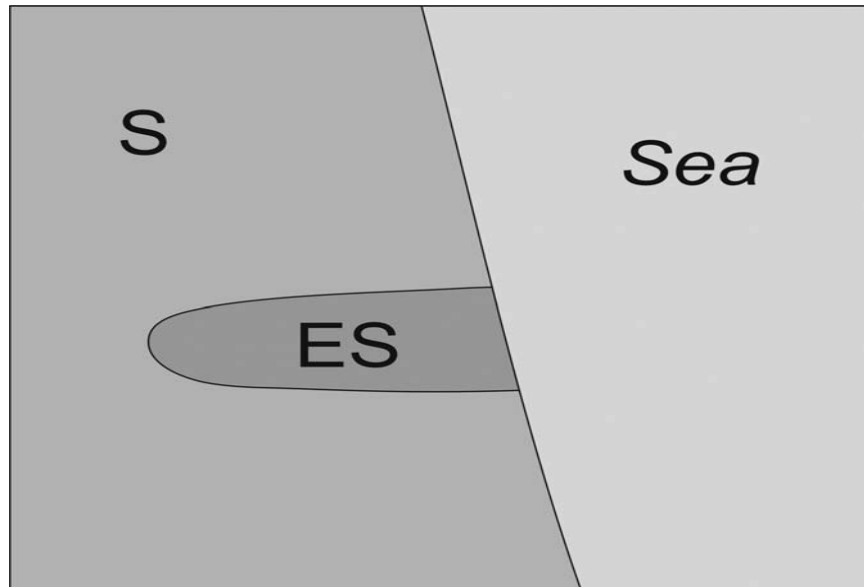
Therefore, a state is classified as a sovereign semi-enclave if it borders on just one state, and its land boundary is longer than its sea coastline. Monaco, Brunei, and Gambia qualify as example.



**Figure 2: Enclaved state, type 1-1 (ES—enclaved state, S—surrounding state).** (vinokurov, 2007)

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<sup>1</sup> **Evgeny Vinokurov (2007)** on introduced quantitative approach to semi-enclaves.

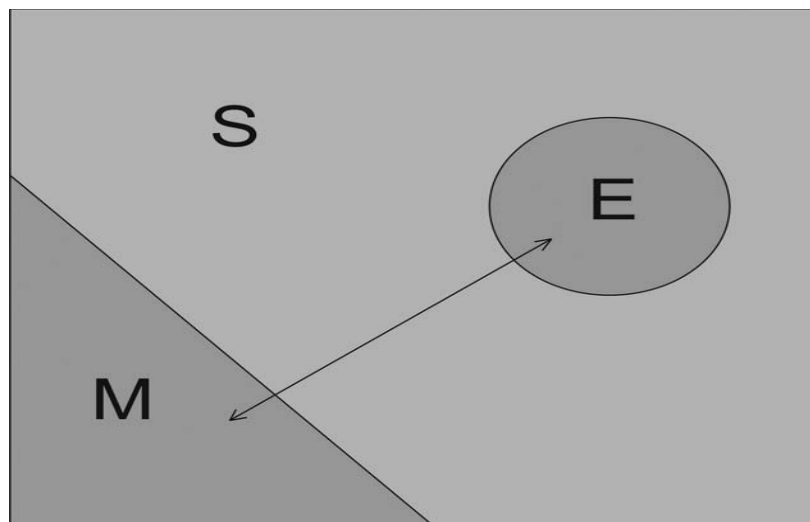


**Figure 3: Sovereign semi-enclave, type 1-2 (ES—enclaved state, S—surrounding state).** (vinokurov, 2007)

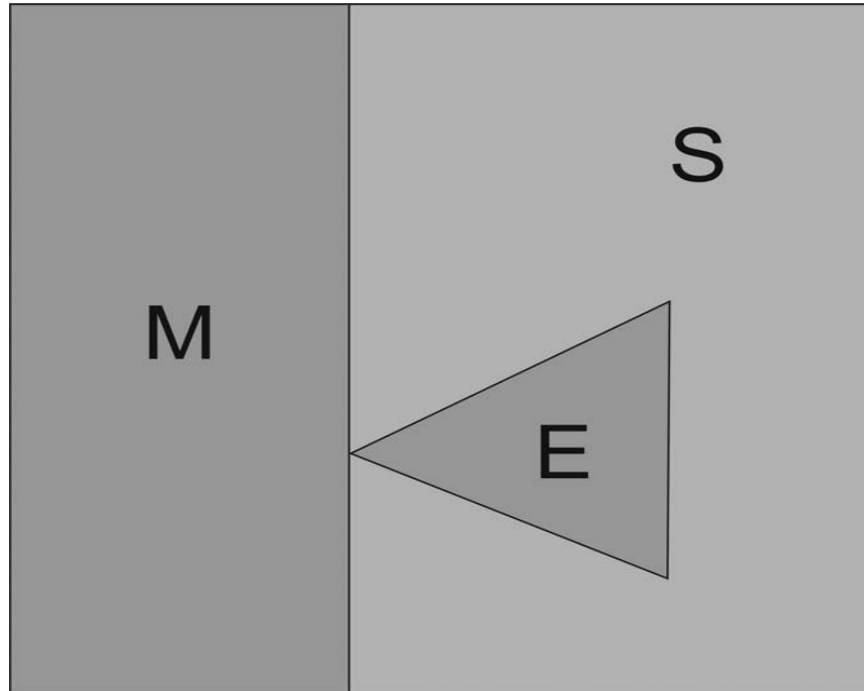
**True Enclaves:**

True enclave is a territory separated from the principal part of the state by the territory of another state or states.

A territory which is connected to the rest of the country by a single point will be considered as an enclave.



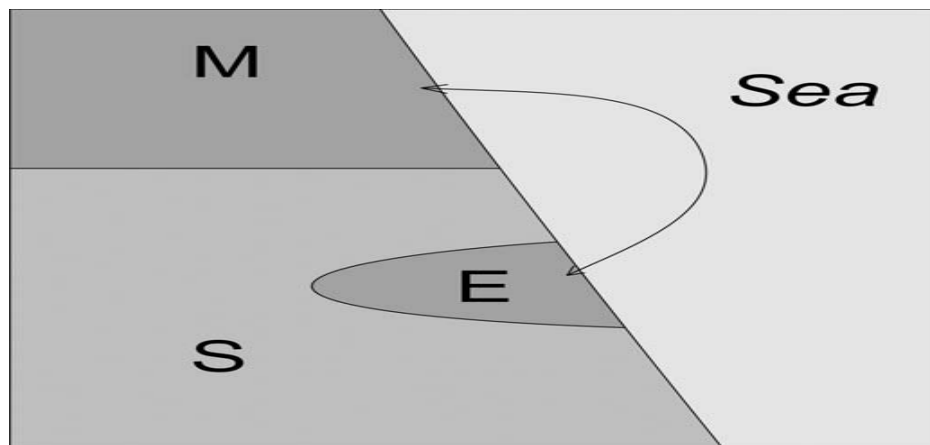
**Figure 4: True enclave, type 2-1 (E—enclave, M—mainland, S—surrounding state).** (vinokurov, 2007)



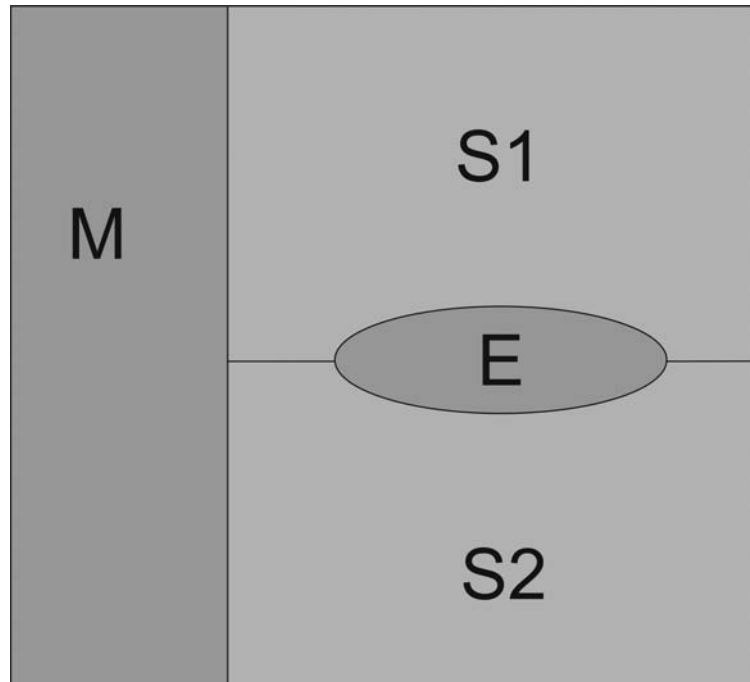
**Figure 5: Single-point connection (Jungholz).** (vinokurov, 2007)

**Mere Exclaves**

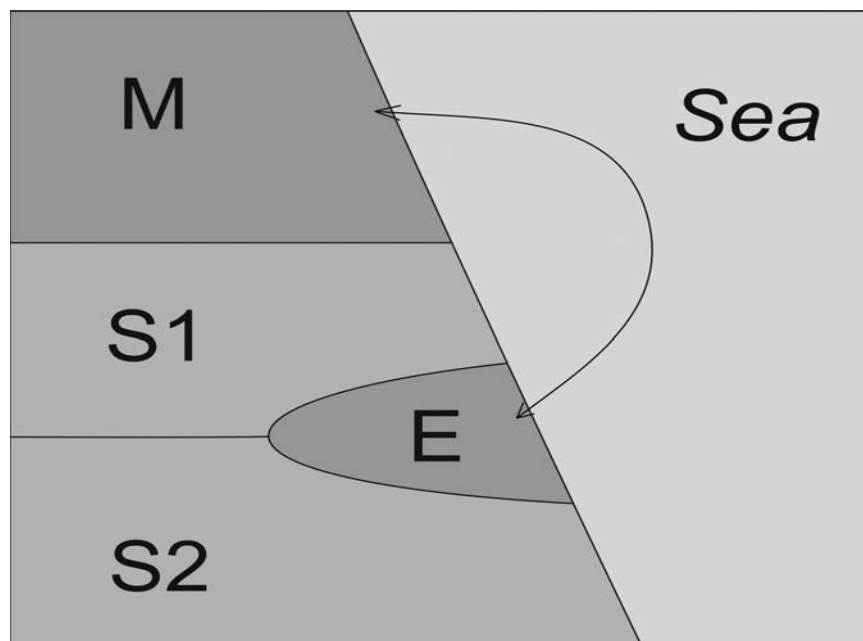
There are regions that represent mere exclaves. Mere ex- claves are such regions that, they are isolated from from their mainland, and are surrounded by more than one state. Thus, they are not enclaves in relation to other states but merely exclaves in relation to the mainland.



**Figure 6. Nonsovereign semi-enclave/exclave (coastal enclave), type 2-2.** (vinokurov, 2007)



**Figure 7: Mere exclave, type 2-3. Case 1: mere exclave at land.** (vinokurov, 2007)

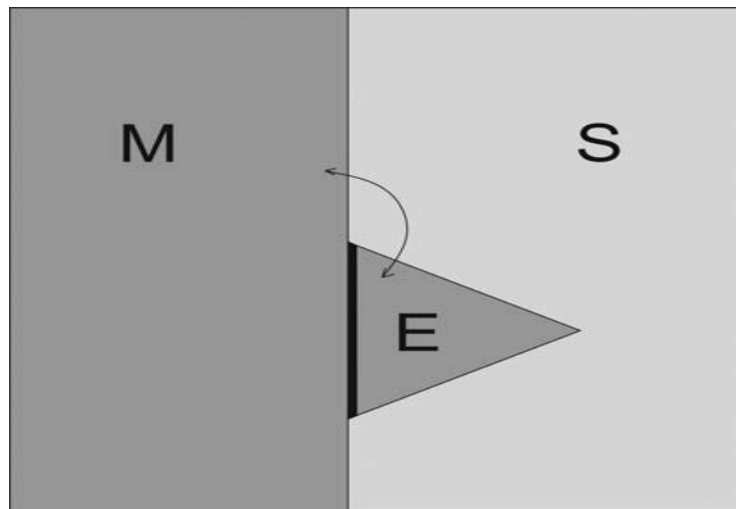


**Figure 8: Mere exclave, type 2-3. Case 2: mere exclave with sea connection to the mainland.** (vinokurov, 2007)

**Pene-enclaves**

The pene-enclave assumed its present status in 1846. Pene-enclaves are territories that they are not separated from the main land, but practically accessible only through the territory of another state. The etymology of the prefix “pene” is from the Latin “Paene” meaning “almost”. Pene-

enclaves are connected to the mainland by a virtually impass-able neck of land. Most of them are located in the mountains.



**Figure 9: A pene enclave**

### **Maritime Enclave:**

Maritime Enclave:

The definition of a territory comprises both land territory and territorial waters. In the case of enclaves in territorial waters, they are called maritime (those surrounded by territorial sea) or lacustrine (if in a lake) enclaves.

“Terrestrial-maritime enclave” is the term used where a state and its waters enclose the territory and waters of another state, or a fragment of a state. They are also termed “zone-locked” or “shelf-locked.” For instance, Monaco is enclosed by France not only on land but also by French territorial sea. Between 1990 and 1994, Namibia encircled South Africa’s Walvis Bay. (Evgeny Vinokurov (2007))

### **Subnational Enclaves**

There are a huge number of enclaves of a political nature that exist on a sub national level. Such territories are neither politically independent nor spatially external in relation to the state, part of which they comprise.



**Figure 10: paired enclaves.**

Sub national enclaves might be relevant to the study of international enclaves. Such as: Kaliningrad. The region belonged administratively to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), although it was separated from it by the Lithuanian and Belarusian Soviet Socialist Re-publics (LSSR and BSSR, respectively).

### **Jurisdictional Enclaves**

Many overseas marine and air force military bases represent jurisdictional enclaves. One of the most well known bases of that sort is the U.S. base in Guanteánamo Bay, Cuba. By contrast, the UK Sovereign Base Areas in Cyprus do not represent jurisdictional enclaves since they are under British sovereignty. The territories of embassies represent jurisdictional enclaves, too.

Surely, the meaning and scope of jurisdictional enclaves are much more substantial and important than being mere curiosities. There are thousands of such enclaves in the world. Embassies and military bases in particular play an important role in world politics. (Evgeny Vinokurov (2007))

### **Economic, Ethnic, and Religious Enclaves:**

These types of territories are often but not necessarily accompanied by the setting of some administrative borders. The decisive factors are the social, economic, cultural, or linguistic seclusion of a certain area from the area that surrounds it.

- a) Economic enclaves. A part of an economic structure enclosed within another structure is usually described as an enclave in economic literature. An oft-studied case of an economic enclave is a foreign-dominated industry within a national economy.
- b) Territories with a special economic policy, for example, free trade zones or other special economic zones.
- c) Ethnic enclaves: Ethnic enclaves are compact communities of an ethnic group inside an area where another ethnic group dominates.
- d) Religious enclaves. There are many religious enclaves in the world, representing areas where there are compact settlements of people belonging to one religion surrounded by people of another religion. Special attention is drawn to the Catholic enclaves in Northern Ireland. (Evgeny Vinokurov (2007))

**Other Classifications:**

Several secondary classifications will be useful in our investigation of enclaves and exclaves. There is,

First, the classification on the criterion of population;

Second, the division of enclaves into individual

Third, the classification of enclaves according to their order

Finally, the classification based on origin.

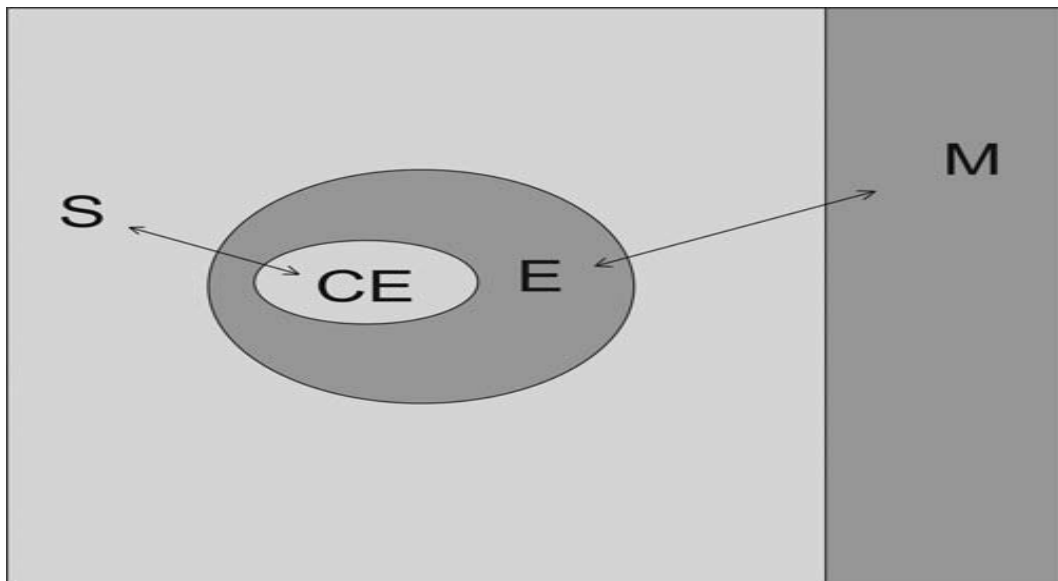
Classification on the criterion of the size of the population divides enclaves into four groups, large, medium-size, small, and micro enclaves.

- 1. Large enclaves – 100,000 inhabitants and more.
- 2. Medium – size enclaves – 10,000-99,999 inhabitants
- 3. Small enclaves – 1,000-9,999 inhabitants
- 4. Micro-enclave- fewer than 1,000 inhabitants

When an enclave is situated within another enclave make the situation even more complicated.

Counter enclaves are enclaves within enclaves

Counter-counter enclaves are enclaves within enclaves within enclaves.



**Figure 11: Counter enclave.**



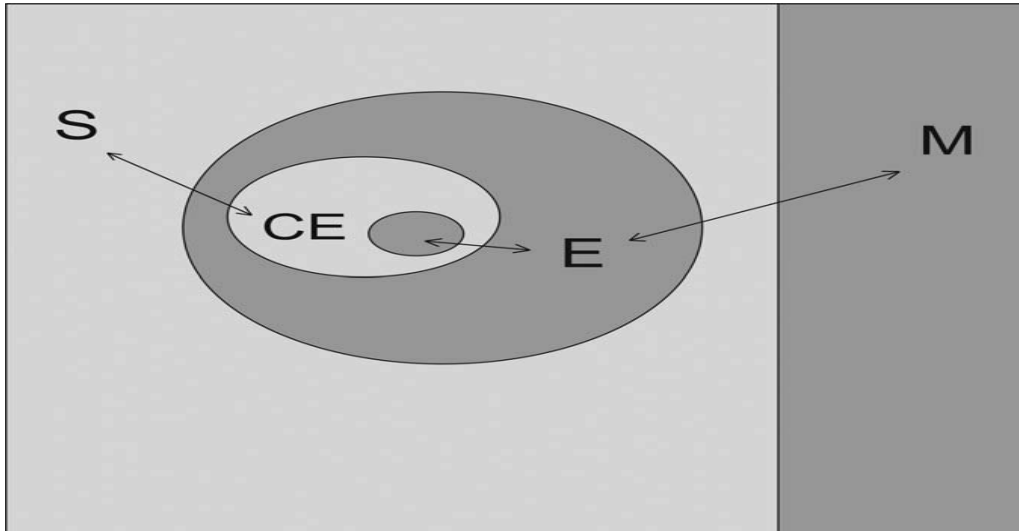


Figure 12: Counter – counter enclave.

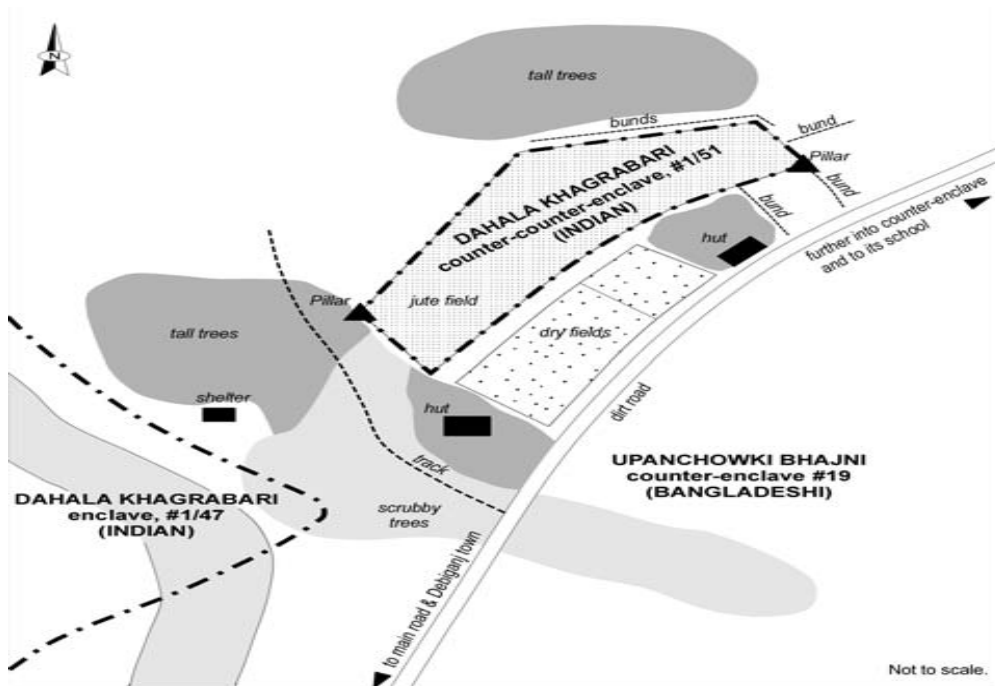


Figure 13: The world's only former counter –counter enclave

<sup>2</sup>The following main types of contemporary enclaves can be distinguished according to their origins:

1. The group of enclave states and territories that were formed in the pre-Westphalia period, mostly as the result of feudal disunity in Western Europe in the Middle Ages.
2. Enclaves that emerged because of the fall or transformation of the European colonial empires.
3. The breakup of post socialist multinational states, above all the Soviet Union but also Yugoslavia. As the Soviet Union collapsed, about twenty enclaves emerged in

<sup>2</sup> Evgeny Vinokurov (2007) on "A Theory of Enclaves" explained the enclave concept clearly.

1990/1991, eight of them in the Fergana Valley.

4. Enclaves that originated due to geographic reasons. All pene-enclaves are of such origin. (Evgeny Vinokurov (2007))

**Whyte, B. R. (2002)** wrote most important rare history of the enclaves in Cooch Behar. He wrote on "Waiting for the Esquimo: an historical and documentary study of the Cooch Behar enclaves of India and Bangladesh" the founding and evolving history of Cooch Behar. But, socio-economic conditions were not focused on this work.

**Van Schendel, W. (2002)** drew attention on his work "Stateless in South Asia: The Making of the India-Bangladesh Enclaves". He stated the miserable conditions of the enclave people. The work was conducted in 2002.

**Khandakar Hasan Mahmud and Md. Mizanur Rahman** wrote in the "Journal of Business and Technology (Dhaka)" volume-02, January-December 2007, on enclave issue. He viewed the enclave politics on his work. He also stated the issue of Teen Bigha Corridor, Dahagram-Angarpota enclave.

**Yunus, A S M,** Enclaves, Annesha Prokashon, 9 Banglabazar, Dhaka, April 2015. He drew pathetic scenario of the enclave people. He tried to focus on social and economic conditions of the enclave dwellers. The book was written before enclave exchange. The socio-economic conditions have been affected by enclave exchange. The book was written over only observation. No questionnaire survey and other techniques except observation were followed. Moreover, the book had been written before India ratified the Mujib-Indira pact of 1974.

**Somapti Saha,** Assistant Professor, Durgapur govt. college, Durgapur, India, wrote an article in "The International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research, Volume 4, Issue 7, and July-2013" titled "The Socio-economic conditions of Indo-Bangla Enclaves". She cited that the life style in enclaves is so pathetic, they have no freedom to go anywhere, no education, no health facility, no infrastructural facility. Due to absence of identity, they cannot go out of the enclave. Enclaves are the permanent jail to them. There is a fear of Indian police and BSF. She said that only citizenship can resolve the crisis. But she did not explore the exact scenario of socio-economic conditions of the enclave people.

**Mohammad Golam Robbani** wrote in 'The Protichinta, October-December, 2011, UP Prokashoni, published from Dhaka' in the title of "Chitmaholer Manosh: Rashtrohinotar Itibritto". He wrote that enclaves created through the encroachment and intentionally changing process of political geography by the British government. They created enclaves through demarcation of Cooch Bihar (India)-Bhutan border line in 1817. In 8<sup>th</sup> July 1987, Radcliff got the chairmanship of boundary commission. He was not fully independent on his duty. He was inexperienced. He worked on satisfaction of Lord Mount Batten and the Congress, a political party of India. The Indo-Pakistan agreement 1958 termed that without any compensation, India would transfer the Indian enclaves inside Pakistan territory to Pakistan and Pakistan would transfer Pakistani enclaves inside Pakistani territory to India. But India did not execute this agreement in different contexts.

**Evgeny Vinokurov (2007)** on “A Theory of Enclaves” cleared the enclave concept. He also referred the enclaves of Cooch Behar of Bangladesh-India border

**Vinokurov, Evgeny (2007):** A Theory of Enclaves. In: Online at <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/20936/> MPRA Paper No. 20936, posted 28. February 2010 06:35 UTC. Evgeny Vinokurov cited that there is no governance; no police protection; no electricity (despite, in many cases, the power lines of the surrounding states going across this or that enclave); no public services. Innumerable obstacles to normal economic and social life; total economic underdevelopment; violence, defenselessness facing gangs, and people being shot by border guards are the common feature of the enclave are. The sections of the border remain undemarcated for 60 years. Under these two extreme cases of a positive way and a negative way to handle enclave issues, there lies a realm of international enclaves. They share some common problems but also opportunities caused by their very enclavity, by the fact that they are detached from their mainland state and embedded in another state. Enclaves can be an opportunity or a curse for their inhabitants. In this above article, the writer wrote about the crisis and some social challenges. But exact statistical reports and economic reports regarding enclave people were not focused.

# **Chapter Three:**

## **Background of the Study**

## Background of the Study



(Photo 2 : Shalbari non government primary school, founded in 2012)

### Ancient history from 1500

North Bengal is a very strategic location for the communications to north-east India. Himalayas is situated to the north of it and the great Ganges is in the south. It was important for entry and exit from the Duars. Duars is important area for trade and communication with Bhutan and Tibet. (Whyte, 2002)

There was Gupta influence in North Bengal during the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. the influence of the Pala kings of Kamrupa, an Assamese state sometimes also called Kamata (Wikipedia) were utmost from the eighth to twelfth centuries. A period of anarchy started as soon as the Pala rule ended probably due to lack of an apparent successor. (Whyte, 2002)

In About A.D. 1200 much of southern and central Bengal was conquered by Muslims, enlarging the Delhi Sultanate. Bengal become an independent Muslim state in 1340 and remained so for 200 years.

Niladhvaja declared himself king in 1400 and assumed the title Kamateswara meaning Lord of Kamata (Majumdar, 1977, 29). Niladhvaja, founder of the city-fort of Kamatapur, was succeeded by his son Chakradhvaja and grandson Nilambara respectively. Latter, third king, the Khan dynasty, controlled a large kingdom covering all of present day Cooch Behar and Rangpur, and most of Goalpara, Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur.

The ruler of Bengal, Allaudin Hussain Shah, sent an army under Ismail Ghazi to invade Kamata in the 1490s. Dulal Ghazi invaded Assam and had established kingdom in Ahoms in the mid-

1200s. The area also fell into mayhem while numerous minor chiefs, communally known as Bara Bhuinyas, were founding small, temporary states (Majumdar, 1977, 29-30).

### **Founding of Cooch Behar from 1500 to 1540**

Around the period 1510-1515, Bisu, son of Hariya Mandal who is one of the chiefs of the Koch tribe (or possibly Mech) and rose to supremacy, progressively extended his rule to cover the region between the Tista (what is now the Karatoya) and Bar Nadi (rivers). As his rule spread, Brahmins declared him the son of the god Shiva. Bisu assumed the name Bisva Singh and his brother also assumed the name of Sib Singh. Bisu is commonly considered the first maharaja of a state that would later be called Cooch Behar although some authorities place his step-brother or cousin Chandan as the founder of the dynasty. Defeating Nar Singh who seized the throne after Bisva Singh's death in 1540, Malla Deb ascended the throne under the name Nar Narayan.

The borders of Cooch Behar were approximately the Jaldhaka and Mahananada Rivers, the southern boundary of post-1947 Indian Jalpaiguri, and the Himalayan foothills, thus being approximately equivalent to the western half of the present Jalpaiguri district (Kusari *et al*, 1981, 58).

Also around 1540, the Muslim kingdom of Bengal was conquered by Sher Khan Sur, later known as Sher Shah Sur, an Afghan nobleman from southern Bihar. Sher Shah Sur set up his own governors in the then Bengali capital of Gaur near modern Rajshahi, preparatory to his triumphant drive to oust Mughal Emperor Humayun from the empire's capital at Agra (Indian Empire, 1907, v2, 373).

The two kingdoms, Kamta and Kamrup, were found in Persian histories as Cooch Behar and Cooch Hajo (Gait, 1926, 52-3; Sarkar, 1984, 328). The name Cooch Behar can be traced first in the Shah Jahan Nama in the mid 1600s (Majumdar, 1977,1).

### **Second Maharaja, Nar Narayan, 1540-1585**

In 1546 and 1562 Sukladvaj, brother of Malla Deb, invaded Ahoms and obtained obedience from Jaintia, Kachar, Manipur, Sylhet, Tripura and Tippera.

In 1568 Bengal ruler Sulaiman Kararani (1563-1572) defeated the Kochs and captured Sukladvaj, though the general was later released (Nath, 1989, 66-71).

It appears Nar Narayan now entered into tributary alliance with the Muslims, and sent gifts to the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great in 1578 (Gait, 1926, 51-2). Emperor Humayun had ousted Sher Shah's Sur dynasty from Agra in 1555, while the Karani Afghans had replaced the Surs in Bengal in 1564. Humayun's son Akbar the Great removed the Karanis in turn and added Bengal to the Mughal Empire in 1575-6, possibly with Koch help (Nath, 1989, 72-4).

### **Third Maharaja Lakshmi Narayan 1585-1630**

Nar Narayan died somewhere between 1584 and 1588, and was succeeded by his son Lakshmi Narayan. Lakshmi retaliated by influencing Ragu's own son Parikshit to rebel against his father, but the counter-rebellion was failed, and Parikshit was imprisoned, later fled to his cousin Lakshmi's shelter. Ragu Dev died about 1603, and Parikshit succeeded.

Lakshmi had meanwhile revitalized the obedience of Nar Narayan to the Mughals in 1596. He confirmed himself a vassal of Emperor Akbar, and wedded one of her daughters to the Subahdar of Bengal, Raja Man Singh.

In 1608 Sheik Alauddin Eslam Khan became Subahdar of Bengal, and transferred to Dacca, capital of Bengal. From 1612, the Mughals was sending troops to support Lakshmi against Parikshit. At one stage, Mughals defeated Parikshit, and he was forced to surrender. But, he died in 1613 on the journey of home. The Mughals attached the kingless Cooch Hajo. In 1635, the Ahoms defeated the Mughals in Cooch Hajo. The Mughals set aside the part of Cooch Hajo, west of the Bar Nadi (river). (vinokurov, 2007)

Lakshmi Narayan ruled Cooch Behar until his death in 1627. He was succeeded by his son Bir Narayan. Bir Narayan was also succeeded by his son Pran Narayan in 1633.

#### Fifth Maharaja Pran Narayan; Mir Jumla's invasion 1630-1666

In 1658, the Mughal Empire was about to collapse due to fratricidal conflict among his several sons after death of Emperor Shah Jahan. Pran Narayan took this opportunity to enlarge his kingdom at Mughal expense, and occupied the Mughal areas of the erstwhile Cooch Hajo, and campaigned possibly as far south as Dacca. (vinokurov, 2007)

By then Aurangzeb had defeated his brother Mughal princes and secured the throne at Delhi. He sent Mir Jumla, his new governor in Bengal, to punish both Cooch Behar and Assam in 1661. Mir Jumla's military force reached the Cooch Behar frontier on 14 December 1661. Pran Narayan fled to Bhutan, and let the Muslims to generously grab his capital on 19 December.

The Ahoms was defeated. The Mughals started to rule the Brahmaputra Valley. But, suddenly, many Mughals died with fever. Outbreaks of pleurisy, the chaos of supply chains by the flooding and constant Ahom attacks forced the invaders to leave the place.

Pran Narayan was able to return from Bhutan through popular revolt against Mughal and drive the invaders out, which worsened Muslim problems in Assam. Mir Jumla made a treaty with the Ahoms and was on his way back down the Assam valley to Cooch Behar to restore Mughal rule there when he was struck by fever and died.

In 1664, the Mughals raised a new mission under Shaista Khan to conquer again the Cooch Behar. At the time of his death in 1666, Pran Narayan's kingdom extended from Morang in Nepal to Goalpara in Assam, and to the parganas of Tajhat and Baharband in the south of Rangpur.

#### Internal intrigues 1666-1695

Mod Narayan died childless in 1680. Mahendra Narayan, great-grandson of Pran Narayan was only five years old at the time of his succession.

The Mughals under Ebadat Khan occupied its far-flung regions from 1685. The chaklas of Kazirhat, Kakina and Fatehpur, were occupied first.

In 1693, Mahindra Narayan died after a reign of about 10 years and no fresh king was confirmed. The three occupied chaklas were attached by the Mughals around 1698. The Raikat brothers were killed around 1702 in a battle with Yajna Narayan who declared himself king.

With no surviving descendants, the line of Bir Narayan had expired, and it was left to the line of his brother the first Nazir, Mahi Narayan, to continue the dynasty. Rup Narayan, a nephew of Yajna Narayan, was enthroned as the new king in 1704.

### Enclave formation 1695-1713

A treaty was made in 1711 between Ali Kuli Khan and Rup Narayan. By this treaty, the Mughals would retain only the three chaklas attached initially: Kakina, Kazirhat and Fatehpur. The Subahdar of Bengal, who then was almost autonomous and had adopted the title of Nawab, disapproved of this treaty and rejected it, dismissed Kuli Khan. He replaced Ali Ijjat Neyamatulla Khan in the position of Kuli Khan. Later, he revised the treaty provisions in 1713, demanded revenue from Boda, Patgram and Purvabhag. Rup Narayan rejected this. As a result, war broke out again, and Cooch Behar defeated. In 1712, the death of Emperor Bahadur Shah had created an opening for the Bengalis to force Cooch Behar to the provisions unilaterally, and thus, the Mughal suzerainty was achieved over these areas and was accepted by the Koch kingdom in return for peace by the end of 1713.

These chaklas were granted to the Mughals by the treaty of 1713. But, the lands controlled by loyal Cooch Behar chiefs within the chaklas remained part of Cooch Behar. Subsequently, they were detached from Cooch Behar and became enclaves in the newly-Mughal lands. Conversely, scattered Mughal soldiers had occupied lands inside the rest of Cooch Behar. The Maharaja was unable or unwilling to either dislodge them or enforce his sovereignty over those lands. Thus, the soldiers retained their fealty to the Mughal Empire and their lands became Mughal territory inside the Cooch Behar. Those detached lands of Mughal Empire became enclaves inside Cooch Behar (Majumdar, 1977, 6; Roy Pradhan, 1995, 7-8). Boda, Patgram and Purvabhag chaklas remained semi-feudatory estates even under the East India Company until at least the permanent settlement of 1793 (Hunter, 1877, v7, 318).

The 1713 treaty only raised them from this landlord/landholding level to a quasi- international level for the first time.

### Internal troubles and the rise of Bhutanese influence 1714-1773

Rup Narayan died in 1714, and was succeeded by his son Upendra Narayan who reigned until 1763 and succeeded by his son Devendra.

Meanwhile, in 1736, the fourteenth Raikat of Baikunthapur had died left two young sons, Vikramadeva and Darpadeva. Being young, they were unable to manage the nominal independence of their state before 1739. The Foujdar of Rangpur, Saukat Jung, invaded and captured the boys, turning Baikanthapur into a pargana under Rangpur. By 1752-3, the chiefs of the state had almost regained their independence. The new Foujdar Kasim Ali invaded again; disciplined the chiefs; and made Vikramadeva raikat. Vikramadeva died in 1758. Darpadeva was



replaced in the position of Vikramadeva. But, he never renounced Muslim suzerainty, probably due to having spent seventeen years in Mughal captivity.

#### The origins of British rule in India, 1600-1770

The English East India Company (EIC), created in 1599, was one of a number of European trading enterprises created to bypass the Arab monopoly on Asian trade by utilizing Vasco de Gama's discovery of a sea route around Africa. The EIC set up factories (trading posts) in ports along the Indian coast in the 1600s, including Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. (Whyte, 2002)

In India, the East Indian Company had established itself in the Carnatic region. After the Carnatic wars, the British East India Company and the French East India Company started improving their fortifications in the Bengal region anticipating another war.

In 1756, Alwardi Khan the Nawab of Bengal died and was succeeded by his 23 year old grandson, Siraj-ud-Daulah. The Nawab Najir of the then autonomous Bengal Siraj-ud-Daula annoyed at British and French advancing their military protection and he ordered them to stop (British East India Company and the French East India Company has been given the license to trade, nothing else). The British East India Company refused to obey the order. Then, the Siraj-ud-Daulah invaded Bengal and captured Cozimbazar and Calcutta from the EIC in 1756. Clive sailed for Calcutta, and defeated Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey [Palashi] in June 1757. The Nawab's uncle, Mir Jafar was enthroned, and he granted the Company rent-free tenure of Calcutta and the zamindari of the district of the neighboring 24-Parganas district. Mir Jafar soon fell out with the Company, and was replaced in turn with his son-in-law Mir Kasim Ali, who granted the Company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong (Chakrabatti, 1918, 10-11; Harrington, 1994, 19-29).

Company supremacy was reinforced by their defeat of the weak Mughal Emperor Shah Alam and the Nawab of Oudh at the battle of Buxar in Bihar in 1764. In 1765, the EIC obtain the Dewani or revenue administration, of all Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This allowed them to collect all taxes and keep whatever remained after the payment of 2,600,000 rupees in tribute to Delhi. The granting of the dewani on 12 August 1765 consequently meant that the enclaves of Cooch Behar and Mughal Bengal created in 1713 were now between the Cooch Behar and the Company. At the time, the ceased payments were attributed to the effects of a severe famine in Bengal in 1769-70 which had, in fact, killed perhaps one third of the population (Hunter, 1868, 17; Dodwell, 1929, 597; Sever, 1985, 4).

As Mughal authority had declined in Bengal, the Sannyasi, a band of Hindu religious mendicants based in the north, had utilized the power vacuum to commit rampant dacoits, raiding as far south as Dacca. The Sannyasi exploited the complex boundaries in the vicinity of Cooch Behar, using the enclaves to avoid arrest by the various authorities, Mughal, Cooch Behari or Company. The Company managed to restrain them by a series of punitive expeditions in the mid-1760s.

The boundary between Cooch Behar and the Company's territories in Bengal was first "determined" in 1769 and then "fixed" in 1773.

### The first Anglo-Bhutanese War, 1773-4

With the buffer state of Oudh to their west, and the Sannyasis suppressed, the Company was worried about the Bhutanese threat to their north. Cooch Behar would be a useful second link in the 'ring fence', and the state's appeal for aid against Bhutan was an opportunity to make it more secure. Charles Purling, the Collector of Rangpur sent troops to the state, which captured Cooch Behar town in December 1772, then forced the Raikat of Baikunthapur, who was supporting the Bhutanese, to withdraw from the rest of the state in the first months of 1773. Despite these successes, Company troops faced serious losses and the victory was obtained with much greater difficulty than expected.

On April 5, 1773, the Treaty between the young Maharaja Dharendra Narayan and the Company was signed (see Appendix 1-1). It was fairly harsh. Cooch Behar was responsible for the entire costs of the British invasion against the Bhutanese, and had to pay 50,000 rupees up front. The Maharaja had to acknowledge Company suzerainty over his kingdom, and to "... allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal". Further, half of the annual revenues of the kingdom were payable to the Company "for ever".

Dhairyendra died in 1783 and was succeeded by his second son, Harendra, who was less than four years old (Majumdar, 1977, 34-5).

### Cooch Behar 1774-1863

With a minor king, the affairs of state were placed in the hands of regents, including the queen mother the Maharani, and the Nazir. Company itself would approve the creation of more enclaves, between Bhutan and Cooch Behar, three years later in 1817. However, one of the main reasons EIC officers attempted to reform the Cooch Behar police and court system during the minority of Harendra Narayan (1788-1801) was to remove the threat of the Sannyasi bands still at large in Rangpur, and who had been using the enclaves as dens (Majumdar, 1977, 157).

Harendra Narayan reigned until 1839 and was succeeded by his son Sivendra Narayan, whose reign was comparatively uneventful. Sivendra Narayan had no sons, so with Company consent adopted a grandson of his Nazir. This boy died in 1845 and the king adopted another child, Chandra Narayan, who was renamed Narendra Narayan, and succeeded to the throne in 1847 at the age of six upon Sivendra's death (Majumdar, 1977, 39). Narendra was educated in English schools in Krishnagar and Calcutta as Sivendra had wished, and attained his majority in 1859.

Also in 1859, a survey by J.J. Pemberton produced the earliest regular map of Cooch Behar now existing which shows a number of the larger enclaves. Some are also shown in Pemberton's 1856 map of Rangpur which depicts the fragmented parganas into which the district was divided, including those of the Chaklajat estates, Boda, Patgram and Purvabhag.

In 1862 a sanad, it was granted in perpetuity on Narendra and his successors. It permitted the right of adoption on condition of continuing loyalty to the Crown and to their engagements with the British Government (Das, 1990, 102; text in Aitchison, 1929, v2, 309-10).

Narendra died aged in his mid-twenties in 1863 (Majumdar, 1977, 39). He left a one-year old son, Nripendra Narayan.

### EIC-Bhutan-Cooch Behar relations 1775-1863

The ninety years from the first Bhutanese war of 1774 to the second in 1865 was a period of constant difficulties between Cooch Behar and Bhutan, with the British trapped between the two as intermediaries. The Company was eager to encourage trade with Tibet, which required good relations with Bhutan. A series of Bhutanese civil wars made it difficult for the British to find a central authority to deal with. A mission led by George Bogle had set out for Tibet through Bhutan in 1775, to take advantage of the contact initiated by the Tibetans during the first war, but it was prevented access to Tibet, partly because the deposed Dev Raja had rebelled against his replacement. However, Bogle did manage to secure access for Indian, but not European, traders (Collister, 1996, 32). The disturbances in the central Bhutanese government gave a dangerous independence of action to the officials in its further-flung provinces, especially those along the frontier with Cooch Behar. Like the British, the Bhutanese considered the Duars, the passes from the mountains and the Bengal plains immediately below them, to be unhealthy areas.

### The second Anglo-Bhutanese, 1863-5

On 12 November 1864, a proclamation was issued permanently annexing all the Bengal Duars north of Cooch Behar:

“The future boundaries between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bhootan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bhootan within this boundary will cease forever.”

In late November, <sup>3</sup>British troops began to occupy the Duars, moving towards Bhutan. The Bhutanese counterattacked and drove the British away from the mountains. Eden's report had badly underestimated the military abilities of the Bhutanese. British troops were doubled from 3500 to 7000 by reinforcements from Lucknow,, Calcutta and elsewhere. Then, the Dev Raja agreed to peace. In the Treaty concluded 11 November 1865 the entirety of the Duars were permanently annexed in return for an annual compensation of 25,000 rupees. Free trade and extradition arrangements were also included. The annexation was formally proclaimed on 4 July 1866. Thus, the Duars became British.

### Indian administrative changes, and the Maharajas 1854-1947

Maharaja Nripendra Narayan attained his majority in 1883. He brook the Hindu prohibition on sea journey. He continued the reforms with modern ideas of town planning and public health, street lighting, sewers, wide roads, and large tanks. He opened the Cooch Behar State Railway in 1894 (Aitchison, 1929, v2, 191-2 & 311-6). He declared to be the official English spelling of the State's name as 'Cooch Behar' in 1896 ( Ghoshal, 1942, 538; Roy Pradhan, 1995, 22).

Meanwhile, in 1905, the Government of India decided to divide the Presidency of Bengal into two province with effect from 16 October 1905. The western half retain the name Bengal, and the eastern half retain the name Eastern Bengal & Assam with its capital at Dacca.

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<sup>3</sup>Duars became British leaving northernexclaves of cooch Behar created in 1817 inside British territory (Whyte, 2002)

Rangpur and Jalpaiguri districts were included in the new eastern province, while Cooch Behar remained administratively attached to Bengal, and became an enclave within Eastern Bengal & Assam (Government of India, 1905a, 146 & 1905b, 148).

Cooch Behar was once more sandwiched between Bengal on three sides and Assam on the fourth as it had been from 1865 to 1905.

Simultaneously, a new capital for India was declared at Delhi, moved from Calcutta to symbolically legitimate British rule as a successor state to the Mughals by imitation. The move was taken in reaction to increasing local antipathy to foreign rule, which had increased due to the 1905 Bengal partition (Spate, 1954, 492).

Nripendra's eldest son, Raj[a]rajendra succeeded his father, but died only two years later at Cromer, England, in 1913. He was succeeded by his brother Jitendra Narayan. Jitendra died of pneumonia in London on his thirty-sixth birthday, 22 December 1922. Jitendra was succeeded by his minor son Jagaddipendra Narayan.

In 1936, Cooch Behar, and Tripura, was transferred from the administration of Bengal to join the Eastern States Agency, set up in 1933 for the various small States located between Orissa and Bihar.

Cooch Behar, like most of the Princely States, saw little agitation for independence before 1947, as it was not directly ruled by the British.

#### Independence and Partition, 1947

Finally, on 20 February 1947, the British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, announced that the British would transfer power to an independent Indian government no later than June 1948 (Atlee, 1947, 392). The Princely States would be expected to join, with no opportunity for their own separate independence. The province of Bengal was nominally divided into Hindu majority districts and Muslim majority districts.

Rangpur and Dinajpur were provisionally included in Muslim East Bengal, with Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri remaining in non-Muslim West Bengal (Indian Independence Act, 1947, 411). The Bengal Legislative Assembly representatives of the districts in each part were asked to vote on whether the province should be partitioned along religious lines or not. If partition was voted down, the province as a whole would go to Pakistan, as Bengal at the time had a 55% Muslim majority (Chatterji, 1999, 199).

<sup>4</sup>Mountbatten finally decided to form a committee comprising an independent chairman and four members, two of them selected by the Congress and Muslim League.

- I. the Secretary of State for India the Earl of Listow,
- II. Jawarharlal Nehru of the Congress Party
- III. Mohammed Ali Jinnah of the Muslim League.

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<sup>4</sup> Radcliffe had no experience of India and with chairmanship of both commissions in opposite parts of the country and the accelerated date of independence, he was unable to attend the sessions of either commission, Bengal's starting on 16<sup>th</sup> July in Calcutta. (Whyte, 2002)

IV. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, an English jurist

Sir Cyril Radcliffe was chosen as chair of both the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions. Radcliffe had no experience of India, and with the chairmanship of both commissions in opposite parts of the country and the accelerated date of independence, he was unable to attend the sessions of either commission.

In regard to Cooch Behar and its enclaves of the Award gave to East Bengal in Pakistan the four southern thanas of Jalpaiguri district (Tetulia, Pachagarh, Boda, Debiganj) and the detached thana of Patgram, a total of 672 miles<sup>2</sup> (1740km<sup>2</sup>), together with all of Rangpur and the north-eastern thanas of Dinajpur district (see Figs. 4b & c). By awarding parts of Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri to East Pakistan, Radcliffe left the northern majority of Jalpaiguri, and Darjeeling, with West Bengal, but detached from the main section of that state.

#### **For the partition in the area of Cooch Behar:**

However, Muslims formed a majority in three of Jalpaiguri's 17 thanas: Tetulia, Panchagarh and Boda. None of these thanas was adjoining to Domar, the nearest Muslim-majority thana in Rangpur. Yet these three plus the two non-Muslim majority thanas of Debiganj and Patgram were awarded to East Pakistan (Mukherjea & Biswas, 1947, 192).

In Rangpur the district as a whole was of Muslim majority, and had formed part of East Bengal in the viceroy's nominal division. Within the district, two thanas were non-Muslim majority, Dimla and Hatibandha. Yet the entire district was awarded to East Pakistan. In Dinajpur district, the Muslims were in the majority, but only barely at 50.20%. Of its 30 thanas, exactly half had a Muslim majority. Of these fifteen Muslim-majority thanas, six were in the west and nine in the east, separated by a compact block of the fifteen non-Muslim majority thanas. The district headquarters of Dinajpur was only barely a Muslim majority thana. The eleven westernmost thanas were awarded to West Bengal and the remaining nineteen including Dinajpur town to East Bengal (Mukherjea & Biswas, 1947, 194; Biswas, 1999, 517).

In all three districts, contiguity of religious majority areas was the main basis of Partition. Where a substantial Muslim pocket existed in Jalpaiguri district, separated from the rest of the Muslim area by only a couple of isolated non-Muslim majority thanas, it was given to East Bengal along with the non-Muslim thanas in between.

The isolated non-Muslim majority pockets of Patgram, Dimla and Hatibandha were awarded to East Pakistan on the basis of contiguity and the problem of Cooch Behar. Cooch Behar's position in being surrounded on three sides by Jalpaiguri and Rangpur made Radcliffe's award almost a case of chicken-and-egg.

The Radcliffe awards were announced on 17 August 1947 and published in the Gazette of India the same day.

#### **Accession of the Princely States 1947-49**

In July 1947 Mountbatten assured the princes that they were now independent but that that independence was not total. The enclaves of Cooch Behar in East Pakistan and vice versa were a truly international affair. On 14 December 1948, both countries agreed to put the Bengal disputes

to a Boundary Disputes Tribunal. The tribunal was formed three members. Two members were selected from the two countries (Pakistan and India) comprising a Swedish judge honorable Justice Algot Bagge as an independent chairman. The tribunal met in December 1949 and January 1950 to consider two disputes between the Bengals and two on the Sylhet-Assam boundary. Its report is dated 26 January 1950. As the Tribunal was constituted before Cooch Behar's officially joining to India, the problem of the enclaves was not given to it for consideration (Prescott, 1975a, 314-5, AIR 1959 Calcutta 507).

Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, the king of Cooch Bihar, got the power to merge the province with India or Pakistan. In **28<sup>th</sup> August 1949**, the king signed on "Cooch Bihar Merger Agreement" with Indian Dominion instead of highly objection of the Muslims.

In 1951 both India and Pakistan held their first post-independence censuses, ongoing the decennial census tradition begun by the British. India was able to access her exclaves for the first and last after the dependence 1947.. Pakistani authorities gave up on attempts to count their own exclave dwellers after their enumerators were harassed and arrested by Indian police and border guards. Nevertheless, the 1951 censuses in each country remains the most complete population data for the enclaves.

1952 saw the first definite Pakistani claim to South Berubari Union No. 12<sup>3</sup> (AIR 1959 Cal 506; Appadorai, 1981, 188; Rajya Sabha, 1960, 3205) The area of the union was 8.74 square miles (22.58km<sup>2</sup>), with a mainly Hindu population of perhaps 12,000, of whom 8000 were refugees from East Bengal (Nehru, 1961, 497; Keesings, 1961, 17884; Government of India, 1992).

The abolition of zamindari rights in East Bengal also occurred in 1952. Land reform was carried out under the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1951. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar was the Zamindar of Chaklajat estates in East Bengal. He lost his landholdings in East Bengal.

#### The end of the Maharajas, 1970-71

Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch Behar died on 11 April 1970, aged 54. He had married an Englishwoman, Gina Egan in the 1950s, but they had no children. Jagaddipendra was succeeded by his nephew Virajendra Narayan, the son of his younger brother Indrajitendra Narayan (Devi and Rau, 1984, 310; Almanach de Bruxelles website).

#### Merger with West Bengal, 1950

By the States' Merger (West Bengal) Order 1949, issued 31 December 1949 under section 290A of the Government of India Act 1935, Cooch Behar was transferred to and merged with the province of West Bengal on 1 January 1950. Chief Commissioner Nanjappa handed over the administration to West Bengal Premier Dr B.C.Roy in a ceremony at Cooch Behar town. The Maharaja did not attend "which is hardly surprising. He preferred to watch the Test Match in Calcutta" (Davies, 1950).

#### **Indo-Bangladesh period: 1971 to 2018**

**In 16 May 1974**, Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi signed the Land Boundary Agreement (LBM) which is known as Mujib – Indira pact.

**In November 1974** Bangladesh ratified the Agreement in Parliament. Article 2(a) of the Constitution was amended by the Constitution (Third Amendment) Act 1974. Although Bangladesh ratified the Agreement in Parliament, amended the constitution and handed the southern half of South Berubari (7.39 sq km) an East Bengal enclave adjacent to the Boda thana of Panchagarh district over India, India neither ratified the Agreement in their Parliament nor granted lease in perpetuity to Bangladesh the ‘Tin Bigha Corridor, a road connection of 178 × 85 metre’ until **31 July of 2015**.

**In 07<sup>th</sup> October 1982**, another agreement was signed between the countries. The ‘Tin Bigha Corridor’ remained closed until 1992. It was kept open for six hours a day from 1992 to 1996 following a protocol signed in **26<sup>th</sup> March of 1992** between Bangladesh and India.

Later, the time period was extended by another six hours during the previous Awami League government’s tenure. The corridor was kept open for 12 hours daily. Following an agreement between Hasina and Monmohan Singh in **8<sup>th</sup> September 2011**, it was kept open for 24 hours daily. It resolved only the problem of Dohagram and Angorpota enclaves. But other enclaves were in previous situation. Enclave turned into a curse for the people. Accordence with the survey carried out in 2015; there were 38,521 people living in Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 14,863 people living in Bangladeshi enclaves in India.

**In 06 May, 2015**, India ratified the Indira-Mujib Land Boundary Agreement of 1974. The two countries agreed to exchange enclaves during Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s visit to Bangladesh on June 6-7, 2015, as per the Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) 1974 and Protocol of 2011. Exchange of citizens was started at midnight on 31 July and ended on November 30, 2015. Bangladesh got 111 Indian enclaves and 17,161 acres land, and received 38432 people living in Bangladesh. India got 51 Bangladeshi enclaves and 7,110 acres land and received 14,863 people living in India. 900 people living in Indian enclaves in Bangladesh migrated to India.

### **History of Cooch Bihar** <sup>5</sup>

1510s	Bisu (Bisva Singh) founds the Koch kingdom
1560s	Under Nar Narayan, Cooch Behar attains its greatest extent.
1581?	Nar Narayan divides kingdom with his nephew creatng Cooch Behar and Cooch Hajo.
1661	Mughal general Mir Jumla conquers Cooch Behar, but dies soon after
1685	Mughals occupy chaklas Fatehpur, Kazirhat and Kakina
1690-1710	Mughals occupy chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purvabhag
1711	Cooch Behar cedes Fatehpur, Kazirhat and Kakina to Mughal Empire by treaty

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<sup>5</sup> Whyte, B. R. (2002). Waiting for the Esquimo: an historical and documentary study of the Cooch Behar enclaves of India and Bangladesh

- 1713 Mughals demand Boda, Patgram and Purvabhag. Cooch Behar rejects this, but defeated in short campaign. New treaty forces Maharaja to hold them in farm from the Mughals, creating the enclaves.
- 1757 Clive defeats Bengal Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey
- 1765 East India Co. granted *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by Mughal Emperor.
- 1769 Boundary between Cooch Behar and East India Co. territories first determined
- 1773 Cooch Behar acknowledges EIC suzerainty in return for East India Co. aid against Bhutan
- 1787 Flood changes the course of the Tista river
- 1817 Maraghat (Baishchala) enclaves formed when EIC moves Bhutanese boundary southward, but retains certain lands for Cooch Behar
- 1827 East India Co. conquers Assam from Burmese
- 1858 British Government replaces East India Co. after Indian Mutiny
- 1865 British conquer the Duars from Bhutan; British India now encircles Cooch Behar
- c.1870 Jalpaiguri district formed from NW part of Rangpur district and Western Duars
- 1905-12 Partition of Bengal. Although enclaved by Eastern Bengal and Assam province, Cooch Behar under Bengal province's administration
- 1912-14 Cooch Behar-Assam main boundary and enclaves demarcated
- 1917-47? British and Cooch Behar enclaves "exchanged" for excise purposes
- 1919-20 Cooch Behar-Jalpaiguri main boundary demarcated
- 1933-34 Cooch Behar-Rangpur main boundary demarcated
- 1933-36 Cooch Behar-Rangpur enclaves demarcated
- 1936 Cooch Behar administration passes from Bengal to the Eastern States Agency
- 1937-39 Cooch Behar-Jalpaiguri enclaves demarcated
- 1947 India and Pakistan independent. Bengal partitioned. Rangpur and southern Jalpaiguri fall to Pakistan. Cooch Behar left between them with enclaves in and from both.
- 1949 Cooch Behar merges with India, becoming a Chief Commissioner's Province 1950 Cooch Behar becomes a district of West Bengal
- 1950s Chaklajat estates nationalised under East Pakistani land reforms



- 1952 First Pakistani claims to Berubari. India transfers several former Cooch Behar enclaves along the Pakistani border to Jalpaiguri district.
- 1955 Remaining Cooch Behar enclaves within Jalpaiguri transferred to the latter.
- 1958 Nehru-Noon agreement to exchange all international enclaves and give half of Berubari to Pakistan. Probable Pakistani ratification of agreement.
- 1958-71 Court cases, vocal opposition and poor relations obstruct Indian implementation of Nehru- Noon.
- 1960 India amends constitution to legitimise Nehru-Noon agreement. Two Jalpaiguri enclaves transferred to Cooch Behar.
- 1965 Dahagram incident. Indo-Pakistan war over Kashmir & Punjab. Confiscation of enemy- owned land. Most cross-border communications cut.
- 1971 East Pakistan independent as Bangladesh after bloody civil war and Indian intervention.
- 1974 Indira-Mujib agreement to exchange all enclaves, except Dahagram-Angarpota. India to retain Berubari and lease Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh. Bangladeshi court challenge dismissed; Bangladesh amends Constitution & ratifies agreement. Indian court challenges continue until 1992.
- 1982 Agreement on Tin Bigha lease terms.
- 1992 Tin Bigha leased to Bangladesh (26 June).
- 2001 Tin Bigha opening hours extended.
- 2002 6.5km of boundary remains undemarcated. India yet to amend Constitution to ratify & implement Indira-Mujib agreement.
- 2011 Tin Bigha opening hours extended to 24 hours
- 2015 India ratified the Indira-Mujib Land Boundary Agreement of 1974

## Number and Area of enclave and exclave of Bangladesh and India

<sup>6</sup>The exact number of enclaves was not figure out during the British colonial era. In 1961, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, published ‘Census Hand Book’ which uncovers a complete list of enclaves. In terms of this estimate, the total areas of enclaves covered 33246.44 acres as stated in the 1961 record within the territory of India and Bangladesh as well. The number of Indian enclaves found in the home land of Bangladesh was 131 totaling an area of 20957.07 acres span. The District Census Handbook, 1961 confirmed that 59 enclaves were found in the Lalmonirhat district of Bangladesh (2 in Lalmonirhat Sadar, 55 in Patgram, and 2 in Hatibandha), 54 enclaves in Panchagarh district of Bangladesh (31 in Boda, 11 in Debiganj and 12 in Panchagarh sadar), 13 enclaves in Kurigram district in Bangladesh (01 in Kurigram sadar, 11 in Bhurungamari and 01 in Phulbari) and remaining four (04) enclaves in Dimla upazila of Nilphamari district of Bangladesh. In India, on the other hand, there are 95 Bangladeshi enclaves summing up to 12289.37 acres. In accordance with the handbook of 1961, 95 enclaves were in the Cooch Behar district of Indian West Begal province (21 in Haldibari, 32 in Dinjata, 13 in Mathabhanga, 14 in Mekhliganj, 09 at Sitalkuchi and 06 in Tufanganj).

Through the joint survey of both countries in the area of Berubari border, a list of enclaves was made on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1996. According to this joint survey, in Bangladesh, the number of Indian enclaves was 111 measuring an area of 17158.05 acres. The joint survey claimed that there were 59 enclaves covered by Lalmonirhat district of Bangladesh (55 in Patgram, 02 in Hatibandha and 02 in Lalmonirhat sadar), 36 enclaves in the Panchagarh district of Bangladesh (24 in Boda, 07 in Panchagarh sadar, 05 in Debiganj), 12 enclaves in Kurigram district of Bangladesh (10 in Bhurungamari, 01 in Phulbari and 01 in Kurigram sadar) and remaining 04 enclaves in Dimla upazila of Nilphamari district of Bangladesh. In India, on the other hand, the number of Bangladeshi enclaves was 51 which cover 7110.02 acres of land. The 51 enclaves were in the Cooch Behar district of Indian West Bengal provice (19 in Dinjata, 12 in Mathabhanga, 06 in Mekhliganj, 06 in Sitalkuchi and 03 in Tufanganj).

On the basis of size, the biggest Indian enclave inside Bangladesh was Dahala Khagrabari enclave (J.L. No. 1) which covers 2650.36 acres. And the shortest was Panishala enclave totaling only an area of 0.27 acre. Whereas, the biggest Bangladeshi enclave in India was Nalgram (J.L. No.65) which covered 1397.34 acres. The shortest was Birampur enclave which covered 1.05 acre.

### The List of Enclaves in the Survey of 1996

Bangladeshi enclaves inside India were as follows (Yunus, 2015) -

Sl. no	Name of Enclaves	J.L. No	Police Station of Bangladesh	Police Station of India	Amount of Land (acres)
1	Chit Kuchlibari	22	Patgram	Mekhliganj	370.64
2	Chit Kuchlibari	24	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.83
3	Balapukuri	21	Patgram	Mekhliganj	331.64
4	Panbari	20	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.13
5	Chit Panbari	18	Patgram	Mekhliganj	108.59
6	Bamonjol	21	Patgram	Mekhliganj	2.30
7	Dhobolshahati	14	Patgram	Mekhliganj	66.58

<sup>6</sup> Brig JB Peter , Director Land Records and Survey (Ex-ffcial)West Bangl, India. And Directro Eastern circle suevey of India . Calcutta 1997. And ASM yunus, (2015), Enclave, Annesha Prokashon, P.K.Roy Road, 9 Banglabazar, Dhaka, pp 46-58

8	Dhobolshahati, Mrigipur	15	Patgram	Mekhliganj	173.44
9	Dhobolshati	14	Patgram	Mekhliganj	60.44
10	Chit land of Jogotbeyr-1	35	Patgram	Mathabhanga	30.66
11	Chit land of Jogotbeyr-2	36	Patgram	Mathabhanga	27.09
12	Jot Nizzama	3	Patgram	Mekhliganj	87.54
13	Chit land of Jogotbeyr	37	Patgram	Mathabhanga	69.84
14	Chit Srirampur	8	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.05
15	Chit Kokibari	47	Patgram	Mathabhanga	29.49
16	Chit Vanderdah	67	Patgram	Mathabhanga	39.96
17	Dhobolguri	52	Patgram	Mathabhanga	12.50
18	Dhobolguri(No 5)	72	Patgram	Mathabhanga	4.12
19	Chit land of Dhobolguri	71	Patgram	Mathabhanga	4.55
20	Chit Dhobolguri	53	Patgram	Mathabhanga	22.31
21	Chit land of Dhobolguri	70	Patgram	Mathabhanga	1.33
22	Chit land of Dhobolguri-3	68	Patgram	Mathabhanga	26.83
23	Chit land of Dhobolguri		Patgram	Mathabhanga	13.95
24	Mohishmari	54	Patgram	Sitalkuchi	122.77
25	Folnapur	64	Patgram	Sitalkuchi	506.56
26	Nolgram No-1	65(3pieces)	Patgram	Sitalkuchi	1397.34
27	Chit Nolgram	62(2 pieces)	Patgram	Sitalkuchi	49.50
28	Boro Sradhubol	13	Hatibandha	Sitalkuchi	34.96
29	Amjol	57	Hatibandha		1.25
30	Kisamot Battisgas	82	Kaligonj	Dinhata	209.95
31	Battieisgas	81(2 pieces)	Kaligonj	Dinhata	577.37
32	Durgapur Bunsuya	83	Kaligonj	Dinhata	20.96
33	Khamar Gidaldha	1	Lalmonirhat	Dinhata	24.54
34	Shib Proshad Mustafi	8	Fulbari	Dinhata	373.20
35	Karala	9(3pieces)	Fulbari	Tufanganj	269.91
36	Uttar Dholdanga	14(3pieces)	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	24.70
37	Uttar Banosjoni Uttar	1	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	47.17
38	Moshaldanga	2	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	27.29
39	East Moshaldanga	11	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	153.89
40	Moddho moshaldanga	3(6pieces)	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	136.66
41	South moshaldanga	6(6pieces)	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	517.38
42	Kochuya	5	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	119.74
43	West moshaldanga	4.2	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	29.49
44	West chit moshaldanga	7	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	7.60
45	Moddho chit moshaldanga	8	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	11.87
46	East Chit moshaldanga	10(2pieces)	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	34.01
47	Chit Tolal East Bakalir	17	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	81.56

48	East Bakalir Chora	40	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	12.28
49	Moddho Bakalir Chora	30	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	32.72
50	West Bakalir Chora	38	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	151.94
51	Pathor Kutir	37	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	589.94

#### Indian Enclaves within Bangladesh

Sl. no	Name of Enclaves	J.L. No	Police Station of Bangladesh	Police Station of India	Amount of Land (acres)
1	Garati Chit	75	Panchagarh	Haldibari	58.23
2	Garati Chit	76	Panchagarh	Haldibari	0.79
3	Garati Chit	77	Panchagarh	Haldibari	18.00
4	Garati Chit	78	Panchagarh	Haldibari	958.66
5	Garati Chit	79	Panchagarh	Haldibari	1.74
6	Garati Chit	80	Panchagarh	Haldibari	73.75
7	Singimari(part-1)	73	Boda	Haldibari	6.07
8	Najirgonj chit	60	Boda	Haldibari	0.52
9	Najirgonj chit	58	Boda	Haldibari	14.22
10	Najirgonj chit	57	Boda	Haldibari	8.27
11	Putimari	59	Boda	Haldibari	122.80
12	Najirgonj chit	56	Boda	Haldibari	54.04
13	Najirgonj chit	54	Boda	Haldibari	3.87
14	Najirgonj chit	53	Boda	Haldibari	1.02
15	Najirgonj chit	52	Boda	Haldibari	1.04
16	Najirgonj chit	51	Boda	Haldibari	0.77
17	Najirgonj chit	50	Boda	Haldibari	5.05
18	Najirgonj chit	42	Boda	Haldibari	434.29
19	Najirgonj chit	49	Boda	Haldibari	49.05
20	Najirgonj chit	55	Boda	Haldibari	12.18
21	Najirgonj chit	48	Boda	Haldibari	73.27
22	Najirgonj chit	46	Boda	Haldibari	17.95
23	Najirgonj chit	47	Boda	Haldibari	3.89
24	Najirgonj chit	45	Boda	Haldibari	1.07
25	Najirgonj chit	44	Boda	Haldibari	53.47
26	Najirgonj chit	41	Boda	Haldibari	58.32
27	Doikhat chit	38	Boda	Haldibari	499.21
28	Shalbari	37	Boda	Haldibari	1188.93
29	Kajol dighi	36	Boda	Haldibari	771.44
30	Natoktouka chit	32	Boda	Haldibari	162.26
31	Natoktouka chit	33	Boda	Haldibari	0.26
32	Behuladanga	34(2 ieces)	Boda	Haldibari	862.46
33	Behuladanga	35	Boda	Haldibari	0.83
34	Balapara Khagrabari	3	Debiganj	Haldibari	1752.44
35	Kotvojni	2(1 ieces)	Debiganj	Haldibari	2012.27
36	Dahala Khagrabari chit	1(6 ieces)	Debiganj	Haldibari	2650.35
37	Boro Khankibari chit	28	Dimla	Mekhliganj	30.53
38	Boro Khanki chit	29	Dimla	Mekhliganj	36.83
39	Boro Khanki Kharija	30	Dimla	Mekhliganj	7.71

	Gidaldah				
40	Chir Nogor jigabari	31	Dimla	Mekhliganj	33.41
41	Boro Khanki Kharija Gidaldah	30	Dimla	Mekhliganj	0.27
42	Panishala	153/0	Patgram	Mekhliganj	18.01
43	Dishari Khamari Khuamari	18	Patgram	Mekhliganj	36.50
44	Panishala	19	Patgram	Mekhliganj	64.63
45	Panishala	17	Patgram	Mekhliganj	137.66
46	Kamat Cengarabanda	17/a	Patgram	Mekhliganj	16.01
47	Panishala	21	Patgram	Mekhliganj	205.46
48	Lotamari	20	Patgram	Mekhliganj	42.80
49	Lotamari	22	Patgram	Mekhliganj	51.40
50	Darikamari	25	Patgram	Mekhliganj	283.53
51	Darikamari	23	Patgram	Mekhliganj	98.86
52	Lotamari	14	Patgram	Mekhliganj	45.73
53	Khorkhoria	10	Patgram	Mekhliganj	39.52
54	Khorkhoria	14	Patgram	Mekhliganj	110.92
55	Phulkerbari	101	Patgram	Mekhliganj	51.62
56	Panishala	153/p	Patgram	Mekhliganj	60.74
57	Botbari	16	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.88
58	Bag Dakia	12	Patgram	Mekhliganj	25.49
59	Rotonpur	11	Patgram	Mekhliganj	58.91
60	Upen Couki Kuchlibari	7	Patgram	Mekhliganj	44.04
61	Upen Couki Kuchlibari	115/2	Patgram	Mekhliganj	52.0
62	Jamaldah bala pukri	6	Patgram	Mekhliganj	5.24
63	Balapurkuri	5	Patgram	Mekhliganj	55.91
64	Bala Khangir	4	Patgram	Mekhliganj	50.51
65	Votbari	8	Patgram	Mekhliganj	36.83
66	Boro Khangir	9	Patgram	Mekhliganj	87.42
67	Bog Dakia	10	Patgram	Mekhliganj	41.70
68	Chit Vothat	24	Patgram	Mekhliganj	56.11
69	Bashkata	131	Patgram	Mekhliganj	22.35
70	Bashkata	130	Patgram	Mekhliganj	21.97
71	Bashkata	132	Patgram	Mekhliganj	11.36
72	Voarmgiri		Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.44
73	A chit of cooch Behar	38/39	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.00
74	Canakata	134	Patgram	Mekhliganj	7.81
75	Bashkata	119	Patgram	Mekhliganj	413.81
76	Bashkata	128	Patgram	Mekhliganj	2.30
77	Bashkata	117	Patgram	Mekhliganj	2.55
78	Bashkata	118	Patgram	Mekhliganj	30.98
79	Bashkata	116	Patgram	Mekhliganj	16.96
80	Bashkata	123	Patgram	Mekhliganj	24.37
81	Bashkata	124	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.28
82	Bashkata	125	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.64
83	Bashkata	129	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.97

84	Bashkata	126	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.39
85	Bashkata	127	Patgram	Mekhliganj	12.72
86	Bashkata	120	Patgram	Mekhliganj	30.7587
87	Bashkata	121	Patgram	Mekhliganj	12.15
88	Bashkata	113	Patgram	Mekhliganj	57.86
89	Bashkata	112	Patgram	Mekhliganj	315.04
90	Bashkata	114	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.77
91	Bashkata	115	Patgram	Mekhliganj	29.20
92	Bashkata	122	Patgram	Mekhliganj	33.22
93	Boro Kuchlibari	107	Patgram	Mekhliganj	4.35
94	Kuchlibari	26	Patgram	Mekhliganj	5.18
95	Kuchlibari	27	Patgram	Mekhliganj	2.04
96	Chit Gotamari	135	Hatibandha	Sitalkuchi	126.59
97	Chit Gotamari	136	Hatibandha	Sitalkuchi	20.02
98	Bonos pacai	151	Lalmonirhat	Sitalkuchi	217.21
99	Chit vitor Kuti	152	Lalmonirhat	Sitalkuchi	81.71
100	Chit Deshair Chor	150	Fulbari	Sitalkuchi	1643.44
101	Chit Choto Garoljora pt-11	149	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	17.85
102	Chit Choto Garoljora pt-1	148	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	35.74
103	Chit Digholtari	144	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	12.31
104	Chit Digholtari	145	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	8.82
105	Chit Digholtari	146	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	8.92
106	Chit Digholtari	147	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	0.90
107	Chit boro Gaoculka	143	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	39.99
108	Chit Seutikursha	142	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	45.63
109	Chit Shahebgonj	153	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	34.58
110	Chit Kalamati	141	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	21.24
111	Dakurhat	156	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	14.27

Source : Brig JB Peter, 1997, Director Land Records and Survey (Ex-official) West Bengal, India. And Director Eastern circle survey of India, Calcutta

### List of the Enclaves in the Census Hand Book of 1961<sup>7</sup>

#### Bangladeshi Enclaves within India

Sl. no	Name of Enclaves	J.L. No	Police Station of Bangladesh	Police Station of India	Amount of Land (acres)
1	Tihar	6	Panchagarh		14.48
2	Tihar Baikundapur	6	Panchagarh		
3	Tihar Baikundapur	32	Panchagarh		
4	Tihar Baikundapur	32	Panchagarh		52
5	Tihar Baikundapur	32	Panchagarh		
6	Najirgonj	66	Boda		1.13

<sup>7</sup> Source: Census Hand Book, India, 1961, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India and Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

7	Najirgonj	64	Boda		6.54
8	Najirgonj	107	Boda		
9	Najirgonj	107	Boda		21.28
10	Najirgonj Debottorshal	107	Boda		
11	Debottorshal Gonga	273	Debiganj		6.10
12	Vajni Upencouki	253	Debiganj		169.37
13	Vajni Upencouki	256	Debiganj		.71
14	Vajni Upencouki	252	Debiganj		1.34
15	Vajni Upencouki	251	Debiganj		14.11
16	Vajni Upencouki	257	Debiganj		38.68
17	Vajni Upencouki	261	Debiganj		1.02
18	Vajni Upencouki	258	Debiganj		110.97
19	Vajni Upencouki	259	Debiganj		72.20
20	Vajni Upencouki	264	Debiganj		1.75
21	Vajni Upencouki	262	Debiganj		7.46
22	Chit Kuchlibari	22	Patgram	Mekhliganj	270.64
23	Chit land of Kuchlibari	24	Patgram	Mekhliganj	13.95
24	Balapukuri	21	Patgram	Mekhliganj	331.64
25	Chitland of panbari	20	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.13
26	Chit panbari	18	Patgram	Mekhliganj	108.59
27	Dajagram	16	Patgram	Mekhliganj	3,877.05
28	Angurpota	73/16	Patgram	Mekhliganj	739.80
29	Dhobolguri Mrigipur	15	Patgram	Mekhliganj	173.80
30	Bamondol Chit	11	Patgram	Mekhliganj	2.19
31	Dhobolshuti	14	Patgram	Mekhliganj	66.58
32	Dhobolshuti	13	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.60
33	Dhobolshuti	13	Patgram	Mekhliganj	1.05
34	Srirampur	8	Patgram	Mekhliganj	87.54
35	Jot Nizzama	3	Patgram		69.84
36	Chit land of Jogotber	37	Patgram	Mathabhanga	30.66
37	Chit land of Jogotber	35	Patgram	Mathabhanga	37.09
38	Chit land of Jogotber	36	Patgram	Mathabhanga	37.09
39	Chit Korkobari	47	Patgram	Mathabhanga	29.49
40	Chit vanderdah	67	Patgram	Mathabhanga	39.96
41	Jongara	50	Patgram	Mathabhanga	8.25
42	Dhobolguri	52	Patgram	Mathabhanga	12.50
43	Chit land of Dhobolguri	53	Patgram	Mathabhanga	22.31
44	Chit land of Dhobolguri	70	Patgram	Mathabhanga	1.33
45	Chit land of Dhobolguri	71	Patgram	Mathabhanga	4.55
46	Chit land of Dhobolguri	72	Patgram	Mathabhanga	4.12

47	Chit land of Dhobolguri	68	Patgram	Mathabhanga	26.83
48	Chit land of Dhobolguri	69	Patgram	Mathabhanga	13.95
49	Mohishmari	54	Patgram	Sialkuchi	122.77
50	Boro Sharadubi	13	Patgram	Sialkuchi	34.96
51	Folnapur	64	Patgram	Sialkuchi	506.56
52	Nolgram	65	Patgram	Sialkuchi	
53	Nolgram	65	Patgram	Sialkuchi	1397.34
54	Nolgram	65	Patgram	Sialkuchi	
55	Chit Nolgram	66	Patgram	Sialkuchi	49.50
56	Chit Nolgram	66	Patgram	Sialkuchi	
57	Amjor	57	Hatibandha	Sialkuchi	1.25
58	Kisamot Battigas	82	Hatibandha	Dinhata	209.95
59	Battigas	81	Kaligonj	Dinhata	577.37
60	Battigas	81	Kaligonj	Dinhata	
61	Durgapur	83	Kaligonj	Dinhata	20.96
62	Bansua Khamar Gitaldah	1	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	24.54
63	Korla	9	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	
64	Korla	9	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	269.91
65	Korla	9	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	
66	Chandrakhana	20	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	34.68
67	Shib proshsad Mustafi	8	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	373.20
68	Shib proshsad Mustafi	8	Lalmonirhat/Fulbari	Dinhata	
69	Poatur Kuthi	37	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	589.94
70	West Bakalir Chora	38	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	151.98
71	Moddho Bakalir Chora	39	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	32.72
72	East Bakalir Chora	40	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	12.23
73	South Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
74	South Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
75	South Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	571.38
76	South Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
77	South Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
78	South Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
79	West Moshaldanga	4	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	29.49
80	West Moshaldanga	4	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
81	Kochuya	5	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	119.74
82	Moddho Chit Moshaldanga	8	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	11.87
83	East Chit Moshaldanga	10	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	35.01
84	East Chit Moshaldanga	10	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
85	West Chit Moshaldanga	7	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	7.60



86	East Chit Moshaldanga	11	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	188.90
87	East Chit Moshaldanga	11	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	
88	North Chit Moshaldanga	2	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	27.29
89	Moddho Chit Moshaldanga	3	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	136.669
90	South Chit Moshaldanga	6	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	
91	Uttar Bashkani	1	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	47.17
92	Uttar Dholdanga	14	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	
93	Uttar Dholdanga	14	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	23.86
94	Uttar Dholdanga	14	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	
95	Chit Tilai	17	Bhurungamari	Tufanganj	81.56

#### Indian Enclaves within Bangladesh<sup>8</sup>

Sl. no	Name of Enclaves	J.L. No	Police Station of Bangladesh	Police Station of India	Amount of Land (acres)
1	Dahala Khagrabari	1	Part	Haldibari	2650.35
2	Dahala Khagrabari	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
3	Dahala Khagrabari	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
4	Dahala Khagrabari	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
5	Dahala Khagrabari	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
6	Kot Vojni	2	Debiganj	Haldibari	2012.27
7	Kot Vojni	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
8	Kot Vojni	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
9	Kot Vojni	part	Debiganj	Haldibari	
10	Balapara Khagrabari	3	Panchagarh	Haldibari	1752.44
11	Boro khankir	4	Panchagarh	Mekhliganj	50.51
12	Balapara	5	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	55.91
13	Balapukri	6	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	5.24
14	Upenchouki Kuchlibari	7	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	10.04
15	Votbari	8	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	36.83
16	Boro khankir	9	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	87.42
17	Choto Bagdokra	10	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	41.70
18	Rotoanpur	11	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	58.91
19	Bagdokra	12	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	25.49
20	Khorkhoria	13	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	51.62
21	Lotamari	14	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	110.92
22	Khorkhoria	15	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	60.74
23	Votbari	16	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	205.46
24	Kamat Cangrabandha	16-A	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	42.89

<sup>8</sup> Source: Census Hand Book ,India, 1961, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India and Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

25	Kamat Cangrabandha	17	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	1604
26	Panishala Darikamari	17-A	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	137.66
27	Khashbas	18	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	36.59
28	Panishala	part	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	0.27
29	Panishala	part	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	18.01
30	Panishala	19	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	64.63
31	Panishala	20	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	283.53
32	Panishala	21	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	51.43
33	Lotamari	22	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	98.85
34	Darikamari	23	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	39.52
35	Chat votghat	24	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	56.11
36	Darikamari	25	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	45.73
37	Kuchlibari	26	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	5.78
38	Kuchlibari	27	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	2.04
39	Kuchlibari	part	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	4.35
40	Balapukuri	part	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	5.24
41	Upen Cauki Kuchlibari	part	Patgtam	Mekhliganj	0.32
42	Boro khankir	28	Dimla	Mekhliganj	30.53
43	Kharija Gitaldah	29	Dimla	Haldibari	36.83
44	Kharija Gitaldah	30	Dimla	Haldibari	7.71
45	Nogor Jigabari	31	Dimla	Haldibari	33.41
46	Natoktoka	32	Voda	Haldibari	162.26
47	Natoktoka	33	Voda	Haldibari	0.26
48	Behuladanga	34	Voda	Haldibari	
49	Behuladanga	Part	Voda	Haldibari	862.46
50	Behuladanga	35	Voda	Haldibari	0.83
51	Behuladanga	Part	Voda	Haldibari	860.43
52	Kajol Dighi	36	Voda	Haldibari	771.44
53	Salbari	37	Voda	Haldibari	1188.93
54	Daikhata	38	Voda	Haldibari	199.24
55	Daikhata	39	Voda	Haldibari	1640.11
56	Daikhata	40	Voda	Haldibari	34.19
57	Nazirganj	41	Voda	Haldibari	58.32
58	Nazirganj	42	Voda	Haldibari	434.29
59	Daikhata	43	Voda	Haldibari	2.63
60	Nazirganj	44	Voda	Haldibari	53.47
61	Nazirganj	45	Voda	Haldibari	1.07
62	Nazirganj	46	Voda	Haldibari	17.95
63	Nazirganj	47	Voda	Haldibari	3.89
64	Nazirganj	48	Voda	Haldibari	73.27
65	Nazirganj	49	Voda	Haldibari	49.05
66	Nazirganj	50	Voda	Haldibari	5.05
67	Nazirganj	51	Voda	Haldibari	0.77
68	Nazirganj	52	Voda	Haldibari	1.04
69	Nazirganj	53	Voda	Haldibari	1.02
70	Nazirganj	54	Voda	Haldibari	3.87
71	Nazirganj	55	Voda	Haldibari	12.18
72	Nazirganj	56	Voda	Haldibari	54.04

73	Nazirganj	57	Voda	Haldibari	8.27
74	Nazirganj	58	Voda	Haldibari	14.22
75	Nazirganj	59	Voda	Haldibari	122.80
76	Nazirganj	60	Voda	Haldibari	0.52
77	Binnaguri	61	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	763.30
78	Shakti	62	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	197.24
79	Shakti	63	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	1012.38
80	Shakti	68	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	95.23
81	Singimari	73	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	6.07
82	Garati	75	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	58.23
83	Garati	76	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	0.79
84	Garati	77	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	18
85	Garati	78	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	958.66
86	Garati	79	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	1.74
87	Garati	80	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	73.75
88	Bashkata	81	Panchagarh Sadar	Haldibari	11.5
89	Bashkata	112	Patgram	Mathadanga	315.04
90	Bashkata	113	Patgram	Mathadanga	57.86
91	Bashkata	114	Patgram	Mathadanga	0.77
92	Bashkata	115	Patgram	Mathadanga	29.20
93	Bashkata	116	Patgram	Mathadanga	16.96
94	Bashkata	117	Patgram	Mathadanga	2.55
95	Bashkata	118	Patgram	Mathadanga	30.98
96	Bashkata	119	Patgram	Mathadanga	413.81
97	Bashkata	120	Patgram	Mathadanga	30.75
98	Bashkata	121	Patgram	Mathadanga	33.22
99	Bashkata	123	Patgram	Mathadanga	24.37
100	Bashkata	124	Patgram	Mathadanga	0.28
101	Bashkata	125	Patgram	Mathadanga	0.64
102	Bashkata	126	Patgram	Mathadanga	1.39
103	Bashkata	127	Patgram	Mathadanga	2.72
104	Bashkata	128	Patgram	Mathadanga	2.33
105	Bashkata	129	Patgram	Mathadanga	1.37
106	Bashkata	130	Patgram	Mathadanga	21.07
107	Bashkata	131	Patgram	Mathadanga	22.35
108	Bashkata	132	Patgram	Mathadanga	11.96
109	Bhogramari	133	Patgram	Mathadanga	1.44
110	Cinakata	134	Patgram	Mathadanga	7.81
111	Gotamari	135	Hatibandha	Sitalkuchi	126.59
112	Gotamari	136	Hatibandha	Sitalkuchi	20.02
113	Nolgram	137	Hatibandha	Mathadanga	4.73
114	Kalomati	141	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	21.21
115	Seutikursha	142	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	45.63
116	Boro Gaochulka	143	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	39.99
117	Digholtari-1	144	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	12.31
118	Digholtari-2	145	Bhurungamari	Mathadanga	8.99
119	Gaochulka-1	146	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	8.92
120	Gaochulka-2	147	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	0.9
121	Choto Garoljora	148	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	35.74

122	Dasyar chora	149	Fulbari	Dinhata	1643.44
123	Bonos pachai	150	Lalmonirhat	Dinhata	81.71
124	Shahebgaj	152	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	31.58
125	Chit seuriguri	153	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	2.51
126	Chit seuriguri	154	Lalmonirhat	Sitalkuchi	35.53
127	Dakuar hat Dakuar Kuti	155	Kurigram sadar	Dinhata	14.27
128	Bonos Pachai		Lalmonirhat	Dinhata	217.71
129	Choto Garoljora-2	159	Bhurungamari	Dinhata	17.29
130	Boor Khanki	01(part)	Haldhbari	Debiganj	
Toatal areas					220,957.07

### **Angarputa and Dahagram enclave and Teen Bigha corridor and Berubari chitmahal:**

A number of lesser-greater Indian enclaves from the total 131 enclaves nearby Berubari namely Shakti enclave (1,309 acres) and Binnairuri enclave (775 acres) mentioned in the 1961 list were annexed to the mainland of India when Bangladesh handed over South Berubari Union of Bangladeshi Panchagarh district to India on the basis of the 1974 Indira-Mujib agreement. Dahagram-Angarpota enclave, on the same basis, was connected to Bangladesh main land through corridor. Out of 95 enclaves, missing the other 42 enclaves raise firmly blatant questions.<sup>9</sup>

After the liberation war in 1971, the Bangladeshi government concerned more on these problems. On 16<sup>th</sup> May 1974 The sheikh Muzib –Indira Gandhi agreement decided that Bangladesh shall handover South Berubari under Boda Thana, While India will lease permanently the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh; so that the Dahagram-Angarpota enclave adjoins with the main land of Bangladesh. Though the Bangladeshi government hands over the South Berubari in 1974 but we had to wait another 18 years to get the lease of Tin Bigha corridor to connect the Dahagram-Angarpota. In 7<sup>th</sup> October 1982, there was another agreement signed between Ershad and Indira concerning this Tin Bigha corridor permanently to connect Dahagram-Angarpota but the sovereignty of India will remain intact in the leased area and there will be no custom obstacles in the corridor. In 1992 the government took initiative to solve this problem. For this, Bangladesh government took different steps, and as a result of this the Tin Bigha corridor project was signed between the Foreign ministers of two countries (26<sup>th</sup> March 1992). The theme of this agreement was (Mahmud, Khandakar Hasan & Rahman, Md. Mizanur, 2007):

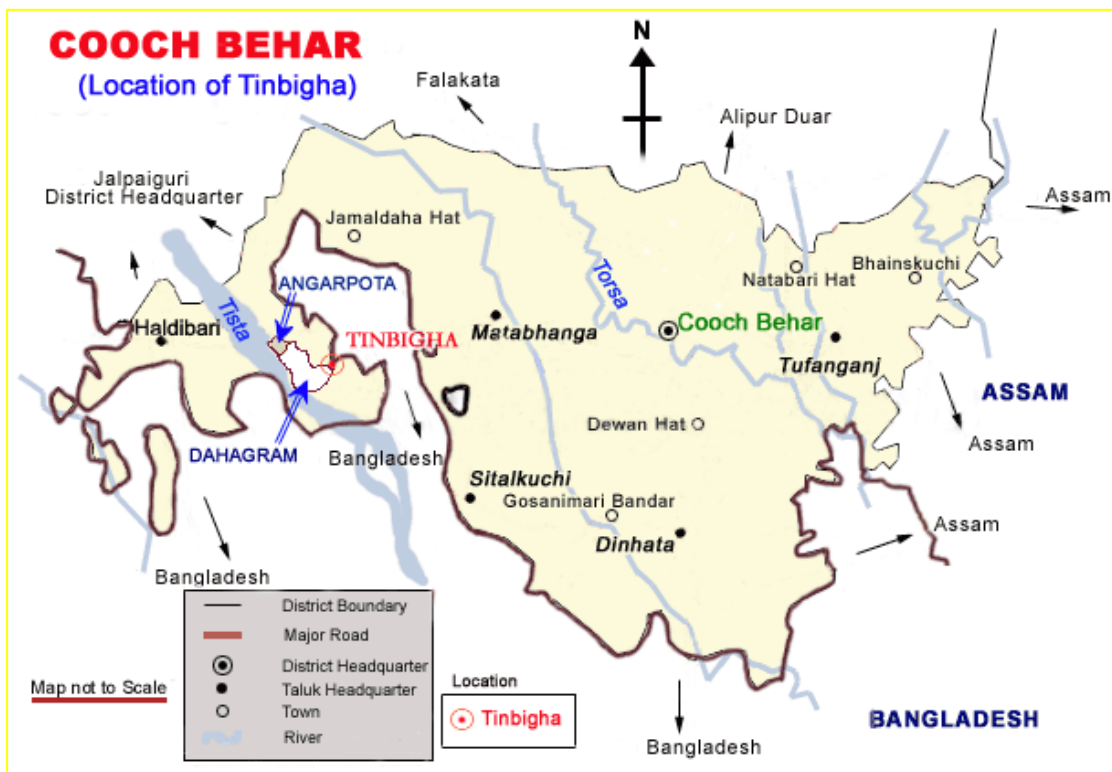
1. <sup>10</sup>Indian government will prepare the road of Tin Bigha Corridor within 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1992
2. Two check post will remain in both sides of this corridor
3. The movement of passengers and means of transportation will be controlled by Indian authority
4. The Bangladeshi citizen can use the corridor in an interval of one hour within daylight

<sup>9</sup> Yunus, A.S.M. (2015), some enclaves went missing on the list of 1996,P 45-46

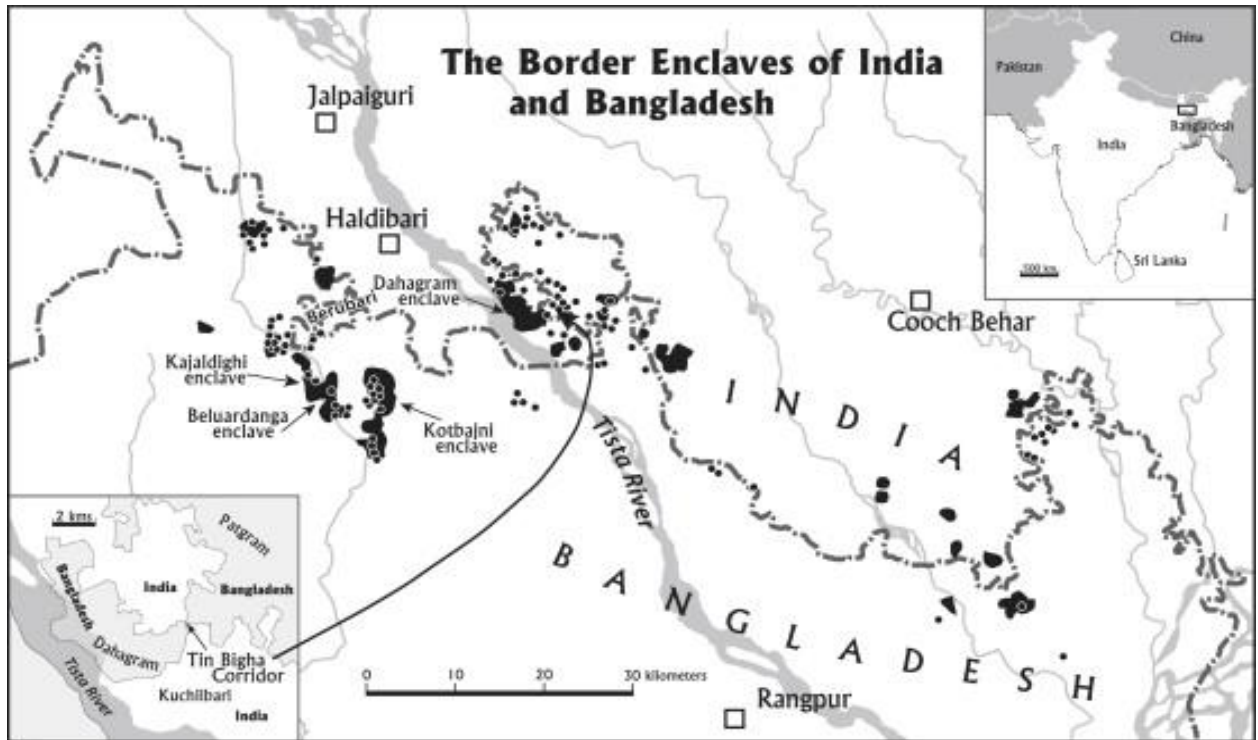
<sup>10</sup> (Indo-Bangladesh En(x)claves and present Status of Human Development: A Case Study of Dahagram Angarpota Exclave, 2007) (Mahmud, Khandakar Hasan & Rahman, Md. Mizanur, 2007)

The agreement was changed in three stages; and each time made some changes; most importantly each time India gaining more control on agreement. As a result, the Bangladeshi people cannot use this lease area properly.

An important thing about this enclave is that a map of Patgram Thana published by the undivided Indian Government in 1937 shows that the south west part of Dahagram mauza connected with Dimla thana of East Bengal (present Bangladesh) crossing Teesta river about two miles (Elahi K M. Enclaves of Bangladesh). So this map represents that Dahagram-Angarputa enclave were never be detached from East Bengal (present Bangladesh). Lster on the Teesta River changes its course about half mile towards south-west touching the boundary of Dimla Thana. This is clearly demonstrated by the US Defense Mapping Agency in 1974 (K, Maudud Elahi and M. Shariar Rahman, Enclaves of Bangladesh). Due to the lack of proper geographers and cartographers this subject turns in different way. The Bangladesh government also not concerned about this topic and they are talking about the Three Bigha corridor. As a result of this the whole matter goes in favor of India and they have control on Teesta river and gets benefits by different project on Teesta.



Dahagram and Angarpota Enclaves are attached to Bangladesh through by Teesta river



Dahagram and Angarpota Enclaves are attached to Bangladesh through by Teesta river<sup>11</sup>

### Conclusion

Cooch Behar occupies a strategic location at the opening of the Brahmaputra valley in Assam and the bottom of the Himalayas. The majority of the Cooch Behar enclaves of today were formed by the treaties of 1711 and 1713 between Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the Mughals. Therefore, when the peace treaties of 1711 and 1713 referred to districts, this created a fragmented boundary. Radcliffe's partition of Bengal in 1947 left Cooch Behar sandwiched between the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan.

<sup>11</sup> The border enclaves of India and Bangladesh which shows Dahagram is connected to Bangladesh with the Teesta River. (Jones, 2009)

# **Chapter Four:**

## **Methodology**

## Methodology

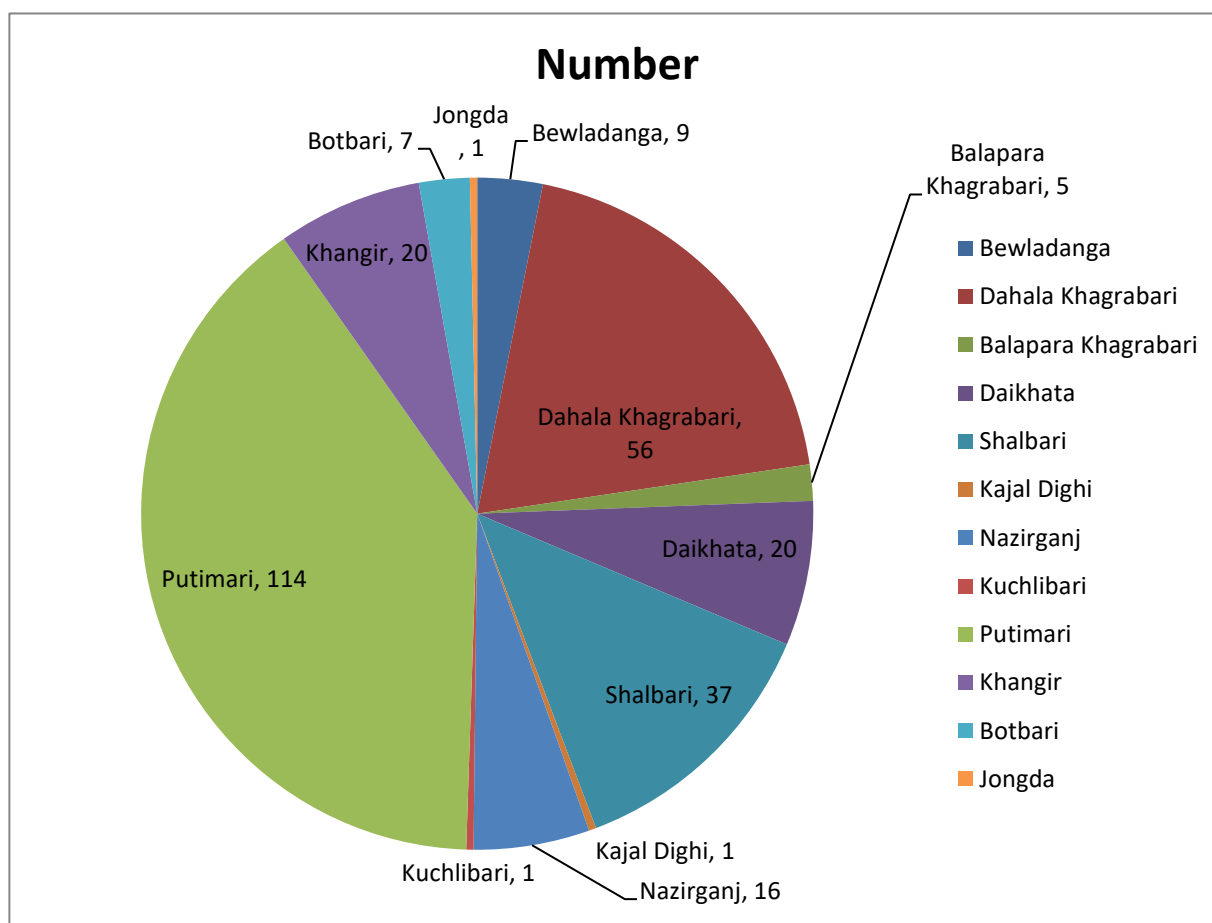
In this part, methods and techniques followed in order to conduct a fruitful study have been discussed.

### 2.1. Study Area:

There were 38,432 people in 111 enclaves who got Bangladeshi nationality during exchanging the enclaves between the two countries. There were 111 enclaves attached to Bangladesh during exchanging the enclaves. Twelve (12) enclaves from these districts have been visited to collect data.

**Tabulation:** Name of the enclaves visited to collect data

**Figure 14: Name of the enclaves visited to collect data**



**Description:** supporting data was collected for this study from the twelve enclaves showed on the pie chart. Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Questionnaire survey, observation, FGD with men, women, students and older people were followed to search the most authentic information. Twelve enclaves visited from one hundred and eleven (111) enclaves in Bangladesh are: Nine families from Bewladanga (J.L. No. 39), thirty seven families from Shalbari enclave (J.L. No. 35), one family from Kajal Dighi (J.L. No. 59) enclave and one hundred fourteen families from Putimari enclave (J.L. No. 59) at Boda thana in Panchagarh were interviewed during data



collection. Then, fifty six families from Dahala Khagrabari enclave (J.L. No. 1), five families from Balapara Khagrabari enclave (J.L. No. 3) at Debigonj Upazila in Panchagarh district bordering Nilphamari district were visited. After that, sixteen families from Nazirganj enclave (J.L. No. 42) at Boda thana in Panchagarh district, twenty families from Daikhata enclave (J.L. No. 38) at Boda thana in Panchagarh district, seven families from Botbari enclave (J.L. No. 8) at Patgram thana in Lalmonirhat district, twenty families from Boro Khangir enclave (J.L. No. 65) at Patgram thana in Lalmonirhat district and one family from Zongda enclave and one family from Kuchlibari (J.L. No. 8) were interviewed.

### **2.1. Study Design:**

Mixed method integrating qualitative and quantitative has been followed in this study. Historical and analytical methods have been followed to conduct the research. Both qualitative and quantitative data has been collected. Data has been collected by using the techniques such as: Interview with questionnaire survey, Case study, in depth study, Focus group discussion (FGD), Observation.

Data has been collected from different families of the enclaves visited, enclave related researchers, public representatives from the enclave. There were both open and close ended questions in the questionnaire survey.

### **2.2 Source of Data**

Primary and secondary data was collected.

#### **Primary Data:**

Questionnaire survey and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) were used to collect primary data. 287 respondents (families) shared their opinions to make happened a fruitful research. There were 65 questions in the questionnaire.

#### **Secondary data:**

There is not enough material on the enclave issue. Few scholars have written few articles and books. Secondary data has been collected from newspaper reports, journal articles, books, research papers.

### **2.3. Pilot study**

Pilot survey was conducted before finalizing the questionnaire. Addition and subtraction was done in the questionnaire with the opinions came through survey. Again, another survey was conducted through ten (10) questionnaires. Data analysis was done after gathering the opinions of second pilot survey through ten (10) questionnaires. Then, the questionnaire was finalized to collect data.

## 2.4. Validation of data:

Researcher has visited the enclaves to collect area through questionnaire and Focus Group Discussion (FGD), the data has been cross checked to avoid mistakes. Moreover, data has been collected in 2018.

## 2.5. Data Analysis:

Qualitative data was categorized and quantitative data was analyzed by statistical methods. Microsoft Excel has been used for data analysis.

## 2.6. Problems of data collection:

Research field was very far from Dhaka city. There was a situation of security crisis. The personal computer (Laptop) was stolen during data collection. Valuable document and information went missing. Researcher needed to collect same data second time. The area was unknown to the researcher. It was very difficult to reach the public representatives. Some families were trying to conceal the real information. Extracting proper information was a big challenge.

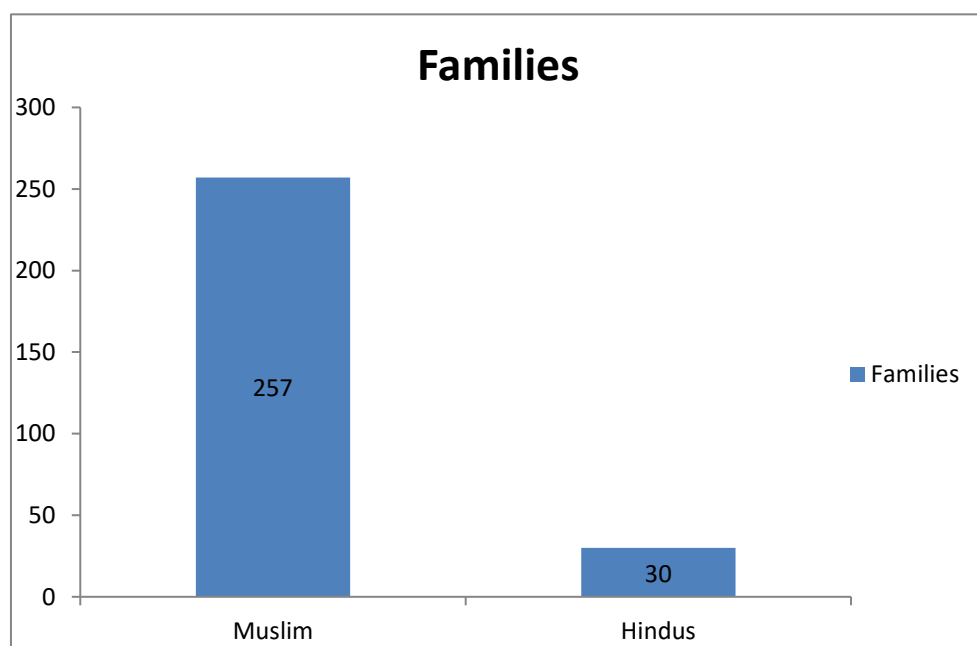
## 2.7. Sampling:

During collecting data, random and purposive sampling method were followed. 287 families from twelve enclaves were selected randomly and purposively.

## 2.8. Respondent related information

### 1. Tabulation: Religious belief

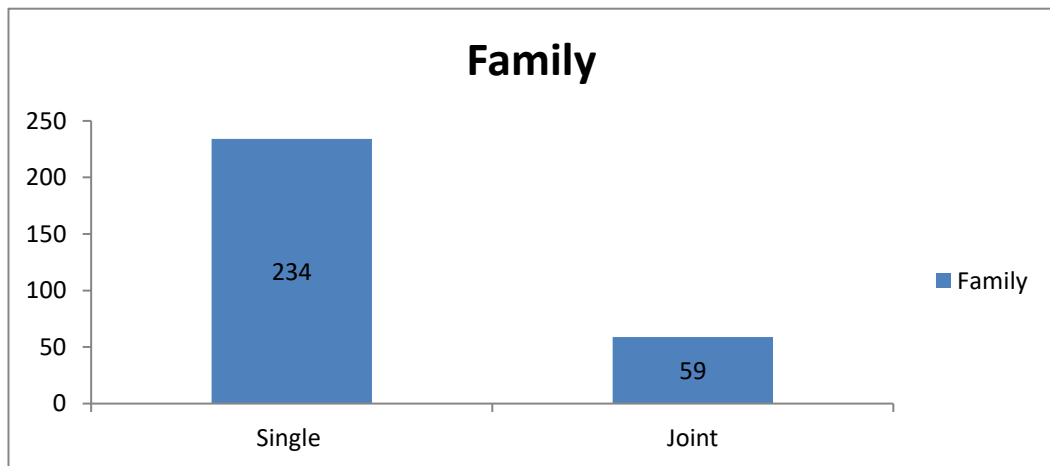
**Figure 15: Religious Belief**



**Description:** In the above table, it is showed that 257 families and 30 families of the respondent 287 families believe in Islam and Hidus respectively. Majority of the respondent families which are about 90% of those are Muslim. However, 10% of the respondent families are Hindus.

**2. Tabulation:** Family status in the enclaves

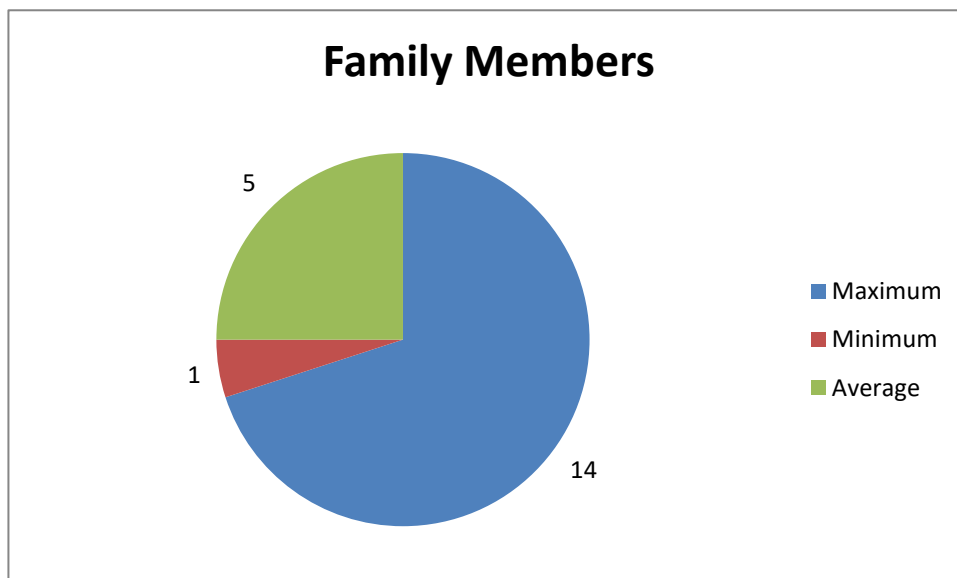
**Figure 16: Family status**



**Description:** the table shows that most of the families which figures 234 of them are single and 59 of the respondent 287 families are joint family.

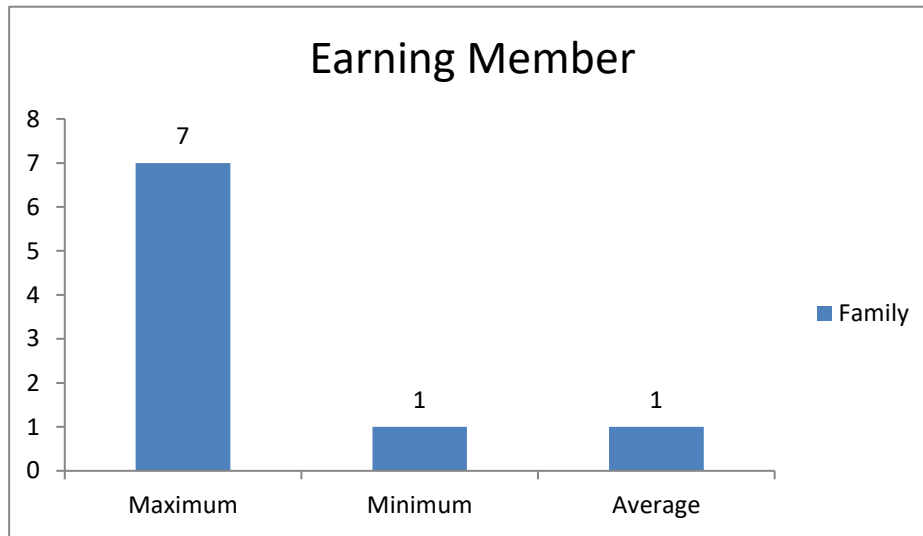
**3. Tabulation:** Range of family members

**Figure 17: Family Size**



**Description:** In the above pie chart, it is demonstrated that the minimum number of family members is one, maximum 11 and average five.

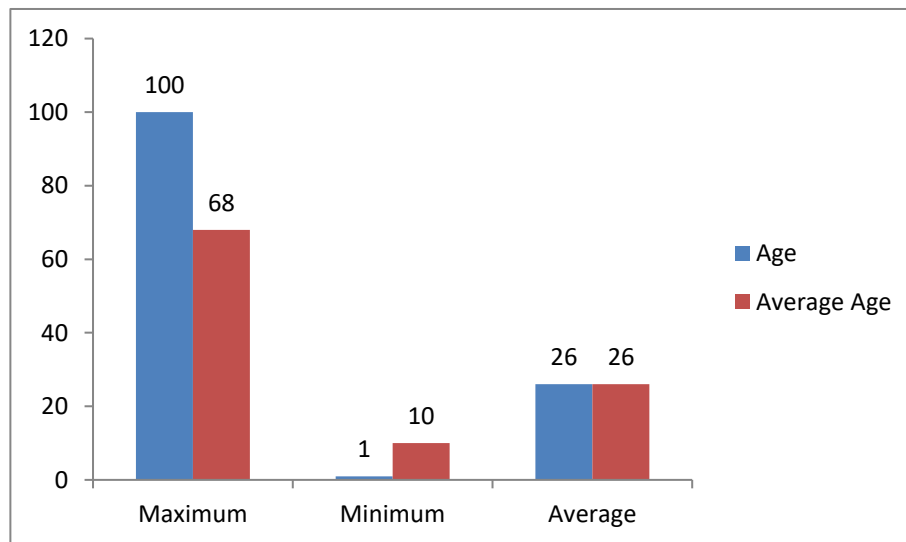
**4. Tabulation:** Average number of earning people of the total respondent families  
**Figure 18:** Average number of earning people



In the figure above, it is seen that maximum earning members of the families are seven. However, minimum earning person is one in those respondent families. Similarly, average number of earning member of those families is also one.

**5. Tabulation:** Minimum average age of members of each family

**Figure 19** : Average age of the members of families



**Description:** The figure above shows the maximum, minimum and average age of 1355 people from 287 families. Similarly, it represents the maximum average age, minimum average age and average age of the average age of 287 families. On the figure, it is showed that maximum minimum and average age of the 1355 people of the respondent families are 100, 1, 26 years respectively. Again, it is demonstrated that maximum average age, minimum average age and average age of the average age of the respondent families are 68, 10, 26 years respectively. Similarly, we can identify that average age of the 1355 people and average age of the 287 family members is same in figure.

# **Chapter Five:**

# **Conceptual Framework**

## Conceptual Framework

Social condition is a position into the social class stratification on the basis of income, occupation or educational qualification. Social Culture plays important role referring the social condition. Family is the small element of society. Religion, nature of family, number of earning members, age and gender of the family members, marital status, educational level, profession and income level dominate in determining the social condition.

### **Economic Conditions:**

Economic condition is important part of social life. Better economic condition renders better social condition. In this part respondents were interviewed on different economic issues such as: total land of families, frequency of income (monthly or yearly), total income, main sources of the income, challenges on the income sources, monthly expenditure, total loan of the families and the sources of the loan, monthly or yearly savings, total dependent members of the family, money needed to lead a poverty free life, total domestic animals of the families, scenerion of food crisis, reasons behing food crisis.

### **Household information:**

Household condition means the situation, position, circumstance, shape and nature of the houses. Household condition most of the cases demonstrates socio-economic condition. Here, the respondent families were asked to provide the information regarding their houses such as: type of household ( pacca, semi-pacca, kacha, tin shed, fenced, other), type of ownership (Own/inherited, rented, ideal or tuft village,, public land, government quarter, other), total amount of the land in the house, kinds of fuel used in the house (electricity, keroshin, candle, other), source of drinking water, type of toilet used in the families (sanitary, open toilet, Opening, other), challenges faced by families in the houses,

### **Health Condition:**

Health is a multi-dimensional concept. It is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not purely the absence of disease or sickness. Family performs highly in producing the health rather than doctors. Bangladesh did not adopt any health policy in three decades after independence. She adopted first national health policy in 2000 BC containing 15 goals, 10 policy principals and 32 strategies. The country adopted again new health policy in 2011 with 19 goals, 16 policy principals, 18 challenges and 32 strategies. Leading a healthy life for long is obviously challenging. The first step to understand the health condition is to feel better. But understanding more about health condition would help one to take action for treatment on time. However, in the village area with poor education, people do not know more regarding health issues. The interviewees were asked to let the research know about their health condition, health facilities such as: the existence of health care centre, distance of the health care centre and hospital, history of sickness of family members during previous six months, their tendency of taking treatment, tendency to using mosquito net, habit of smoking, longstanding sickness history, knowledge of family planning system or birth controlling system, availability of pregnancy and children related treatment facility.

### **Education:**

Poverty of knowledge is the utmost deficiency which endangers a man, society and nation. Only the education can enlighten and empower the people. In this part, it was tried to know that whether the children go to school and the challenges on going to school.

### **Security:**

Lack of security may weaken or ruin creativity of society. Insecure life leads unrest and injustice in society. Insecurity hinders the development, improvement and healthy life. Researcher tried to discover the condition of security through the asking on: any deception or threat on their wealth, any harassment, occurrence of any criminal arsons, women violence, and system of dispute resolution.

### **Social Bond:**

Social bond is highly important component to understand a society. Engagement in the social issues makes the social relationship strong. Life in the society with strong bondage is happier, more enjoyable and sustainable. Evaluating the social bondage, researcher tried to gather information on the people's involvement with any social, cultural, voluntary organization, number of close friends in the former enclave and outside of enclave, divorce rate, reasons behind divorce.

### **Enclave:**

Enclave area is considered a backdated area with a lot of untutored, unskilled, primitive and poor people who had to suffer for about sixty eight years due to lack of responsible move to exchange the enclaves between India and Bangladesh. But, though the enclaves have been exchanged between the two countries, the mode or way of life of the enclave remains as earlier. No particular change occurred. Government's move is to distribute some social security (social safety net cards: VGF etc.). Social safety net cards are making the people depended more and more. In this part, the overall condition was considered to collect data. Data has been collected on different issues such as: rate of child marriage, availability of newspaper, public sentiment on former enclave people, any other trouble faced after settlement of the enclave crisis, the recommendations to develop the way of life of former enclave people, problems needed to be solved rapidly, case study on any remarkable experience of the former enclave people

# **Chapter Six:**

# **Data Analysis**



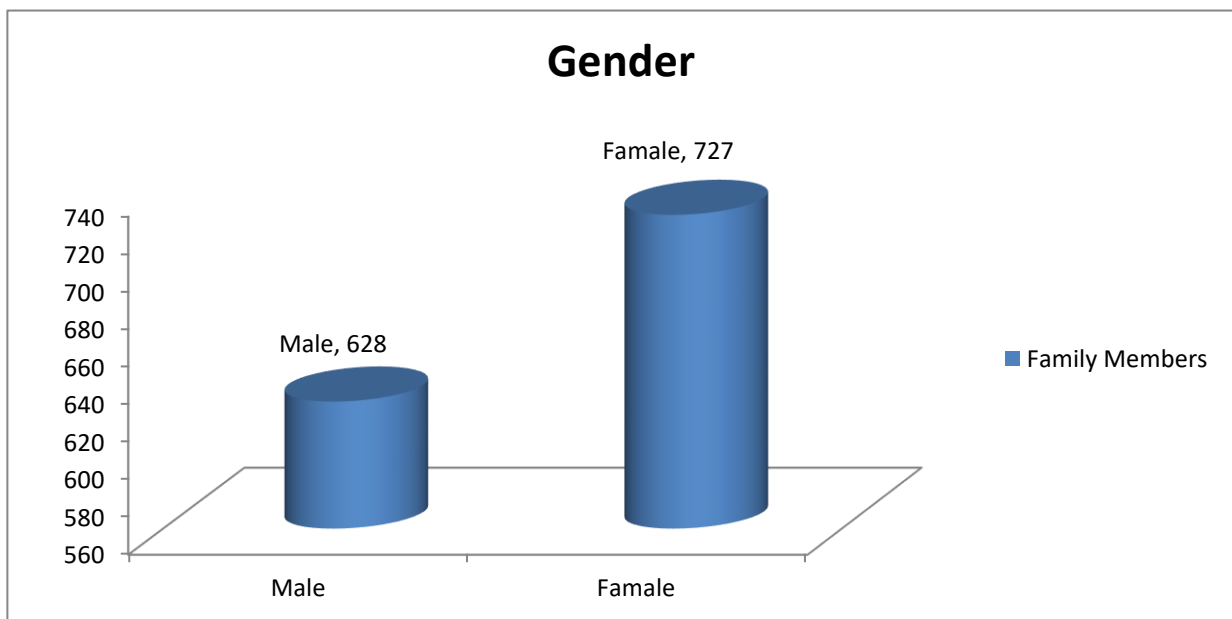
## Data Analysis

The study objectives focused on broad categories with social and economic conditions: social relationship, family status, education, profession, social violence, women violence, family size, communication, earning people, monthly income, etc. primary data collected through questionnaire, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), observation almost met the research objectives. There were sixty five structured and unstructured questions in the questionnaire. Two hundred and eighty seven families were selected from twelve former enclaves. Purposive sampling method was followed to conduct a significant study. Analysis and findings of the questionnaire and FGD have been mentioned below.

### A. Data analysis on the basis of questionnaire survey

#### 1. **Tabulation:** Gender of the family members on the basis of question 2.3

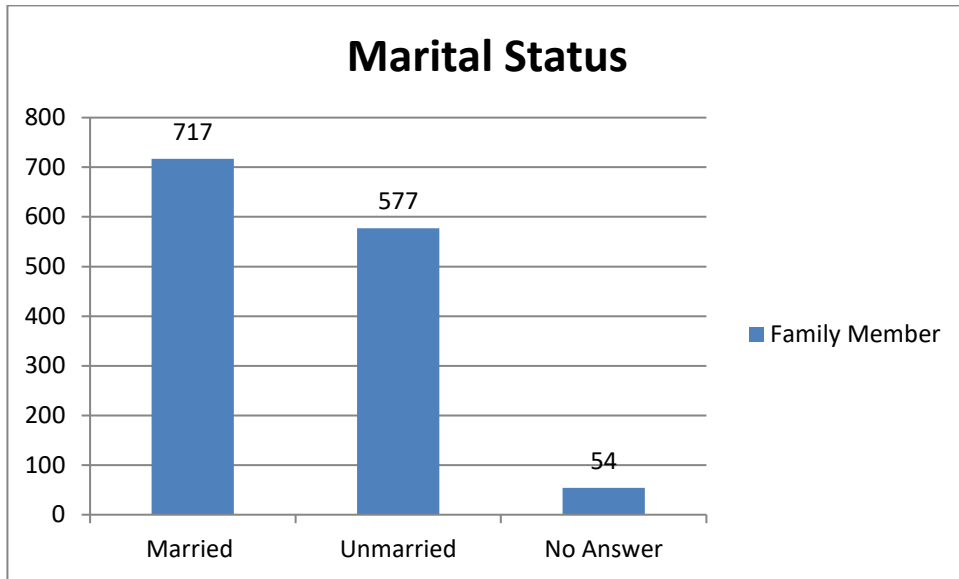
Figure 20: Gender of the family members



**Description:** The figure above shows the number of male and female in the respondent families. On this figure, it is showed that number of male and female is 628 and 727. Number of female people is greater than male.

#### 2. **Tabulation:** Marital status of 1355 members from 283 respondent families *on the basis of question 2.5*

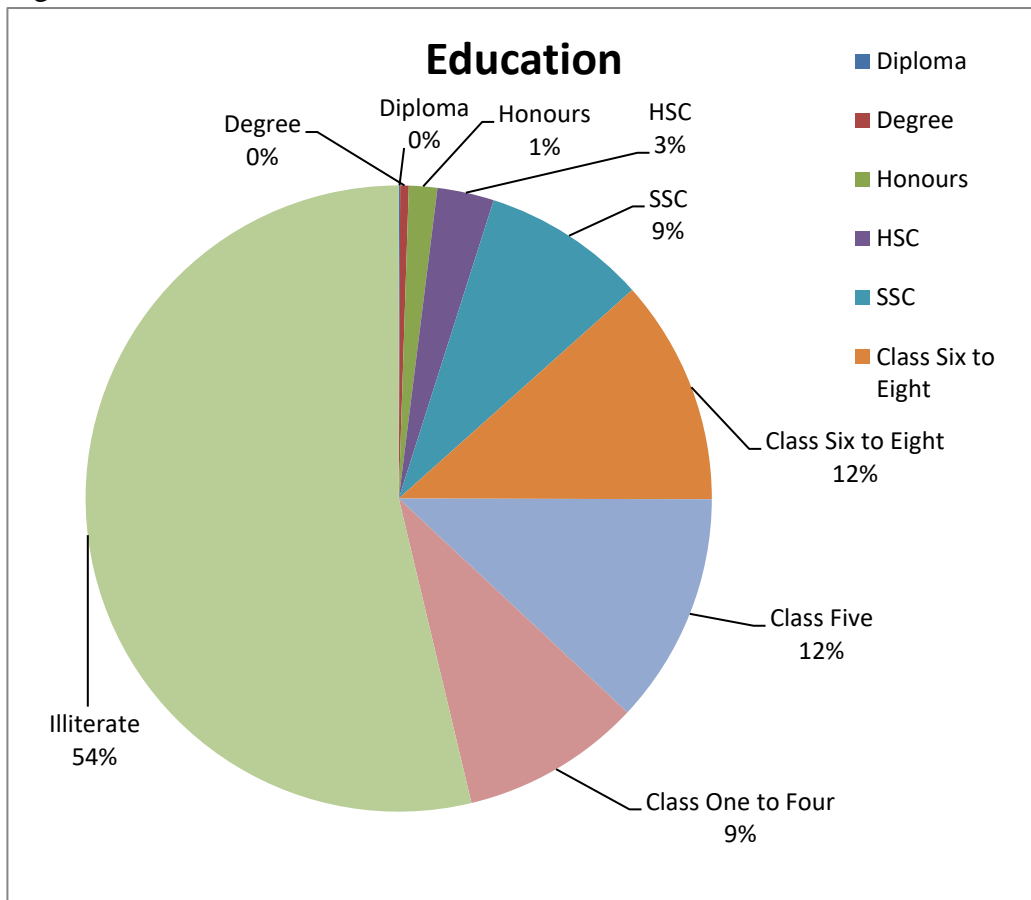
Figure 21 Marital status



**Description:** There are 1355 members of the 287 respondent families. 717 members are married, 577 members are unmarried and 54 members of those families had no opinion.

**3. Tabulation:** Educational Status of the respondent family members *on the basis of question 2.6*

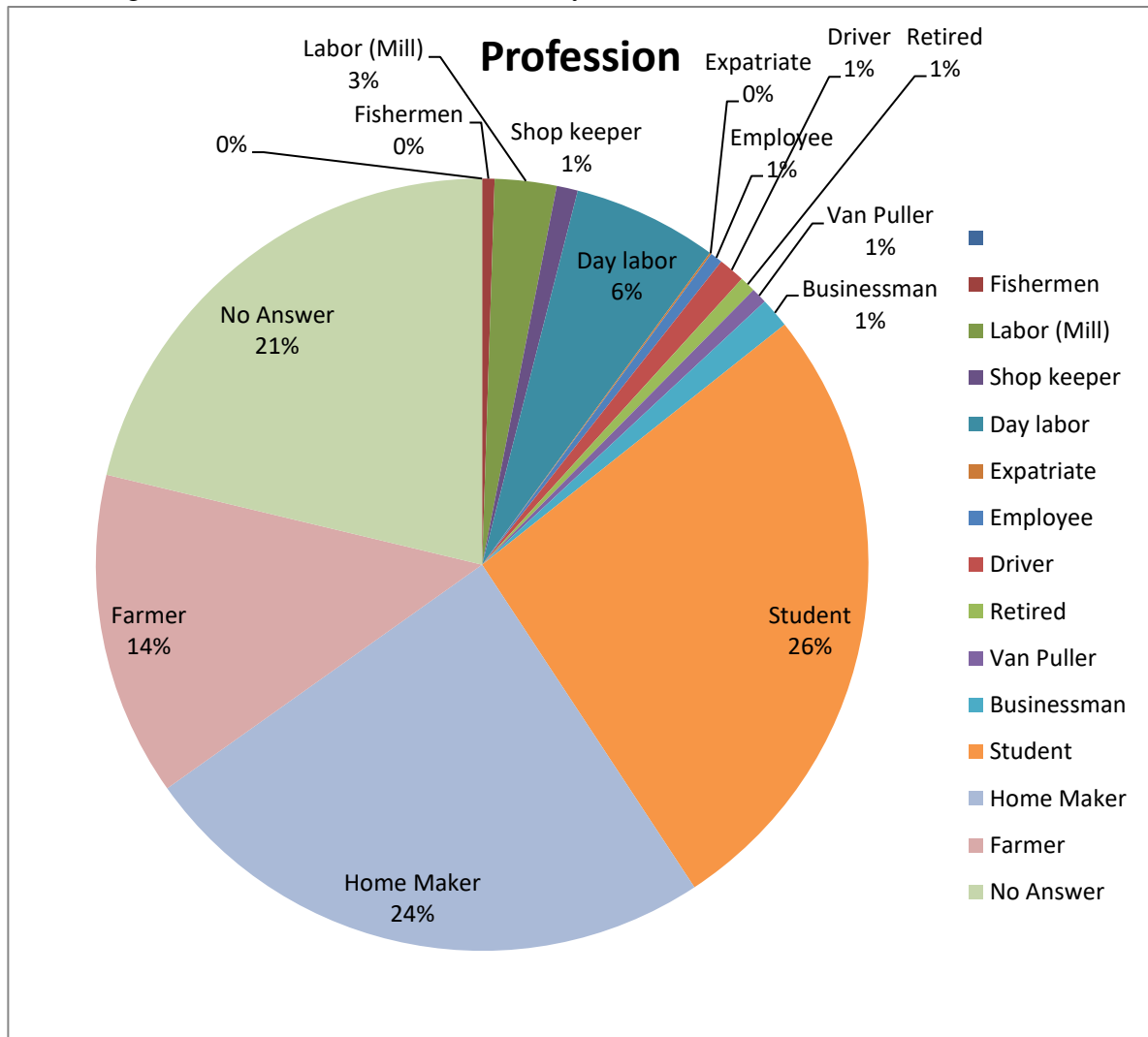
Figure 22 Educational Status



**Description:** Majority of the people from reseponding families are illiterate. However, 12 percent of them are studying from class six to eight. Similarly, 12 percent of them are studing in class five. But, only three and nine percent students are studying at HSC and SSC level. Similarly, Honors, Diploma and Degree level student are very few.

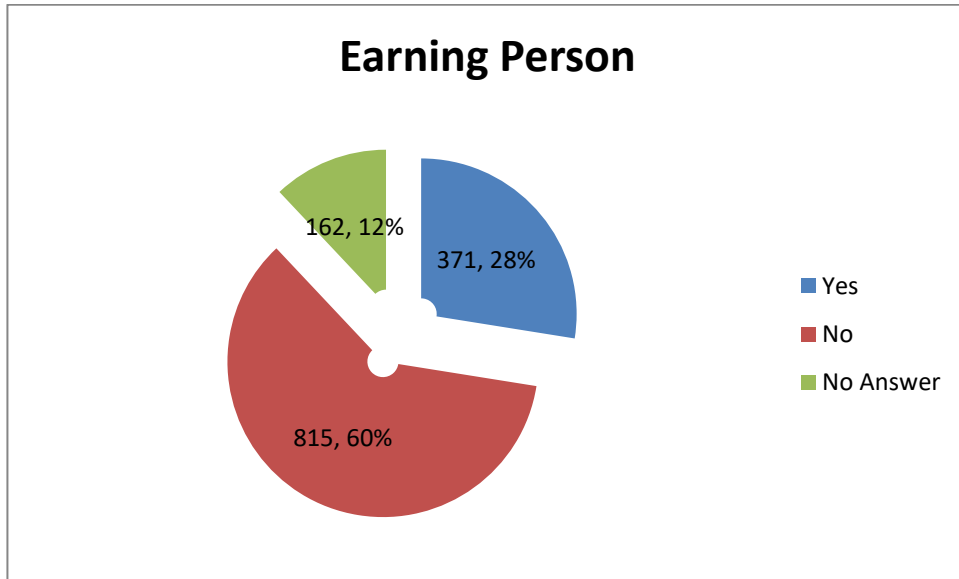
**4. Tabulation:** Profession of the family members on the basis of question 2.7

Figure 23 Profession of the family members



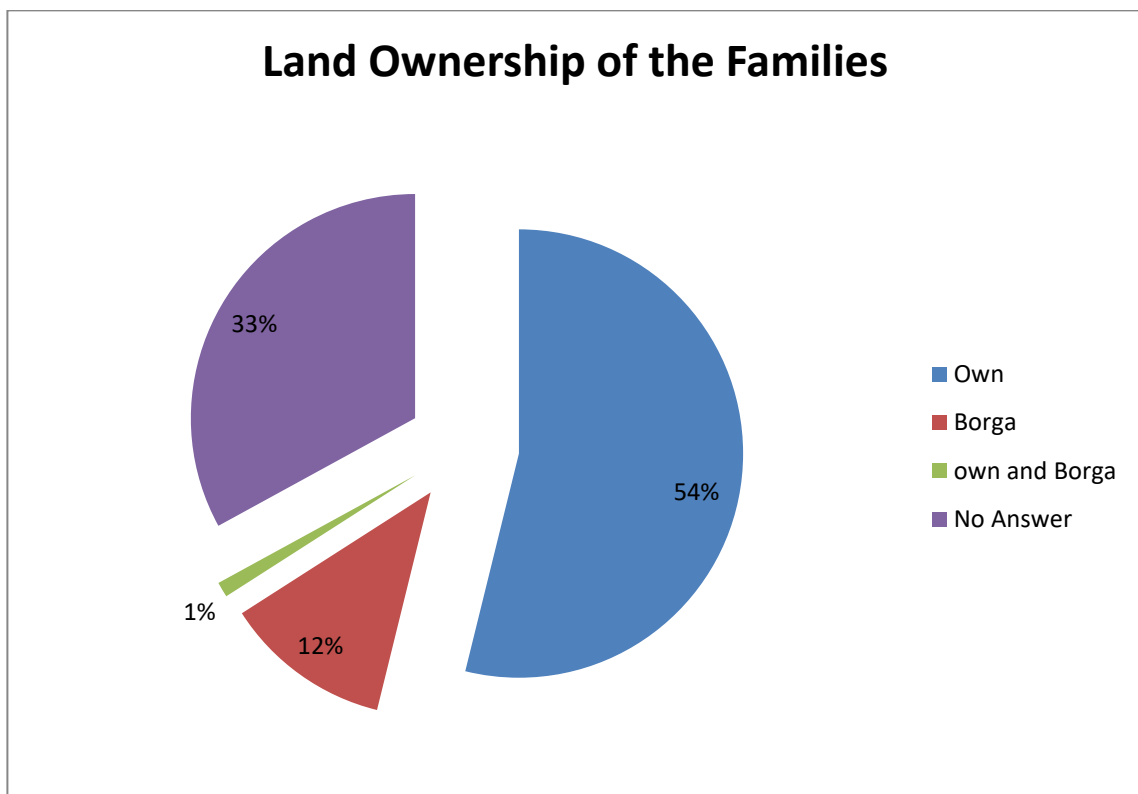
**Description:** On the above pie chart, people from different profession are showed. Here, the majority of the people are student. Similarly, the Home Maker covers 24% and 14% people are working as farmer. Day labors are in fourth position at 6%. However, Ansar, fisherman, labor, shopkeeper, driver, retired, van puller, and businessman are comparatively fewer. But, 21% did not express their opinion.

**5. Tabulation:** Earning person on the basis of question 1.8  
 Figure 24 Earning person



**Description:** It is demonstrated that 371 people 28% of the whole population are feeding the rest of them. 60% of the people do not earn. 12% of them did not opine.

**6. Tabulation:** Types of land ownership of families on the basis of question 3.1  
 Figure 25 Types of land ownership of families



**Description:** Most of the people are land owner. Twelve percent of the families do not have land to cultivate. They use others' for farming. Thirty three percent people did not respond question.

**7. Tabulation:** Farming Land the families have on the basis of question 3.2

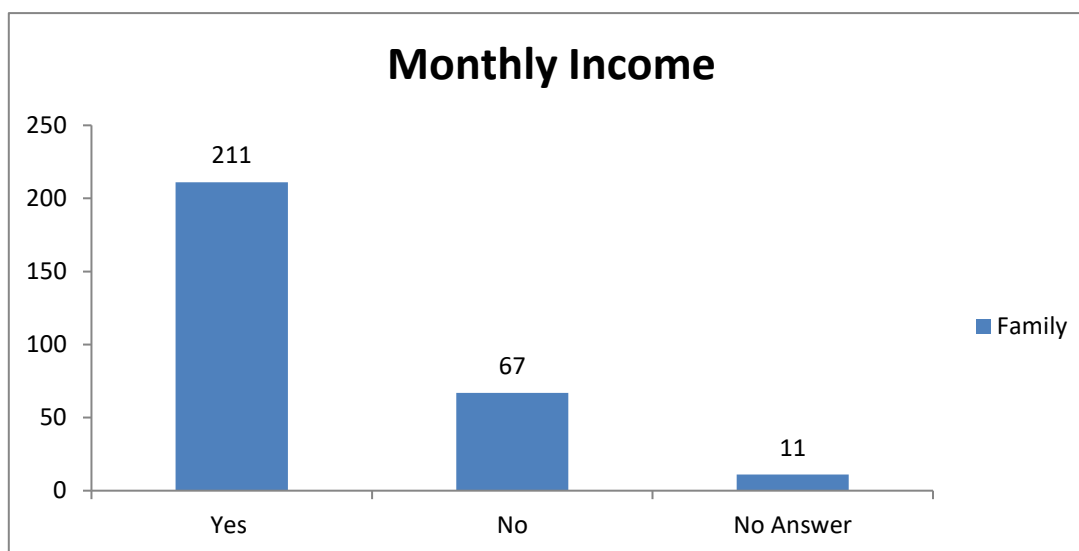
Table 1: Farming Land

Serial no.	Family	Farming Land
1	Maximum	4950 Shotok
2	Minimum	1.2 Shotok
3	Average	110 Shotok

**Description:** Families have maximum and minimum 4950 and 1.2 Shotok cultivable land respectively. The families have average 110 Shotok cultivable lands.

**Tabulation:** In every month, does your family have income? On the basis of question 4,

Figure 26 Frequency of income



**Description:** 211 families have monthly can earn monthly. However, 67 families cannot earn monthly. But, eleven families did not provide information on this context.

**8. Tabulation:** How much is the total income of the family? On the basis of question 5

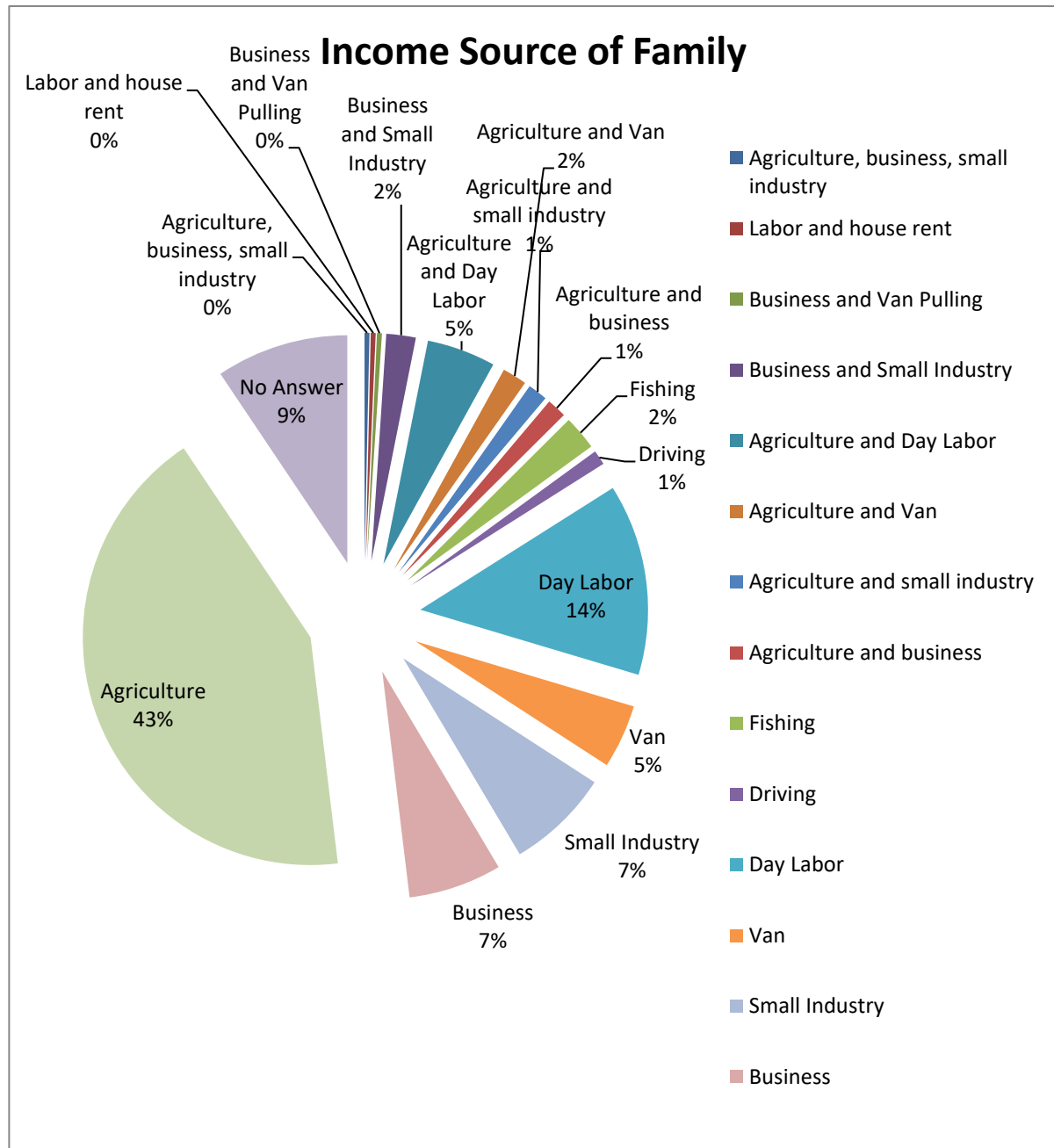
Table 2 :Total income of the families

Serial No.	Family	Income
1	Maximum	1,50,000 BDT
2	Minimum	300 BDT
3	Average	9228 BDT

**Description:** On the table, it is showed that the respondent families have maximum and minimum income of 1,50,000 BDT and 300 BDT monthly. But, they earn average 9228 BDT monthly.

**9. Tabulation:** What are the main sources of the family? *On the basis of question 6*

Figure 27 main sources of the family income



**Description:** Income source of most of the families is agriculture which is at 43% on the figure showed above. Day labor is only the income source of 14% families. Different families earn from more than one source such as: agriculture, business and small industry, labor and house rent, business and van pulling, business and small industry, agriculture and day labor, agriculture and van pulling, agriculture and small industry, agriculture and business. Majority of families

rely only on one income source such as: day labor, fishing, driving, van puller, small industry, business, agriculture.

#### 10. What are challenges you are facing on your profession? *On the basis of question 7*

People different profession lives in the enclaves. However, most of the people are involved in agriculture. Agriculture such as: Cultivation, fostering animals is the main profession in this area. There are other professions along with the agriculture such as: Business, day labor, van puller. The challenges faced by the people of different professions are:

##### Agriculture

Farmers face financial crisis to collect fertilizer for the agricultural field. They face both financial crisis and complexities to find best seeds for cultivation. There is no open space for fostering domestic animals such as: cow, goat and other which leads to food crisis for the animals. There is extreme food crisis during farming time due to different diseases in previous season. Farmers said with frustration that “There is no benefit financing in the agricultural sector”. Various diseases and the effects of adverse climate attack on crops such as: diseases which decompose the paddy plants, disturbance of insects, rock rain (snowing), Blood disease in turmeric and paddy, Natural disaster, Presence of insects, Lose of harvest, financial deficiency in agriculture. Farmers have to import Aman seed from India because it is unavailable in Bangladesh. Challenges such as crisis of agricultural materials such as: fertilizer, seeds of paddy and Corn are Flagrant. There is no opportunity of irrigation for agriculture. Physical diseases of farmers, social inferiority and not getting loan on agricultural sector are the most important challenges for the agricultural harvest. Appropriate recommendations or suggestions are needed. Price of Agricultural products is lower. Price of seeds and fertilizer is high.

##### Van puller

Van pullers face some troubles in operating the vehicle such as: Low fair, different problem in vans, recharging the battery, lack of passengers on road, being unable to pull van.

##### Business man

Businessmen are facing troubles also. They are: few number of buyers, crisis in capital, lower social mobility, crisis of family maintenance cost, pain in legs.

##### Day labor

There is serious employment crisis in enclaves. Salary is highly low. It is needed to go far away to serve as day labor. Food crisis due to lack of employment for five to nine months a year is a regular session. Only seasonal works in particular time for four to five months a year are available here. Sustainable employment is rare. A day labor said that “My son, Anarol, has fallen into accident long ago but he is still suffering injury in head”

**10. Tabulation:** What is your family’s monthly expenditure? *On the basis of question 8*

**Table 3: Family Expenditure**

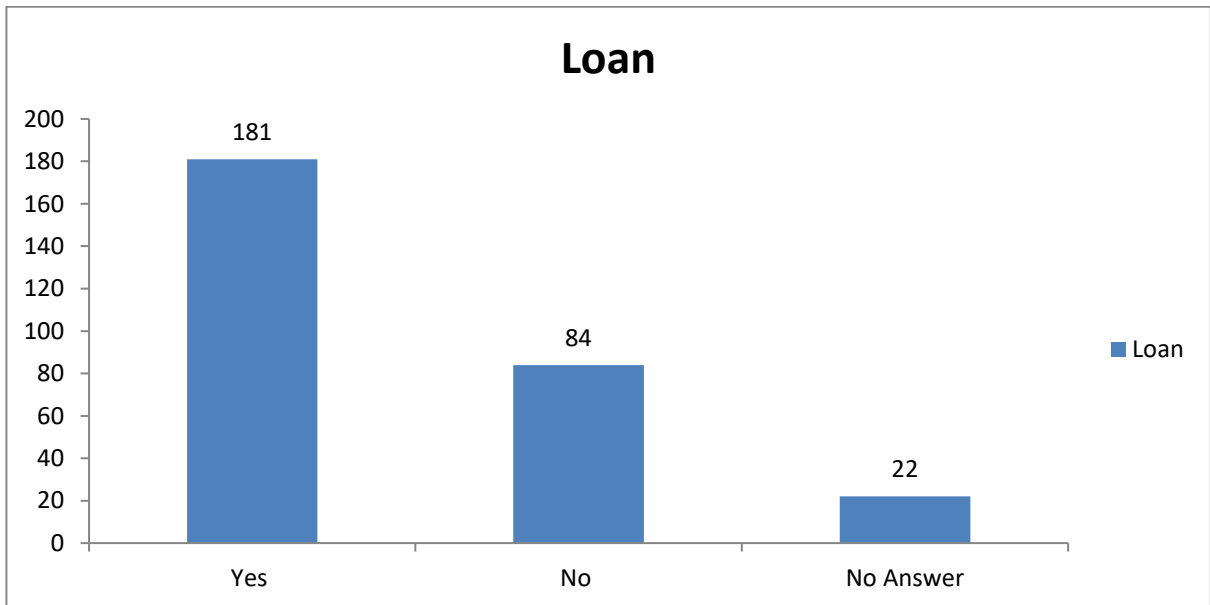
Serial no.	Family	Expenditure
1	Maximum	10,2000
2	Minimum	8000
3	Average	7751

**Description:** On the table, it is demonstrated that maximum and minimum cost of the respondent families are 10,2,000 BDT and 8,000 BDT respectively. Average income of these families is 7751 BDT.

Average, minimum, maximum Monthly expenditure of the families

**11. Tabulation:** Does your family have any loan? *On the basis of question 9*

**Figure 28: loan**



**Description:** In the above table, it can be said that 181 families have take loan from different organization on the basis of weekly installment to be paid. 84 families did not accept any load and 22 families have had no answer. The source of the loan taken by 181 families are:



**12. Tabulation:** The range of the loan *On the basis of question 10*

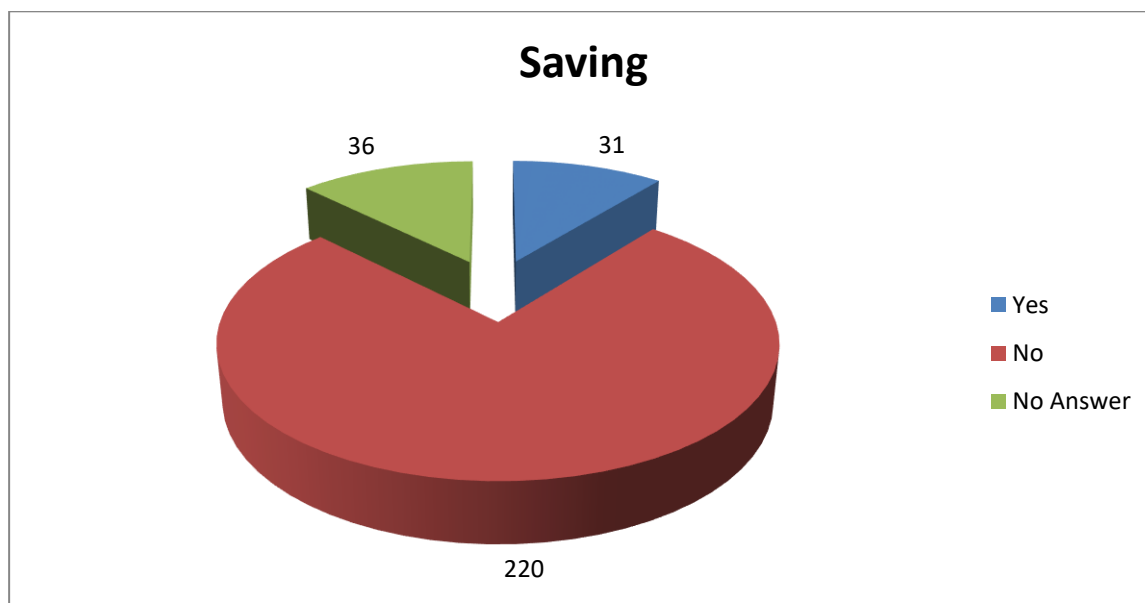
**Table 4: Range of the loan**

Seril No.	Family	Loan
1	Maximum	16,000,000 BDT
2	Minimum	500 BDT
3	Average	57308 BDT

On the table above, it is showed that people are indebted to maximum and minimum amount of 16,000,000 BDT and 500 BDT. Average amount of the loan of the families is 57,308 BDT.

**13. Tabulation:** Do you have any saving? *On the basis of question 10ka*

**Figure 29 : savings**



**Description:** Only thirteen one families have saving which is showed on above figure. But, 220 families have no saving for future. 36 families did not express their opinion.

**14. Tabulation:** How much do you have savings? *On the basis of question 10Kha*

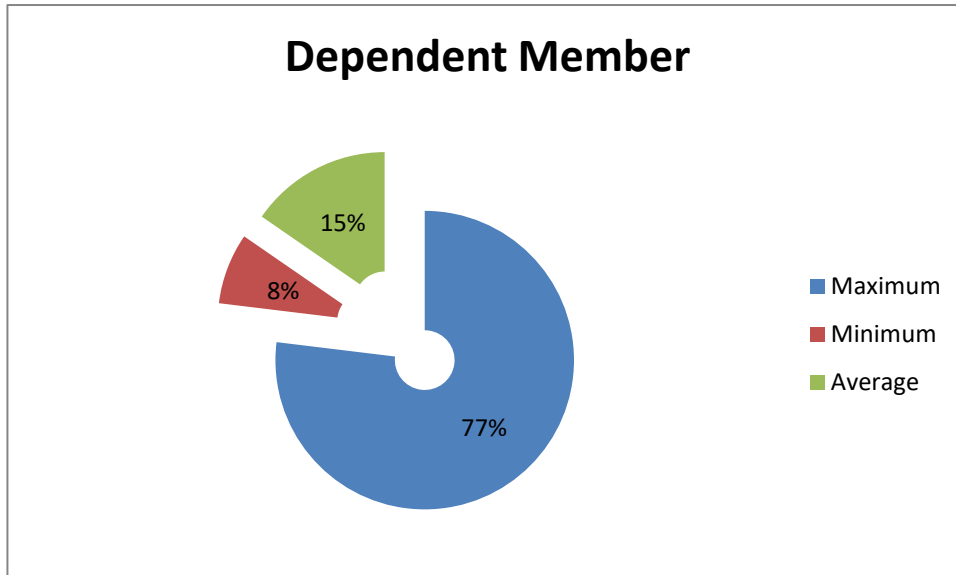
**Table 5 :Range of family savings**

Serial No.	Family	Savings
1	Maximum	30,000 BDT
2	Minimum	1,000 BDT
3	Average	5955 BDT

**Description:** Respondent families have maximum and minimum 30,000 BDT and 1,000 BDT savings. They have average 5955 BDT savings to their own fund.

**15. Tabulation:** How many dependent members does your family have? *On the basis of question 11*

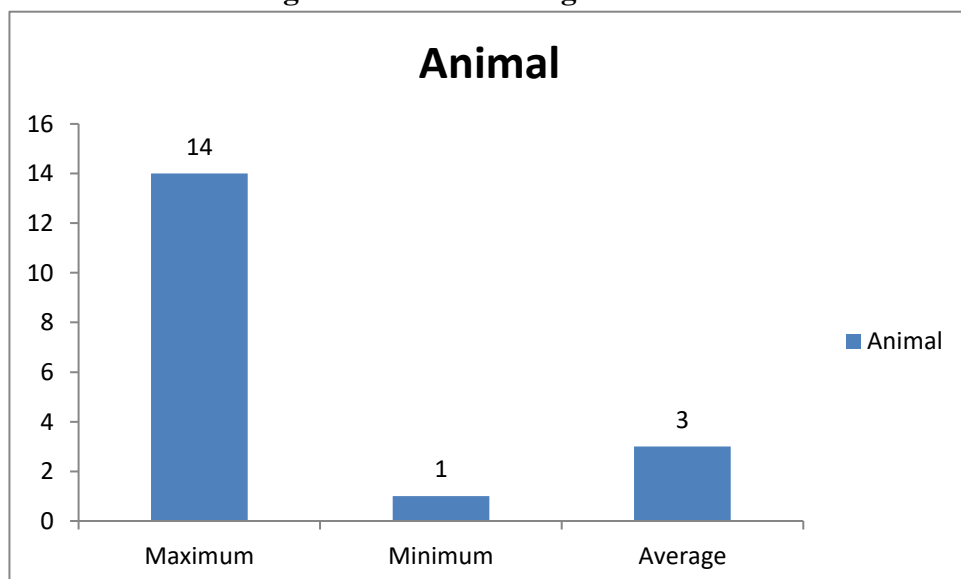
**Figure 30** : dependent members of family



**Description:** On the above figure, Maximum 77% family members are dependent on the earning people. But, minimum 8% family members are dependent and average 15% are dependent to their earning people.

**16. Tabulation:** How many domestic animals (Cow, goat) does your family have? *On the basis of question 13*

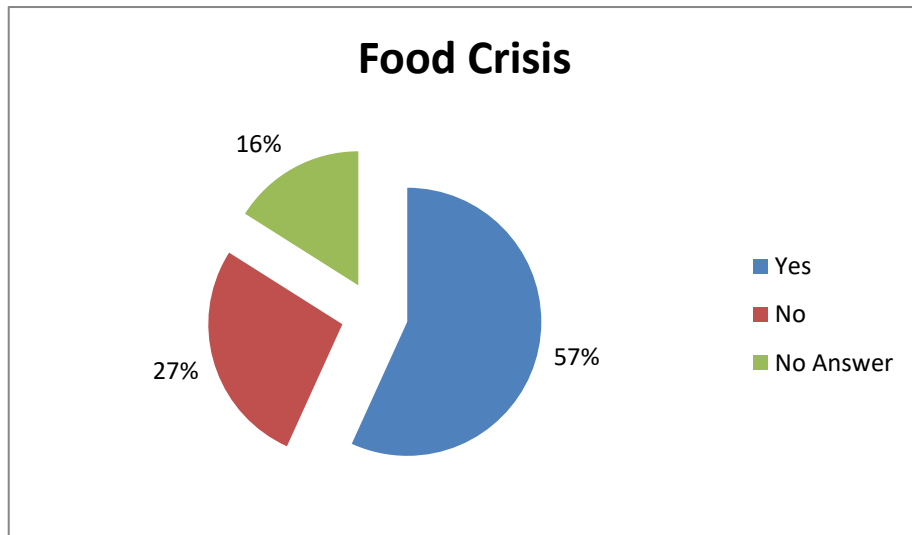
**Figure 31:** Fostering domestic animals



**Description:** On the figure above, it is being illustrated that every family has average three domestic animals. The responding families are fostering maximum 14 animals and minimum one animal also.

**17. Tabulation:** Do the people face food crisis in this area? On the basis of question 14

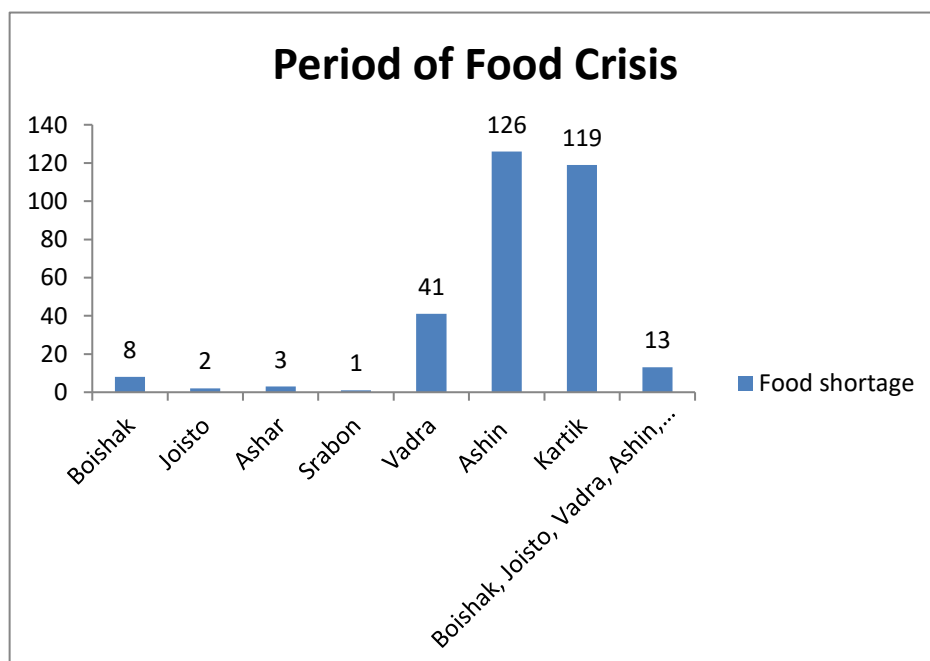
**Figure 32 : Food crisis**



**Description:** Food shortage is a common phenomena which is demonstrated on the pie chart above. 57% families said that they have face food shortage. However, 27% families do not face this challenge. 16% families did not express their views.

**18. Tabulation:** In which month do you face food shortage? On the basis of question 15

**Figure 33: Period of food crisis**



**Description:** Families demand that they face food shortage during five months of a year such as: Boishak, Joisto, Ashar, Srabon, Vadra, Ashin, Kartik of Bangla Calendar year. 126, 119 and 41 families express strong opinion about food shortage in the month of Ashin, Kartik and Vadra respectively.

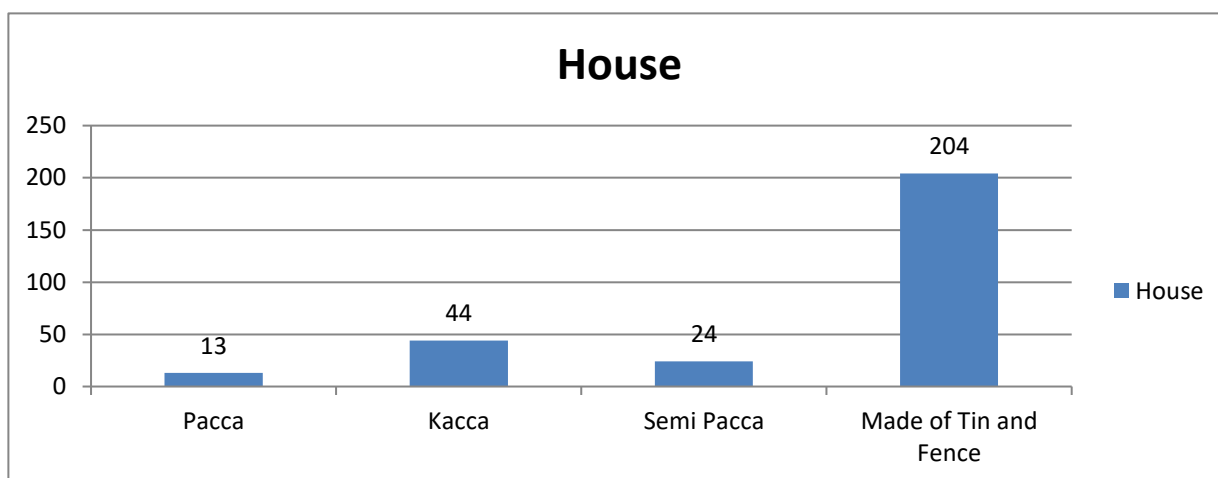
19. What are the reasons behind the food shortage? *On the basis of question 16*  
**scarcity of food (silent famine)**

Respondent families identified different challenges or reasons behind the scarcity of food (silent famine) during five months in a year are mentioned. Basically, the scarcity of food (silent famine) happens just before agricultural output like paddy.

1. Drought
2. Flood
3. Crop disease
4. Lack of work
5. Poor communication system
6. No alternative source of income
7. No work or job facility during last few months of year just before agricultural output
8. Less cultivable land
9. Less fertility of land
10. Unemployment
11. Financial crisis
12. No education facility
13. Not having enough income
14. Lack of capital
15. Garbage
16. Massive forest jungle
17. Lack of agricultural inputs
18. Cramped water
19. Lack of instruments in different work area
20. High cost of foods
21. Snowing (rock rain)
22. Population is high
23. Financial crisis before paddy plantation
24. Natural disaster
25. Sickness
26. Difficulties on cultivating crops, for example: Crops sink in the water, etc.
27. People do not having food in the Bangla calendar month of Ashwin

**Tabulation:** Type of house On the basis of question 17.1

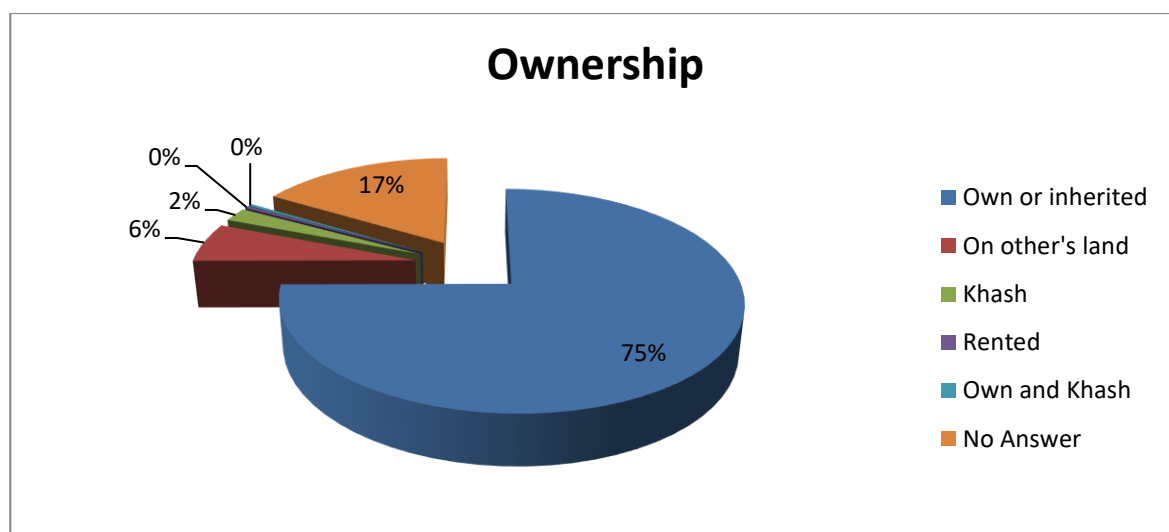
**Figure 34: Type of Housing**



**Description:** The figure shows that 204 families live in the house made of Tin and Fence, 44 families live in Kacca houses. But, 13 families live in Pacca house and 24 families live in semi Pacca houses.

20. **Tabulation:** Type of ownership On the basis of question 17.2

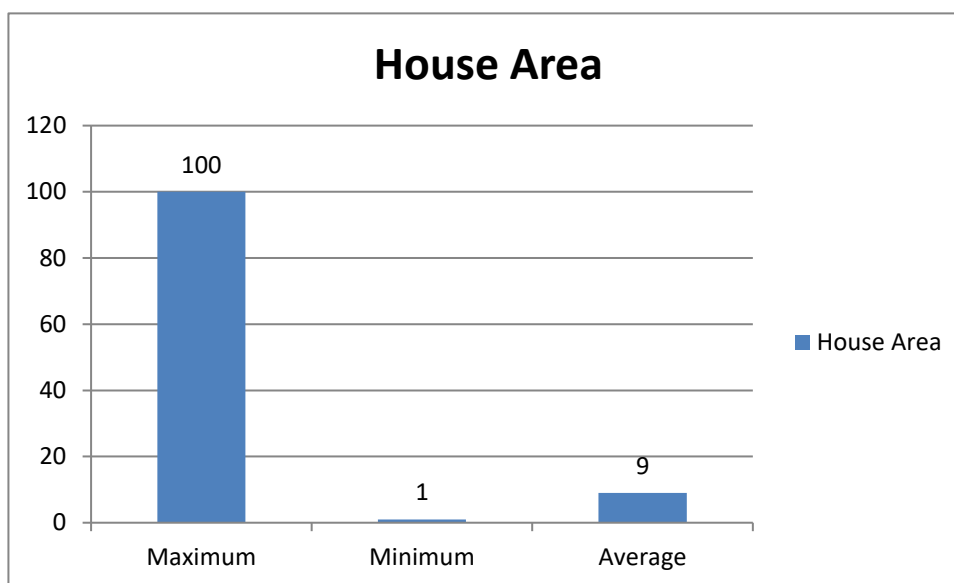
**Figure 35:** Type of ownership



**Description:** 75% of the families have their own land for housing. However, 6% of them live on others' land. Similarly, 2% live on government owned land (Khash). Some families live on rented houses and 17% of them did not viewed.

21. **Tabulation:** Amount of the house land On the basis of question 17.3

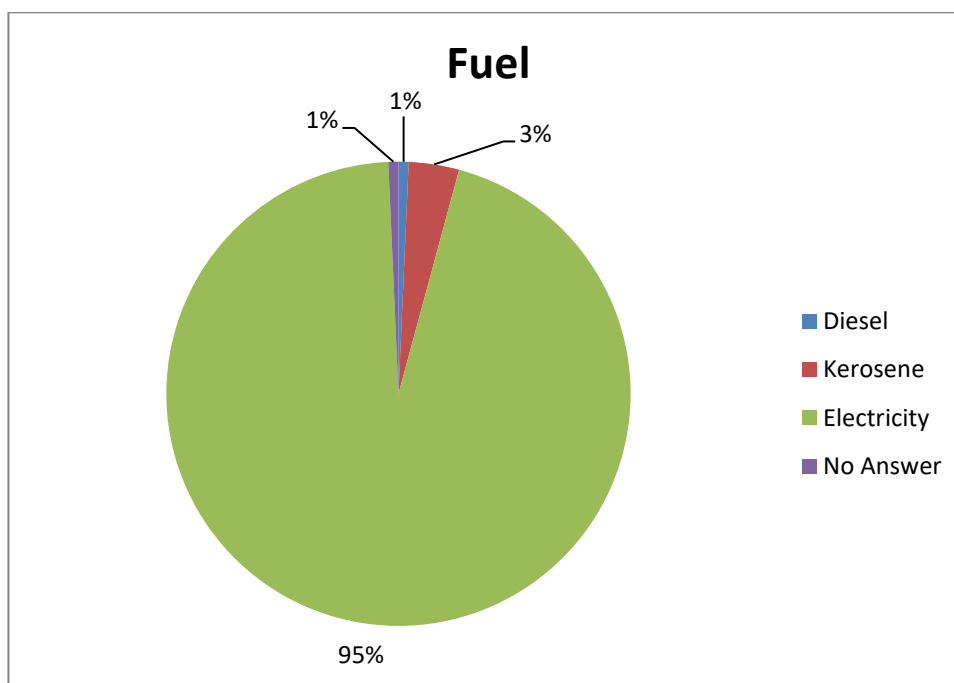
**Figure 36 : Amount of the house land**



**Description:** The figure above viewed that houses of the families are on the land average nine Shatak, maximum 100 Shatak and minimum one Shatak.

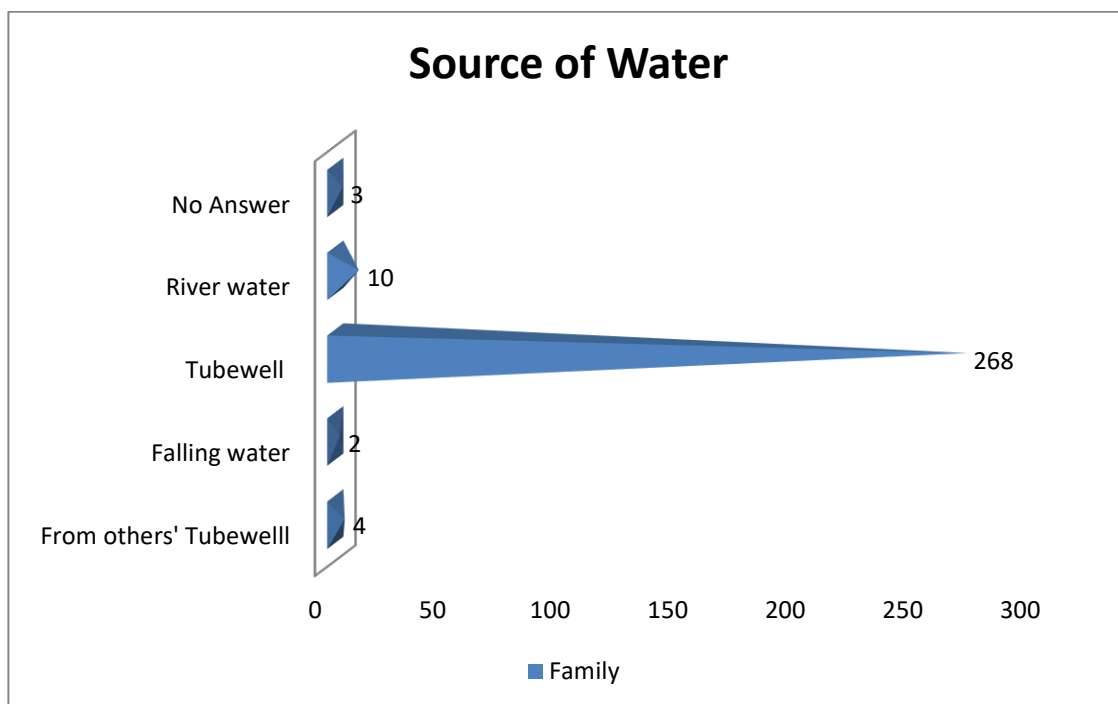
22. **Tabulation:** What kinds of fuel is used for light? On the basis of question 18

**Figure 37: Fuel used for light**



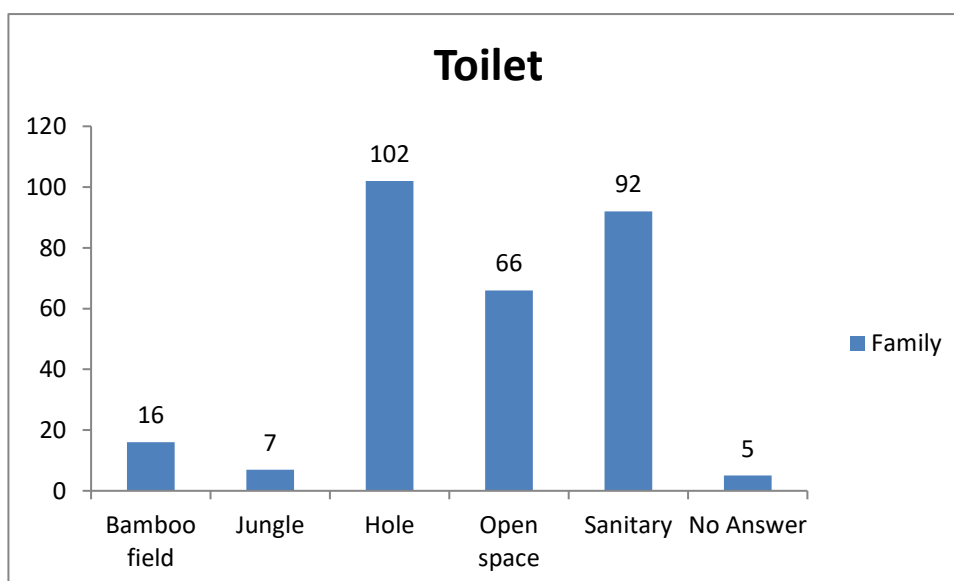
**Description:** On the above figure, it can be said that 95% people have got electricity. However, three percent of the families are using Kerosene for lighting house. Only one percent are using Diesel and one percent did not express opinion.

23. **Tabulation:** What is the source of drinking water in your house? On the basis of question 19  
**Figure 38 The source of drinking water**



**Description:** Majority of the families can use tubewell for drinking water. Two family use falling water and 10 families rely on river water. But, four families use others’ tubewell for the drinking water. Three families did not express opinion.

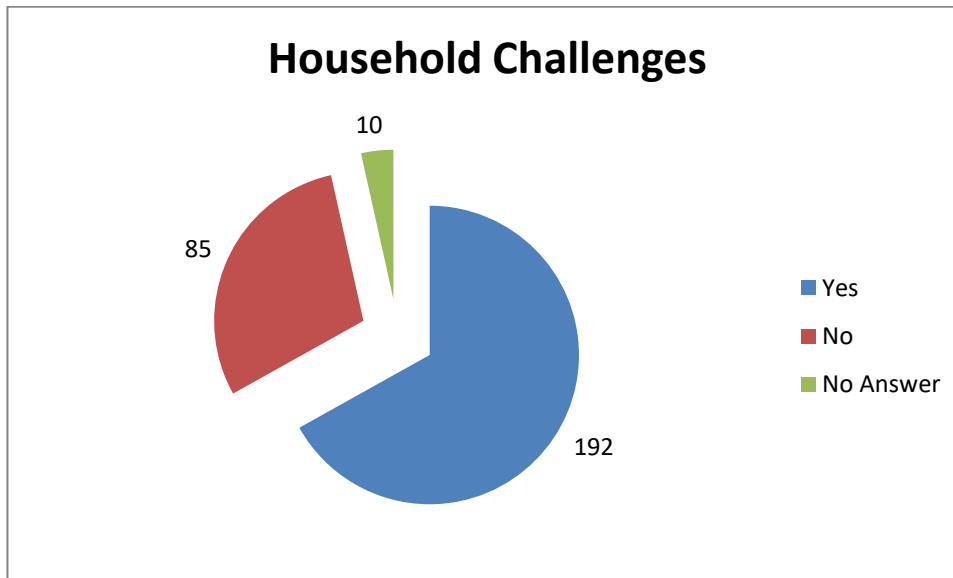
24. **Tabulation:** Whay type of toilet is used at your house? On the basis of question 22  
**Figure 39 Type of toilet**



**Description:** It is viewed on the figure that 92 families use sanitary toilet, 102 families use Hole as toilet. Moreover, 66 families use open space, 16 families use Bamboo field and 7 families use jungle as toilet. Five families did not express opinion.

25. **Tabulation:** Is there any misery in your house? On the basis of question 23

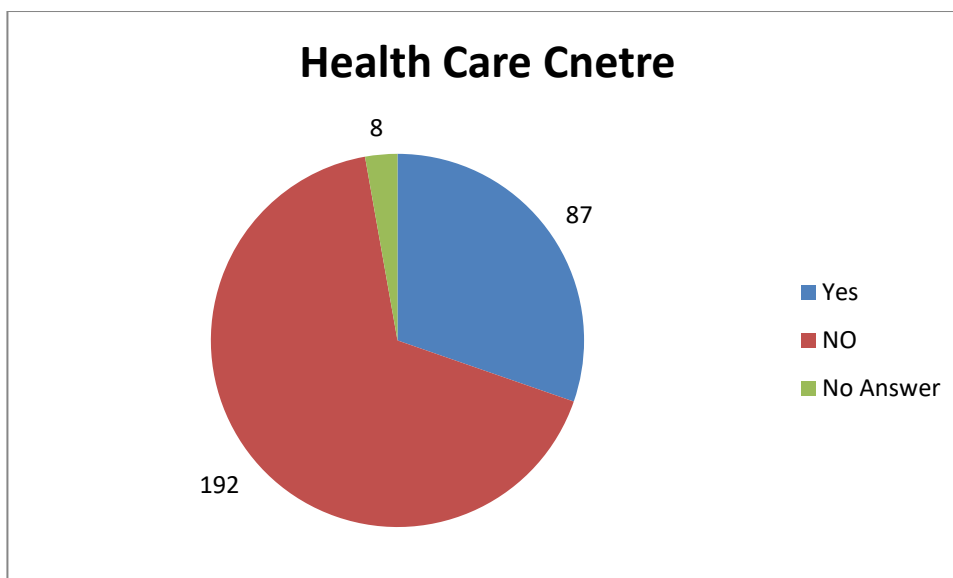
**Figure 40** Challenges in the houses



**Description:** It can be said by this pie chart that 192 families are living with household challenges. 80 families do not face any challenge and 10 families did not state their views.

26. **Tabulation:** Is there any health care centre or NGO health care centre in your country? On the basis of question 25

**Figure 41:** Health care centre or NGO health care centre



**Description:** 192 families of the respondent 287 families opined that there is no health care centre as well as no health care facilities in the enclaves. But, 87 people think health care centre is available there. Eight people did not express their views.



27. What is the distance of the health care center? On the basis of question 26

Table 6: Distance of NGO Health Care Centre

Serial No.	Health Care Centre	Distance
1	Maximum	25
2	Minimum	1
3	Average	7

**Description:** On the above table, it is demonstrated that maximum and minimum distance of health care centre is 25 and 1 Kilometers. Similarly, average distance is seven kilometers.

28. What is the distance of the hospital from your house? On the basis of question 27

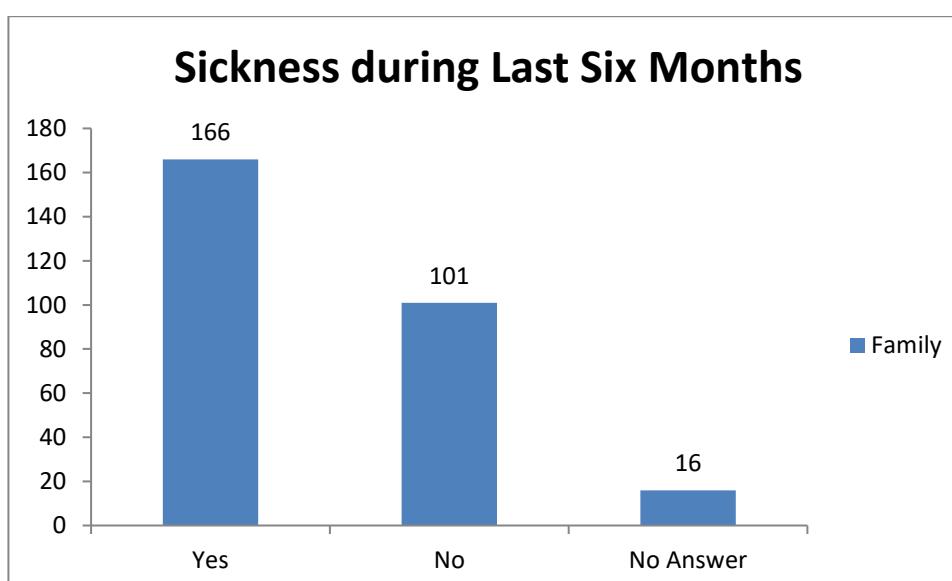
29. Table 7: Distance of Hospital

Serial No.	Hospital	Distance
1	Maximum	27
2	Minimum	1
3	Average	11

**Description:** On the above table, it is showed that maximum and minimum distance of health care centre is 27 and 1 Kilometers. Similarly, average distance is eleven kilometers.

30. **Tabulation:** During last six months, any of your family members became sick? On the basis of question 28

**Figure 42**      **Sickness during last six months**



**Description:** On the above figure, it is seen that 166 people informed that they fell sick during last six months. However, 101 people did not fall sick. Eventually, 16 people did opined.

31. What type of sickness it was? On the basis of question 29  
People have no awareness on different diseases. Enclave dwellers are suffering from different sort of diseases such as:

1. Cataract on eyes
2. Weakness and fever
3. Allergy
4. Heart Problem
5. Groin pain and weakness
6. Pain in the body and cough
7. Vomiting and stomach problems
8. Bone loss
9. Problems with pregnancy
10. Typhoid, fever and increased flesh of nose
11. Diabetes
12. *Gallstone in gallbladder*
13. Paralysis
14. Tuberculosis
15. Tonsil
16. Diarrhea
17. Dermatitis
18. Head injury
19. Asthma
20. Vitiligo (leucoderma)
21. Swelling of meat in the body
22. Brain stroke
23. Mental Problem
24. Ulcer
25. Blood Pressure
26. Chest pain
27. Pneumonia
28. Toothache

32. Where have you taken treatment? On the basis of question 30  
Patients generally consult to village doctor or Kaviraj. However, some rush to different hospital, private doctors and clinic mentioned below.

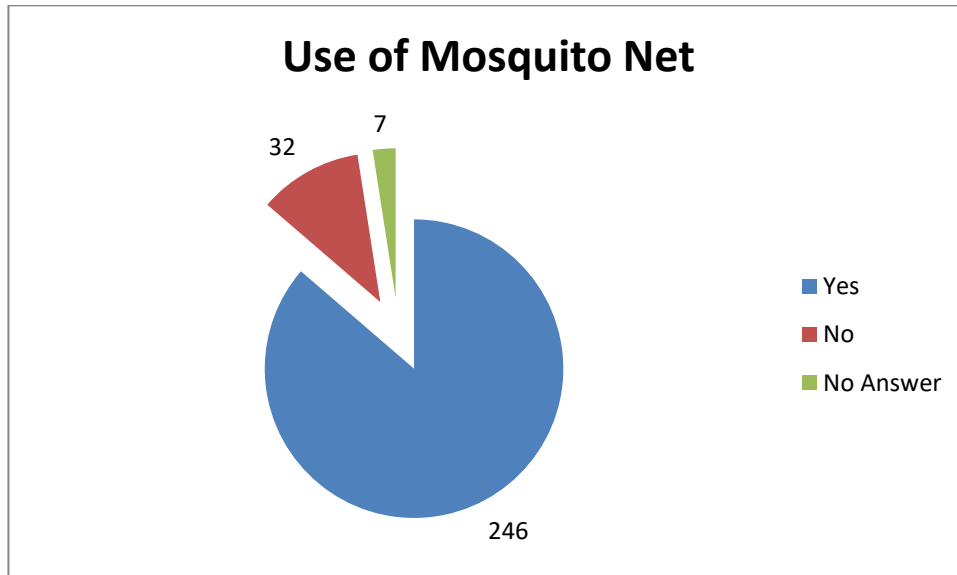
1. Village Doctor
2. Kabiraj
3. Boda Upazila Health Complex
4. Dinajpur General Hospital
5. Private doctor
6. Shaheed Suhrawardy Medical College Hospital
7. Rangpur Medical College Hospital
8. Debigonj Upazila Health Complex
9. Thakorgaon Sadar Hospital
10. Clinic at Rangpur

11. Ideal Clinic at Panchagarh

12. Panchagarh District Hospital

33. **Tabulation:** Do you use mosquito net during sleeping? On the basis of question 31

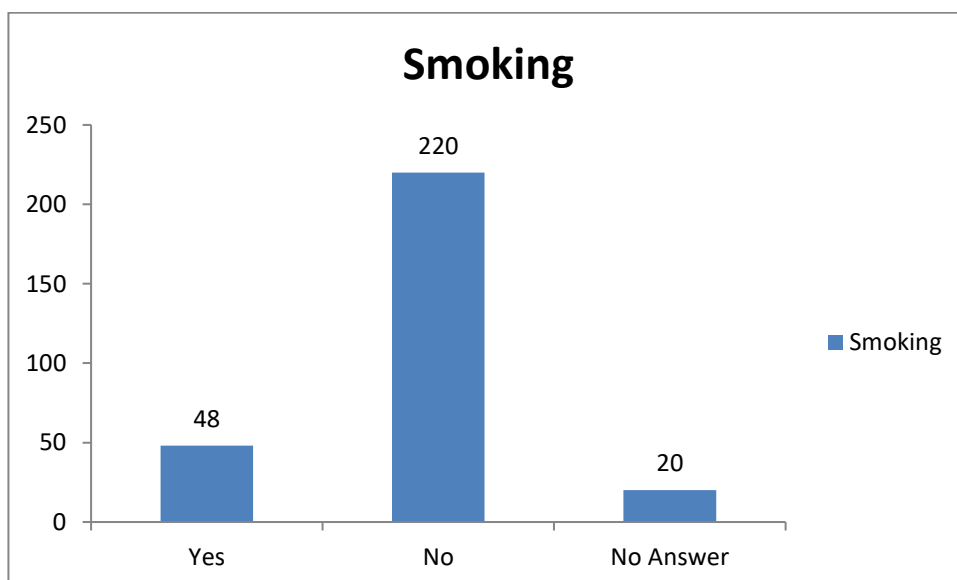
**Figure 43:** Use of mosquito net during sleeping



**Description:** It is demonstrated on the figure that 246 families use mosquito nets during sleeping. But, 32 families do not use mosquito net. Seven families were not willing to answer on this issue.

34. **Tabulation:** Do you smoke? On the basis of question 33

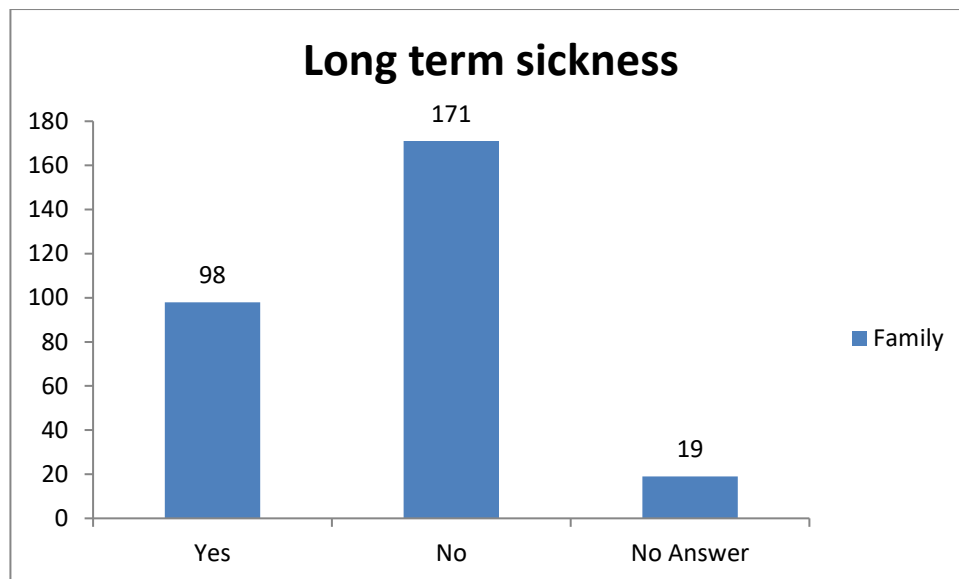
**Figure 44** Smoking Habit



**Description:** The figure represents that family members from 220 families do not smoke. However, 48 families have smokers among the members. Twenty family members did not express their views.

35. **Tabulation:** Any of your family members has longstanding sickness? On the basis of question 34

**Figure 45:** Longstanding sickness



**Description:** On this figure, it is represented that family members from 98 families are suffering long term sickness. But, 171 families do not have such patient in their houses.

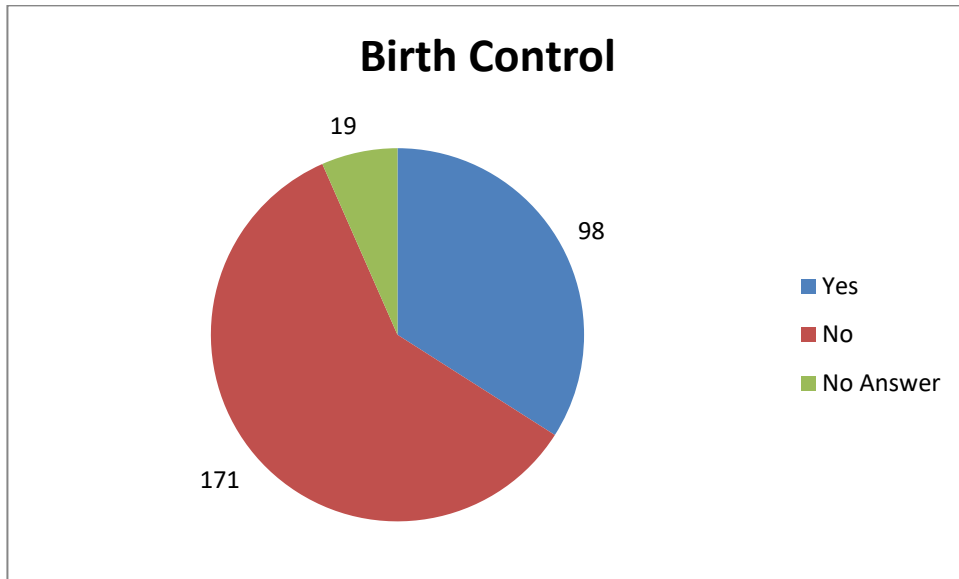
36. What sort of sickness? On the basis of question 35

Enclave dwellers suffer from different kind of long term illness, which are:

- a) Heart problem
- b) Physically challenged
- c) Foot and groin pain
- d) Age related diseases
- e) Convulsion
- f) Diabetes
- g) Chest problem
- h) Tumour

37. **Tabulation:** Do you know family planning or birth controlling system? On the basis of question 36

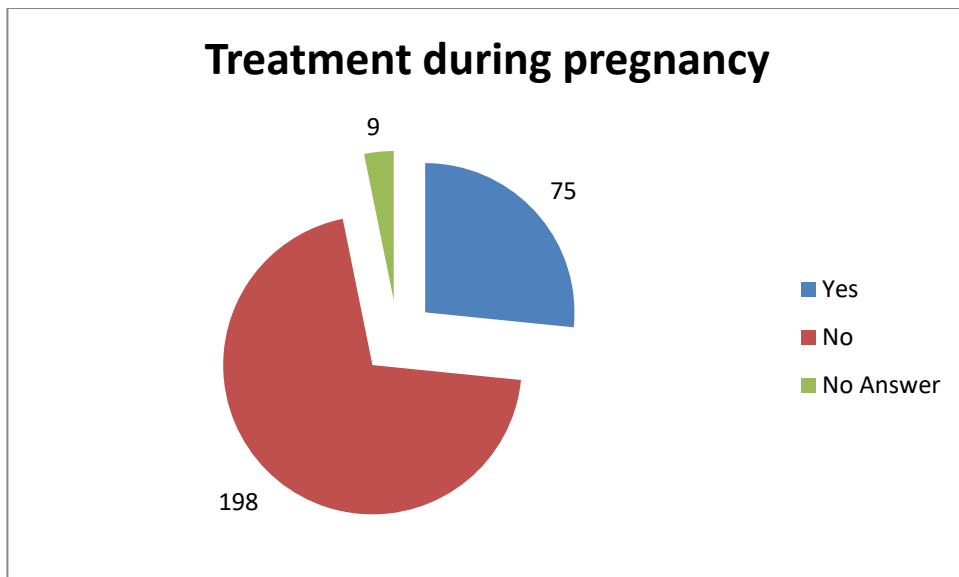
**Figure 46: familiarity with family planning**



**Description:** The figure above shows that 171 families do not know about birth control. They did not listen the word before. But, 98 families have listened the concept. Nineteen families did not answer the question.

38. **Tabulation:** Is there pregnancy related treatment available in your area? On the basis of question 38

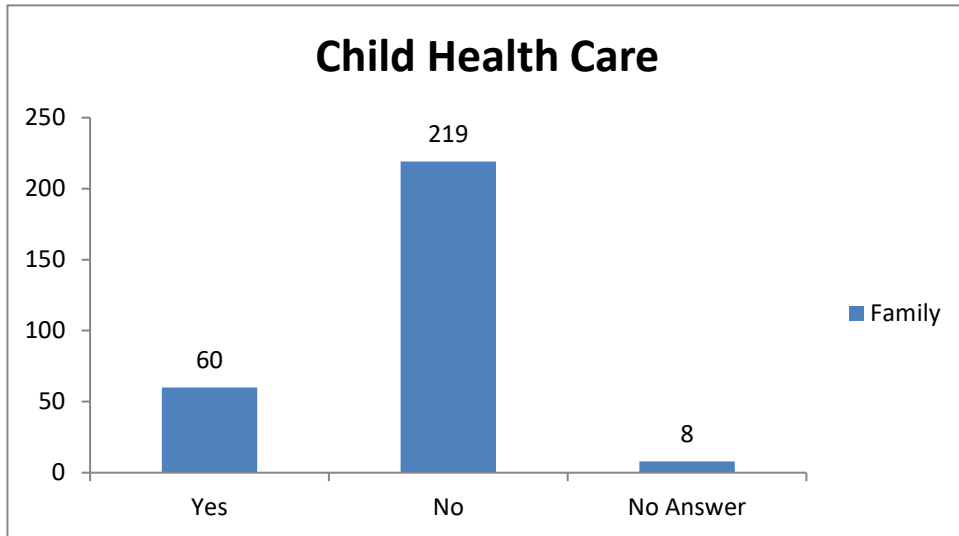
**Figure 47: treatment during pregnancy**



**Description:** On the pie chart, it can be said that only 75 families opined that treatment during pregnancy is available in the enclaves. But, 198 families assert that treatment during pregnancy is unavailable. Nine families did not contribute on this issue.

39. **Tabulation:** Is there children related treatment available in your area? On the basis of question 39

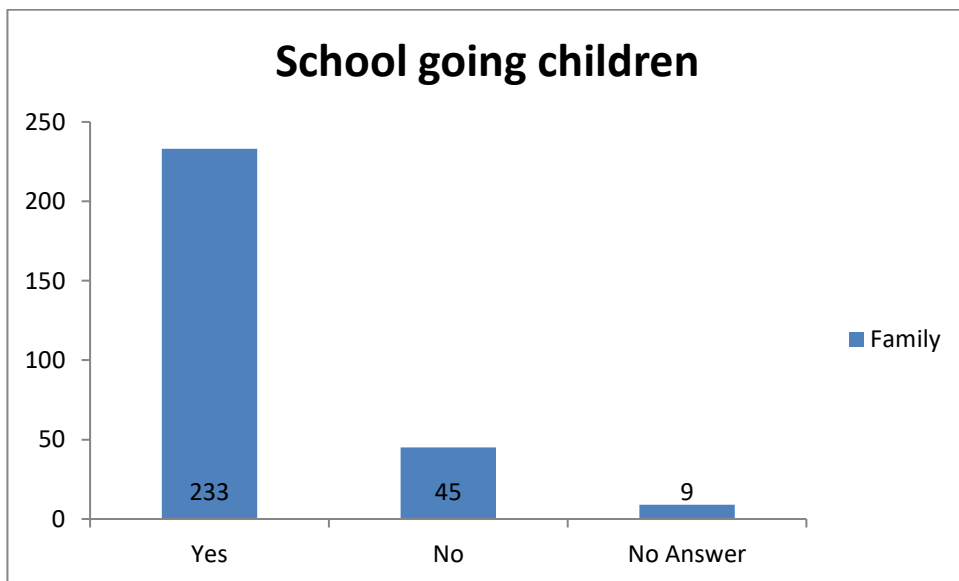
**Figure 48: Children Health Care**



**Description:** We can say by this figure above, 219 families demand that child health care in enclaves is not available. However, 60 families think child health care is available. Eight families did not respond on this issue.

40. **Tabulation:** Do the children of your family go to school? On the basis of question 40

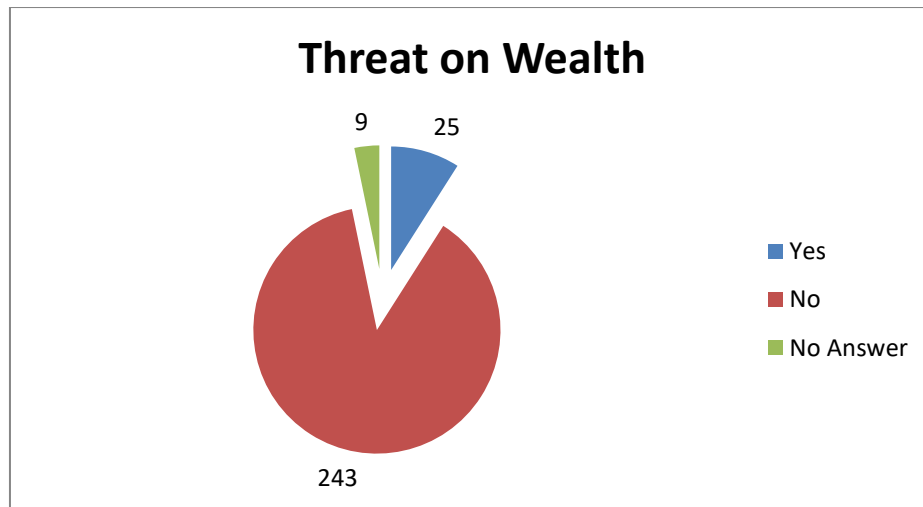
**Figure 49: School going Children**



**Description:** Children from 233 families go to school. But, children from 45 families do not go to school. Nine families did not answer.

41. **Tabulation:** Does anyone deceptively threaten you to deprive from wealth? On the basis of question 42

**Figure 50: Threat to wealth**



**Description:** Figure shows that, majority of the responded families think that there is no social violence in the enclaves. But, 25 families think, there is social violence in the enclaves and nine families did not express their views.

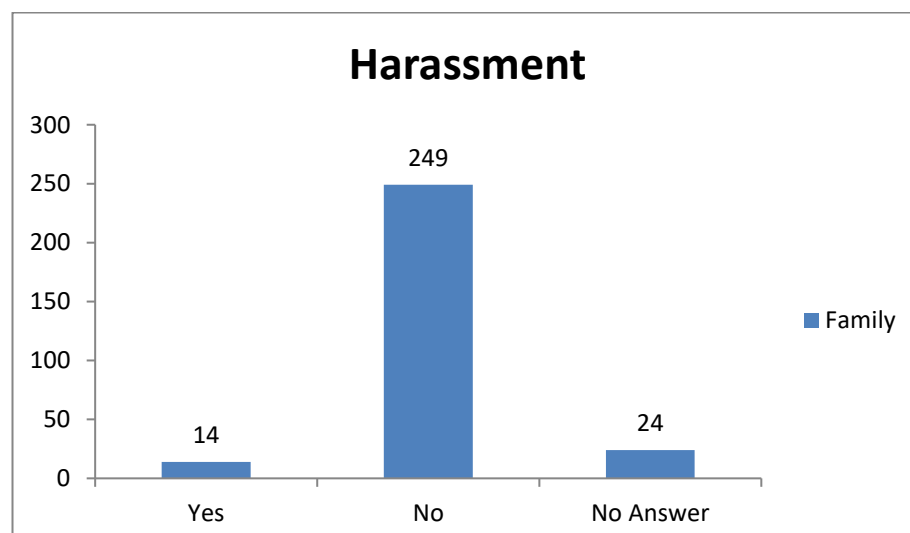
42. What sort of deprivation or threat to deprive deceptively from wealth?

Types of threat:

Respondents face threat on their property such as: quarrelling with dividing land, not getting documents of land instead of having ownership, land has not been recognized in the survey due to wicked mentality (110 bigha land of 100 families), threat with land ownership, cases with land ownership, land encroachment forcibly

43. **Tabulation:** Do you face harassment, because of ethnicity or any other reasons? On the basis of question 44

**Figure 51 Facing Harassment**



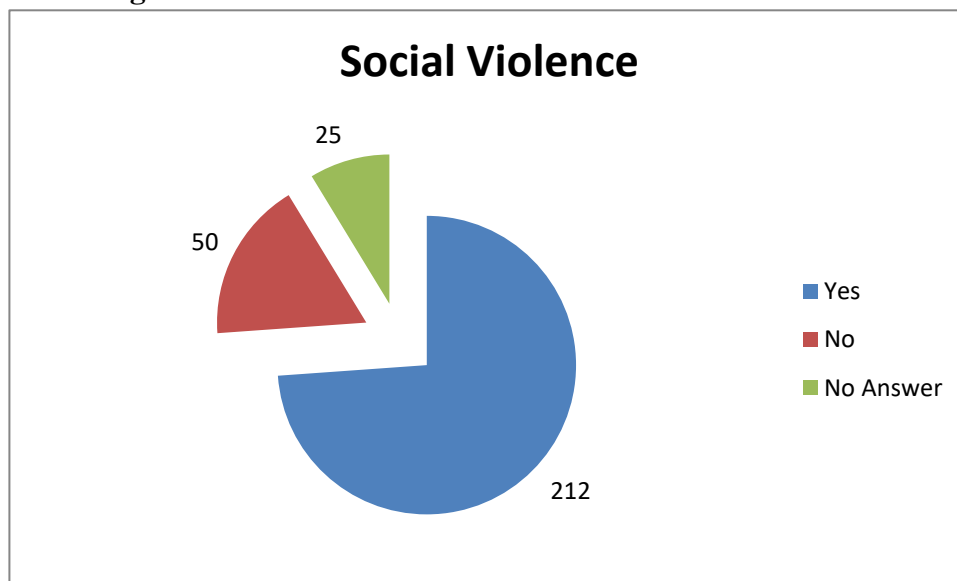
**Description:** On the figure above, it can be decided that majority of the responded families do not face harassment. Fourteen families face harassment and fourteen families do not answer the question.

44. What sort of harassment do you face because of ethnicity or any other reasons?Types of harassment:

People of enclave area face different sort of harassments leading daily lives such as: challenges in go to doctor rapidly, harassment with cases of forest office on false allegation of cutting trees, women violence in the house of father in law, practice of misbehavior by the concerned people with providing medicine and healthcare, medicine crisis in hospital, harassment by policy with the conspiracy of immoral people, lodging cases by police without any allegation or without any reason

45. **Tabulation:** Do you think your family is free from any kind of crime of violence? On the basis of question 46

**Figure 52: Social Violence**



**Description:** On the figure above, it is viewed that 212 families are free from any sort of violence in the enclaves. But, 50 families fear of violence and 25 families do not answer the question.



46. **Tabulation:** does there happen any incident of women oppression or harassment? On the basis of question 48

**Figure 53: Women Violence**



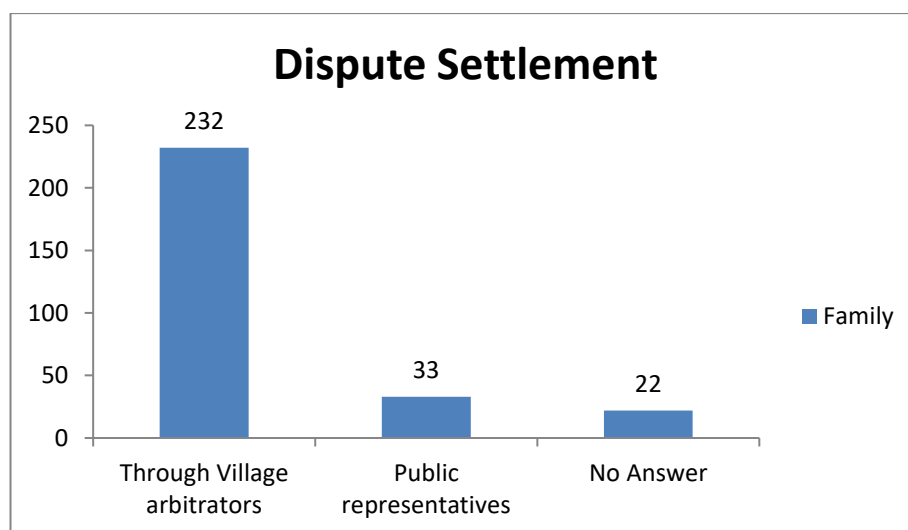
**Description:** Figure above demonstrates that 208 families think, there is no women violence in the enclaves. However, 57 families think, family violence is available in the areas. 22 families did not express opinion.

47. What sort of women violence or harassment does there happen in the enclave area? On the basis of question 49

Women violence is decreasing day by day. But, there is still different sort violence happened with women in the enclave area. These are: women violence in the house of father in law, mental violence by husband, physical assault, and financial harassment like dowry

48. **Tabulation:** How is the dispute settled in this area? On the basis of question 50

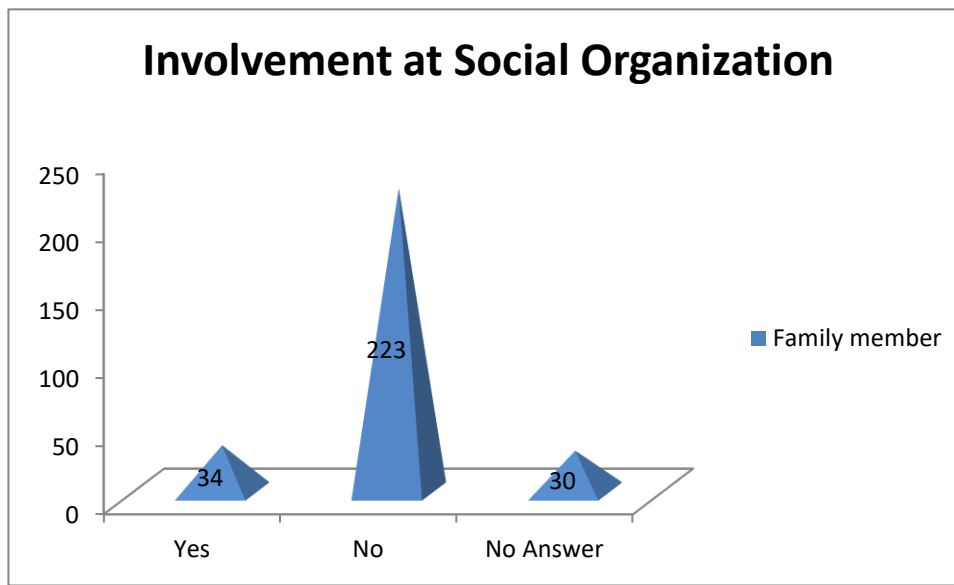
**Figure 54 Dispute settlement**



**Description:** On this figure above, it is viewed that 232 families opined that they settle disputes through village arbitrators and 33 families think that disputes are settled through public representatives. 22 families did not answer the question.

49. **Tabulation:** Do you or any of your family members involved in any social, cultural, volunteery organization? On the basis of question 51

**Figure 55: Involvement** in social, cultural, volunteery organization



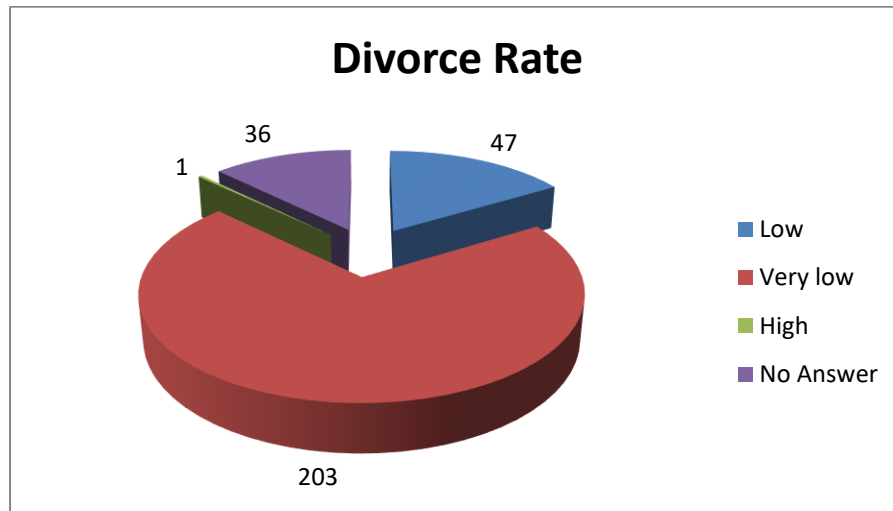
**Description:** It is demonstrated on the figure alarmingly that family members from 223 responded families are not involved in any social organizations. Family members from 34 families are engaged in different social works through different organizations. However, 30 families did not opine.

50. Please mention the name of the social volunteery organizations? *On the basis of question 52*

Members of respondent families are involved in different social organizations. However, there are a few social organizations facing different challenges, where people gather in the sake of their professions or in the purpose of borrowing loan. The organizations are:

1. Akti Bari Akti Khamar (One house one farm)
2. Bodeshari Community Clinic
3. Akata Jobo Sanga (United Youth Organization)
4. ASA Samity (ASA Society)
5. Sramik Samity (Labor Society)
6. Village Police
7. Development activities in society
8. Krishak Samity (Farmer Society)

51. **Tabulation:** What is the rate of divorce in your Union? On the basis of question 55  
**Figure 56 : Divorce Rate**



**Description:** On this figure above, it is showed that 203 families think divorce reate is very low. However, 47 families think it is not comparatively low. But, one family thinks it is high. 36 families did not express their views.

52. What are the reasons behind divorce? *On the basis of question 56*

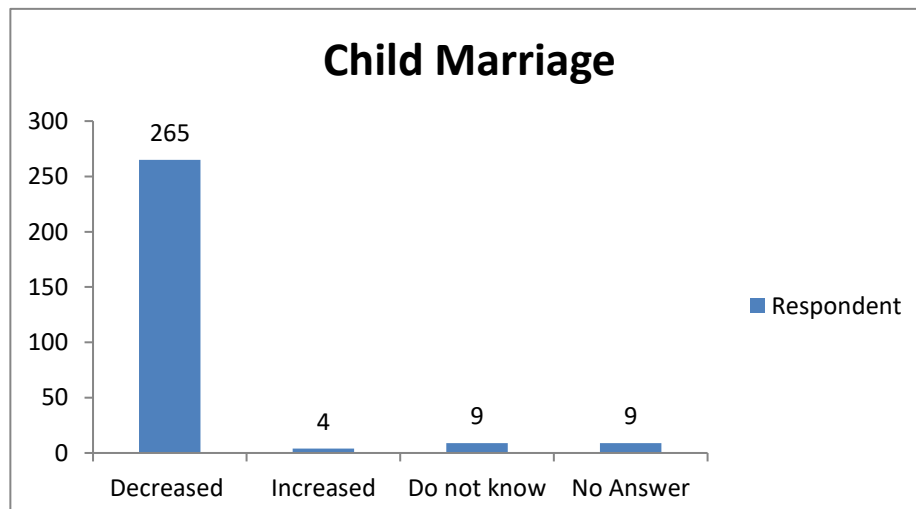
Reasons behind divorce are mainly:  
 Marriage in the tiny age, child marriage, dowry, domestic violence, misunderstanding,

53. What are the measures should be taken to stop divorce? *On the basis of question 57*

The people of enclaves believe that divorces can be prevented through arbitration by local government (Union Parishod), by stop child marriage, by taking legal measures, through punishment, arbitration by social dignitaries, spreading Islamic education, by encouraging the children to go to school.

54. **Tabulation:** After solving the enclave crisis, child marrage increases or decreases? On the basis of question 58

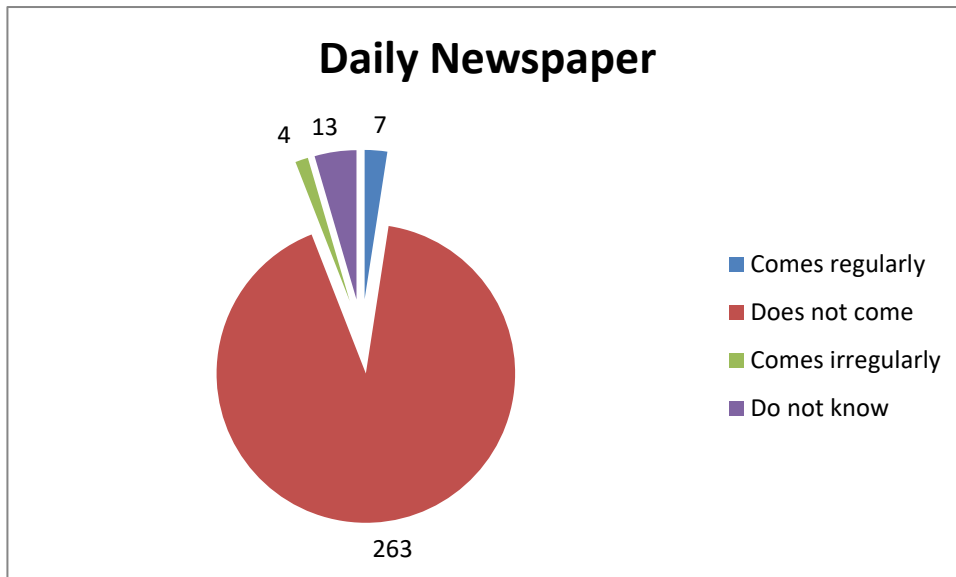
**Figure 57: Child Marriage**



**Description:** By the figure above, we can say, majority of the responded families think that child marriage is decreased after enclave exchange. However, four families think it is increased. Nine families do not know about it and nine families did not remark on it.

55. **Tabulation:** Is it available the daily newspaper in your area? On the basis of question 59

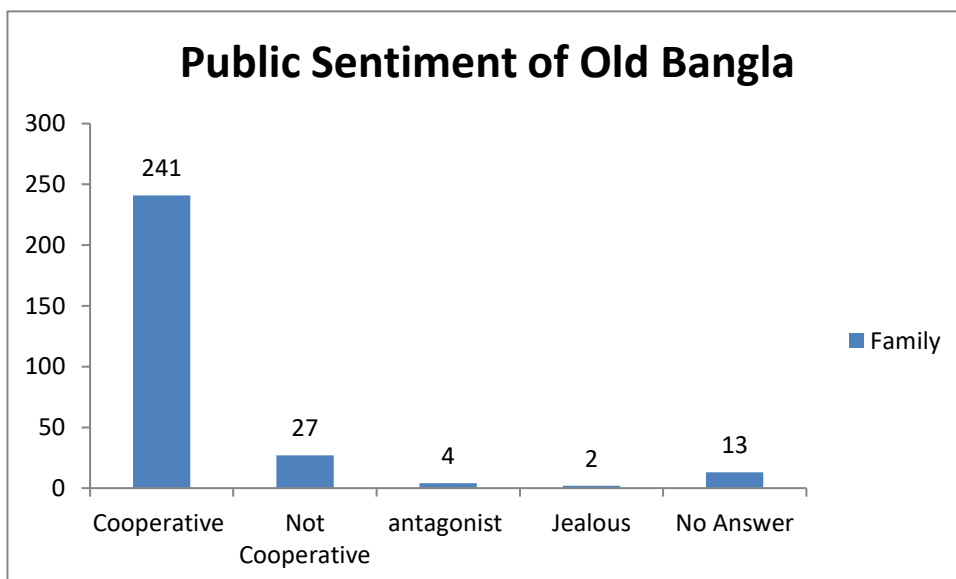
**Figure 58: Daily Newspaper**



**Description:** On the figure above, it is showed, 263 families said that newspaper is not available in the enclaves. But, only 7 families think it is available there and four families opined that it comes irregularly. However, 13 families do not know the matter.

56. **Tabulation:** What is the public sentiment of this area regarding enclave people? On the basis of question 60

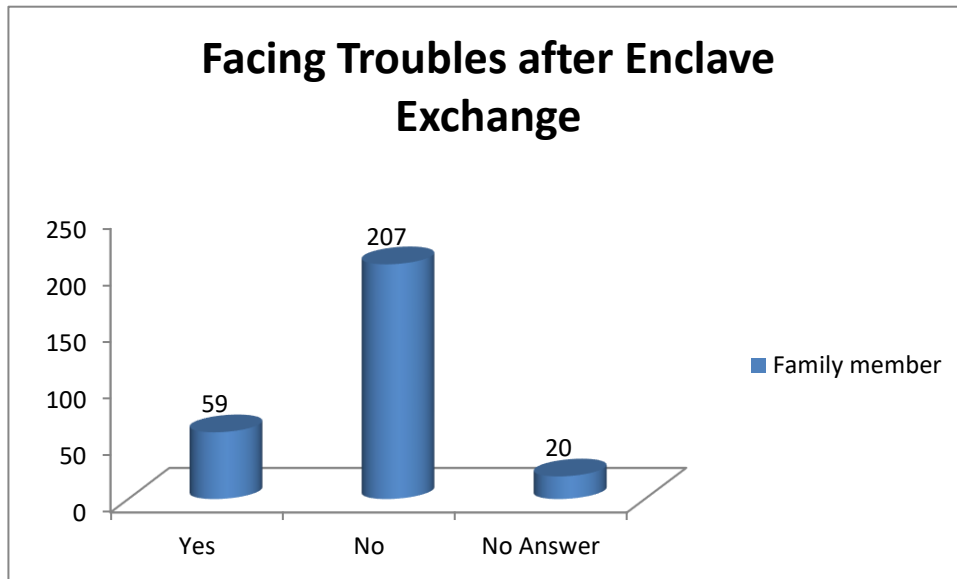
**Figure 59: Public sentiment**



**Description:** The figure above represents that the views of 241 families of the enclaves is that the local people from Old Bangla are cooperative. 27 families think that people from Old Bangla are not cooperative. But, four families think that they are hostile to the enclave dweller and two families think they are jealous to enclave people. However, 13 families did not respond.

57. **Tabulation:** Is your family facing any trouble after settlement of the enclave crisis? On the basis of question 61

**Figure 60:** Facing any trouble after settlement of the enclave crisis



**Description:** Figure above compels to think that 207 families do not face any troubles after enclave exchange. But, 59 families face different sort of troubles. However, 20 families did not express their views.

58. What are your troubles your family facing after settlement of the enclave crisis? *On the basis of question 62*

Enclave dwellers are facing different troubles with their daily life. People do not understand rules and regulations properly. For this why, they are easily prey of land grabbers. The troubles they face are: government's deception by surveying ( ) in others name instead of having documents of ownership of land, false cases with false allegation, threat to harass through police during quarreling with anyone from old Bangla ( outsider of enclaves), false cases with land property, no road connection to enter home, tube well crisis

59. What sort of steps should be taken in order to develop the enclave people. *On the basis of question 63*

Steps should be taken to develop the enclave area are:

1. Distributing tube well, sanitary toilet
2. providing bicycles to go and return from school
3. train the educated people
4. training for women
5. setting up Kinder garden school, madrasah, primary school, high school

6. to start adult education
7. to set up a technical training centre
8. to develop the education system
9. starting stipends for the students
10. Pay teachers' salary
11. Award MPO status for institutions
12. let the children study free of cost in high schools and Madrasha
13. solve the problems with communication (roads, culverts, pool)
14. construct Kartoia Bridge to connect two Unions (Baroshashi and Mayra Union)
15. prevent erosion on Kartoia river bank
16. Distribute animals among the enclave dwellers
17. Make built house for fostering animals, no house to live
18. Eradicating poverty
19. Make houses built to live
20. Distribute agricultural loan with easy condition
21. Providing loan with less interest,
22. distributing land property to the landless people
23. rising the value of labor price
24. housing the homeless people
25. distributing solar panel
26. to make built living house by government finance
27. financial assistance
28. Distributing blanket
29. Solving food crisis
30. to stop the business of intoxicating drug
31. Elect representatives from enclaves in the local government authority, to prevent exploitation like not getting VGD card etc., threat to stop the 10 taka ration card
32. Solve the unemployment crisis
33. setting up medical, clinic
34. arrange medical facilities for widowed women, oldest people
35. setting up police station (Thana)
36. Mae us exempted from the false cases
37. Enhancing security
38. Stop women violenc
39. Give assistance for blind people
40. Supply safe water
41. Co-operative in social work

60. Which problem should be solved rapidly? *On the basis of question 64*

Following steps should be taken immediately to develop the socio-economic conditions in the enclaves rapidly.

- a) developing health care system
- b) Developing human skill
- c) Developing educational institutions
- d) Developing communication system.

61. You may mention any remarkable experience (struggle, incident, inspiration, etc.): *On the basis of question 65*

### **CASE STUDIES:**

Mohammad Rakibul Islam, 1no. Dahala Khagrabari, Debigonj, Panchagarh started with the slogan “No more enclave dweller, we are now bangladeshi”. “We have assumed to get much more after becoming New Bangla (part of Bangladesh). But, no roads and infrastructural development were made in our Basuniapara in 1no. Dahala Khagrabari, Debigonj, Panchagarh (3no. Debigonj union, ward no. 04). There is no medical facility, no primary school, no allowance to build houses, no education facility, no clinic for healthcare”.

Shri Gobinda Barman, 5no. Putimari enclave ( 2no. Moidandighi Union, ward no. 3, Boda, Panchagarh) said, “My father has land property in enclave. He sold the property with only 30 to 40 thousand per Bigha due to financial crisis to maintain family expenditure. During selling, client encroached more than he bought (For example: he encroached 2 Bigha instead of 1 Bigha). During selling, it was mentioned that the client would return the land property. But, the client are not returning the property. As a result, I have to do menial work like day labor, and financial crisis and starving has become common phenomena in my family”.

Shirajul Islam, Beoladanga enclave (Village: Beoladanga, Shirajnagar Para, 7no. Teprigonj Union, Boda, Panchagarh) said, “Some people from Old Bangla (Bangladesh) burnt two villages in enclaves in 1993 centering a Shal tree. Some miscreants from enclave killed two people of Bangladesh in the enclave area centering a shal tree. Later, villagers of Bangladesh burnt about 208 houses in the enclave”.

Md. Soleman Ali, from 59 Potimari enclave, potimari, Shirajul Islam Nagar, Maidandighi, 3 no. Ward, Boda, Panchagarh wrote:

“We have made many movements in the past. Could not convert the enclaves to Bengal. But our Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina ended her 68-year rule by being kind toward us. Thank you so much to the Honorable Prime Minister. Local brokers have done poor work with the donation given by honorable Prime Minister, which has destroyed the government's image”

Hakikul Islam (59 Putimari enclaves, Putimari, No. 2, Maidan Dighi 2 ward) express his views admiring the government that

“Joy Bangla Joy Bangabandhu, with the Bounty of Sheikh Hasina, we have got the value of our life back, I will vote for Naoka (Party symbol of Bangladesh Awamai League) as long as I live. Say to all, stay with Hasina’s development. We are secured; we can find the way of light.”

Taslim Uddin (59 Pututimari enclaves, Putimari, No. 2, Maidan Dighi 3 ward) said, “We have struggled for freedom of enclave dwellers in the light of Banglabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's land border agreement”

Anwar Hossain, Balapara Khagrhabari enclaves, Balapara Khagrhabari, Chilahati said, “The government is doing documents of land without settling different sort of disputes over land properties. The chairman do not distribute the fund allocated for the enclaves by proper rule”

Noor Alim, Basunia Para, 1 No. of Dahla Khagrabari enclave, 3 Deviiganj, Ward No. 4 opined that

“I had made many movements and even large gatherings to change the enclaves in Bangladesh for almost 15 years. For this, there was hunger strike for 17 days in the Pothimari enclave adjacent to Panchagarh Jute Mill. We got Bangladeshi citizenship because of this movement in this enclave and I am proud that the movement has succeeded”.

Anisur Rahman , Basunia Para, 1 No. of Dahla Khagrabari enclave, 3 Deviiganj, expressed opinion that “I have worked as secretary of this enclave committee in Bangladesh-India Samannoy Committee for 30 years. One day it succeeded. I am proud of this”.

Dulal Islam, Bot Bari enclave, 8 No. Kuslibari, Ward No. 4 viewed that “Our house was burned twice by fire and then, we returned to normal life through a lot of troubles. We had to struggle to return to our normal life”.

## **B. Analysis of Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

Shirajul Islam Sarkar (Chairman, 1993-2015, Shalbari, Kajoldighi, Natoktoka, Beoladanga) said, it is highly needed to establish school, college, Madrasha, hospital. In Panchagarh, there are 36 enclaves consisting with 3300 acre land and 1723 families. Area is greater than other enclaves but, the allocation was not distributed with the basis of area and the number of families. Weak and inappropriate materials were used in developing activities. Work should be done with eligible one. Project Investment Officer (PIO) do not look after the development activities. Wall was going to be built in Dinbazar, but the wall was fall down before completion. Hospital with 100 beds should be built in favorable spot in the enclave for emergency healthcare. There is no advancement in building Gocco Gram (small village). There is 36 bigha pond and a land of 350 bigha. But, government recorded the pond and land with the name of freedom fighter force (as Khash land). I demand to distribute the Khash land into landless families. Because of cultivation of sugar cane and jute, flood and river erosion are becoming common phenomena. People of Old Bangla are encroaching and engulfing the river. Miscreants are filing cases showing the documents of British era and harassing in different way. Toilets are kacha (Open and made of bamboo), 4% of the Kacca toilet are not suitable to use, someone get government allocated house with bribe of about 30,000 taka. Someone did not get anything. But, someone got twice and even thrice. Everything became haphazard. Because the authority concerned did not discuss with local enclave people regarding development issues.

Abul Hossain said,

“Enclave area is deprived from government allocation. We need to cross the river on footbridge made of bamboo. nothing has been developed such as: roads, culvert, etc. Our children need to walk on the way of school. we have to pass twenty kilometer on the way of hospital. Local government representatives do not come into enclaves. They do not have enough knowledge about enclaves. They do not know the former enclave dwelling people. At present, about 86 people did not get voter card because of not including their name into ‘Head Counting’ in 2011 and 2015 in the fear of harassment by police”.



Nipendra Nath Ray said,

“There is no Temple (Mondir) in this area. Hindus families are scattered in different places. No government assistance could be found here. We cannot accept any healthcare facilities. Because, here is no community clinic. We need government jobs for developing the way of life of enclaves. We need quota system for the candidates of enclaves in recruiting government jobs and in admission process in educational institutions”.

Rabbol Master said,

“It was said to discuss with leaders of enclaves to develop the area. But, public representatives worked in their electoral area adjacent to enclaves haphazardly, gave assistance to their near and dear ones. They distributed only 100 VGD cards instead of 620. Later, we collected 520 cards through movement. 100 VGD cards among 620 were distributed to the people of Old Bangla. For this reason, in 2017, I had to be harassed with false case. we got only five kilometer road instead of 15 kilometer. Even the five kilometer road was built at enclave adjacent of Old Bangla to meet the electoral interest. But, the main roads of enclave remains substandard as earlier. Some wicked people are trying to get government fund through setting up fake schools and taking money by showing job temptation. the schools tutoring well for long are not getting government permission of tutoring. As a result, the schools cannot get books and other facilities. Fund allocated for enclaves is not used for enclaves. People are becoming townward”.

Name: Dipa Moni, student of class ten, Nababangla High School said, “ There is no road to go to school, no modern vehicle; there is no arrangement for commuting rapidly if we face any problem; schools are far away; we cannot go to remote school due to security crisis, going school is a ten kilometer two journey on foot through jungle and desolate areas; parents are trying to get their daughters married; many of my friends got married due to the depredation of wicked arrogant impudent boys who try to disturb girls, government should distribute bicycle for students to go to schools”.

Challenges strongly pronounced by different dignitaries during Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in the enclaves are

**Education**: educational condition is dire. For example: there is no approved educational institutions in the enclave, educational institutions are not getting permission to start academic activities, political hassle is extreme with the position of chairmanship of governing committee, some institutions cannot still launch academic activities due to tremendous political hassle with the position of chairmanship of governing committee. Some wicked people are establishing fake schools with poor infrastructure using bamboo and tin in a very short distance. They are producing fake documents and collecting DO (Demand Order) letters from local M.P or ministers, with the ill purpose of embezzling government’s donation. It was listened that those people have come from outer districts adjacent to the former enclaves; and they are committing fraud in the name of teacher recruitment, deception with money by showing job temptation in those fake institutions is common phenomena, guardians are not conscious about education, the few primary schools are operating with irregular teachers (teachers join on deputation and they are being changed most frequently) without proper infrastructure, there is no Tiffin and scholarship for students, families are unable to maintain expenditure of education due to poverty, educated people of enclaves are not getting jobs into the few schools which are being operated,

Comments of teachers: students have to face exams by completing registration through different other schools, teachers are working without any salary for about last two to three years, daily expenditure is being maintained by the teachers' personal fund working without salary, teachers bring the children to the school by negotiating the guardians, special system for education is highly needed for enclave area, unpaid teachers are operating schools with their own funding through thousands of challenges such as: broken doors, no toilet, no electricity, no chairs-benches, no Shaheed Minar, lower presence of educated people, adverse environment, no midday tiffin, no উপবৃত্তি, no MPO status etc. government are not working accordance with commitment. No teacher and staff has been recruited in 1500 school project, surprisingly, percentage of male and female students is respectively 30 and 70. Female students are more attentive than male students.

**Communication:**

Most of the roads are Muddy. No development in enclave area has been done, no roads and culvert. We have to cross water of waist to move, main road of Dahala Khagrabari for only four Kilometers, from Dinbazar to Mariar Hat of Shalbari enclave, from Boro Khoka's home to Dinbazar for only three Kilometers, the main road of Kartoa river from Tallibari Ghat to Maktijoddha Boro Khoka's home have not been developed and the condition of these roads is worst, recently, on 5/12/2018, a women was fallen and broken leg while walking on the river side road and became paralysed, being outsider of enclave, local government representatives are not careful on enclave dwellers. They love to develop the adjacent area of enclave even with the fund come for enclave area. As a result, thousands of people living in the enclave area are leading substandard way of life. The people who led the development programs in enclaves are kept detached from development activities, representatives are not willing to accept any recommendations from them. No vehicle even ambulance cannot enter the enclaves due to poor condion of roads, roads developed partly with third class brick is left incomplete.

**Child marriage:** Child marriages happened because there is no secondary school in the enclave area. Other reasons behind child marriage are: fear of sudden accident, to protect social respect, lack of security. Surprisingly, about 10% of children are getting married themselves. abortion, divorce, dowry etc. are the result of child marriage.

**Religious dogma:** Religious dogma is more prominent in the enclaves.

**Malnutrition:** Malnutrition turned into a serious condition. About 25 percent children are suffering from malnutrition. 80 percent women are suffering from lack of calcium. On the eve of the enclave exchange, women used to get different medicine for five to six months from health assistant. But, now they do to get medicine. Sadar hospital is seven to twenty kilometer far from enclaves. Here, 100 percent women, 10 percent people and 25 percent children are suffering from malnutrition.

**Social Development:** All along with children, youths, old people are living like unemployed, maverick due to lack of any social institution. Social development concept is unknown here. Poepple think the local government representative (Union Parishad) as enemy of enclave people. Enclave dwellers cannot still feel themselves secured. Scenerio of the enclaves remains substandard because of not spending the grant allocated for these areas. There are some social

unregistered organizations which are established before enclave exchange such as: Akota Jobo Shonga (united youths organization) at Basunia Para in Ino. Dahala Khagrabari, Kajoldighi Sporting Club in Kajoldighi enclave near Kajoldighi Majar (shrine). Needy people among poor do not get adult allowance, maternity allowance, VGD card. Only three from fifty challenged people get allowance. Open space, paddy field, river bank, bamboo forest are being used as toilet by the extreme poor. There is no common kitchen market for all. People need to travel about 10 to 20 kilometers to buy anything. In 2016, a list consisting the names of 136 women along with two hundred taka, three copies photo and birth registration card was prepared, but no one still get the allowance. In this context, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2018, application has been submitted at District Commissioner office, but, no decision has still been taken. People outside enclaves and near and dear ones of political leaders got House, Sewing machine, different allowance cards, tube well, etc. but the poorest people deprived from those. Older people used to get respect before enclave exchange. Now, honor, social dignity decreased. Youngers do not want to obey the elders now.

Admiration of government: “this government gave us electricity, no government can be like this government”. enclave dweller Mokter Hossain said, “Government love us highly, we are also love heartiestly. Soil of the Salbari Mouza is the of fort of Naoka. Another one said, “ we will vote for Awami League for ever”.

Use of Toilet: people respond to natural call in open inappropriate toilet, in the forest, bamboo forest river, canal etc.

**Loan:** Different organizations are distributing loan by the interest of ten to twenty five percent. Most of the loan is used for only maintaining daily expenditure. People are getting engaged in a debt trap because of not utilizing the loan properly. someone alleged that organizations offer loan with ten percent interest but collect 25 percent interest. People need to take loan because of low price of agricultural products. About 90% families are indebted | they face trouble depositing installment weekly. As a result, they need to sell agricultural land in order to pay loan. Government banks do not offer any financial assistance for the farmers.

**Old aged people:** Sons do not want to take responsibility of parents. About 40% old aged people are detached from their sons. About 10% widowed are leading life with great miseries.

**Juvenile crime:** about 5% of juveniles are involved in different crimes. Juvenile crimes are prevented socially. Public representatives do not cooperate.

**Medical facility:** Treatment is run by village doctors, Kabiraj etc. No modern medical facilities are available because of not having any nearest hospital or clinic. Clinic and hospital are seven to twenty five kilometers away. Any emergency treatment, children healthcare, emergency healthcare for pregnant women is badly needed but highly impossible due to long distance of hospital and low speed vehicles like Van, battery run Auto, etc. No modern vehicle with moderate speed can enter the enclaves due to imperfect road connection. Nazneen died with burning due to lack of burning. Mousali rushed to hospital with pregnancy, but, her baby died on the way. There is no awareness with birth control system. Some women did not listen the word before. NGO volunteers come once in a month to offer health care, take seat on the premise of any house, do not distribute medicine, and do not behave well. In the hospital with the ten to twenty five kilometers distance prescribe same medicine for all sort of diseases.

**Women violence:** women and girls need to tolerate different violence because of being poor.

**Youth:** on the eve of the enclave exchange, youth development department offered three month training for the dwellers. Nobody got any employment with the training. Now, the training program is no more. Employment crisis is terrible in this area. No employment is available for the youths. Government has not done anything for youth people, one said.

**Enclave problem:** Allocation for enclaves is not utilized for development of these areas. Because, there is no representative from enclaves in the local government authority. Public representative say, “you are titular in my electoral area, we are not elected by your vote”. Housing condition is ragged. 5% of the families have still not get electricity. Quality of education is not well. No change has yet to happen in education, medical facility, and housing. Mosques, temple and social organizations have no electricity or solar panel. Encroachment and Harassment with land properties is great challenge in enclaves.

**Unemployment:** About 95% people who suffer unemployment for about five months in a year are involved in agriculture. Youth people have no employment, no training.

**River erosion:** river erosion is a terrible problem. Nadir Par (river bank) Sarkar Para of Shalbari enclave is a seriously neglected area to the both representatives and government. Here, people did not get anything allocated for enclave such as: electricity, sanitary toilet, sewing machine, tubewell, house allocated by government. People of this area drink river water without purifying. People are trying to prevent river erosion on Kartoa river by wrapping plastic from Kajoldighi to Nadir par club in Shalbari enclave. Encroaching riverbed is ongoing process. People whose names were not at ‘Head Counting’ report and hailed from outside of enclave are catching fish, encroaching riverbed. But, the river was the livelihood of the enclave people before enclave exchange. Beribadh is highly needed to build in the river urgently. Boroshoshi and Maraya unions have been disconnected because of not having bridge on Kartoa river. Flood occurs because of cultivation of sugar cane and jute in the riverbed during the Bangla months Ashar and Ashin. Nobody gets allowance during flood. Fisheries Association originated centering the river has become abolished because of not getting government registration after enclave exchange. Fish office of Upazila provided identity card as fisherman to the people from outside of the enclave. But, original fisherman from enclave who used to fish in the river before enclave exchange did not get identity card. As a result, lives and livelihood of about 200 fisherman families has fallen into threat. Fisherman md. Mokter Hossain said, “I had 4.5 bigha land and three houses. Two of the houses were encroached by river. Now, I have only one house. No, home for fostering animals, we are living on riverside area, so, even Allah (god) do not look at us. But, government did not provide the document for the existing house left. Many families did not get documents of their respective land. We bought the land from Enclave Committee.

**Citizenship:** Many people engaged in different works such as: education, business, job, etc. outside enclave during ‘Head Counting’ in 2011 and 2015. As a result, they did not get nationality and also could not become enlisted into the voter list. Mosammat Jinnatun (Husband: Ansarul Haque), village: south Shalbari, Dangapara, Boda, Panchagarh) worked in different

houses in Dhaka during 'Head Counting'. She did not enlist her name into 'Head Counting' in fear of police harassment. She did not get nationality and voter card also.

hasstle with land property: in some cases, government authority enlisted others' occupied land as Khash, though documents have been distributed on the basis of occupying. Wicked people made registered others occupied land by their own name with applying financial or political influence. No getting financial incentive, employee of settlement office did not mention exact figure of land in the Porcha (document of land occupation. with allegation of such fraud, the settlement office recommended to file case in the civil court. As a result, former enclave people are facing harassment with case regarding land properties. Government authority did not hand over the documents of 110 acre land of 110 families. In this context, settlement office promise again and again to hand over the documents. But, it has not still provided any document.

**Agriculture:** In agricultural sector, disaster occurs every season such as: northwester, rock rain (snowing), Current insects (locally called), paddy whitening (paddy become white colored) etc. Lack of water hinders yielding crops and cultivation two times in a year. there is no opportunity of irrigation for cultivation. Farmers are not getting permission from Thakogaon Palli Bidhot Samity (Thakorgaon Rural electrification Society) to set up irrigation pump.

Hunger: 50 to 80% people live with only a little food or with starvation. These people work as day labor in different area of the country or remain unemployed.

**Electricity:** 95% of the families got the electric connection. Foundation of the electric poles is very weak. Most of them are leaning. Authority does not take care of the poles. Meter readers do not visit door to door to record the electric bill. They record the bill with assumption. So, the amount of bill is increasing day by day.

**Landlessness:** A lot of people of enclaves are landless. Paying installment of loan making people poor. People become compel to sell the agricultural land to pay loan. Before enclave exchange, fishes were distributed from the 90 acre pond situated in Kajoldighi. After enclave exchange, the pond was recorded by the name of government. Now, the pond went under lease and landless people are deprived from the benefit of this pond.

**Sentiment of local people to enclave people:** Local people of Old Bangla is good in words, but, they do not love the former enclave people. They do not love us, because, Local public representatives are form outside of former enclaves. If any girl get married to anyone from Old Bangla, the people of father in laws house torture| Because of being one from former enclave, dignitaries of Old Bangla do not willing arbitrate with justice. For example: a girl (Marina) was married. But, the people from her father in laws house did not register the marriage by proper channel. After that, local people did not arbitrate the matter with justice. They did not care because of being former enclave dweller. Local people from Old Bangla to envy the enclave people psychologically.

**Water crisis:** presence of arsenic is highly unhealthy. Most of the people drink tube well water. But, some people drink water from river and pond also. Color of cloth becomes terrible by the iron.

## **Recommendations pronounced in the FGDs**

Recommendations were extracted from the opinion of the dignitaries during FGD in the enclaves are

- a) To form a Enclave Development Committee consisting with former representatives of the enclaves. The people involved in the development activities are extremely inexperienced and do not know well about enclaves. For this reason, they cannot distribute the allocation properly. As a result, poor people are depriving from development.
- b) To recruit the educated people of enclaves in the educational institutions of enclaves without teacher registration certificate.
- c) Giving priority to the candidates of enclaves in recruiting process of any institutions in the enclaves
- d) To reserve two percent (2%) quota in all government recruitments and educational institutions for five years
- e) To distribute domestic animal such as: cow, goat, etc. for ensuring economic development
- f) To start micro credit through government bank with easy condition
- g) To start job oriented trainings for enclave people
- h) To start educational program for older people to make equality with advanced society
- i) To start special health awareness training for women
- j) To recruit gynecologist and children specialist urgently
- k) To start job oriented training for women especially with micro credit
- l) To set up libraries for cultural development
- m) To spread education for social development
- n) To start social forest development program
- o) To include youth society in developing program
- p) To set up hospital with 100 beds to ensure emergency healthcare
- q) Government should patronize in social mobilization
- r) Government patronage to bring dynamism to work
- s) To distribute VGD card for farmers for the five months in a year when farmers do not get work
- t) To formulated separate budget yearly for enclaves for five years
- u) to bring the fisheries organizations under government registration and fund allocation
- v) To stablish uninterrupted right to fish in the river as before they have
- w) Government recognition of the fishermen on the river and giving freedom like before to fish in the river.
- x) to distribute the Khash land (government owned land) to landless people
- y) to run special drive to eredicate drug in the enclaves

# **Chapter Seven:**

## **Conclusion**

## Findings

### Challenges in Different Professions:

People from different professions live in the enclaves. However, most of the people are involved in agriculture. Agriculture such as: Cultivation, fostering animals is the main profession in this area. There are other professions along with the agriculture such as: Farmer, van puller, Business, day labor. The challenges faced by the people of different professions are:

#### I. Agriculture

1. In agricultural sector, disaster occurs every season such as: Northwester, rock rain (snowing), current insects (Local term), paddy whitening, etc.
2. Lack of water hinders yielding crops and cultivation two times in a year. there is no opportunity of irrigation for cultivation. Farmers are not getting permission from Thakogaon Palli Bidhot Samity (Thakorgaon Rural electrification Society) to set up irrigation pump.
3. Farmers face financial crisis to collect fertilizer for the agricultural field.
4. They face both financial crisis and complexities to find best seeds for agriculture.
5. There is no open space for fostering domestic animals such as: cow, goat and other which leads to food crisis for the animals.
6. There is extreme food crisis during farming time due to different diseases in previous season. Farmers said with frustration that “There is no benefit financing in the agricultural sector”.
7. Various diseases and the effects of adverse climate attack on crops such as: diseases which decompose the paddy plants, disturbance of insects, rock rain (snowing), blood disease in turmeric and paddy, natural disaster, lose of harvest, financial deficiency in agriculture.
8. Farmers need to import Aman seeds from India because it is unavailability in Bangladesh. Challenges such as crisis of agricultural materials such as: fertilizer, seeds of paddy and corn are terribly crisis.
9. There is no opportunity of irrigation for agriculture.
10. Physical diseases of farmers, social inferiority and not getting loan on agricultural sector are the most important challenges for the agricultural harvest. Appropriate recommendations or suggestions are needed. Price of Agricultural products is lower. Price of seeds and fertilizer is high.

#### II. Van puller

Van pullers face some troubles in operating the vehicle such as: Low fare, different problem in vans, recharging the battery, lack of passengers on road, being physically unable to pull van.

#### III. Business man

Businessmen are facing troubles also. They are: few number of buyers, crisis in capital, lower social mobility, crisis of family maintenance cost, pain in legs.



#### IV. Day labor

There is serious employment crisis in enclaves. Salary is highly low. It is needed to go far away to serve as day labor. Food crisis due to lack of employment for five to nine months a year is a regular session. Only seasonal works in particular time for four to five months a year are available here. Sustainable employment is rare. A day labor said that “My son, Anarol, has fallen into accident long ago but he is still suffering injury in head”

#### **Challenges in different sectors:**

There are different sort of challenges in the enclaves. Here, challenges in different sectors have been mentioned below.

##### **I. Education:**

- a) Educational condition is miserable. Most of the educational institutions are not getting permission to start academic activities.
- b) political hassle is extreme with the position of chairmanship of governing committee,
- c) some institutions cannot still launch academic activities due to tremendous political hassle with the position of chairmanship of governing committee
- d) Some wicked people are establishing fake schools in poor infrastructure with bamboo and tin and Taking money by showing job temptation in those fake institutions. It was listened that those people have come from outer districts of the former enclaves.
- e) with very short distance and making fake documents along with DO letters from local M.P or ministers, with the ill purpose of embezzling government’s donation
- f) Educated people of enclaves are not getting jobs into the few schools which are being operated,
- g) the schools tutoring well for long are not getting government permission for tutoring. As a result, the schools cannot get books and other facilities.
- h) Fund allocated for enclaves is not used for enclaves. People are becoming more townward.
- i) Teachers’ think, 90% of the guardians are not conscious about education. Guardians are illiterate also. Families are unable to maintain expenditure of education due to poverty.
- j) The few primary schools are operating with the teachers on deputation (teachers join on deputation and they are changed most frequently). The schools do not have proper infrastructure. There is no Tiffin and stipend for students.
- k) Most of the people from the age of about 20 years are illiterate.

#### **Comments of teachers:**

- a) Students have to appear public examinations completing registration through other schools outside the former enclaves.
- b) Teachers are working without any salary or other benefit for about last two to three years and daily expenditures of schools is being maintained by the teachers’ personal fund.
- c) teachers bring the children to the schools negotiating the guardians
- d) special system for education is highly needed for enclave area
- e) Unpaid teachers are operating schools with their own funding through thousands of challenges such as: broken doors, no toilet, no electricity, no chairs-benches, no Shaheed

Minar, lower presence of educated people, adverse environment, no midday tiffin, no stipend, no MPO status etc.

- f) Government is not working accordance with commitment that was pronounced during enclave exchanging process.
- g) Surprisingly, percentage of male and female students is respectively about 30 and 60. Female students are more attentive than male students.

## **II. Harassment**

People of enclave area face different sort of harassments leading daily lives such as:

- a. Harassment with cases of forest office on false allegation of cutting trees
- b. Harassment by policy with the conspiracy of immoral people
- c. Lodging cases by police without any allegation or without any reason
- d. False cases with false allegation
- e. Threat to harass through police during quarreling with anyone from old Bangla (outsider of enclaves)
- f. False cases with land property
- g. Dishonest people usually file cases showing the documents of British period and harassing the enclave people by different ways.

## **III. Communication:**

- a) Most of the roads are muddy. No road connection has been developed
- b) Enclave dwellers need to cross the river on the foot-bridge made of bamboo. nothing has been developed such as: roads, culvert, etc.
- c) Children need to walk long (three to five kilometers) on the way of school. People have to pass ten to twenty kilometers on the way of hospital.
- d) They have to cross waist deep water to travel over canal, river or any other water body
- e) Main roads of the enclaves along with Dahala Khagrabari enclave for only four Kilometers have not been developed.
  - a. major road from Dinbazar to Mariar Hat of Shalbari enclave
  - b. most important road from freedom fighter Boro Khoka's home to Dinbazar for only three Kilometers
  - c. the main road of Kartoia river from Tallibari Ghat to Muktijoddha Boro Khoka's home have not yet been developed and the condition of these roads is worst. Different sort accidents occur while walking on the worst roads
- f) Local government representatives are not careful on enclave dwellers. Because, they are not enclave dweller and elected by the people of Old Banga. They love to develop the adjacent area of enclave even with the fund allocated for enclave area. As a result, thousands of people living in the enclave area are leading substandard way of life.
- g) The people and former representatives leading the development programs in former enclaves before exchange have been kept isolated from development plans and activities, local incumbent representatives are not willing to accept any recommendations from them.
- h) No vehicle even ambulance cannot enter the enclaves due to poor condition of roads,
- i) Roads developed somewhat with third class brick is left unfinished.
- j) Dahala Khagrabari enclave, largest one, got only five kilometer road instead of 15 kilometer. Even the five kilometer road was built at enclave adjacent to Old Bangla to

meet the electoral interest. But, the main roads of different enclaves along with this one remains substandard as earlier.

**IV. Child marriage:**

1. Child marriages happened because there is no secondary school in the enclave area.
2. Other reasons behind child marriage are: a. fear of sudden accident, b. to protect social respect, c. lack of security.
3. Surprisingly, about 10% of girls are getting married themselves.

**V. Effects of child marriage:**

Immature abortion, divorce, dowry etc. are the results of child marriage.

**VI. Religious dogma:** Religious dogma is more prominent in the enclaves.

**VII. Malnutrition:**

Malnutrition turned into a serious condition. About 25 percent children are suffering from malnutrition. 80 percent women are suffering from lack of calcium. On the eve of the enclave exchange, women used to get different medicine for five to six months from health assistant. But, now they do not get medicine. Enclaves are seven to twenty five kilometers remote from Sadar hospital (Upazila hospital). Here, about 80 percent women, 10 percent people and 25 percent children are suffering from malnutrition.

**VIII. Social Development:**

1. All along with children, youths, old people are living like unemployed, maverick due to lack of any social institution.
2. Social development concept is unknown here.
3. People think the local government representative (Union Parishad) as enemy of enclave people. Enclave dwellers cannot still feel themselves secured.
4. Scenario of the enclaves remains substandard because of not utilizing the fund allocated for these enclaves properly.
5. There are some unregistered social organizations which were established before enclave exchange such as: Akota Jobo Shonga (united youths organization) at Basunia Para in Ino. Dahala Khagrabari, Kajoldighi Sporting Club in Kajoldighi enclave near Kajoldighi Majar (shrine). But, the organizations are facing different challenges such as: no electricity, no fund, no social capital, no entrepreneurs etc.
6. extreme poor people among poor do not get adult allowance, maternity allowance, VGD card. Only three from fifty challenged people get allowance. In 2016, a list consisting the names of 136 women along with two hundred taka, three copies photo and birth registration card was prepared, but no one still get the allowance. In this context, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2018, application has been submitted at District Commissioner office, but, no decision has still been taken.
7. people respond to natural call in open inappropriate toilet, in the forest, bamboo forest river, canal etc.
8. There is no common kitchen market for all. People need to travel about 10 to 20 kilometers to buy anything.

9. People outside enclaves; and near and dear ones of political leaders got houses, sewing machine, different allowance cards, tube wells, etc. but, the poorest people deprived from those.
10. Older people used to get respect before enclave exchange. Now, honor and social dignity are decreasing day by day. Youngers do not want to obey the olders now.

**IX. Salutation to the Awami League Government:**

1. "This government gave us electricity, no government can be like this government".
2. Enclave dweller Mokter Hossain said, "Government love us highly, we are also love heartiestly. Soil of the Salbari Mouza is the of fort of Naoka".
3. Another one said, " we will vote for Awami League for ever".

**X. Loan:**

1. Different organizations are distributing loan by the interest of ten to twenty five percent.
2. Most of the loans are being used for only maintaining daily expenditure.
3. People are getting engaged in a debt trap because of not utilizing the loan properly.
4. People alleged that organizations offer loan with ten percent interest but collect 25 percent interest. People need to take loan because of low price of agricultural products. About 90% families are indebted. They face trouble depositing installment weekly. As a result, they need to sell agricultural land in order to pay loan.
5. Government banks do not offer any financial assistance for the farmers.

**XI. Old aged people:**

1. Sons do not want to take responsibility of parents. About 40% old aged people are detached from their sons.
2. About 10% of widowed women are leading life with great miseries.

**XII. Juvenile crime:**

1. About 5% of juveniles are involved in different crimes. It is increasing alarmingly. Juvenile crimes are prevented socially.
2. Public representatives do not cooperate.

**XIII. Medical facility:**

1. Treatment is run by village doctors, Kabiraj etc. No modern medical facilities are available because of not having any nearest hospital or clinic.
2. Clinic and hospital are seven to twenty five kilometers away. Any emergency treatment, children healthcare, emergency healthcare for pregnant women is badly needed but highly impossible due to long distance of hospital and low speed vehicles like Van, battery run Auto, etc.
3. No modern vehicle with moderate speed can enter the enclaves due to imperfect road connection. Nazneen died with burning due to lack of burning. Mousali rushed to hospital with pregnancy, but, her baby died on the way.
4. There is no awareness with birth control system. Some women did not listen the word before. NGO volunteers come once in a month to offer health care, take seat on the premise of any house, do not distribute medicine, and do not behave well.
5. In the hospital with the ten to twenty five kilometers distance prescribe same medicine for all sorts of diseases.
6. In the hospital with the ten to twenty five kilometers distance prescribe same medicine for all sort of diseases.

7. They cannot enjoy any healthcare facility. Because, here is no community clinic.

**XIV. Women violence:**

1. women and girls need to tolerate different violence because of being poor.
2. Women violence is decreasing day by day. But, there is still different sort violence happened with women in the enclave area. These are: women violence in the house of father in law, mental violence by husband, physical assault, and financial harassment like dowry

**XV. Reasons behind divorce**

Marriage in the little age, child marriage, dowry system, domestic infighting, misunderstanding,

**XVI. New troubles after enclave exchange**

Allocation for enclaves has not been utilized for development of these areas. Because, there no representative from enclaves in the local government authorities. Public representative say, "You are nominal in my electoral area, we are not elected by your vote". Housing condition is ragged. 5% of the families have still not get electricity. Quality of education is not well. No change has yet to happen in education, medical facility, and housing. Mosques, temple and social organizations have no electricity or solar panel. Encroachment and Harassment with land properties is great challenge in enclaves.

Enclave dwellers are facing different troubles with their daily life. People do not understand rules and regulations properly. For this why, they fall easily prey to land grabbers. The troubles they face are: government's deception by recording others name during survey instead of real one having documents of land ownership,

**XVII. Youth:**

1. On the eve of the enclave exchange, youth development department offered three month training for the dwellers. Nobody got any employment with the training. Now, the training program is no more.
2. Employment crisis is terrible in these areas. No job is available for the youths. Government has not done anything for youth people, one said.

**XVIII. Enclave problem:**

1. Allocation for enclaves has not been Cluster villages utilized for development of these areas. Because there is no representative from enclaves in the local government authority. Public representative say, "you are nominally in my electoral area, we are not elected by your vote".
2. Housing condition is ragged
3. 5% of the families have still not get electricity. Quality of education is not well.
4. No change has yet to happen in education, medical facility, and housing.
5. Mosques, Temple and social organizations have no electricity or solar panel.
6. Encroachment and Harassment with land properties is great challenge in enclaves.
7. In Panchagarh, the total area of enclaves is greater than the other enclaves but, the allocation was not distributed with the basis of area and the number of families.
8. Weak and inappropriate materials were used in developing activities. Work should be done with eligible one. Project Investment Officer (PIO) do not look after the development activities.
9. There is no advancement in building Gocco Gram (small village).

10. There is 36 bigha pond and a land of 350 bigha. But, government recorded the pond and land with the name of freedom fighter force (as Khash land). I demand to distribute the Khash land into landless families.
11. someone get government allocated house with bribe of about 30,000 taka. Someone did not get anything. But, someone got twice and even thrice.
12. Everything became haphazard. Because, the authority concerned did not discuss with local enclave people regarding development issues.
13. Enclave area is deprived from government allocation.
14. Local government representatives do not come into enclaves.
15. They do not have enough knowledge about enclaves. They do not know the former enclave dwelling people.
16. There is no Temple (Mondir) in this area. Hindus families are scattered in different places. No government assistance could be found here.
17. "It was said to discuss with leaders of enclaves to develop the area. But, public representatives worked in their electoral area adjacent to enclaves randomly, gave assistance to their near and dear ones. They distributed only 100 VGD cards instead of 620. Later, the people collected forcefully 520 cards through movement. Rest of the cards (100 VGD cards) among 620 were distributed to the people of Old Bangla. For this reason, in 2017, people involved in the movement had to be harassed with false cases.

**XIX. Unemployment:**

1. 95% people who remain unemployed for about five months in a year are involved in agriculture.
2. Youth people have no job, no training.
3. They need government jobs for developing the way of life in the enclaves.

**XX.** Two percent (1%) quota for five years may be reserved in educational institutions and in the government jobs.

**XXI. River erosion:**

1. Because of cultivation of sugar cane and jute, flood and river erosion are becoming common phenomena. People of Old Bangla are encroaching and engulfing the river.
2. river erosion is a terrible problem. Fisherman Md. Mokter Hossain said, "I had 4.5 bigha land and three houses. Two of the houses were encroached by river. Now, I have only one house. No, home for fostering animals, we are living on riverside area, so, even Allah (god) do not look at us. But, government did not provide the document for the existing house left. Many families did not get documents of their respective land. We bought the land from Enclave Committee.
3. Nadir Par (river bank) Sarkar Para of Shalbari enclave is a seriously neglected area to the both representatives and government. Here, people did not get anything allocated for enclave such as: electricity, sanitary toilet, sewing machine, tubewell, house allocated by government. People of this area drink river water without purifying.
4. People are trying to prevent river erosion on Kartoa River by wrapping plastic from Kajoldighi to Nadir par club in Shalbari enclave.
5. Encroaching riverbed is ongoing process. People whose names were not at 'Head Counting' report and hailed from outside of enclave are catching fish, encroaching riverbed. But, once the river was part of the enclave the livelihood of the enclave people. Beribadh is highly needed to build in the river urgently.

6. Boroshoshi and Maraya unions have been disconnected because of not having bridge on Karto river.
7. Flood occurs because of cultivation of sugar cane and jute in the riverbed during the Bangla months Ashadh and Ashwin. Nobody got allowance during flood in 2017.
8. Fisheries Association originating centering the river has become abolished because of not getting government registration after enclave exchange. Upazila fisheries office provided identity card as fisherman to the people from outside of the enclave. But, original fisherman from enclave who used to fish in the river before enclave exchange did not get identity card. As a result, lives and livelihood of about 200 fisherman's families has fallen into threat.

**XXII. Citizenship:**

1. Many people engaged in different works such as: education, business, job, etc. outside enclave during 'Head Counting' in 2011 and 2015. As a result, they did not get nationality and also could not become enlisted into the voter list. Mosammat Jinnatun (Husband: Ansarul Haque), village: south Shalbari, Dangapara, Boda, Panchagarh) worked in different houses in Dhaka during 'Head Counting'. She did not enlist her name into 'Head Counting' in fear of police harassment. She did not get nationality and voter card also.
2. At present, about 86 people did not get voter card because of not including their name into 'Head Counting' in 2011 and 2015 in the fear of harassment by police".

**XXIII. Hasstle with land property:**

1. in some cases, government authority enlisted others' occupied land as Khash, though documents have been distributed on the basis of occupying. Wicked people made registered others occupied land by their own name utilizing financial or political influence.
2. Not getting financial incentive, employee of settlement office did not mention exact figure of land in the Porcha (document of land occupation). with allegation of such fraud, the settlement office is recommending to file case in the civil court. As a result, former enclave people are facing harassment with case regarding land properties.
3. Government authority did not hand over the documents of 110 acre land of 110 families. In this context, settlement office promise again and again to hand over the documents. But, it has not still provided any document.
4. Respondents face threat on their property such as: quarrelling with dividing land, not getting documents of land instead of having ownership, land has not been recognized in the survey due to violent activities of some local wicked people (110 bigha land of 100 families), threat with land ownership, cases with land ownership, land encroachment forcibly

**XXIV. Hunger:**

50 to 80% people live with only a little food or with starvation these people work as day labor in different area of the country or remain unemployed.

**XXV. Electricity:**

1. 95% people got the electric connection.
2. Foundation of the electric poles is very weak. Most of them are leaning. Authority do not take care of the poles.

3. Meter reader do not visit door to door to record the electric bill. They record the bill with assumption. So, the amount of bill is increasing day by day.

**XXVI. Landlessness:**

1. A lot of people of enclaves are landless.
2. Paying installment of loan making people poor. People become compel to sell the agricultural land to pay loan.
3. Before enclave exchange, fishes were distributed to landless people from the 90 acre pond situated in Kajoldighi. After enclave exchange, the pond was recorded by the name of government. Now, the pond went under lease and landless people are deprived from the benefit of this pond.

**XXVII. Sentiment of local people to enclave people:**

1. Local people of Old Bangla is good in words, but, they do not love the former enclave people. Local people from Old Bangla envy the enclave people psychologically.
2. Enclave people think that the local people from Old Bangla do not love them, because, local public representatives elected by the people outside of former enclaves.
3. If any girl get married to anyone from Old Bangla the people of father in laws house torture her Because of being one from former enclave; dignitaries of Old Bangla do not willing arbitrate with justice. For example: a girl (Marina) was married. But, the people from her father in laws house did not register the marriage by proper channel. After that, local people did not arbitrate the matter with justice. They did not care because of being former enclave dweller.

**XXVIII. Water crisis:**

Presence of arsenic with highly unhealthy condition is terrible and dangerous. Most of the people drink tube well water. But, some people drink water from river, canal, pond and falling water also. Color of clothes becomes tarnish by the iron.



## **Recommendations:**

### **Agriculture:**

Strengthen the advising initiatives in agricultural sector to combat disaster occurs every season such as: Northwester, rock rain (snowing), current insects (Local term), paddy whitening, etc.

Take initiative to supply water during dry season and whenever the farmers need water. Facilitate electricity supply for irrigation

Provide agricultural loan with lower interest and easiest way

Digital ID card should be introduced so that seeds, fertilizer and other agricultural materials can be divided into farmers through government offices

Distribute best agricultural materials (such as: seeds, fertilizer etc.) to the farmers directly through government offices to remove cheating with farmers and Price of seeds and fertilizer should be kept lower

Utilize the common places to facilitate the people to foster animals and to distribute animals to the farmers to develop rural economy

Distributing rice (VGD Card) during five months in a year specially

Increase subsidy to agriculture in order to eradicate frustration among farmers. Subsidy should be reached to the farmers directly such as: seeds, fertilizer or other agricultural materials.

Form a national level committee consisting specialists to provide government assistance during disaster and to combat the disasters in agricultural sector and recruiting agriculturist in every Union and specialist doctor for farmers' health care

Form a policy to compensate the farmers on financial deficiency in agriculture due to lower price of products

Increase social dignity of farmers through building awareness on agriculture

### **Education:**

Initiate one stop service centre to develop educational status

Introduce to special education council (an umbrella council consists of all sorts of education) to provide different categorical education like technical, general, training

Forming a committee only for enclave areas to permit new institutions, supervise existing institutions, awarding MPO status and assess quality of education for five years so that educational status becomes equal to existing other societies of Bangladesh

Initiate adult education for most of the people who are highly illiterate

Insert the role of Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) or District Commissioner (DC) freezing the role of governing committee of the educational institutions to curb the political hassle and recruitment business

Punish the wicked people who are establishing fake institutions in order to embezzle government's fund

Facilitate the educated people from former enclaves in recruiting enclave areas

Building awareness on guardians to send their children in school and to recruit permanent teachers in the educational institutions

Develop infrastructural conditions inside and out of the schools.

**Communication:**

Develop the main roads of the enclaves as early as possible

Develop the roads connected with educational institutions and social organizations

Common bridge, culverts should be developed immediately

Construct bridge over Karatoya river to connect Baroshashi union and Mayera Union

Barrage should be constructed along the Karatoya river bank in the former Shalbari enclave to curb the river erosion and regular flood

**Child marriage:**

Set up secondary schools within short distance for secure trip to school for girls and children in order to combat child marriages in the former enclaves

Set up a adolescent court for resolve adolescent related problems such as juvenile crimes

**Malnutrition:**

Recruit specialist and provide free medicine in the enclaves for ten years

Increase awareness on food habits so that people can utilize local natural entities

**Social Development:**

Errect Social institution such as recreational club, library, community club etc. to combat frustration among youth.

Utilizing social capital for social development

Develop engagement between local representatives and former enclave dwellers to remove psychological dispute among

Allocate development's special fund for former enclave areas for next two years and ensuring the proper utilization of fund.

Provide job oriented trainings with allowance, special care for pragnent women and children, oldest people instead of offering different sort of allowance cards

Force the sons in different ways not to leave their parents

Ensure hygienic toilet for all to improve sanitation and public health

Widowed women and oldest people should get special social protection

Establish common kitchen market in the enclaves to develop the community.

Distributing loan with easiest conditions by government banks; and adopt yearly installments instead of weekly installments to repay the loan

Bring discipline in loan distribution of different organizations so that the farmers are not forced to sell their agricultural land for paying the installments of loan; and forece the organizations to adopt yearly installments instead of weekly installments to repay the loan

Ensure the proper duty of local public representatives regarding enclaves

#### **Medical facility:**

Establish a medical consisting 100 beds in nearest convenient place of enclave people

Increase the awareness regarding family planning or birth control system and provide necessary materials with free of cost

#### **Women violenc:**

Set up social arbitration court to curb women violence in the house of father in law, mental violence by husband, physical assault, and financial harassment like dowry, dowry system, domestic infighting, misunderstanding,

#### **New troubles after enclave exchange**

Allocation for enclaves is no utilized for development of these areas. Because, there no representative from enclaves in the local government authorities. Public representative say, "You are titular in my electoral area, we are not elected by your vote". Housing condition is ragged. 5% of the families have still not get electricity. Quality of education is not well. No change has yet to happen in education, medical facility, and housing. Mosques, temple and social organizations have no electricity or solar panel.

Stopping Encroachment of river bed and Harassment with land properties is great challenge in enclaves.

#### **Youth:**

Encourage the youth people in entrepreneurship and provide them job oriented trainings with allowance

Developing entrepreneurship in social areas to improve social mobility and increase employment

Set up an entrepreneurship development council to facilitate the enthusiastic people

### **Enclave problem:**

- Distribute housing allowance to all poor enclave dwellers to develop their ragged houses
- Distribute the 36 bigha pond and a land of 350 bigha to the landless people of former enclaves
- Discuss with local former enclave people regarding any development issues to ensure the proper utilization of wealth and proper distribution of wealth
- Withdraw the cases lodged before enclave exchange and stop harassment with false cases
- At least, two percent (2%) quota should be preserved for about five years for enclave people in jobs and enrollment at educational institutions
- Arrange providing legal advice to the people, as the former enclave dwellers do not know legal procedures
- Set up a special desk in the government office to remove the problem with land properties; and return the land which government recorded as Khash land to the real owners who have proper documents
- Award the citizenship to the people who could not enlist their name during headcounting in 2011 and 2015 due to their fear of harassment while working in Bangladesh before enclave exchange
- Provide the voter ID card to the enclave people as soon as possible as they are highly interested to cast vote
- Arrange the setting of arsenic free water for all

### **River erosion:**

- Stop cultivation of sugar cane and jute in river bed in Karatoya to combat flood and river erosion; and Stop encroaching and engulfing the river
- Set up some common tubewells with the maintenance of social organizations for poor people
- Recognize the fisheries association originated before enclave exchange and provide the fishermen identity cards without any condition

### **Future Research**

No research is the last and final study. There may have different research oriented issues in the enclave. However, this sort of research may be conducted with broader context and with involving large portion of people. Research should be carried out on border connection of Dahagram and Angarpota enclave with Bangladesh through Teesta River. Berubari is strategically important area. Research can be done on Berubari and Tin Bigha Corridor. Research on this issue might be done using statistical software like SPSS, STATA. Research may be conducted on the number of disguised enclaves, which were merged with India earlier.

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## Appendix 1

Questionnaire:

Questionnaire No.:

Research Title: Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects

### Declaration:

Enclave people came into normal and formal life of countries by the implementation of India-Bangladesh Land boundary agreement. But, though the long standing problem has been solved; social and economic miseries of the enclave dwellers have not removed yet. Because of being outside of the facilities of country system, no development run by government has been taken. So, it is essential to develop the overall condition of enclave area. In order to develop the socio-economic conditions of the enclave people the research, “Socio-Economic Conditions of the Enclave People in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects” is being conducted. The study becomes successful if you help in data collection through participating the study.

Fifteen to twenty minutes will be needed in this survey. Your information provided will be used only for the purpose of the research and will be kept secret. Participating the survey is up to you. If you do not want to answer any of the questions, you just say me that “I would go to next question” or “you may stop responding the survey. I hope, you would participate the survey. Now, you may ask me anything if you want to know regarding the survey.

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Name and Number of enclave:



<b><u>01. Personal information of the respondent</u></b>	
1.1	Name of the respondent:
1.2	Name of the village/mouja
1.3	Union and Ward no.-
1.4	Religion of the family chief: Islam <input type="checkbox"/> Hidus <input type="checkbox"/> Biddhist <input type="checkbox"/> Christian Oth <input type="checkbox"/>
1.5	Type of the family: <input type="checkbox"/> Single family <input type="checkbox"/> Joint family
1.6	Family member: <input type="text"/> Poeple      Earning member of family: People <input type="text"/>
1.7	Mobile number:

02. Information of the family members:

Sl No.	Name	Age	Male-1 Female-2	Relation with the family chief	Marital status Married-1 Unmarried-2	Education :  Illiterate-0	Profession	Earning person? Yes-1 No-2	Monthly income
No.	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9
01				Family chief	5				
02									
03									
04									
05									
06									
07									
08									
09									
10									

**Economic Conditions:**

03. Do your family own any land?

Ans:  Yes  No

If Answer is

3.1.Types of ownership of land	3.2. Amount
owned <input type="checkbox"/>	
Sublease <input type="checkbox"/>	
Other:	
Total	

yes,

04. In every month does your family have income? Ans: Yes  No

05. How much is he total income of the family? Ans:

06. What are the main sources of the family? Ans:

07. What are challenges you are facing on..... (Write down the source)?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

08. What is your family's monthly expenditure? Answer:

09. Does your family have any loan?

Answer:  Yes  No

If Answer is Yes,

10. Source and amount of the loan? Ans:



10ka. Do you have any savings?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is Yes,

10kha. How much do you have savings. Ans:

10ga. How do you save in a month or year?

Ans: Month=

Year=

11. How many dependent members does your family have? Ans:

People

12. How much munny is needed to live poverty free?

Answer:

13. How many domestic animal (Cow, goat) does your family have?

Ans: Cow. .... Buffalo. .... Goat. ....

14. Do the people face food shortage in this area?

Answer: s

If answer is Yes,

15. In which month do you face food shortage? Answer: .....

16. What is the reasons behind the food shortage?

Answer: 1.

2.

3.

**17. Household information:**

17.1. Type of house(√ put tick mark)	17.2. Type of ownership (√ put tick mark)	17.3. Amount of land of the house
pacca <input type="checkbox"/>	own/ inherited <input type="checkbox"/>	
semi-pacca <input type="checkbox"/>	rented <input type="checkbox"/>	
Kacha <input type="checkbox"/>	Cluster villages: <input type="checkbox"/>	
Tin shed <input type="checkbox"/>	Public land <input type="checkbox"/>	
Fence house <input type="checkbox"/>	government quarter <input type="checkbox"/>	

Other:	Other:	
Total:		

18. What kinds of fuel is used for light?

Ans:  Electricity       Kerosene       candle  Other: .....

19. What is the source of drinking water in your house?

Ans:  Pond       Tap water       Tube well       Falling water      other. ....

If the source is any other except tube well

20. How is the drinking water purified?

Answer:

21. How far is it needed to go to collect the drinking water?

Answer:

22. What type of toilet is used at your house?

Ans:  Sanitary     Open toilet     Opening     other: .....

23. Is there any misery in your house?

Ans:  Yes       No

If answer is Yes,

24. What are the miseries?

Answer: 1.

2.

3.

**Health Condition:**

25. Is there any health care centre or NGO health care centre in your country?

Answer:  Yes       No

If answer is yes,

26. What is the distance of the health care center?

Ans:  Kilometer

27. What is the distance of the hospital from your house?

Ans:  Kilomete

28. During last six months, any of your family members became sick?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is Yes,

29. What type of sickness it was? (Name the sickness)

Answer:

30. Where have take treatment?

Answer:

31. Do you use mosquito net during sleeping?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is No,

32. Why do you not use it? Answer: .....

33. Do you smoke?

Ans:  Yes  No

34. Any of your family members has longstangding sickness?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer if Yes,

35. What sort of sickness:.....

36. Do you know family planning or birth controlling system?

Ans:  Yes  No

,If answer is Yes

37. is the family planning system adopted in your house?

Ans:  Yes  No

38. Is there pragnancy related treatment available in your area?

Ans:  Yes  No

39. Is there children related treatment available in your area?

Ans:  Yes  No

**Education:**

40. Do the children of your family go to school?

Ans:  Yes  No

If Answer is No,

41. Why do they no got?

Ans: 1.

2.

3.

**Security:**

42. Does anyone threaten you deceptively to deprive from wealth

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is Yes,

43. What sort of deprivation or threat: .....

44. Do you face harassment, because of athnicity or any other reasons?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is Yes,

45. What sort of harassment: .....

46. Do you think your family is free from any kind of crime or violence?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is No,

47. What kind of crime of bloodshed do you fear?

Answer:

48. does there happen any incident of women oppression of harassment?

Ans:  Yes  No

if answer is Yes,

49. What short of oppression?

Answer: 1.

2.

3.

50. How is the dispute settled in this area?

Ans:  By the village meeting  By the public representative  by court other .....

**Social Bond:**

51. Do you or any of your family members involved in any social, cultural, voluntary organization?

Ans:  Yes  No

If answer is Yes,

52. Please mention the name of the social voluntary organizations?

Answer:

53. How many close friends do you have?

Answer:

54. Among the close friends, how many of them are out of enclave area?

Answer:

55. What is the rate of divorce in your Union?

Ans:  Little  a little  A lot of  Exceeding

56. What are the reasons behind divorce?

Ans: 1.

2.

3.



57. What are the measures should be taken to stop divorce?

Ans: 1.

2.

3.

**Enclave:**

58. After solving the enclave crisis, child marriage increases or decreases?

Ans:  decreases             Increases             do not know

59. Is it available the daily newspaper in your area?

Ans:  regularly             not availble             irregularly

60. What is the public sentiment of this area regarding enclave people?

Ans:  cooperative             not cooperative             antagonistic

61. Is your family facing any trouble after settlement of the enclave crisis?

Ans:     Yes             No

If answer is No,

62. What are your troubles?

Ans: 1.

2.

3.

63. What sort of steps should be taked in order to develop the enclave people.

Ans: 1.

2.

3.

64. Which problem should be solved rapidly

Answer:

65. You may mention any remarkable experiecne (struggle, incident, inspiration, etc.):

Do you accumulate?

Ans: Yes No

How much do you accumulate in a month or year?

## Appendix 2

### Peace Treaty between the East India Company and Cooch Behar

5 April 1773

#### Articles of Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and Durrinder Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar - 1773

Durrinder Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar, having represented to the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta the present distressed state of the country, owing to its being harassed by the neighbouring independent Rajahs, who are in league to depose him, the Honourable President and Council, from a love of justice and a desire of assisting the distressed, have agreed to send a force, consisting of four companies of sepoy and a field piece for protection of the said Rajah and his country, against his enemies, and the following conditions are mutually agreed on:-

1<sup>st</sup>.- That the said Rajah will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rungpoor 50,000 Rupees, to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him.

2<sup>nd</sup>.- That if more than 50,000 rupees are expended, the Rajah will make it good to the Honourable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended that it be delivered back.

3<sup>rd</sup>.- That the Rajah will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies, and will allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal. 4<sup>th</sup>.- That the Rajah further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one half of the

annual revenues of Cooch Behar forever.

5<sup>th</sup>.- That the other moiety shall remain to the Rajah and his heirs for ever provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honourable United East India Company.

6<sup>th</sup>.- That in order to ascertain the value of the Cooch Behar country, the Rajah will deliver a fair hustabood of his districts into the hands of such person, as the Honourable President and Council of Calcutta shall think proper to depute for that purpose, upon which valuation the annual malguzary, which the Rajah is to pay, shall be established.

7<sup>th</sup>.- That the amount of the malguzary, settled by such person as the Honourable the East Indian Company shall depute, shall be perpetual.

8<sup>th</sup>.- That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Rajah with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Rajah bearing the expense.

9<sup>th</sup>.- That this treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advise may be received from the Court of directors, empowering the President and Council to ratify the same for ever. This Treaty signed, sealed, and concluded by the Honourable the President and Council at Fort William, the fifth day of April 1773, on the one part, and by Durrinder Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar, at

Behyar Fort, the 6<sup>th</sup> Maug 1179 Bengal style, on the other part. (Aitchison, 1929, v2, 308)

**Bhutanese Peace Proposals 1774**

Proposals from the Bhootan Deputies for a Treaty of Peace

1<sup>st</sup>- That, they have the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills, to the north bank of the Soondunga [Saraidanga ] river.

2<sup>nd</sup>- That, they have the lands of Kirmutee (Kyranti), Luckipore and Dalimcote, all which adjoin the Jungle under the Hills and always belonged to them.

3<sup>rd</sup>- That, they will deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, who is confined with him.

4<sup>th</sup>- That, being merchants, they shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without payment of duties, and their caravan be allowed to go to Rungpore annually.

5<sup>th</sup>- That they will not make any incursions into the country nor molest the Ryoats [ryots], that have come under the Company's subjection.

6<sup>th</sup>- That, if any Ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from the Company's territories, they will deliver them up upon application being made for them.

7<sup>th</sup>- That, in case they or those under their government shall have any demands upon disputes with any inhabitant of those or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them only by an application to the Magistrate, who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

8<sup>th</sup>- That, in case the company shall have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people whom they send shall be protected.

9<sup>th</sup>- That, there shall be a mutual exchange of prisoners.

(Ghoshal, 1942, 414)

## Appendix 4

### Peace Treaty between the East India Company and Bhutan

25 April 1774

Articles of a Treaty of Peace between the Honorable East India Company and the Deb Rajah [Deva Raja] or Rajah [Raja] of Bhootan [Bhutan].

1<sup>st</sup>.- That the Hono[u]rable Company, wholly from consideration for the distress to which the Bhootans [Bhutias] represent themselves to be reduced, and from the desire of living in peace with their neighbours, will relinquish the lands which belonged to the Deb Rajah before the commencement of the war with the Rajah of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastward [of] the lands of Chitchacotta [Chichakhata] and Pangola-haut [Paglahat], and to the westward [of] the lands of Kyruntee [Kyranti], Marragaut [Maraghat] and Luckypoor [Luckeepore].

2<sup>nd</sup>.- That for the possession of the Chitchacotta Province, the Deb Rajah shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangun {Tangan} horses to the Honorable Company, which was the acknowledgment paid to the [Cooch] Behar Rajah.

3<sup>rd</sup>.- That the Deb Rajah shall deliver up Dhujinder Narain [Dhairjendra Narayan], Rajah of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, the Dewan [Diwan] Deo, who is confined with him.

4<sup>th</sup>.- That the Bhootans, being merchants shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without payment of duties, and their caravan shall be allowed to go to Rungpoor [Rungpore] annually.

5<sup>th</sup>.- That the Deb Rajah shall never cause incursions to be made into the country, nor in any respect, whatever, molest the ryots that have come under the Honorable Company's subjection.

6<sup>th</sup>.- That if any ryot or inhabitant whatever[,] shall desert from the Honorable Company's territories, the Deb Rajah shall cause him to be delivered up immediately upon application being made to him.

7<sup>th</sup>.- That in case the Bhootans, or any one under the government of Deb Rajah, shall have any demands upon, or disputes with any of the inhabitants of these or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them by an application to the Magistrate who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

8<sup>th</sup>.- That whatever Sunnyasies [Sannyasis] are considered by the English as an enemy, the Deb Rajah will not allow any body of them to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter into the Honourable Company's territories, or through any part of his, and if the Bhootans shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the Resident on the part of the English

in Cooch Behar and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sunnyasies into these districts as any breach of this treaty.

9<sup>th</sup>.- That in case the Honourable Company shall have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people they send shall be protected.

10<sup>th</sup>.- That there shall be a mutual exchange of prisoners.

This treaty to be signed by the Honourable President and Council of Bengal, etc., and the Honourable Company's Seal to be affixed on the one part, and to be signed and sealed by the Deva Raja on the other part.

Signed and ratified at Fort William, the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1774.

Warren  
Hastings.

William  
Aldersey.

P.M. Dacres.

J. Laurell.

Henry  
Goodwin.

J. Graham.  
George  
Vansittart.

(Aitchison, 1929, v14, 89-90; Ghoshal, 1942, 415-6. There are several minor spelling differences between these two versions. Aitchison's is followed here, as the more likely to follow the original document, with Ghoshal's corrected spellings given in square brackets where these differ.)

## Appendix 5

### **Proclamation of the annexation of the Bengal Duars**

**12 November 1864**

#### Proclamation

For many years past outrages have been committed by the subjects of the Bhootan Government within British territory, and in the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar. In these outrages, property has been plundered and destroyed, lives have been taken, and many innocent persons have been carried off into and are still held in captivity.

The British Government, ever sincerely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring States, and specially mindful of the obligations imposed on it by the treaty of 1774, has endeavoured from time to time by conciliatory remonstrances to induce the Government of Bhootan to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, to restore the plundered property, and to liberate the captives. But such remonstrances have never been successful, and, even when followed by serious warning, have failed to produce any satisfactory result. The British Government has been frequently deceived by vague assurances and promises for the future, but no property has ever been restored, no captive liberated, no offender punished, and the outrages have continued.

In 1863 the Government of India, being averse to the adoption of extreme measures for the protection of its subjects and dependent allies, despatched a special mission to the Bhootan Court, charged with proposals of a conciliatory character, but instructed to demand the surrender of all captives, the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier.

This pacific overture was insolently rejected by the Government of Bhootan. Not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the British Envoy was insulted in open durbar, and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the mission, to sign a document which the Government of India could only instantly repudiate.

For this insult the Governor-General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhootan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Dooars and Ambarree Fallacottah, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to British territory. At the same time, still anxious to avoid an open rupture, the Governor-General in council addressed a letter to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, formerly demanding that all captives detained in Bhootan against their will should be released, and that all property carried off during the last five years should be restored.

To this demand the Government of Bhootan has returned an evasive reply, from which can be gathered no hope that the just requisitions of the Government of India will ever be complied with, or that the security of the frontier can be provided for otherwise than by depriving the Government of Bhootan and its subjects of the means and opportunity for future aggression.

The Governor-General in Council has therefore reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Dooars of Bhootan, and so much of the Hill territory, including the forts of Dallingkot, Panakha and Dewangiri, as may be necessary to command the passes, and to prevent hostile or predatory incursions of Bhootanese into the Darjeeling districts or into the plains below. A Military Force amply sufficient to occupy this tract and to overcome all resistance has been assembled on the frontier, and will now proceed to carry out this resolve.

All Chiefs, Zamindars, Munduls, Ryots, and other inhabitants of the tract in question are hereby required to submit to the authority of the British Government, to remain quietly in their homes, and to render assistance to the British troops and to the Commissioner who is charged with the administration of the tract. Protection of life and property and a guarantee of all private rights is offered to those who do not resist, and strict justice will be done to all. The lands will be moderately assessed, and all oppression and extortion will be absolutely prohibited.

The future boundaries between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bhootan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bhootan within this boundary will cease forever

By order of the Governor-General in Council

Fort William,

The 12<sup>th</sup> November 1864.

H. M. Durand, Colonel, Secy. to the Government of India.

(Aitchison, 1929, v14, 93-5)

## **Appendix 5**

### **Peace Treaty between Great Britain and Bhutan**

**11 November 1865**

Treaty between His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir John Lawrence, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of Her Britannic Majesty's possession in the East Indies, and Their Highnesses the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs of Bhootan concluded on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Bruce, C.B., by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in him by the Viceroy and Governor-General, and on the other part by Samdojry Deb Jimpey and Themseyrensen Donai according to full powers conferred on them by the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, -1865.

#### Article 1

There shall henceforth be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government and the Government of Bhootan.

#### Article 2

Whereas in consequence of repeated aggressions of the Bhootan Government and of the refusal of that government to afford satisfaction for those aggressions, and of their insulting treatment of the officers sent by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of procuring an amicable adjustment of differences existing between the two States, the British Government has been compelled to seize by an armed force the whole of the Doars and certain Hill Posts protecting the passes into Bhootan and whereas the Bhootan Government has now expressed its regret for past misconduct and a desire for the establishment of friendly relations with the British Government, it is hereby agreed that the whole of the tract known as the eighteen Doars, bordering on the Districts of Rungpoor, Cooch Behar, and Assam, together with the Talook of Ambaree Fallacottah and the Hill territory on the left bank of the Teesta up to such points as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose is ceded by the Bhootan Government to the British Government for ever.

#### Article 3

The Bhootan Government hereby agree to surrender all British subjects as well as subjects of the Chiefs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar who are now detained in Bhootan against their will, and to place no impediment in the way of the return of all or any such persons into British territory.

#### Article 4

In consideration of the cession by the Bhootan Government of the territories specified in Article 2 of this Treaty, and of the said Government having expressed its regret for past misconduct, and having hereby engaged for the future to restrain all evil-disposed persons from



committing crimes within British territory or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar and to give prompt and full redress

for all such crimes which may be committed in defiance of their commands, the British Government agree to make an annual allowance to the Government of Bhootan on a sum not exceeding fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 50,000) to be paid to officers not below the rank of Jungpen, who shall be deputed by the Government of Bhootan to receive the same. And it is further hereby agreed that the payments shall be made as specified below:-

On the fulfilment by the Bhootan Government of the conditions of this Treaty, twenty-five thousand Rupees (Rupees 25,000).

On the 10<sup>th</sup> January following the 1<sup>st</sup> payment, thirty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 35,000). On the 10<sup>th</sup> January following forty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 45,000).

On every succeeding 10<sup>th</sup> January, fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 50,000).

#### Article 5

The British Government will hold itself at liberty at any time to suspend the payment of this compensation money either in whole or in part in the event of misconduct on the part of the Bhootan Government or its failure to check the aggression of its subjects or to comply with the provisions of this Treaty.

#### Article 6

The British Government hereby agree, on demand being duly made in writing by the Bhootan Government, to surrender, under the provisions of Act VII of 1854, of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhootan Government, all Bhootanese subjects accused of any of the following crimes who may take refuge in British dominions. The crimes are murder, attempting to murder, rape, kidnapping, great personal violence, maiming, dacoity, thuggee, robbery, burglary, knowingly receiving property obtained by dacoity, robbery or burglary, cattle stealing, breaking and entering a dwelling house and stealing therein, arson, setting fire to village, house or town, forging or uttering forged documents, counterfeiting current coin, knowingly uttering base or counterfeit coin, perjury, subornation of perjury, embezzlement by public officers or other persons, and being an accessory to any of the above offences.

#### Article 7

The Bhootan Government hereby agree, on requisition being duly made by or by the authority of, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to surrender any British subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the above Article who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bhootan Government, and also any Bhootanese subjects who, after committing any of the above crimes in British territory, shall flee into Bhootan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the Local Court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

#### Article 8

The Bhootan Government hereby agree to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes with, or causes of complaint against, the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, and to abide by the decision of the British Government; and the British Government hereby engage to enquire into and settle all such

disputes and complaints in such manner as justice may require, and to insist on the observation of the decision by the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar.

#### Article 9

There shall be free trade and commerce between the two Governments. No duties shall be levied on Bhootanese goods imported into British territories nor shall the Bhootan Government levy any duties on British goods imported into, or transported through, the Bhootan territories. Bhootanese subjects residing in British territories shall have equal justice with British subjects, and British subjects residing in Bhootan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Bhootan Government.

#### Article 10

The present Treaty of ten Articles having been concluded at Sinchula on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of November 1865, corresponding with the Bhootea year Shim Lung 24<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> month, and signed and sealed by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Bruce, C.B., and Samdojey Deb Jimpey and Themseyrensey Donai, the ratifications of the same by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council and by Their Highnesses the Dhurm and Debb Rajahs shall be mutually delivered within thirty days from this date.

H. Bruce, Lieut.-Col., Chief Civil and  
Political Officer, In Dabe Nagri.

In Bhootea language.

This Treaty was ratified on the 29<sup>th</sup> November 1865 in  
Calcutta by me. John Lawrence,

Governor-General.

(Aitchison, 1929, v14, 96-8)

## **Appendix 6**

### **Further proclamation of the annexation of the Bengal Duars**

**4 July 1866**

#### **Proclamation**

Whereas in the Proclamation issued on the 12<sup>th</sup> November 1864, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council announced his resolution of occupying permanently and annexing to British territory the Bengal Duars of Bhootan and so much of the Hill territory, including the forts of Dalimkote and Diwangiree, as might be necessary to command the passes and to prevent hostile or predatory incursions of Bhootanese into the Darjeeling district, or into the plains below;

And whereas, in pursuance of that resolution, the British Government, under Article 2 of a Treaty concluded on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of November 1865, has obtained from the Government of Bhootan for ever the cession of the whole of the tract known as the eighteen Duars bordering on the districts of Rungpoor, Cooch Behar and Assam, together with the Talook of Ambaree Fallacottah and the Hill territories on the left bank of the Teesta, up to such point as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose;

It is hereby declared that the territory ceded by the Bhootanese Government as aforesaid is annexed to the territories of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England.

It is further declared that the ceded territory is attached to the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, and that it will accordingly be under the immediate control of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but that it shall not be subjected to the general regulations.

By order of the Governor-General in council.

W. Muir, Secy. to the  
Government of India. Simla, The  
4<sup>th</sup> July 1866.

(Aitchison, 1929, v14, 99)

**Appendix 7**  
**Official spelling of Cooch Behar**  
**13 April 1896**

Notice dated 13<sup>th</sup>  
April, 1896 Issued by  
the Superintendent Of  
the Cooch Behar  
State

His Highness The Maharaja Bhup Bahadur having signified his approval of the use of the spelling "Cooch Behar" all other spellings of the word should be dropped.

Sd/- D.R. Llyall  
Superintendent of  
the State Cooch  
Behar

(Roy Pradhan, 1995, 22)

## **Appendix 8**

### **Cooch Behar Merger Agreement 28 August 1949**

Agreement made this Twenty-eighth day of August 1949 between the Governor-General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

Whereas in the best interests of the state of Cooch Behar as well as of the Dominion of India it is desirable to provide for the administration of the said State by or under the authority of the dominion Government;

It is hereby agreed as follows:-

#### ARTICLE 1

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar hereby cedes to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers for and in relation to the governance of the State and agrees to transfer the administration of the State to the Dominion Government on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of September 1949 (hereinafter referred to as "the said day").

As from the said day the Dominion Government will be competent to exercise the said powers, authority and jurisdiction in such manner and through such agency as it may think fit.

#### ARTICLE 2

His Highness the Maharaja shall continue to enjoy the same personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles which he would have enjoyed had this agreement not been made.

#### ARTICLE 3

His Highness the Maharaja shall with effect from the said day be entitled to receive for his life-time from the revenues of the State annually for his privy purse the sum of Rupees eight lakhs fifty thousand free of all taxes. After him the privy purse will be fixed at Rupees seven lakhs only. The amount is intended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and his family, including expenses on account of his personal staff, maintenance of his residences, marriages and other ceremonies, etc., and will neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever.

The Government of India undertakes that the said sum of Rupees eight lakhs fifty thousand shall be paid to His Highness the Maharaja in four equal instalments in advance at the beginning of each quarter from the State Treasury or at such Treasury as may be specified by the Government of India.

#### ARTICLE 4

His Highness the Maharaja shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all private properties (as distinct from State properties) belonging to him on the date of this agreement.

His Highness the Maharaja will furnish to the Dominion Government before the 15<sup>th</sup> September 1949, an inventory of all the immovable property, securities and cash balances held by him as such private property.

If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of His Highness the Maharaja or State property, it shall be referred to a judicial officer qualified to be appointed as a High Court Judge and the decision of that officer shall be final and binding on both parties.

#### ARTICLE 5

All the members of His Highness' family shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territories of the State, immediately before the 15<sup>th</sup> day of August, 1947.

#### ARTICLE 6

The Dominion Government guarantees the succession, according to law and custom, to the *gaddi* of the State and to His Highness the Maharaja's personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles.

#### ARTICLE 7

No enquiry shall be made by or under the authority of the Government of India, and no proceedings shall lie in any court in Cooch Behar, against His Highness the Maharaja, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him or under his authority during the period of his administration of that State.

#### ARTICLE 8

(1) The Government of India hereby guarantees *either* the continuance in service of the permanent members of the Public Services of Cooch Behar on conditions which will not be less advantageous than those on which they were serving before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India *or* the payment of reasonable compensation.

(2) The Government of India further guarantees the continuance of pensions and leave salaries sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja to servants of the State who have retired or proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement, before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India.

## ARTICLE 9

Except with the previous sanction of the Government of India no proceedings, civil and criminal, shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duties as a servant of the State before the day on which the administration is made over to the Government of India.

In confirmation whereof Mr. Vapal Pangunni Menon, Adviser to the Government of India in the Ministry of States has appended his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Governor General of

India and Lieutenant Colonel His Highness the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch Behar, has appended his signature on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors.

Jagaddipendra  
Narayan  
Maharaja of  
Cooch Behar

V.P.M enon  
Adviser to the Govt. of India,  
Ministry of States

(Biswas, 1999, 217-9)

**Appendix 9**  
**Indo-Pakistan passport conference agreement**

**9 July 1953**

Summary of Agreed Decisions at the Indo-Pakistan  
Passport Conference New Delhi, 28 January to 1  
February 1953

As Ratified on 9 July 1953

The Governments of India and Pakistan have ratified the decisions reached at the Indo-Pakistan Passports Conference held at New Delhi from 28<sup>th</sup> January to 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1953 and during subsequent discussions.

A summary of the agreed decisions is given below. The two Governments are taking steps to give immediate effect to these decisions.

1. *Travel facilities for residents of enclaves.*

Residents of the enclaves in both countries will on application be granted Category 'A' visas valid for an unlimited number of journeys within the thana or thanas contiguous to the enclave, and also for an unlimited number of journeys in transit along one or more specified routes between the enclave and the mainland of the country to which the enclave belongs. The specified route for transit need not be through an established checkpost. In addition, the holder of a Category 'A' visa may also obtain any other visa to which he may be entitled under the rules.

[Decisions 2. - 28. omitted]

(Ministry of External Affairs, 1994-7, v2, 65)



## Appendix 10

### Description of enclaves from the 1951 census' district handbook 1953

This district is peculiarly situated in respect of certain areas which now form isolated islands so to say in the territory of East Pakistan and has, on the other hand, isolated territories belonging to East Pakistan within its own boundaries. These isolated pockets or territories are called enclaves or *Chhitmahals*. There are enclaves of Cooch Behar district in East Pakistan territory and enclaves of East Pakistan territory in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts. The principal enclaves are as follows:

(1) The *Baishchala tracts*, comprised within three Taluks named Magurmari, Gosaihat, and Gadong, in Pargana Maraghat of the Jalpaiguri District, lying at a distance varying from six to eight miles from the northern frontier near Moranga and Ksheti;

(2) *Teldhar*, formerly known as Gerd Teldhar, forming twelve Taluks, and the *Kotbhajni chhits*, comprising six taluks, within Chakla Boda, in the district of Jalpaiguri, lying west and south-west of Pargana Mekliganj, at a distance varying from five to twelve miles from the western frontier near Haldibari.

(3) The *Patgram chhits*, belonging to Pargana Mekliganj, situated in Pargana Patgram in the Jalpaiguri district;

(4) *Banshkata chhits*, within Pargana Patgram lying very close to the south-west borders of Pargana Mathabhanga;

(5) The *chhits* in Pargana Purvabhag in the district of Rangpur, very close to the south-east borders of Dinahata, the chief of which are Bashpechai, Dakurhat and Dasiarchhara;

(6) The *chhits* in Pargana Bhitaband in the same district, lying near the eastern borders of Dinahata, and comprising the taluks Maidam, Gaochulka, and Baghbunder; and

(7) *Chhit Bara Laukuthi*, a Cooch Behar Taluk, lying within the Guma Duars in the district of Goalpara in Assam, within two miles from the Baxigunj Bunder near the eastern frontier.

The *Hindusthan Standard*, a Calcutta newspaper, has recently (on the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1953) drawn pointed attention to the problem of Cooch Behar enclaves in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri. According to this newspaper, the total number of Pakistan enclaves in Cooch Behar is 95, covering a total area of 12,151.90 acres and having a population of 10,954 persons. The total number of Cooch Behar enclaves in East Pakistan, according to the same paper, is 131, their total area being 20,463.05 acres, and the total population being 12,601 persons. Thus Cooch Behar has 8,311.15 acres of territory more than Pakistan has in West Bengal, with a corresponding excess of 1,647 in favour of Cooch Behar. These *Chhitmahals* vary from such a big area as Dahala Khagrabari (2,650.35 acres) to such a small *chhit* as Panishala 0.27 acre (No. 153/P-Chhit). These *Chhitmahals* are scattered all over the border with the East Pakistan, but the largest cluster is in the south-west of Cooch Behar, where the old Dinajpur district digs into Cooch Behar. These enclaves are fragments from the dismemberment of the famous Kamrupa kingdom which had, at one time, Kamotapur as its capital. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, taking advantage of the internal

quarrels of the royal family of Cooch Behar, Bhutanese, Pathan and Moghul armies made repeated attacks on Cooch Behar and the Moghul army succeeded in wresting bits of territory from the Cooch Behar kingdom in which the Moghul armies were settled on demobilisation. Similarly, enclaves of Cooch Behar in Moghul territory continued to be held by the Cooch Behar Rajas. When the East India Company came to hold the State of Cooch Behar as a feudatory State, they preferred to let the arrangement of the enclaves continue as a measure of expediency and statesmanship. Originally Cooch Behar had 158 enclaves, of which one was, as mentioned above, in the district of Goalpara in Assam, and 44 others were in the pre-partition district of Jalpaiguri. The Radcliffe award of August 1947, portion of which relating to the district of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar is reproduced below, placed the larger *chhits* formerly in the thanas of Tetulia, Pachagar, Boda, Debiganj and Patgram, now gone to East Pakistan, in Pakistan, besides those which before 1947 were embedded in the districts of Rangpur and Dinajpur. The portion of the Radcliffe award that affected the district of Cooch Behar, is reproduced below:

A line shall be drawn along the boundary between the thana of Phansidewa in the district of Darjeeling and the thana Tetulia in the district of Jalpaiguri from the point where that boundary meets the province of Bihar and then along the boundary between the thanas of Tetulia and Rajganj; the thanas of Panchagar and Rajganj, and the thanas of Panchagar and Jalpaiguri, and shall then continue along the northern corner of the thana of Debiganj to the boundary of the State of Cooch Behar. The district of Darjeeling and so much of the district of Jalpaiguri as lies north of this line shall belong to West Bengal, but the thana of Patgram and any other portion of Jalpaiguri district which lies to the east or south shall belong to East Bengal.

A statement of Cooch Behar enclaves in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in Cooch Behar, giving the Jurisdiction List numbers, the names of the Taluks, the area of each *chhit* and the population, obtained by courtesy of the *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta, will be found in Appendix I of this volume. Since 1950, the Governments of India and Pakistan have had a series of conferences on the subject of exchanging the India-Pakistan enclaves. In recent months a great measure of agreement has been achieved, and it is expected that a satisfactory exchange will take place shortly.

[In Appendix I, pp.lxv-lxvi, Mitra reproduces the enclave list of the *Hindusthan Standard* (1953e, reproduced in the present research paper as Appendix 1-24 above) but without the population figures. For most of the *chhits* these were given only in the main statistical section of Mitra, and are reproduced in the tables of Appendix 3 in the present paper.]

(Mitra, 1953, iii-iv)

**Appendix 11**  
**The Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960**

**28 December 1960**

**Statement of Objects and Reasons**

Agreements between the Governments of India and Pakistan dated 10th September, 1958, 23rd October, 1959, and 11th January, 1960, settled certain boundary disputes between the Governments of India and Pakistan relating to the borders of the States of Assam, Punjab and West Bengal, and the Union Territory of Tripura.

According to these agreements, certain territories are to be transferred to Pakistan after demarcation. In the light of the Advisory Opinion of the Supreme Court in Special Reference No. 1 of 1959, it is proposed to amend the First Schedule to the Constitution under a law relating to article 368 thereof to give effect to the transfer of these territories.

New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru. The 12th December, 1960.

THE CONSTITUTION (NINTH AMENDMENT) ACT, 1960

An Act further to amend the Constitution of India to give effect to the transfer of certain territories to Pakistan in pursuance of the agreements entered into between the Governments of India and Pakistan.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Eleventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:-

Short title. - This Act may be called the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960.

Definitions. - In this Act,-

"appointed day" means such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint as the date for the transfer of territories to Pakistan in pursuance of the Indo-Pakistan agreements, after causing the territories to be so transferred and referred to in the First Schedule demarcated for the purpose, and different dates may be appointed for the transfer of such territories from different States and from the Union Territory of Tripura;

"Indo-Pakistan agreements" mean the Agreements dated the 10th day of September, 1958, the 23rd day of October, 1959 and the 11th day of January, 1960, entered into between the Governments of India and Pakistan, the relevant extracts of which are set out in the Second Schedule;

"transferred territory" means so much of the territories comprised in the Indo-Pakistan agreements and referred to in the First Schedule as are demarcated for the purpose of being transferred to Pakistan in pursuance of the said agreements.

Amendment of the First Schedule to the Constitution. - As from the appointed day, in the First Schedule to the Constitution,-

in the paragraph relating to the territories of the State of Assam the words, brackets and figures "and the territories referred to in Part I of the First Schedule to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960" shall be added at the end;

in the paragraph relating to the territories of the State of Punjab, the words, brackets and figures "but excluding the territories referred to in Part II of the First Schedule to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960" shall be added at the end;

in the paragraph relating to the territories of the State of West Bengal, the words, brackets and figures "but excluding the territories referred to in Part III of the First Schedule to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960" shall be added at the end;

in the paragraph relating to the extent of the Union Territory of Tripura, the words, brackets and figures "but excluding the territories referred to in Part IV of the First Schedule to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960" shall be added at the end.

## The First Schedule

[See Sections 2(a), 2(c) and 3]

### Part I

The transferred territory in relation to item (7) of paragraph 2 of the Agreement dated the 10th day of September, 1958, and item (i) of paragraph 6 of the Agreement dated the 23rd day of October, 1959.

### Part II

The transferred territory in relation to item (i) and item (iv) of paragraph 1 of the Agreement dated the 11th day of January, 1960.

### Part III

The transferred territory in relation to item (3), item (5) and item (10) of paragraph 2 of the Agreement dated the 10th day of September, 1958, and paragraph 4 of the Agreement dated the 23rd day of October, 1959.

### Part IV

The transferred territory in relation to item (8) of paragraph 2 of the Agreement dated the 10th day of September, 1958.

The Second Schedule [See section 2(b)]

Extracts from the Note containing the Agreement dated the 10<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1958  
As a result of the discussions, the following agreements were arrived at:-

(3) Berubari Union No. 12

This will be so divided as to give half the area to Pakistan the other half adjacent to India being retained by India. The division of Berubari Union No. 12 will be horizontal, starting from the north-east corner of Debiganj thana.

The division should be made in such a manner that the Cooch Behar enclaves between Pachagar thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 of Jalpaiguri thana of West Bengal will remain connected as at present with Indian territory and will remain with India. The Cooch Behar enclaves lower down between Boda thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 will be exchanged alongwith the general exchange of enclaves and will go to Pakistan.

(5) 24 Parganas---Khulna 24 Parganas---Jessore Boundary disputes.

It is agreed that the mean of the two respective claims of India and Pakistan should be adopted, taking the river as a guide, as far as possible, in the case of the latter dispute (Ichhamati river).

Piyain and Surma river regions to be demarcated in accordance with the relevant notifications, cadastral survey maps and, if necessary, record of rights. Whatever the result of this demarcation might be, the nationals of both the Governments to have the facility of navigation on both these rivers.

Government of India agree to give in perpetual right to Pakistan the land belonging to Tripura State to the west of the railway line as well as the land appurtenant to the railway line at Bhagalpur.

(10) Exchange of old Cooch Behar enclaves in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India without claim to compensation for extra area going to Pakistan, is agreed to.

(Sd.) M.S.A. BAIG, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Government of Pakistan.

(Sd.) M.J. DESAI, Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. New Delhi, September 10, 1958.

Extracts from the Agreement entitled "Agreed Decisions and Procedures to end Disputes and Incidents along the Indo-East Pakistan Border Areas", dated the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of October, 1959.

4. West Bengal-East Pakistan Boundary Over 1,200 miles of this boundary have already been demarcated. As regards the boundary between West Bengal and East Pakistan in the areas of Mahananda, Burung and Karatoa rivers, It was agreed that demarcation will be made in accordance with the latest cadastral survey maps supported by relevant notifications and record-of-rights.

## 6. Assam-East Pakistan Boundary.

(i) The dispute concerning Bagge Award III has been settled by adopting the following rational boundary in the Patharia Forest Reserve region:

From a point marked X (H522558) along the Radcliffe Line BA on the old Patharia Reserve Boundary as shown in the topographical map sheet No. 83D/5, the boundary line shall run in close proximity and parallel to the cart road to its south to a point A (H531554); thence in a southerly direction up the spur and along the ridge to a hill top marked B (H523529); thence in a south-easterly direction along the ridge down the spur across a stream to a hill top marked C (H532523); thence in a southerly direction to a point D (H530517); thence in a south-westerly direction to a flat top E (H523507); thence in a southerly direction to a point F (H524500); thence in a south-easterly direction in a straight line to the mid-stream point of the Gandhai Nala marked G (H540494); thence in south-westerly direction up the mid-stream of Gandhai Nala to point H (H533482); thence in a south-westerly direction up a spur and along the ridge to a point I (H517460); thence in a southerly direction to a point on the ridge marked J (H518455); thence in a south-westerly direction along the ridge to a point height 364 then continues along the same direction along the same ridge to a point marked K (H500428); thence in a south and south-westerly direction along the same ridge to a point marked L (H496420); thence in a south- easterly direction along the same ridge to a point marked M (H499417); thence in a south-westerly direction along the ridge to a point on the bridle path with a height 587; then up the spur to the hill top marked N (H487393); then in a south-easterly and southerly direction along the ridge to the hill top with height 692; thence in a southerly direction down the spur to a point on Buracherra marked O (H484344); thence in a south-westerly direction up the spur along the ridge to the trigonometrical survey station with height 690; thence in a southerly direction along the ridge to a point height 490 (H473292); thence in a straight line due south to a point on the eastern boundary of the Patharia Reserve Forest marked Y (H473263); along the Radcliffe Line BA

The line described above has been plotted on two copies of topographical map sheets Nos. 83D/5, 83D/6 and 83D/2.

The technical experts responsible for the ground demarcation will have the authority to make minor adjustments in order to make the boundary alignment agree with the physical features as described.

The losses and gains to either country as a result of these adjustments with respect to the line marked on the map will be balanced by the technical experts.

(Sd.) J.G. KHARAS, Acting Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Karachi.

(Sd.) M.J. DESAI, Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. New Delhi, October 23, 1959.

Extracts from the Agreement entitled "Agreed Decisions and Procedures to end Disputes and Incidents along the Indo-West Pakistan Border Areas", dated the 11<sup>th</sup> day of January, 1960.

West Pakistan-Punjab border.-Of the total of 325 miles of the border in this sector, demarcation has been completed along about 252 miles. About 73 miles of the border has not yet been demarcated due to differences between the Governments of India and Pakistan regarding interpretation of the decision and Award of the Punjab Boundary Commission presented by Sir Cyril Radcliffe as Chairman of the Commission. These differences have been settled along the lines given below in a spirit of accommodation:

(i) The Sarja Marja, Rakh Hardit Singh and Pathanke (Amritsar- Lahore border).- The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that the boundary between West-Pakistan and India in the this region should follow the boundary between the Tehsils of Lahore and Kasur as laid down under Punjab Government Notification No. 2183-E, dated 2nd June, 1939. These three villages will in consequence, fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the Government of Pakistan.

(iv) Suleimanke (Ferozepur-Montgomery border).-The Governments of India and Pakistan agree to adjust the district boundaries in this region as specified in the attached Schedule and as shown in the map appended thereto as Annexure I.

(Sd.) M.J. DESAI, Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. (Sd.) J.G. KHARAS, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Government of Pakistan.

New Delhi, January 11, 1960.

(Parliament of India website, 2001a)

**Appendix 12**  
**Land Boundary Agreement (a.k.a. Indira-Mujib Pact)**  
**16 May 1974**  
Agreement

Between the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of India concerning the Demarcation of the Land Boundary between Bangladesh and India and related matters.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of India, Bearing in mind the friendly relations existing between the two countries,

Desiring to define more accurately at certain points and to complete the demarcation of the land boundary between Bangladesh and India,

Have agreed as follows:-

Article 1

The land boundary between Bangladesh and India in the areas mentioned below shall be demarcated in the following manner:

1. Mizoram-Bangladesh Sector.- Demarcation should be completed on the basis of the latest pre- partition notifications and records.
2. Tripura-Sylhet Sector.- Demarcation which is already in progress in this area on the agreed basis, should be completed as early as possible.
3. Bhagalpur Railway Line.- The boundary should be demarcated at a distance of 73 feet parallel to the toe of the railway embankment towards the east.
4. Sibpur-Gaurangala Sector.- The boundary should be demarcated in continuation of the process started in 1951-52 on the basis of the District Settlement Maps of 1915-1918.
5. Muhuri River (Belonia) Sector.- The boundary in this area should be demarcated along the mid-stream of the course of Muhuri River at the time of demarcation. The boundary will be a fixed boundary. The two Governments should raise embankments on their respective sides with a view to stabilising the river in its present course.
6. Remaining portion of the Tripura-Noakhali/Comilla Sector.- The demarcation in this sector should be completed on the basis of Chakla-Roshanabad Estate Maps of 1892-1894 and the District Settlement Maps of 1915-1918 for areas not covered by the Chakla-Roshanabad Maps.
7. Fenny River.- The boundary should be demarcated along the mid-stream of the course at the time of demarcation of that branch of the Fenny River indicated as the Fenny river on Survey of India Map sheet No. 79 M/15, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition 1935, till it joins the stream shown as Asalong C on the said map. From that point on, downstream, the boundary should be demarcated along the mid-stream of the course of the Fenny River at the time of demarcation of the boundary. The boundary in this sector will be a fixed boundary.



8. Rest of Tripura-Chittagong Hill Tracts Sector.- The boundary will follow the midstream of that branch of the Fenny River, referred to in para 7 above, up to Grid reference 009779 (map sheet as in para 7 above) from where the boundary will follow the mid-stream of the eastern-most tributary. From the source of this tributary, the boundary will run along the shortest distance to the mid-stream of the stream marked Bayan Asalong, on the map referred to above, and thence will run generally northwards along the mid-stream of this river till it reaches its source on the ridge (indicated by grid reference 046810 on the map referred to above). From there it will run along the crest of this ridge up to Boghoban Trig Station. From Boghoban Trig Station up to the trijunction of the Bangladesh-Assam-Tripura boundary (Khan Talang Trig Station), the boundary will run along the watershed of the river systems of the two countries. In case of any differences between the map and the ground, the ground shall prevail. The boundary will be a fixed boundary in this sector.

9. Beanibazar-Karimganj Sector.- The undemarcated portion of the boundary west of Umapati village should be demarcated in accordance with the agreed basis of demarcation, leaving Umapati village in India.

10. Hakar Khal.- The boundary should be demarcated in accordance with the Nehru-Noon Agreement of September, 1958, treating Hakar Khal as a geographical feature distinct from the Ichhamati River. The boundary will be a fixed boundary.

11. Baikari Khal.- In the Baikari Khal, the boundary should be demarcated on the agreed basis and principles, namely, that the ground shall prevail, *i.e.* as per the agreement reached between the Directors of Land Records and Surveys of West Bengal and erstwhile East Pakistan in 1949. The boundary will be a fixed boundary.

12. Enclaves.- The Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and the Bangladesh enclaves in India should be exchanged expeditiously, excepting the enclaves mentioned in paragraph 14 without claim to compensation for the additional area going to Bangladesh.

13. Hilli.- The area will be demarcated in accordance with Radcliffe Award and the line drawn by him on the map.

14. Berubari.- India will retain the southern half of South Berubari Union No.12 and the adjacent enclaves, measuring an area of 2.64 square miles approximately, and in exchange Bangladesh will retain the Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves. India will lease in perpetuity to Bangladesh an area of 178 metres x 85 metres near 'Tin Bigha' to connect Dahagram with Panbari Mouza (P.S. Patgram) of Bangladesh.

Lathitilla-Dumabari.- From point Y (the last demarcated boundary pillar position), the boundary shall run southwards along the Patheria Hills RF boundary up to the point where it meets the western boundary of Dumabari Mouza. Thence, along the same Mouza boundary up to the tri-junction of Mouzas Dumabari, Lathitilla and Bara Putnigaon through the junction of the two Mouzas Dumabari and Lathitilla. From this point it shall run along the shortest distance to meet the mid-stream of Putni Chara. Thence it shall run generally southwards along the mid-stream of the course of Putni Chara at the time of demarcation, till it meets the boundary between Sylhet (Bangladesh) and Tripura (India).

## Article 2

The Governments of Bangladesh and India agree that territories in adverse possession in areas already demarcated in respect of which boundary strip maps are already prepared, shall be exchanged within six months of the signing of the boundary strip maps by the

plenipotentiaries. They may sign the relevant maps as early as possible and in any case not later than the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1974. Early measures may be taken to print maps in respect of other areas where demarcation has already taken place. These should be printed by 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1975 and signed by the plenipotentiaries thereafter in order that the exchange of adversely held possessions in these areas may take place by 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1975. In sectors still to be demarcated transfer of territorial jurisdiction may take place within six months of the signature by plenipotentiaries on the concerned boundary strip maps.

#### Article 3

The Governments of Bangladesh and India agree that when areas are transferred, the people in these areas shall be given the right of staying on where they are, as nationals of the State to which the areas are transferred. Pending demarcation of the boundary and exchange of territory by mutual agreement, there should be no disturbance of the *status quo* and peaceful conditions shall be maintained in the border regions. Necessary instructions in this regard shall be issued to the local authorities on the border by the two countries.

#### Article 4

The Governments of Bangladesh and India agree that any dispute concerning the interpretation or implementation of this Agreement shall be settled peacefully through mutual consultations.

#### Article 5

This Agreement shall be subject to ratification by the Governments of Bangladesh and India and Instruments of Ratification shall be exchanged as early as possible. The Agreement shall take effect from the date of the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification.

Signed in New Delhi on May 16, 1974, in two originals each of which is equally authentic.

For the Government of Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh India	For the the Republic of
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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Prime Minister of Bangladesh.	Indira Gandhi Prime Minister
--	---------------------------------

of India (27 DLR (1975), chapter "Bangladesh Statutes", pp49-50)

On 28 December 1974, the second sentence of Article 2 was amended from "They may sign the relevant maps as early as possible and in any case not later than the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1974", to read "They may sign the relevant maps as early as possible after the Agreement has been ratified by the two Governments". (Khandker, 1978, 3; also quoted in amended form in AIR 1983 Cal 468).

**Appendix 13**  
**Constitution (Third Amendment) Act, 1974**  
**27 November 1974**

Act No. LXXIV of 1974

An Act to further amend certain provision of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to give effect to the Agreement entered into between the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend certain provision of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to give effect to the Agreement entered into between the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India;

It is hereby enacted as follows:-

1. Short title and commencement.-

(1) This Act may be called the Constitution (Third Amendment) Act, 1974.

(2) It shall come into force at once except section 3 which shall come into force on the date specified in a notification under section 4.

2. Definitions.- In this Act-

(a) "Agreement" means the Agreement between the Governments of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India entered into on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1974, as set out in the Schedule;

(b) "excluded territories" means the territories which are excluded from the territory of Bangladesh in pursuance of the Agreement;

(c) "included territories" means the territories which are included in the territory of Bangladesh in pursuance of the Agreement.

3. Amendment of article 2 of the Constitution.- In the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, in article 2, in clause (a), for the semi-colon and word "; and" the words, brackets, commas, figures and semi- colon "and the territories referred to as included territories in the Constitution (Third Amendment) Act, 1974, but excluding the territories referred to as excluded territories in that Act; and" shall be substituted.

4. Notifications for inclusion and exclusion of territories.- Upon the completion of the demarcation of the land boundary between Bangladesh and India in pursuance of the Agreement such included territories shall, and such excluded territories shall not, form part of the territory of Bangladesh with effect from such date as the Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, specify.

SCHEDULE

[See section 2(a)]

[here was inserted the text of the Indira-Mujib Pact, which is given as Appendix 1-35 above]  
(27 DLR (1975) Chapter entitled "Bangladesh Statutes", p49-50)

**Appendix 14**  
**Tin Bigha lease terms**  
**agreement 7 October 1982**

Agreement regarding Tin Bigha Lease, reached by exchange of letters on 7 October 1982 between

P.V. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External Affairs, India and A.R. Shams-ud-Doha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh.

1. The lease in perpetuity of the aforementioned area shall be for the purpose of connecting Dahagram and Angarpota with Panbari *Mouza* (P.S.Patgram) of Bangladesh to enable the Bangladesh Government to exercise her sovereignty over Dahagram and Angarpota.

2. Sovereignty over the leased area shall continue to vest in India. The rent for the leased area shall be Bangladesh Tk. 1/- (Bangladesh Taka One) only per annum. Bangladesh shall not, however, be required to pay the said rent and the Government of India hereby waives its right to charge such rent in respect of the leased area.

3. For the purposes stated in para. 1 above Bangladesh shall have undisturbed possession and use of the area leased to her in perpetuity.

4. Bangladesh citizens including paramilitary and military personnel along with their arms, ammunition, equipment and supplies shall have the right of free and unfettered movement in the leased area and shall not be required to carry passports or travel documents of any kind. Movement of Bangladesh goods through the leased area shall also be free. There shall be no requirement of payment of customs duty, tax or levy of any kind whatsoever or any transit charges.

5. Indian citizens including police, paramilitary and military personnel along with their arms, ammunition, equipment and supplies shall continue to have the right of free and unfettered movement in the leased area in either direction. Movement of Indian goods across the leased area shall also be free. For the purposes of such passage the existing road running across it shall continue to be used. India may also build a road above and or below the surface of the leased area in an elevated or subway form for her exclusive use in a manner which will not prejudice free and unfettered movement of Bangladesh citizens and goods as defined in paras 1 and 4 above.

6. The two governments shall cooperate in placing permanent markers along the perimeters of the leased area and put up fences where necessary.

7. Both India and Bangladesh shall have the right to lay cables, electric lines, water and sewerage pipes etc. over or under the leased area without obstructing free movement of citizens or goods of either country as defined in paras 4 and 5 above.

8. The modalities for implementing the terms of the lease will be entrusted to the respective Deputy Commissioners of Rangpur (Bangladesh) and Cooch Behar (India). In case of differences, they will refer the matter to their respective Governments for resolution.

9. In the event of any Bangladesh/Indian national being involved in an incident in the leased area, constituting an offence in law, he shall be dealt with by the respective law enforcing agency of his own country in accordance with its national laws. In the event of an incident in the leased area involving nationals of both countries, the law enforcing agency on the scene of the incident will take necessary steps to restore law and order. At the same time immediate steps will be taken to get in touch with the law enforcing agency of the other country. In such cases, any Indian national apprehended by a Bangladesh law enforcing agency shall be handed over forthwith to the Indian side and any Bangladeshi national apprehended by an Indian law enforcing agency shall be handed over forthwith to the Bangladesh side. India will retain residual jurisdiction in the leased area.

(Bhasin, 1996, v1, 816-20)

**Appendix 15**  
**Tin Bigha lease modalities 26 March 1992**

Understanding regarding the modalities for leasing out the Tin Bigha area, 26 March 1992.

1. Indian flags will fly at the four corners of the Tin Bigha corridor as a manifestation of India's sovereignty over the area;
2. An East-West road to connect Dahagram (Bangladesh) with Patgram (Bangladesh) will be constructed by India before 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1992 roughly at right angles to the existing North-South road. The new East-West road is to conform to the specifications and width of the existing North-South road;
3. Landscaping (horticulture) protected by fencing, on both sides of the proposed road, is to be carried out and maintained by India, so as to prevent the possibility of encroachment and infiltration, keeping adequate provision for drains, laying of cables, water-supply etc., in future;
4. Two check points each are to be set up at both ends of the East-West road where it touches the Bangladesh boundary. They will be separately manned by Indian and Bangladesh authorities with a view to regulating the movement of traffic;
5. Traffic in the corridor will be regulated by the Indian authorities, and the opening and closing of the check points on the East-West road will be coordinated accordingly in such a manner that there is no intermixing of Indian and Bangladeshi streams of traffic;
6. At the intersection, i.e., the specific point where the East-West road will cross the North-South road, there will be an Indian traffic Police control to direct the traffic movement;
7. Indian traffic movement on the North-South road will continue as heretofore. Bangladesh traffic will use the East-West road in the corridor at alternate hours during the day-light period. However, exceptions will be made at the local level to the above arrangements in cases of emergency, such as natural calamities, movement of civil administrators and medical emergencies;
8. Suitable lighting arrangements will be made for the entire corridor in order to facilitate monitoring by security agencies on both sides;
9. Differences, if any, regarding modalities for implementing the terms of lease will be resolved in the first instance through consultations between the Deputy Commissioner of Cooch Behar (India) and the Deputy Commissioner of Lalmonirhat (Bangladesh). Remaining differences, if any, will be referred to their respective Governments for resolution;
10. India and Bangladesh will provide mutual judicial assistance to each other to the extent necessary, in all matters relating to the prosecution, trials, etc. concerning incidents constituting offences in the leased area;
11. Agreed arrangements will come into effect from 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1992.

Ratified by an exchange of letters on 26 March 1992, by J.N.Dixit, Foreign Secretary, India and

Mahmood Ali, Additional Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh. (Bhasin, 1996, 931-4)

## Appendix 16

### Mughal & (British) Indian administrative hierarchies

#### Mughal administrative hierarchy Empire

Subah (province) Sarkar

Pargana/Chakla/Zamindari Taluk

Jote

?Kuthi

?Mauza

#### Indian administrative hierarchy (British, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi)

Colony/country Province/state/Union\* Division

District Subdivision\*

Police Station/Thana union Mauza/Village

\* not used at present in Bangladesh.

**Appendix 17**  
**Rulers of**

**the Cooch Behar and Cooch Haio**

**COOCH BEHAR**

**Maharajas of Cooch Behar a comparison of authorities**

Ganguli,

	<u>Almanach</u>	<u>Gait</u>	<u>Bhattacharyya</u>	<u>Das</u>	<u>Ghoshal</u>	
	<u>Nath</u> Chandan		1511-24	*		*
	1510-1523	*	* Bisva Singh		1524-55	
	1515-40	1529-55	1523-54	1496-1533	1515-40	
Nar Singh	*	*	*	*	1533	1540
Nar Narayan	1555-88	1540-84	1555-87	1554-87	1533/34-87	1540-87
Lakshmi #	1588-1622	1584-1622	1587-1627	1587-1621	1587-1627	1587-1627
Bir	1622-27	1622-33	1627-33	1621-26	1627-32	**
Pran	1627-66	1633-66	1633-66	1626-65	1632-65	
Mod	1666-81	**	1666-80	1665-80	1665-80	
Basudev	1681-83		1680-82	1680-82	1680-82	
Mahendra	1683-95		1682-95	1682-94	1682-93	
Yajna	*		*	*	1693-	
1704 Rup	1695-1715		1695-1715	1694-1714	1704-	
14						
Upendra	1715-64		**	1714-63	1714-63	
Debendra	1764-66			1763-65	1763-65	
Dhairyendra	1766-71			1765-70	1765-70	
Rajendra	1771-73			1770-72	1770-72	
Dharendra	1773-80			1772-75	1772-75	
Dhairyendra	1780-83			1775-83	1775-83	
Harendra	1783-1839			1783-1839	1783-	
Sivendra	1839-47			1839-47	**	
Narendra	1847-63			1847-63		
Nripendra	1863-1911			1863-1911		
Rajendra	1911-13			1911-13		
Jitendra	1913-22			1913-22		
Jagaddipendra	1922-70			1922-		
Virajendra	1970-71***			**		

Das gives the same dates as Ganguli except for Dhairyendra's second reign, starting it one year earlier in 1774; Das also finishes his list with Jagaddipendra's accession to India in 1949.

# Lakshmi and subsequent maharajas all have the surname Narayan.

\* Not listed in this authority.

\*\* Maharajas hereafter not listed.

\*\*\* Abolition of title and privy purse, 26<sup>th</sup> Amendment, 28 Dec 1971.

Virajendra died during the 1970s without issue and the male line is extinct.

(Gait, 1926, 345; Bhattacharyya, 1929, 403; Ganguli, 1930, app ii; Ghoshal, 1942; Nath, 1989,

207; Das, 1998, 10-11; Almanac de Bruxelles website)



### Rulers of Cooch Hajo

Ragu Dev Narayan 1581 -

1603 Parikshit Narayan

1603 -

1612\*

Conquest of Cooch Hajo by Mughals and Ahoms.

\* Gait says 1613, Bhattacharyya says 1618 but this is probably a typographic error for 1615. (Gait, 1926, 345; Bhattacharyya, 1929, 403; Nath, 1989, 207)

### Raikats of Baikunthapur

	<u>Milligan</u>	<u>Ghoshal</u>
Sisu Singh	?-?	?-?
Manahar Dev	?-?	*
Manikya Dev	?-?	?-?
Maruti Dev	*	?-?
Shiva Dev	?-?	?-?
Ratna Dev	?-?	*
Mahi Dev	1621-67	?-?
Bhuja Dev	1667-87	?-?
Jaga Dev	*	?-?
Vishnu Dev	1687-1709	?-?
Dharma Dev	1709-24	?-?
Bhup Dev	1724-36	?-?
Vikram Dev	1736-58	?-?
Darpa Dev	1758-93	1771-?
Jayanta Dev	1793-1800	?-?
Sarba Dev	1800-47	?-1848
Raj Rajendra Dev	1847-49	*
Makaranda Dev	1849-52	1848-53
Chandrashekar Dev	1852-65	1853-65
Jogendra Dev	1865-77	1865-78
Jagadindra Dev	1877-85	1878-85
Fanindra Dev	1885-95	1885-95
Prasanna Dev	1895- (1920+)	1895- (1936+)



Photo 3 . Border fence and road, Haldibari-Chilahati border crossing. Boundary with Bangladesh is 150 yards to the right (south) of the fence.



Photo 4. Indian watchtower viewed from Dahagram.



Photo 5. Bangladeshi Dahagram-Angarpota enclave #27 & 28, boundary pillar 9/395  
Looking west from Mekhliganj-Tin Bigha road in India



Photo 6. Panbari BDR post at Tin Bigha looking east from Tin Bigha gates.

খতিয়ান নং-৩২

১৫/০৭

কিস্তি : ১ম কিস্তি    কাল : ১৯৯৯    খানা : ১৫০১১১১    বোমা : ১৫০১১১১    জে.এ.নং : ১৫০১১১১    জে.স.নং : ১৫০১১১১

ক্রমিক ক্রম বা উত্তরাধিকারের নাম ও ঠিকানা	আবস্থা	খানা নং	খতিয়ান শ্রেণী				মুদ্রিত মোট পরিমাণ	মুদ্রিত মোট আদায়িত্বের আংশ	আংশদারী খতিয়ান		মুদ্রিত মোট আদায়িত্বের আংশ
			কৃষি (এক)	অকৃষি (এক)	এতদ শাসন (এক)	শাসন (এক)			ক্রমিক	শাসন	
১ - মাটির ক	২০০	২২৭ ২২৮	২৪৮	১৫০১				২০০	২২৮	১৫০১	
২ - মাটির ক											
৩ - মাটির ক											
৪ - মাটির ক											

**অনিয়ত**

১৫/০৭/১৫

১৫/০৭/১৫

১৫/০৭/১৫

(Photo 7: Khatian (Parcha) given to the former enclave dwellers)



Photo 8. Researcher with people while collecting data in Shalbari enclave at Shalbari enclave



Photo 9. Main road of Dahala Khagrabari



Photo 10. Electric pole with hanging wire



Photo 11. Fake school at Dahala Khagrabari enclave



Photo 12. Fake school in name of Bangabandhu at Dahala Khagrabari



Photo 13. Bir Moktuzodda Shirajul Islam Shonga at Putimari enclave



Photo 14. Part of main road of Dahala Khagrabari



Photo 15. Main road of Shalbari enclave



Photo 16. Struggling for teaching permission at Dahala Kahagrabari enclave instead of performing well





Photo 17: Struggling for teaching permission at Dahala Kahagrabari enclave instead of performing well



Photo-18 : Main road of Shalbari Enclave



Photo-19: Shalbari Bir Muktizodda Advocate shirajul Islam College which cannot launch academic activities due to political haste