

**NEPALESE ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE FORMATION OF  
DARJEELING HILL COUNCIL**

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***MANTHIANCHING***



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**DECLARATION**

I declare that this dissertation entitled “NEPALESE ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE FORMATION OF DARJEELING HILL COUNCIL” submitted by me for the award of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any Other University.

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To my

mummy and papa

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*For all the errors and omissions in this works, I am solely to be held responsible*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AIGL	All India Gorkha League
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
DDCC	Darjeeling District Congress Committee
DGHC	Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council
DGS	Dooars Gorkha Sabha
GHC	Gorkha Hill Council
GNLF	Gorkha National Liberation Front
GJM	Gorkha Janmukti Morcha
GLO	Gorkha Liberation Organization
GTA	Gorkha Territorial Administration
GVC	Gorkha Volunteer Cells
LRM	Lepcha Right Movement
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
SMS	Short Messages Services



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## CHAPTER- 1

### INTRODUCTION

Darjeeling district lies in the State of West Bengal between 26° 31' to 27° 13' North latitude and between 87°59' and 88°53' East longitude<sup>1</sup>. In the north it shares boundary with Sikkim and on the South by Bihar and touches two international boundaries, the Eastern boundary with Bhutan is separated by a river known as Jaldhaka and on the Western side with the Nepal it is separated by Singalila range and the Mechi River<sup>2</sup>. The name of Darjeeling is taken from the word Dorjeling which is the place where the Bhuddhist monastery is located on the observatory hills.<sup>3</sup>

Today, Darjeeling district consist of three hill sub-divisions-Darjeeling Sadar, Kurseong, Kalimpong and Siliguri which is in the Terai region.<sup>4</sup> The geographical landscape is best describes by Joseph Hooker's who stated that, "behind, the Himalayas rise in steep confused masses. Below, ranges, as far as the eye can reach east and west, throw spurs on to the plains of India. These are very thickly wooded, and enclose broad, dead- flat, hot and damp valley. Terai district form a very irregular belt, scantily clothed, and intersected by innumerable rivulets from the hills, which unite and divide again on the flat, till, emerging from the region of many trees, they enter the plains, following devious courses, which glister like silver threads. The whole horizon is bounded by the sea-like expanse of the plain which stretch away into the region sunshine and fine weather, in one boundless flat."<sup>5</sup>

Darjeeling is a mosaic of different community comprising of different ethnic groups. The ethnic groups were mostly belonging to Mongoloid origin of various Nepalese castes, Lepchas, Bhutias and Tibetans.<sup>6</sup> In the Darjeeling hills, the Lepchas were

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<sup>1</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, *Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.3

<sup>2</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalese in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*, New Delhi: K. M. Mittal, p.11

<sup>3</sup>Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.66

<sup>4</sup> Kar, Chiranjib K. (1991), *Sub- regional movement in India a case study: Political history of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling district*, Calcutta: Bidhan Abasan, p.4

<sup>5</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, *Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.4

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.50

considered to be the original inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> The Nepalese also migrated to Darjeeling hills from the neighbouring country of Nepal during and after the British rule. Today, the Nepalese form the predominant group followed by the Bhutias, Lepchas and other smaller communities. The Nepalese who became the majority in the region could even demand a separate autonomy called “Gorkhaland” on the basis of their distinct ethnic identity and for the preservation of their distinct language and culture.

Thus, for a better understanding of Darjeeling hills it is necessary to look into the detail accounts of the historical development:-

### **FORMATION OF DARJEELING DISTRICT**

Before 1780, Darjeeling was under the rule of the Raja of Sikkim. During this time Gorkhas from Nepal tried to capture and on 1780 it came under the Gorkhas rule. A war broke out in between Nepal and the East India Company in 1814 because the East India Company were busy in expanding its colonial power and at the same time King Prithvi Narayan Shah from Nepal also tries to expand his Kingdom. It is also known as the Anglo- Gorkha war and in this war the Gorkha were defeated. This has led to the signing of the Treaty of Sugauli in 1815.<sup>8</sup> According to the Treaty of Sugauli, Nepal has to give back all the Territories acquired from Sikkim. The whole country between the Mechi and Tista, over 4000 sq. miles was given back to the Raja of Sikkim and a Treaty known as Titalaya was signed in 1817 between the Raja of Sikkim and the East India Company.<sup>9</sup> According to this Titalaya Treaty, the Company assumed the position of the paramount power in Sikkim.<sup>10</sup> When the Governor General Lyod visited in 1829 he was impressed with the cool climate of Darjeeling for a health resort as well as its location for carrying out trade because it is an entrance into Nepal and Bhutan.<sup>11</sup> After negotiation with the Raja of Sikkim, Darjeeling was acquired by the East India Company in 1835, Kalimpong was annexed from Bhutan in 1865, The East India Company also annexed the Terai region which

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 55

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix- 1 of the Treaty of Sugauli in 1815.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix- 2 of the Treaty of Titalaya in 1817

<sup>10</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907) Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, *Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.24

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p.26

included Siliguri from Sikkim in 1850.<sup>12</sup> This is how the present district of Darjeeling is formed.

## DEVELOPMENT OF DARJEELING

After Darjeeling came under the British rule there was an increase in population. In 1835 it was reported that there were 100 populations.<sup>13</sup> When the first Census of India was conducted in 1872, it was reported that the population has increase to 94,712.<sup>14</sup> During the British rule many Nepalese migrated to Darjeeling.<sup>15</sup>

TABLE No.1

Caste and Population in 1931 in Darjeeling<sup>16</sup>

Castes	% in the District	% in the Hill sub- divisions	% in Siliguri Terai
Muslims	2.3	0.6	7.7
Scheduled Castes	13.5	1.1	52.7
Plains Hindus	10.4	3.4	32.9
Nepalis	67.6	87.8	6.2
Other Hillmen	5.3	7.0	0.0
Others	0.9	1.0	0.5

Source: Tanka Bahadur, Subba: *The Quiet Hills: A Study of Agrarian Relations in Darjeeling Hills*

The above table shows that by the year 1931, Nepalese forms the dominant groups in Darjeeling Districts

<sup>12</sup> Bagchi, Rohmit (2012), *Gorkhaland: Crisis for Statehood*, New Delhi: Sage Publication India, p.9

<sup>13</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907) *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*, Government of West Bengal, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.43

<sup>14</sup> Dasgupta, Atis(1999), "Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy In Darjeeling," *Social Scientist*, 27(11/12): 51, p.51

<sup>15</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.75

<sup>16</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1985), *The Quiet Hills: A study of Agrarian relations in Hill Darjeeling*, New Delhi: ISPCK, p.16

Thus, the development or the increase in population of Darjeeling districts is due to various factors:-

## 1. Migration

Migration in Darjeeling was mainly from the country of Nepal. The Socio-Political and Economic conditions of Nepal during the 18<sup>th</sup> century played an important role for large scale migration of ethnic Nepalese to India. In Nepal, there was a practice of land tenure where the land belongs to the individual only till the payment of taxes i.e, a system of Land-Lordism was practiced where individual lost their land when they were unable to pay taxes, pressure of land due to an influx of population from India, deterioration of land and the Rana autocracy were the main factors for migration to India.<sup>17</sup> It is in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the coming of the Nepalese has begun in the area of Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas.<sup>18</sup> Thus, it is the lower castes of the Nepalese who migrated in large numbers rather than the upper castes. Among the migrated population it is the lower castes like the- Rais, Tamangs and Gurungs which forms the majority.<sup>19</sup>

## 2. Tea Industry

Tea industry was one of the most important factors for the large scale influx of the Nepalese in the Darjeeling districts. In Darjeeling, the plantation of tea was first introduced by Arthur D Campbell who was appointed as the Superintendent of Darjeeling at that time<sup>20</sup>. Campbell started experimenting the growth of tea in 1840. After tea plantation was carried out on an experimental plots, from the year 1856 the industry has began to develop extensively, especially on the lower slopes of the hills, because it was believed that the elevation of Darjeeling was too high for the tea plant to be very productive.<sup>21</sup> By the year 1856, tea industry was established as a commercial enterprise. With the introduction of the plantations of tea, there was a demand of labour for clearing the forest and opening out of land because the hills of

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<sup>17</sup> Kar, Chiranjib K. (1991), *Sub- regional movement in India a case study: Political history of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling district*, Calcutta: Bidhan Abasan, p.10-11

<sup>18</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*, New Delhi: K. M. Mittal, p.1

<sup>19</sup> Golay, Bidhan (2006), "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 2(1 & 2), p.37

<sup>20</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.91

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p.92

Darjeeling is covered with thick forest.<sup>22</sup> With the introduction of tea plantations there was a need for introducing machine as it is necessary for manufacturing tea. Tea has an impact in both the Demographic composition, Economic prosperity as well as for Industrial development in Darjeeling District. Due to the introduction of tea plantations there was an influx of Nepalese in search of job opportunity. Tea industry grew rapidly. Even within 10 years of the establishment of tea industry, there were no less than 39 gardens with 10,000 acres under cultivation. In 1870, there were 56 gardens with 11,000 acres under cultivation, employing 8000 labourers and yielding nearly 17000.lbs.<sup>23</sup> The increase in tea gardens, area of cultivation and the yielding of tea is shown in the table:-

TABLE NO. 2

Table showing numbers of Gardens, area of cultivation and outcome of tea in Darjeeling<sup>24</sup>

YEAR	NUMBERS OF GARDENS	AREA UNDER CULTIVATION IN ACRES	OUTTURN OF TEA IN lbs
1874	113	18,888	3,927,911
1885	175	88,499	9,090,298
1895	186	48,692	11,714,551
1905	148	50,618	12,447,471

Source: Malley, L.S.S.O Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta 2001

Thus, the above table shows increase in tea gardens and area under cultivations. In Darjeeling before the introduction of tea industry there was very less population and the people were mainly the animist Bhotias, Lepchas and Tibetan Buddhists but the population increases tremendously with the tea plantation.<sup>25</sup> With the development of tea industries it requires machine for processing the product, labour was needed to work in the tea gardens and proper means of transport is necessary. Thus, railway line

<sup>22</sup> Ibid , p 91

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.92

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.96

<sup>25</sup> Lacina, Bethany (2012), "India's Stabilizing segment States" , *Working paper*, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, p.10.

was also set opened for Darjeeling hills in the year 1881.<sup>26</sup> The opening of railway line also contributes to an increase in population.

### 3. Recruitment of the Gorkhas

The discourse of the Gorkhas martial race played a very important role for the British colonial power because qualities of the Gorkhas soldiers would help them for conquest and expansion of their powers.<sup>27</sup> After the British had an encounter with the Gorkhas in the Anglo-Gorkhas war and they proved the bravery, and strong qualities that the Gorkhas possess. Since the Gorkhas were brave the British were feared of the potentiality of the Gorkhas and considered danger to them. And so the British had the idea that the Gorkhas were to be kept under the supervision of the British Army.<sup>28</sup> On 15 May 1815, months before the Sugauli Treaty was signed, British General David Ochterlony signed an Agreement with the Nepalese Durbar for recruiting the Gorkhas into the East India Company's forces and so according to the Agreement, around 4650 Gorkha soldiers opted to join the British Army. Only those troops loyal to General Amar Singh Thapa and 583 soldiers in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's personal Army declined the invitation.<sup>29</sup>

The British had the policy of recruiting the most illiterate and the most remote regions of Nepal of whom they can keep under their control. The British recruited the Magars and Gurungs from East Nepal with an opinion that they "cease to be martial because intermarriage would lead to the intimation of their blood which carried military qualities."<sup>30</sup> The British India were very particular in their recruitment. According to Jeffrey, "Indians who were intelligent were labelled as cowards, while those defined as brave were uneducated and backward."<sup>31</sup> Thus by 1864, the British Government issued a charter providing for the Gorkha Regiment to be able to buy land for

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<sup>26</sup>Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, *Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta. p.37.

<sup>27</sup> Golay, Bidhan (2006), "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 2(1 & 2), p.29

<sup>28</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.56

<sup>29</sup>Sinha, Gokul (2006), *The Role of Gorkhas in the Making of Modern India*, Delhi: Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh, p.10

<sup>30</sup> Golay, Bidhan (2006), "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 2(1 & 2), p.31

<sup>31</sup> Greenhut, Jeffrey(1948), "Sahib and Sepoy : An inquiry into the relationship between officers and native soldiers of the British Indian Army", *Military Affairs*, 48(1), p. 15 - 16

settlement stations at Dharamshala, Dehradun, Almora, Gorakhpur, Shillong etc.<sup>32</sup> In Darjeeling the Gorkha recruitment depot was opened in 1890 and it continues to draw the attention of in and around Darjeeling and the neighbouring Nepal. By January 1904, nearly 57 per cent of the Indian Army came from Punjab, Nepal and the Frontier. Indian government continued to keep Gorkhas among the Indian army after it got Independent.

### POPULATION AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF DARJEELING DISTRICT

The Social composition of Darjeeling district changes as a result of immigration. There was an increase in population since 1872.

The table shows the increase in population since 1872:-

TABLE NO.3

Decennial population Growth in Darjeeling<sup>33</sup>

YEAR	POPULATION	DECADAL GROWTH	PERCENTAGE
1872	94,712	—	—
1881	1,55,179	60,467	64
1891	2,23,314	68,135	44
1901	2,49,117	25,803	12
1911	2,65,550	16,433	7
1921	2,82,748	17198	6
1931	3,19,635	36,887	13
1941	3,76,369	56,734	18
1951	4,59,617	83,248	23
1961	6,24,640	1,65,023	36
1971	7,81,777	1,57,137	26
1981	10,06,434	2,24,657	29

Source: Tanka Bahadur, Subba: *The Quiet Hills: A Study of Agrarian Relations in Darjeeling Hills*

<sup>32</sup> Golay, Bidhan (2006), "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 2(1 & 2), p. 33

<sup>33</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalese in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*, New Delhi: K. M. Mittal, p.12



The above table shows an increase in population in the district of Darjeeling where it is very high in 1881 ie, 64 % and started decreasing. But in 1981 it decreases to 29 %.

The census of 1891 shows that out of the district population of 2,23,314, there were 88,000 born from Nepal excluding those whose parents or grandparents were born in Nepal and in 1901, it was found that 61 per cent of the population was of Nepalese origin, 27 per cent were tribes and Scheduled caste mainly from the plains of India while the Bhutias and Tibetans form 3 percent and 1 percent of the total population and the remaining 4 per cent was made from the people belonging to upper Hindu Castes, Muslims and others.<sup>34</sup>

In 1931, ethnic Nepalese including the Sherpas and Limbus formed about 52 per cent, the Scheduled Caste and Tribes formed about 21 percent, Lepchas and the Sikkimese Tibetans about 4 per cent, Bhutanese about 1 per cent and Tibetans about 1 per cent of the population and the rest 21 per cent of the population comprises of the Upper Hindu Castes, Muslims and others.<sup>35</sup> In 1941, it was found that 67.6 per cent of the population belongs to the Nepalese.<sup>36</sup> According to 1991 census, in Darjeeling hills, ethnic Nepalese constitute about 49.07 per cent and Lepchas constitute only 38.31 per cent. Thus, the ethnic composition of Darjeeling hills is dominated by the immigrants Nepalese. The original inhabitants Lepchas and the Bhutias form the minority.

After migration from various neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and the adjoining areas, Darjeeling districts becomes a multi- ethnic group with different cultures consisting of the Lepchas, Bhutias, Limbus, Nepalese, and the Plainsmen consisting of Bengalis, Biharis and Marwaris. The ethnic composition of various communities and their profile are:-

### **1. Lepchas**

The Lepchas are the original inhabitants of Darjeeling hills and the area of Sikkim. The Lepchas called themselves as 'Mayel Lyang' or the 'Abode of the Gods'. The Lepchas prefer to be called as 'Rong' or 'Mutanchi Rongkup' meaning 'beloved sons

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<sup>34</sup> West Bengal District Gazetteers 1980 March, p.102

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p.103

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.102

of the mother of creation.<sup>37</sup> The word Lepchas means people of vile speech. According to the Lepchas, man was the last creations created by God. Man was created out of the snow in the mighty valley of 'Kanchenjanga'. The Lepchas believe that they are the indigenous people of Darjeeling and Sikkim, the very primordial people of the world and whose origin is as old as the Himalayas<sup>38</sup> Formerly, the Lepchas constitute all the hilly areas of Darjeeling and Sikkim. But, they were invaded by the Tibetans. The Lepchas were timid, peaceful and no brawlers, disliking fixed employment and were happy when they were in their native woods. They were born naturalists and have separate names for bird, plant, orchid and butterfly. With the introduction of settled cultivation and reservation of forests, they had to give up their old nomadic cultivation, and have lost most of their jungle crafts.<sup>39</sup> The Lepchas never constitute a dominant group due to their lower population as compare to the other groups.<sup>40</sup>

## 2. Bhutias

The Bhutias are either the immigrants from Tibet or the descendants of immigration from various parts of Tibet. "Literally, it designates someone who lives in Bhot. The term Bhot comes from the Sanskrit words 'Bhotah' which derives from Bod, the Tibetan name for Tibet. A Bhotia is therefore, quite simply a Tibetan".<sup>41</sup> The Sanskritic speaking races of India have accordingly called the inhabitants of this region Bhotias. But Bhotia is not just a single tribe but a combination of various tribes. The Bhotias of Darjeeling mainly consists of four classes. The four classes were- Sikkimese Bhotias who were a mixed race of both Tibetans and the Lepchas, Sherpa Bhotias from east of Nepal, Drukpa from Bhutan and Tibetan Bhotias from Tibet. In Darjeeling district the great majority of the first class, which numbers 1,550, are found in and around Darjeeling, of the second, which numbers 3,450, to the West of the district, while the third class, which numbers 2,350, is practically confined to

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<sup>37</sup>Chakraborty, Kaustav(2013), "Humming the Natural: Nurturing of Nature in Selected Lepcha Folksongs", *Indian Journal of research*, 3(5), p.6

<sup>38</sup>Tamsang, K. P. (1983), *The unknown and untold reality about the Lepchas*, Hongkong: Lyangsong Tamsang, Hongkong , p.10

<sup>39</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.55

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.56

<sup>41</sup>Charles, Ranble (1995), "Himal Himalayan", *Magazine*, 6 (5), 17

Kalimpong, where they are the descendants of the Bhutanese who were settled on the land at the time of the annexation in 1865.<sup>42</sup>

Though the Bhutias and the Lepchans often had a conflict between them but after the coming of the Nepalese in the districts, in spite of having many primordial differences the Bhutias and the Lepchas united to fight against the Nepalese. This has been rightly described as 'negative solidarity.'<sup>43</sup>

### 3. Nepalese

The Nepalese were the dominant race in Darjeeling as well as in Sikkim. "The Nepalese are a capable, cheerful and alert people, and are essentially a virile race. Though they were quick-tempered and keen to resent injustice, they are remarkably willing and loyal, if treated with consideration. Born cultivators, resourceful and hard-working, they have fought the Lepcha aborigines much in the way of agriculture, and, with their greater thrift and industry, they have managed to supplant the later and secure most of the best agriculture land in the district".<sup>44</sup>

Various Nepalese Castes are well represented in the district and majority of the Caste belongs to Khambus and Murmis. The Khambus are a Caste living on the Southern spurs of the Himalayas, whose home is in the Eastern portion of Nepal and their religion is partly Lamaist Buddhism and partly Hinduism. The Murmis were a Mongolian or Semi-Mongolian Caste claim to be the earliest settlers of Nepal. They were descended from a Tibetan stock and modified by intermixture with Nepalese race. They bear the title of Lama. Gradually, they started adopting the Nepalese form of Hinduism, and Buddhist usages are on the decline. The next most numerous Nepalese Caste is the Limbus whose title is known as Subba and they were originally from the Eastern part of Nepal. The Limbus Caste and the Lepchas were marrying each other. The other numerous Castes are the Khas or Chettri, the Mangars and the Gurungs. Another Nepalese Caste in Darjeeling is that of the Newars originally semi-aborigines who were the ruling race of Nepal until ousted by the Gurkhas.

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<sup>42</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, *Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.57

<sup>43</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), "Inter-Ethnic relationship in North East India and the Negative Solidarity Thesis," *Man in India*, 72(2), p.153-163

<sup>44</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, *Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p.51

## LANGUAGE

Darjeeling district is composed of multi ethnic with different languages. Nepali was very popular in the hilly areas of Darjeeling hills. It was spoken by majority of the population in Darjeeling hills. Nearly half of the people speak the languages of Tibeto- Burman family, Tibetan is spoken by the Bhotias domiciled in the Darjeeling Hills, Lepchas to some extent speak their native Lepchs, Limbu is also a common dialect, Plainsmen in Darjeeling speak Hindustani and in the Terai tea gardens Oraon, Mundari and Santhali are spoken by the coolies from the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Though the Nepali in Nepal speaks different dialect but in Darjeeling the Nepali speaks a common language. Nearly one-fifth of the population speak Khas ie, Nepali Hindi.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the Newari, Gurung, Limbu etc have not adopted Bengali, even the Lepchas whose mother tongue is Ring- rong, identified themselves as the Nepalese.<sup>46</sup>

## RELIGION

There are different forms of religion in Darjeeling hills such as Buddhist, Hinduism, Animistic beliefs and Christianity is spreading too. Hinduism is the dominant form of religion and is followed by animistic beliefs. Hinduism is spreading at the expense of Buddhism. Even Christianity is prevalent today. In 1829, General Lyod had the opinion that the people in Darjeeling Hills in future may prefer Christianity to the Lama religion but his hope was doomed to disappointment.<sup>47</sup> In 1841, the first attempt to introduce the doctrines of Christianity among the Hill tribes was made by Mr. Stuart, a Baptist missionary. But the real beginning of Christian mission's enterprise on an organized scale has been made in 1870.<sup>48</sup>

## DARJEELING AFTER BRITISH RULE

Darjeeling underwent several changes over the years. So much influx and settlement has occurred in the district. Different communities have migrated in the district along with their culture and traditions. Now, Darjeeling is a mosaic of various ethnic groups having different culture and traditions. Darjeeling hills consist of the Lepchas,

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p.59

<sup>46</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.79

<sup>47</sup> Malley, L.S.S.O. (1907) , *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, Government of West Bengal*, Department of Higher Education, Calcutta, p. 63

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 64

Bhutias, Nepalese and several other communities. The original inhabitants were the Lepchas and after that the Bhutias migrated to the district. The Nepalese who migrated becomes the dominant group. According to H. H. Risley, in the Gazetteer of Sikkim 1894 he wrote that, "The Lepchas are rapidly dying out while from the West, the industrious Gurkhas of Nepal are pressing forward. Here also religion will play a leading part in Sikkim as in India, Hinduism will assuredly cast out Buddhism and implement of the Brahmin. The land will follow the creed. Thus race and religion will settle the Sikkim difficult for us in their own way."<sup>49</sup> Nepali religion, language and culture became the dominant in the district of Darjeeling even today.

No doubt, the Nepalese were the dominant group in Darjeeling. But there was a consciousness of one's ethnic identity arising out when different ethnic group lives together in a common social environment. The dominant ethnic Nepalese demanded a separate administrative unit since 1907 when the Hills men's of Darjeeling submitted a memorandum to Minto- Morley reforms for a separate administrative set up.<sup>50</sup> Deprivation from inequality, lack of control of resources, and the anxiety of various ethnic groups to preserve its socio-cultural identity were the main motive force for the demand of a separate state. The Nepalese were fear that the dominant Bengali culture will influence them and it would submerged into the Bengali culture like the Rajbhanshi cases in West Bengal, because Bengalis not only have political control over them but the economic and cultural resources in West Bengal were under their control.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, discrimination against ethnic groups by the state and the dominant nation or nationality in the field of economic opportunity, civil rights and political privileges can be the main factors for the rise of the consciousness of one's ethnic identity and led to the demand of a separate autonomy. The distinct ethnic identity with lack of infrastructural development, power shortages, declined in tea industry that is the main principle source of livelihood, pressure of land and lack of resources, degradation of land due to continuous migration and environmental factors, non-representation of the Nepalese in the political sphere of West Bengal, social deprivation compared to the

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<sup>49</sup>Risley, H.H. (1972), "*Bengal Secretariat Press Calcutta, 1894, Report*," New Delhi: Manjushri, p. 21

<sup>50</sup>Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), "Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation" Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.4

<sup>51</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.108

majority ethnic groups of West Bengal and economic deprivation were the main reasons that led to the marginalization of the Nepalese in Darjeeling and further add to demand for a separate “Gorkhaland”.

After the Hillmen’s Association demanded a separate politico administrative set up for the Nepalese in 1907 the demand got rejected by the British Government. The All India Gorkha League after six years of its inception in 1949 started demanding the creation of a separate provincial legislature called “Uttarakhand” consisting of Darjeeling district and its surrounding areas. The All India Gorkha League was not successful in its demand. Another party known as the Communist Party of India on 6 April 1947 submitted a memorandum to the Government of India for the creation of “free Gorkhasthan in free India.” The idea of “Gorkhasthan” was dropped by the Communist Party of India after the partition of India on 1947. They started demanding autonomy but this too failed in its demand. The Pranta Parishad formed in April 1980 started demanding “Gorkhaland” based on the Nepalese identity but was not successful in its demand. The Gorkha National Liberation Front started demanding a separate state and it led to the creation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council on 22 August 1988. But this does not stop the demand for “Gorkhaland” as the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and its supporter resurfaces the demand for the creation of “Gorkhaland” and negotiated again with Gorkha Territorial Agreement on 18 July 2011. The demand for “Gorkhaland” based on the distinct ethnic identity did not stop and continues to resurfaces time and again.

Thus, Ethnic identity plays an important role in bringing about Social mobility of a community on which interaction takes place between various ethnic groups. It provides a sense of solidarity associated with a sense of marginalization and in turn leads to upward mobility in the society. The study will focus on how ethnic identity gets politicized and lead to collective political action when nationalist statist ideas develop within the group.

Various studies have been conducted on the issue of Nepalese but not much work has been done on the present context. So this study would like to trace the Nepalese migration to India and the present context for the search of autonomy in the Darjeeling Hills of West Bengal. The Gorkhas residing in India, in particular those residing in the Darjeeling district demanded a separate State called “Gorkhaland”. The

Nepalese tried to assert their identity with the development of consciousness of their distinct ethnic identity. Any social group develops its identity through a process called consciousness of a kind. It is in respect to other groups, that a particular group distinguishes itself from others and thereby asserts its own identity. And this study is to identify how Nepalese in India assert their identity and demanded a separate "Gorkhaland".

Migration contributes to the formation of plural societies which consist of two or more ethnic groups living together in the same geographical environment. When different ethnic groups, religion or culture live together in the same social environment they pass through a process of contact, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation in the process of social interaction which get reflected in their social, economic, cultural and political set up. This is the situation happening in the Indian context.

Being the most developed of all South Asian countries; India has been attracted and has become the most sought after destination by the immigrants from neighbouring countries. Due to its open and porous border, migration was easy between Nepal and India and there are no natural barriers that separated them between the borders of the two countries as it is located within the Terai region. There is a strong familial linkages such as the similarity in religion i.e, Hindu religion and also with the practice of caste system. Geographical contiguity, socio- cultural similarity that is prevailing within the two countries, political linkages and historical reasons has left the Indo-Nepal borders vulnerable to migration. In due course there are so many Nepali migrants and the Indian government accommodated and were a part of the Indian Citizens and even within the VIII Scheduled of the Indian constitution the language Nepali was included. But problem arise when the Nepali in India try to assert their Nepali Identity and started demanding a separate State because they felt that ethnic Nepalese were deprived Economically, Politically and Socially. The Gorkha National Liberation Front in Darjeeling illustrates this tendency though they claim that the purpose was to protect the interests and rights of Indian Gorkhas and the problem still continue even till today. There was formation of Darjeeling Hill Council to look at the matters of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling hills based on an Agreement. And the study would like to trace the Social, Political and Economic conditions of Darjeeling hills

and the working of the various projects and development in consonance with the agreement between the Gorkhas and the Government.

Following from the above rationale and scope of study, the research seeks to answer some pertinent questions. What are the causes and consequences of Migration of Nepalese in the Darjeeling hills of West Bengal? How does politicization of ethnicity take place? What were the factors behind the rise of ethnic consciousness among the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills? What explains the nature of assertion of ethnic identity of the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills? How the Nepali does in due course adapted to Darjeeling hills in terms of its Social, Political and Economic terms? Has the formation of separate autonomous unit met the aims and objectives of the “Gorkhaland” movement?

Taking into consideration of the above mentioned research questions, the research attempts to find out two hypotheses. Firstly, the formation of ethnic identity emerges as a result of socio-political and economic deprivation in Darjeeling hills. Secondly, Nepalese ethnicity is used as a tool for demanding political autonomy by the “Gorkhaland” movement leaders.

The study would focus on the Social, Political and Economic status of the ethnic Nepalese in Darjeeling hills, the study attempts to generate a broader understanding of the patterns of adaptation of the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills of West Bengal. The study will use primary and secondary sources. The primary sources consist of various Government documents and reports, press statements and interviews. The secondary sources are books, articles, journals, published and unpublished research works by various scholars. The method underlying the study is inductive and it will be historical, analytical and descriptive in nature.

This research begins by discussing the Political, Social and Economic background of the development of Darjeeling hills and it will also discuss on the problems of Darjeeling hills during and after the British rule in the first chapter. The formation of Nepalese ethnic identity and the various theories and concepts associated with ethnic identity will be highlighted in the second chapter along with the development of the consciousness of ethnic identity among the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills. It will also explain on how ethnicity is used as a tool for the demand of political autonomy. And the third chapter will focus on the various movement associated with the demand of



“Gorkhaland”. It will also analyze on the politicization of ethnicity among the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills. The fourth chapter will focus on the Social, Political and Economic status of the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills. It also analyzes the formation and working of Darjeeling Hill Council. In the fifth chapter the functions of Darjeeling Hill Council and how far the demands were fulfilled by the State will be highlighted. The chapter examines the Darjeeling Hill Council as well as the Gorkha Territorial Administration that came up after the formation of Darjeeling Hill Council. Lastly, the chapter would conclude with the observations and congregate the assessments of each chapter, whether the formation of political units met the socio-economic and political demands of the Gorkhas.

## CHAPTER- 2

### FORMATION OF NEPALESE ETHNIC IDENTITY

#### DEFINITION OF ETHNICITY

The term ethnicity is derived from the Greek word “ethnos” which is known as Nation.<sup>52</sup> From the 14<sup>th</sup> century till the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term ethnicity is known as “ethnikos” meaning “heathen” or “pagan.”<sup>53</sup> Oxford English dictionary defines the term “ethnicity” and “ethnic” as follows- “ethnicity- heathendom, heathen superstition, ethnic- nation especially non Israelitish Gentile nation.”<sup>54</sup> The first usage of the concept of ethnicity is attributed to an American Sociologist David Reisman in 1953.<sup>55</sup> The concept itself is not new, nor was the phenomenon new or unrecognised previously; it was nearly labelled differently.<sup>56</sup> Herodotus is the first to use the main characteristics of ethnicity. He defines in terms of Greek Identity- Kinship, Language, Cults and Customs. From the mid- fourteenth century and till the mid- nineteenth century, it is refers mainly to the “racial” characteristics.<sup>57</sup> In everyday language, the word ethnicity is used for referring minority issues and race relations; but in Social Anthropology it is refers to aspect of relationship between groups which consider themselves, and are recognised themselves, and are regarded by others as being culturally distinctive<sup>58</sup> “Ethnicity no longer appears as primordial phenomenon but it is used to refer to the destabilizing, potentially revolutionary force that threatened to disintegrate the peaceful existence of a state.”<sup>59</sup> Gerald Barreman defines ethnicity as,

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<sup>52</sup> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ethnic>

<sup>53</sup> <http://folk.uio.no/geirthe/Ethnicity.html>

<sup>54</sup> The compact edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, Vol.1, Oxford Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, UK, 1971

<sup>55</sup> Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (1997), “Ethnicity, Race and Nation” in Montserrat Guibernau et.al (eds.) *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, United States of America: Blackwell Publishers, p.33

<sup>56</sup> Dov, Ronen (1986), “Ethnicity Politics and Development: An introduction” in Dennis L.Thompson & D. Ronen(eds.) *Ethnicity, Politics and Development*, New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, p.2

<sup>57</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic\\_nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_nationalism)

<sup>58</sup> Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (1997), “Ethnicity, Race and Nation” in Montserrat Guibernau et.al (eds.) *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, (Blackwell Publishers, USA, p.34

<sup>59</sup> Thompson, Dennis L & Ronen, Dov (1986), *Ethnicity, Politics and Development*, United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers, p.4

“one level of social stratification or social inequality that also includes race, class, kinship, age, status, caste and gender.”<sup>60</sup>

Paul Brass defines ethnic group as any group of people dissimilar from other people in terms of objective cultural criteria and containing within its membership either in principle, the elements for a complete division of labour for reproduction forms.<sup>61</sup> In the Encyclopaedia of Nationalism, ethnicity is defined as an “ethnic group as a collective within a larger society which has a real or imagined common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, a cultural focus upon one or more of the following: area of origin, language, religion, nationality, kinship patterns, physical appearances such as skin colour.”<sup>62</sup> The various definitions show that the term ethnicity connotes different meaning.

## **SOME TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH ETHNICITY**

### **I. Ethnicity and Racism**

The term ethnicity and race does not have a static definition and is often used interchangeably. But the two terms had different meanings and its usage vary from place to place. In a common parlance, the term racial group is used to refer to a group of people who are believed to share a similar biological descent, which are usually identified in terms of the skin colour, structure of the nose or any particular form of the body. It may lack a scientific validity as a category but the difference between races is due to our social construction. Though race is assumed to be biological but in today's world it is used to prove a superiority or inferiority in a group hierarchy for examples, the blacks were consider to be inferior as compared to the whites. Racism is used in the form of ideology. Roger Ballard therefore used in two contradictory ways:-

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<sup>60</sup>Barreman, Gerald D. (1881), “Social Inequality: A cross- cultural approach”. In Gerrald D, Barreman (eds) *Social inequality: Comparative and Development approaches*. New York: Academic Press, p. 3-40

<sup>61</sup> Brass, Paul R. (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparisons*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p.19

<sup>62</sup> Leoussi, Athena S. (2001), “*Encyclopaedia of Nationalism*,” Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, p. 69-70.

(i) Race can be used for referring the common genetic characteristics of humankind such as the human race.

(ii) Race can also be used for highlighting the differences of homo- sapiens like 'the European race' or 'African race'.<sup>63</sup>

Ernst Renan gives the different approaches for the study of race. He mentions that for the historian race has to do with something which is 'made and unmade', for the anthropologist and zoologist it connotes to 'descent or blood relationship', and for politics it is of less importance because "the instinctive consciousness which presided over the construction of the map of Europe took no account of race, and the leading nations of Europe are nations of mixed blood."<sup>64</sup>

Ethnicity on the other hand is used to refer to the cultural identity of a group from a nation state. Ethnicity is distinguished by a variety of characteristics, as a single or combination. For example people speaking the same language, profess the same religion, living together in the same geographical environment, similar origin, kinship etc, which are cultural in character are considered to belong to the same ethnic groups. Roger Ballard argued that ethnic consolidation is because of "the articulation of the cultural and economic competition and not a product of the difference between cultures"<sup>65</sup>. In relationship between groups identified as races there is more likely to be dominant-subordinate relationship in which members of other race are subordinate and stigmatised but relation between people identified as members of an 'ethnic group', they tend to be competitive in character.<sup>66</sup> With reference to Great Britain and United States, Wallman, gives an example of the term race and ethnicity. In Britain the term ethnicity connotes Race but in America race is mostly used to refer to colour and ethnics as the descendants of relatively recent immigrants from non- English speaking countries.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Ballard, Roger (2002), "Race, Ethnicity and Culture" in Martin Holborn (eds) *New Directions in Sociology*, Ormskirk: Causeway, p. 3

<sup>64</sup>Ernest, Renan (1990), "What is Nation?" In Homi K. Bhabha (eds.) *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge, p. 8-21

<sup>65</sup>Ballard, Roger (2002), "Race, Ethnicity and Culture" in Martin Holborn (eds) *New Directions in Sociology*, Ormskirk: Causeway, p.28

<sup>66</sup> Oomen, T.K. (1997), "Citizenship, Nationality and Ethnicity: Reconciling Identities," United Kingdom: Polity press, p.58

<sup>67</sup> Wallman, S. (1977), "Ethnicity research in Britain", *Current Anthropology*, 18(3), p.531-532.

## II. Ethnicity and Nation

About 200 years ago, the term nation is coined in German by a philosopher name Herber and in French by Abbe Barruel.<sup>68</sup> Craig Coulhourm gives the different meanings of ethnicity “in modern era it is used to refer to a group of people with co-residence or common socio-cultural connotations in struggle between States and over State- building but in modern times nationalism has become the pre- eminent discursive form for modern claims of political autonomy and self- determination.<sup>69</sup> Anthony Giddens define nation as a group having a proper territory and where sovereignty is claimed.<sup>70</sup>

The concept of nationality is often linked to ethnicity among members of a group. Among member of a certain groups there is a minimal difference between the term ethnicity and nation. The nation predicates continuity with the past and common descent and this is how ethnicity is brought into nationalism.<sup>71</sup> Urmila Phadnis argued that “ethnic group has been primarily restricted to a ‘quasi-national kind of ‘minority group’ within the State which has somehow not achieved the status of a nation.”<sup>72</sup>

The term nation is derived from the Latin, meaning a social grouping based on real or fancied community of birth or race and in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century it includes territory, culture, language and history.<sup>73</sup> The term nation has been used by different scholars in different ways. According to Ernest Barker, “A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history; who on the whole and in the main, though more in the past than in the present, include in that common stock a common religious belief, who generally and as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings, and who besides common thoughts and feelings, also cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate state for the expression and

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<sup>68</sup> Calhourm, Craig (1993), “Nationalism & Ethnicity”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19, p. 211- 239

<sup>69</sup> Ibid p. 213

<sup>70</sup> Giddens. Anthony (1984), *The Nation State and Violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Berkeley, p.116

<sup>71</sup> Guibernau, Monserrat & Rex, John (1997), “*The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*,” United States of America: Blackwell Publishers, p.5

<sup>72</sup> Phadnis, Urmila & Ganguli, Rajat (2001), *Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.19

<sup>73</sup> Rejai, Mostafa & Enloe, Cynthia H. (1969), “Nation- States and State- Nations”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 13(2), p.140- 158

realization of that will.”<sup>74</sup> Karl, W. Deutsch define nation as a result of transformation of a people or of several elements in the process of social mobilization.<sup>75</sup>

Thus, from this definition it is clear that for a nation to exist, an independent State is necessary it is through which the members develop a consciousness of belonging to a group in one or the other criteria of objectives or interest. An ethnic group develop within, transforms itself into a nation when political and statist ideas develop within it. According to Hans Kohn, “Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness.”<sup>76</sup> Byod Shafer also accepted nationalism “as a sentiment or emotion that binds a group of people with a real or imagined historical experience and common aspirations to live a separate and distinct group. This sentiment, he has noted- expresses itself in loyalty to the nation- state whatever the government, in love of native land, however, little known, in pride in common culture and economic and social institution though these may not be understood, in preference for fellow nationals in contrast to disregard for members of other group, and in zeal not only for group security but for glory and expansion.”<sup>77</sup> Thus, the relationship between nation or nationalism and ethnicity is coincidental.

### III. Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity

A further problem for the theory of ethnicity is posed by the definition of what an ethnic identity is? Identity is a marker of differentiation from others. Identity can be explained both in terms of the biological or sociological approach. It may provide a definition of an interpretation of the self that establish what and where the person is in both a social and biological understanding.<sup>78</sup> Identity helps the individual to produce order in his or her own individual life. It also helps that individual to place within a group or involves ‘identification’ with a collectivity.<sup>79</sup> In other terms ethnic identity is formed as a result of “elite completion within the boundaries determined by political

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p.19-20

<sup>75</sup> Deutsch, Karl W. (1961), “Social Mobilization and Political Development”, *American Political Science Review*, 53 (B), p.493

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p.21

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p.22

<sup>78</sup> Guibernau, Monserrat (1996), *Nationalism: The Nation- State and Nationalism the twentieth Century*, United States of America: Blackwell publishers Limited. p.72.

<sup>79</sup> Guibernau, Monserrat & Rex, John(1997), “*The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*,”. United States of America: Blackwell Publishers, p.4

and economic realities.”<sup>80</sup> Ethnicity gets politicized when there is competition for the use of limited resources or allocation of benefits between ethnic groups and it is more intense in the developing third world countries.<sup>81</sup> Thus, ethnic identity is often used as a tool for marking a differentiation of one ethnic group to the other ethnic group. For example the Gorkhas in Darjeeling demanded Statehood based on their distinct ethnic identity as against the Bengali identity in West Bengal.

As Anthony Cohen put it ‘ethnicity has come to be regarded as a mode of action and of representation; it refers to a decision people make to depict themselves or others symbolically as the bearer of a certain cultural identity.’<sup>82</sup> But, “the apparently monolithic or generalised character of ethnicity at the collective level does not preempt the continual reconstruction of ethnicity at a personal level”.<sup>83</sup>

## **APPROACHES FOR THE STUDY OF ETHNICITY**

There are two schools of thought for the study of ethnicity:-

### **1. The Primordialist School**

### **2. The Constructivist School**

#### **1. The Primordialist School**

According to the primordialist school, ethnic identity is a primordial construct and it is biologically given i.e, ethnicity is based upon descent.<sup>84</sup> “Ethnic group contribute the kinship network in which human individuals are born and become members of, thereby working to acquire with other group members, the group territory and objective cultural attributes such as language, race, religion, customs, traditions, food,

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<sup>80</sup> Brass, Paul R. (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparisons*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p.16

<sup>81</sup> Thompson, Dennis L & Ronen, Dov (1986), *Ethnicity, Politics and Development*, United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers, p.1

<sup>82</sup> Cohen, Anthony P (1994) *Self-consciousness: An alternative Anthropology of Identity*, London: Routledge, p.119

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, p.120

<sup>84</sup> Paul R. Brass “*Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*”, (Sage Publication, UK, 1991) Brass, Paul R. (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparisons*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p.70

dress and music. Thus, primordialism focuses their attention on the great emotional strength of ethnic bonds.”<sup>85</sup> Along with the objective of cultural markers, some primordialist, such as Glazer and Moynihan, also stress on “the psychological aspects of self and group- related feelings of identity distinctiveness and its recognition by others as crucial determinants of ethnic identity selection and its persistence”<sup>86</sup>. From psychological terms, John Rex gives three important factors for group creation:-

1. The emotional satisfaction or warmth that one gets from belonging to the group.
2. A shared belief in a myth of origin or history of the group is important because it sets boundaries of the group.
3. Finally, the members of the group must regard the social relations ie, acceptance, within which they live, as “sacred” and as including not merely the living but the death.<sup>87</sup>

From the primordialist perspectives, ethnic identity is a subjectively held sense of shared identity that is based on the objective cultural or regional criteria. It is also originated from the historical circumstances. Anthony Smith gives six bases or foundation for ethnic identity:-

1. A distinct group name in order to be recognised as a distinct community by both group members and outsiders
2. A shared belief by group members in the myth of common ancestry and descent.
3. The presence of historical memories among group members.
4. A shared culture (including dress, food, music, crafts, architecture, laws, customs and institutions, religion and language).
5. An attachment to a specific territory or ‘homeland’.
6. A sense of common solidarity. Commenting on the conditions which promote the formation and survival of an ethnic group.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> McKay. James (1982), “An exploratory synthesis of primordial and mobilization approaches in ethnic phenomena”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 5, Issue 4, p.397.

<sup>86</sup>Phadnis, Urmila & Ganguli, Rajat(2001), *Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.23

<sup>87</sup> Rex, John (1995), “Ethnic Identity and the Nation- State: The political sociology of Multi- Cultural societies,” *Social Identities*, 1(1) No.1, p.24-25



Smith noted that in pre- modern times the factors favoured for ethnic crystallization and survival are:- “the acquisition( or later, the loss) of a particular ‘ethnic homeland’, a history of armed struggle with various group enemies, some form of organised religion and a belief in the myth of ‘ethnic chosen’. But in the modern times, Smith concluded that, several important developments have promoted ethnic identity and solidarity, these include the increasing cultural and civic activities of the modern state, activities of intellectuals and intelligentsia within ethnic groups, and the development of the ideology of nationalism, particularly ethnic nationalism in contradiction to territorial or civic nationalism.”<sup>89</sup>

Edward Shils is of the opinion that ‘primordial ties’ is based on language, religion, race, ethnicity and territory. Proponents of this view claim that nations and ethnic communities are natural units of history and integral elements of the human experience.<sup>90</sup> Historically and Anthropologically, the human species from infant has never really belong to its immediate family: the child belongs, from its birth, to the larger cultural collectivity, whether a lineage, a clan, a tribe, a city- state, a nation or a national state.<sup>91</sup> Edward Shils, gives importance to ‘bounded territory’ and for him it is impossible for men to live without the primordial, ie, nations based on biological primordiality which is existed even before the onset of modernity in Europe.<sup>92</sup> He also define nation as a reality, a collectivity the referents of which are birth, in a specifically bounded territory, residence in that bounded territory or descent from persons resident in that territory.

The personality of the members developed with the participation and involvement within the cultural components of the group. Members of a particular group differentiate from non- members of the group in terms of its primordial characteristics. Ethnic communities attached within their groups and so they later associated within that particular group. The members of the group developed a loyalty towards the group and there was a consciousness which developed within the

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<sup>88</sup> Phadnis, Urmila & Ganguli, Rajat (2001), *Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.23

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p.24

<sup>90</sup> Smith, Anthony (1986), *The ethnic origins of Nations*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p.12

<sup>91</sup> Grosby, Steven (1996), “The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality”, in John Hutchinson and Anthony D.Smith (eds.) *Ethnicity*, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, p.51

<sup>92</sup> Shils, Edward. (1995), “Nation, Nationality, Nationalism and Civil Society,” in *Nation and Nationalism*, 1(1), p. 94.

group that later becomes the bases of their ethnic bonds. Thus, for the primordialists the most important characteristics are the ethnic group i.e., the utmost priority.

Paul Brass gives the complexity of the understanding of Primordial characteristics of ethnicity by giving examples:- In some modern industrial society some individual or groups develop attachment to their place of belongings such as using their own language and was not subsumed by other languages. But in some cases, members developed other languages to provide element in common with other linguistic groups.<sup>93</sup> For examples, the different linguistic groups in Darjeeling such as the Bhutias and Lepchas developed Nepali as a language that is not their own mother tongue. Brass, criticise the primordialist approach to ethnicity by stating that it is not the place of birth, native religion or mother tongue that defines ethnicity but it is a “belief in common descent” that define ethnicity.<sup>94</sup>

## 2. The Constructivist School

The constructivists approach stands opposed to the primordialists approach. Ethnicity is a social construction according to the constructivist approach. The school rejects the orthodox primordial phenomenon that the members of the school are biologically related group. For the constructivist approach, “ethnic attachments do not belong to the non- rational part of the human personality and, as such, are potentially destructive of civil society.”<sup>95</sup> According to the constructivists, shared descent is secondary and it can be manufactured and invented because it is shaped and not attached.

Benedict Anderson used the constructivist approach for understanding of a nation. According to Anderson, “nation is an imagined political community and both as an inherently limited and sovereign.”<sup>96</sup> He gives an example by stating that “human being has finite, elastic, boundaries, beyond which lies other nation. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for say,

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<sup>93</sup>Brass, Paul R. (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparisons*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p. 70

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p. 71

<sup>95</sup>Brass, Paul R. (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparisons*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, p.72

<sup>96</sup>Anderson, Benedict. (1991), *Imagined Communities: “Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism”*, United Kindom: Verson, p. 5

Christians to dream of a Christian planet.”<sup>97</sup> This shows that nation is not to be based on our primordial characteristics.

For Hobsbawm and Kertzer, ethnicity is not based on descent or kinship but it is something to do with a political concept which is often associated with nationalist and separatist movement. They define ethnicity as “a way of expressing a real sense of group identity which links the members of ‘we’ because it emphasizes their difference from ‘them’.”<sup>98</sup> He also gives an example of how ethnicity is constructed- “Slovak conflicts with Czechs, Croat conflicts with Serbs could not exist before 1918 when they were placed in the same states.”<sup>99</sup>

Thomas Hylland Eriksen points out that ethnicity as a social- cultural phenomenon and it has aspects of both meaning and politics. It is also a sort lived for Eriksen, “It may appear at our door step any time and vanish in a matter of seconds: for instance, my relationship with foreign students at the university has ethnic connotations and can thus be viewed as an ethnic relationship. They enter my office and go away; the duration of such an ethnic relationship can be less than half an hour. Similarly, my Pakistani- Norwegian grocer enters my life to a very limited degree, and, the ethnic aspect of our relationship is nearly negligible.”<sup>100</sup>

Regarding the naturalness of ethnic identity and its formation, Jan Penrose points out that, “The existence of nations is not a truth that human beings have discovered but a conceptualization of the world that we have created. Part of this creation is that it can be advanced convincingly as something ‘natural.’ By conceiving of nations as ‘natural’ and by promoting them as such processes of construction, of human intervention, are obscured and the motivations behind such constructions and removed from the realm of discussion. In this way, people whose motives have been fulfilled by a particular national construction are protected and people who have been disadvantaged are denied resources.”<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid, pp. 7

<sup>98</sup> Hobsawm, E.J & Kertzer, David J(1992), “Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today”, *Anthropology Today*, 8(1), p. 3-8

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p.5

<sup>100</sup> Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (1991), “Ethnicity Versus Nationalism”, *Journal of Peace Research*, 28 (3), p 263- 278

<sup>101</sup> Phadnis, Urmila & Ganguli, Rajat (2001), *Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.24

Max Weber is one who emphasizes on the social construction of an ethnic identity. For him ethnic identity or ethnic groups are, “a human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or birth, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely; it does not matter whether an objective blood relation exists”<sup>102</sup>

Charles Keyes approach to ethnic identity and group formation is not on the biological or primordial characters. He first distinguishes about the two types of descent groups:-

1. Social descent and
2. Genetic descent.

Social descent refers to a process of kin selection through which human beings seek to create solidarity with whom he regarded as being the same and Genetic descent, consists of biological characteristics that are transmitted through genetic inheritance.<sup>103</sup>

In Keyes opinion, it is the cultural construction of social descent that forms the basis of an ethnic identity. Instead of the characteristics of culture such as myths and legend that are presented in the form of oral literary expressions or written, the most important aspect of ethnic identity is, “the symbols of ethnic identity must be appropriated and internalized by individuals before they can serve as the basis for orienting people of social action.”<sup>104</sup>

In the book ‘Ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference’, Fredrik Barth focuses on the nature of ethnic identity in terms of social construction. For him it is because of social interaction that forms the basis of ethnic identity.<sup>105</sup> His book therefore is a focus on the interconnectedness of ethnic

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<sup>102</sup>Roth, Guenther & Eittich, Claus (1978), Max Weber: Economy and Society”, United State of America, University of California Press, p.389

<sup>103</sup>Phadnis, Urmila & Ganguli, Rajat (2001), *Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.26

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p.25

<sup>105</sup>Barth, Frederik (1969), *Ethnic Groups of Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, United Kingdom: George Allen and Unwin, p. 10

identities. In anthropological literature, ethnic group is generally used to designate a population which is:-

1. Largely biologically self- perpetuating
2. Shares a fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms
3. Makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. Has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.<sup>106</sup>

For Barth, anthropological understanding of ethnic identity prevents the phenomenon of ethnic groups and their place in human society.

Thus, primordialism is generally the basis of any ethnic groups or ethnic identity. One place of birth or descent groups played a very important role for shaping one's identity. But defining ethnicity in terms of primordial characteristics would not be applicable in modern society. In modern societies ethnic group changes from one to another negotiating it. In modern society the constructivists approach is more applicable. According to the constructivists approach ethnicity is socially constructed and it changes form the primordial characteristics. As suggested by the constructivists, ethnic group is also used to refer to those socially constructed identity such as the minorities or the inferiors are born out of our construction. Constructivists approach is not only relevant in modern society because some minority or inferior groups consider themselves as an ethnic group but the majority and dominant groups do not consider them as an ethnic groups. For example in Britain, the term ethnic group is primarily referred to the non- white immigrants. In the South Asian context both the primordialist and the constructivist understandings of ethnicity seem helpful for the understanding of the nature of nationalism. In South Asia the demand for "self-determination" is usually based on the distinct ethnic identity.

Here, the study is mainly based on both primordialists and constructivists approach. It is impossible to have a clear division between the two approaches for the studying of "Gorkhaland" movement. It is their primordial ethnic identity ie, Nepalese ethnic identity from Nepal that differentiates from the other groups, which forms the basis of

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid. p.10-11

the movement and in the later cases of the movement it is seen that the Nepalese have developed a new identity known as “Gorkhas”. Gorkhas is a constructed identity by the colonial master. Today the Nepalese wanted to identify as Gorkhas which is different from the ethnic Nepalese of Nepal. And based on this constructed identity demanded a separate state called “Gorkhaland.” This shows that identity is reconstructed therefore; the Constructivist understanding of ethnicity is applicable.

## **ETHNICITY IN SOUTH ASIA**

South Asian history has witnessed several struggles for the right to self-determination or demand for autonomy on the basis of the distinctiveness of one’s ethnic identity in relation to the other ethnic identity. However, the struggles for the recognition of identities is also modified and manipulated in some cases. For examples, for demanding a separate State the Nepalese of Darjeeling hills wanted to clarify that they were very much a part of India and their ethnic identity has nothing to do with the Nepalese in Nepal. Keeping this view in mind we will look at the complex ways in which ethnicity has been articulated in the making of South Asia as a region and the recent demand of State, Autonomy or Self determination that is prevailing in Darjeeling Hills by the Nepalese ethnic identity.

In the context of South Asian, the term ‘ethnic groups’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic conflict’ have become current topics of interest because of the challenges they pose before the nation- state. Most of the countries are facing the problems of ethnic nationalism and conflict due to the consciousness of one’s ethnic identity or due to a certain factors. This is not visible only in the case of India but it transcends all throughout the world and particularly in Eastern Europe, parts of Africa and Asia. Nowhere is this more visible than in the Indian sub- continent. All the South Asian States have the problems of ethnic conflict or demand arising out of the consciousness of ethnic identity. For example, in India there is the demand for separate State of “Gorkhaland” for the Nepalese, demand for “Telengana” in Andhra Pradesh, “Nagalim” for greater Nagaland etc. In Sri Lanka there was a movement by the Tamil demanding for homeland. In Bangladesh there was an ethnic conflict within the Chittagong Hill Tract. In Nepal there was Maoist insurgency as well as an uprising problem of the Madheshi. In Bhutan, the Lhotshampas were evicted out. In Pakistan there was a difference between the Shia and Sunni Muslims. The rise of ethnic

nationalism and subsequent ethnic political movement in many developing states can be accredited to the legacy of western colonization and de- colonization. Thus, colonization periods had created multi- ethnic administration entities.<sup>107</sup>

Another important factors which causes a problems during colonization and after de- colonization is the issue of migration. Migration is one of the most important striving aspects of the history of Darjeeling Hills. Migration played a very important role in the structural transformation of society, polity and economy. Due to migration different groups of people, religion or culture lived together in the same geographical environment and there was interaction taking place within the group. This led to consciousness of one's ethnic identity. It also led to competition for the scarce resources. The social inequality, political instability, economic inequality all together institutionalized movement for demand of autonomy or statehood. This is the case of Darjeeling hills.

#### **NEPALESE ETHNIC IDENTITY IN DARJEELING HILLS**

In Darjeeling Hills the Nepalese migrated since the British rule. Due to the change in the geographical location and different cultural set up the Nepalese ethnic groups have undergone so many changes that are different from their parent country i.e., Nepal. Moreover, there was a consciousness of their Nepalese ethnic identity and a form of integration grew among the various groups of Nepalese ethnic group living in India. There was also a crisis of identity of who is a Nepalese. In Nepal, language is not the sole criteria for defining who is a Nepalese. But in Darjeeling hills, even the Lepcha and Bhutia speaks Nepali and they do not know other languages but they do not belong to the Nepalese. On the other hand, the Rai and Limbu speak their own languages but they were known as Nepali. It is also difficult to identify who is a Nepali because there is the lack of parity between 'those who are considered as Nepalis' and 'those who consider themselves as Nepali'. The Limbus according to the outsiders is considered as Nepali but they do not consider themselves as Nepali. The Sherpas were subsumed under the ethnic group Nepalese. Most of the Nepalese in

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<sup>107</sup>Ghani, Usman (2010), "Re- organization of Indian States," *Reflections*, (4), p.1

Darjeeling hills today were born and brought up in India and never been to Nepal but they are often alleged to 'from Nepal'.<sup>108</sup>

Most of the Caste and Tribe groups in Darjeeling hills belong to different culture, speak different language, and profess different religion and occupation before they migrated to Darjeeling hills. But after they migrated to Darjeeling hills there was a kind of integration that gets developed among the various groups. Today in Darjeeling hills, "The different tribes and castes groups such as the Bahun, Thakur, Chhetri, Newar, Rai, Limbu, Yakha, Sunuwar, Tamang, Mangar, Gurung, Jogi, Bhujel, Thami, Yolmu, Sherpa, Sunar, Kami, Sarki, and Damai. Their traditional social and cultural practices still vary and they profess different religious faiths and represent different race of the world. Their traditional occupation were different and their inhabitants exclusive of each other."<sup>109</sup> All this groups were subsumed under the Nepalese ethnic group and today, the language Nepali is spoken by majority of the people residing in Darjeeling Hills. Today, the Nepalese in Darjeeling identify themselves as "Gorkhas", it is a martial race discovered by the ethnographical knowledge of the colonial state.<sup>110</sup>

Though there was no language similarity or bond forging unity among the various ethnic groups of Nepal, either before or after the Gorkha conquest. But in India, the picture was different from Nepal. The various Nepalese ethnic group when they migrated to India and in particular to Darjeeling Hills used Nepali as a lingua franca and Nepali language had helped a closer integration of the various groups such as the Kirats, Mangars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Mangars, Chetris and the others. Nepali language had forged a bond of unity among the various groups of Nepali migrants. Thus, Nepali identity in India is primarily based on the sense of oneness derived from a common language "Nepali."<sup>111</sup> Thus, outside Nepal, "Nepali language is the basis of Nepalese ethnic identity; it is primarily the basis of self identification. Ethnically,

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<sup>108</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*, New Delhi: K. M. Mittal, p. 7-8.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, p.8

<sup>110</sup>Golay, Bidhan (2006), "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 2(1 & 2), p.28

<sup>111</sup>Dasgupta, Atis (1999), "Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling," *Social Scientist*, 27(11/12), p.47-68



Culturally and Linguistically the various emigrants groups such as Rais, Tamang, Gurung, Magar has no common identity but Nepali language has unite them.”<sup>112</sup>

The language Nepali is also used not only by the Nepalese ethnic groups but various ethnic groups such as the Bhutias and Lepchas used Nepali as a lingua franca. The development of Nepali in the region of Darjeeling hills was started by the middle of the second decade of the last century by the educated middle class of the Nepalese in Darjeeling Hills. The educated middle class were constantly engaged in developing Nepali language and literature. Thus, “A flurry civil society organizations like the Nepali Sahitya Sammelan (1942), Gorkha Durkha Niwarak Sammelan (1932), Sri Hitkari Sammelan (1945), Himalaya Kala Mandir (1950), and many others emerged which were actively involved in redefining and creating a new self- identity based on the idea of kinship- Nepali Daju bhai.”<sup>113</sup> Nepali language was promoted and popularised by various groups and being the majority in Darjeeling contributed to the spread of Nepali language within the hills of Darjeeling. The efforts of by various organization and many other factors led to the popularity of the language. Even within the hills other ethnic group used Nepali language. In a later stage it invokes what Karl Marx says “the unconscious tool of history, providing a basis for fashioning a new self- identity”.<sup>114</sup> The Official language was recognised as Nepali by Sahitya Academi in India, Indian Constitution and the West Bengal official Languages Act, with the negotiation between the Gorkha National Liberation Front in 1988 it was refer to as Gorkhas.<sup>115</sup>

Not only language was important for the formation of a new Nepali ethnic identity which further led to the consciousness of one’s ethnic identity. At the initial stage, the immigrant Nepalese in Darjeeling had to adjust to the new social, economic and political environment of the region. The settlement pattern in Darjeeling hills and Nepal is different. In Nepal it was dispersed and isolated but in Darjeeling hills it is clustered. The Immigrants had to encounter with the differences prevailing from their

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<sup>112</sup>Hutt, Michael (1997), “Being Nepali without Nepal: Reflections on a South Asian Diaspora”, in David Gellner, Joanna Czarmeka and John Whelpton (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The politics and Culture of contemporary Nepal*, p.117

<sup>113</sup>Golay, Bidhan (2006), “Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History”, *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 2(1 & 2), p.39

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p.40

<sup>115</sup>Hutt, Michael (1997), “Being Nepali without Nepal: Reflections on a South Asian Diaspora”, in David Gellner, Joanna Czarmeka and John Whelpton (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The politics and Culture of contemporary Nepal*, p.108

country to the place of migration. In Darjeeling hills for instance had Ryotwari system under the Buddhist feudalism but in Nepal it was feudalism too that were under the Nepali high castes. Thus, these changes have led to form stronger ties between the various ethnic groups of the Nepalese. And the encountering of the colonial rule in Darjeeling also played an important role in the formation of ethnic identity. Moreover, the system of Caste hierarchy practice by the Nepalese in Nepal got changes as they migrated to Darjeeling Hills. The table shows the structural changes of caste hierarchy in Darjeeling- Sikkim Himalayas:-

TABLE NO.4

Caste hierarchy in the Darjeeling- Sikkim Himalayas, 1981<sup>116</sup>

STATUS	CASTE	TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION
HIGH(upper)	Bahun Thakur Chhetri	Priests Aristocrats Warriors
MIDDLE(lower)	Newars Rai,limby Yakha Magar. Thami Sunuwar Gurung Tamang Bhujel  Jogi Yolmu Sherpa	Businessmen Agriculturists  Agriculturists  Sepherds Horse traders/cavaliers Beaten rice makers/palanquin - bearers Ascetics Paper-makers Porters
LOW(untouchable)	Sunar Kami Sarki Damai/ditji	Goldsmiths Ironsmiths Cobblers Tailors/Musicians

Source: Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*

The Nepalese practiced caste system and according to the Varna order, Thakur and Chetri belong to the Kshatriya order but in the hills of Darjeeling the Bahuns are at the top, the Thakuris below them and the Chetris belong to the lowest stratum as seen

<sup>116</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*, New Delhi: K. M. Mittal, p.56

in the above table. Not only this, even after 1769 the internal hierarchy of the Newars managed to survive in Kathmandu but in Darjeeling it could no longer sustain. All the Newars began to be treated as same and they are considered as one of the middle Castes having horizontal ritual status with other middle Castes like the Magars and Gurung.<sup>117</sup> The traditional occupation of the various castes of the Nepalese changed as they migrated to Darjeeling hills. For example the Bahuns is supposed to be a priest but only the Upadhyaya Bahuns are entitled to practice this profession. Likewise the Chetris are considered to be warriors but they were not recruited by the British among the Indian army unless they adopted the titles of the Magars and the Gurungs. After the mutiny of 1857, the British disfavoured the Chetris, due to their Brahmanical prejudices. The Magars and the Gurungs were preferred by the British to be recruited among the British army. The Newar's traditional occupation is also said to be businessmen but actually they had a wide distribution of occupation from priesthood, fisherman, sweepers, craftsmen, farmers etc.<sup>118</sup> Thus, this shows that ethnic identity is not a primordial but it is constructed with spaces and time.

The traditional occupation of the Nepalese caste group changed as they migrated to the hills of Darjeeling. The traditional occupation assigned to the various caste groups were not strictly followed by the Nepalese as they need to adapt to the new social, political and economic environment. The members of the lower economic status groups, the younger generation and the newly educated members of the society ignored the restriction imposed on the traditional occupation. The structure of the caste got changes in the Darjeeling hills. There was a closer integration among the members of the various ethnic Nepalese. The closer integration strengthens the ethnic bonds among the various ethnic groups of the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills. This further led the demand of autonomy on the basis of their distinct ethnic identity.

Economic factor is one of the most important causes for the consciousness of one's distinct ethnic identity. In a multi ethnic state there is a disparity or inequality between the various ethnic groups. The minorities group often felt that they were deprived and discriminated this further led to the consciousness of their ethnic identity. In Darjeeling the traditional form of occupation was Jhumming cultivation, but from 1866 settled cultivation was started in the area. Tea, Cinchona and potatoes

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p.57

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p.58

were mainly cultivated. The plantation of tea and other crops is a good source of income and therefore the British government developed only the tea estate while neglecting the other crops. It was since the British times that land was neglected. In 1977, the Hill Area Branch Secretariat of West Bengal reported that, "Prior to 1973-74, the development budget for the development of Agriculture in the hill areas was too meagre to cope with various problems facing the sector".<sup>119</sup> This also shows that the hill of Darjeeling is neglected. The economic instability is one of the main causes contributing factors for the movement made by the Nepalese in West Bengal.

The consciousness of ethnic identity of the Nepalese is also strengthened by the State. After independent, the Indian government pass the State Re-Organization Act in 1956 on the basis of linguistic which further led to the consciousness of ethnic identity among the Indian. According to this Act, state was divided on the basis of linguistic provinces. This creation of state on the basis of language did not create a homogeneous or unified state. Instead it is accompanied by an intense conflict among different ethnic groups living together in a common social environment for the access and control of resources. After the creation of state, Punjabis have Punjab, Gujarat for Gujarati etc, the demands for statehood or autonomy did not stop and continues in other places like, Telengana movement in Andhra Pradesh, "Gorkhaland" in Darjeeling district and the surrounding areas and many others movement came up.<sup>120</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Marxist perspectives for the ethnic group consciousness or ethnic identity is noteworthy in the context of the formation of Nepalese ethnic identity and how it led to the demand of a separate autonomy in the Hills of Darjeeling. For Marx, "ethnic consciousness is based on the belief in common origin- real or mythical. Second, ethnic groups are pre-national. Third ethnic consciousness is usually found among the smaller ethnic groups. The movement of ethnic consciousness towards national consciousness emerges due to the operation of objective factors such as common language and common territory, economic ties and finally, an affinity of roles in

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<sup>119</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p. 43- 44

<sup>120</sup> Talwar, Priyanka & Doyle, John (2012), *Domestic Conflicts in India: The Changing Dynamics of causes and Responses, working paper for International Studies*, Centre for International Studies, Dublin City University(5), p.13

social production.”<sup>121</sup> Thus he further state that language has been described as one of the major components for arousing national consciousness. And it can also be argued that along with the social inequality, economic deprivation and political instability further add to the consciousness of the ethnic groups as the case of the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills.

In all the multi ethnic states are no ethnic groups exactly equal with respects to the other groups. Discrimination and inequalities are associated with ethnic divisions along with the cultural, social, political and educational difference. But the root cause of the politicisation of ethnic identity in Darjeeling hills started because of the distinct ethnic identity and languages of the others group in West Bengal. It is clearly mentioned in the demand made by the Hillmen’s since 1907. Ethnicity and absence of homogeneity within the same socio-political environment causes tensions within a state. In Darjeeling hills we get people whose social and cultural are distinct as compared to the others groups living in the plains of West Bengal. Bidhan Golay observes that, “the process of formation of Gorkha or Nepali ethnic identity was the product of the cultural renaissance in Darjeeling hills. The Nepalese/ Gorkhas who constitute group in West Bengal naturally demand elbow- room for the preservation and development of their language and culture.”<sup>122</sup> Thus, Social, Political and Economic deprivation along with the consciousness of ethnic identity is used as a tool for demanding a separate autonomy. Ethnic identity becomes politicised and there was a statist ideas that get developed among the groups. Ethnic identity plays a crucial role for demanding a separate autonomy based on the distinctiveness of Nepalese ethnic identity.

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<sup>121</sup>Phadnis, Urmila & Ganguli, Rajat (2001), *Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.66

<sup>122</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.74.

## CHAPTER -3

### MOVEMENT FOR THE DEMAND OF GOKHALAND

The Nepalese ethnic group in India also known as 'Gorkhas' demanded a separate autonomy based on their distinct ethnic identity. Darjeeling district is composed of different ethnic groups such as the Lepchas, Bhutias and the Nepalese. Despite its ethnic complexity there was a composite culture in the district of Darjeeling because of the bond of unity provided by the Nepali Language.<sup>123</sup> The sense of marginalization among the Nepalese is due to the consciousness of their distinct ethnic identity in the State of West Bengal associated with the sense of deprivation in terms of social, political and economic by the Bengali domination. The demand for a separate state was mainly raised due to the issue of the character of land, the ethnic identity of the Nepalese and more significantly the issue of politico-administrative arrangement.<sup>124</sup> The demand for a separate administrative set up in Darjeeling hills started since 1907. The Social, Political and Economic, as well as various demand associated with autonomy for Nepalese in Darjeeling will be highlighted in the various movement associated with "Gorkhaland." Here, the demand for administrative set up was discuss on the basis of two periods:-

#### 1. Pre- Independent period

#### 2. Post- Independent period

#### Pre- Independent period

##### (A) HILLMEN'S UNION

The demand for a separate administrative set up for Darjeeling district was started since 1907. In Darjeeling, under the banner of Hillmen's Association, the people organised themselves and started demanding a separate administrative set-up

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<sup>123</sup>Dasgupta, Atis (1999), "Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling," *Social Scientist*, 27(11/12), p.55

<sup>124</sup>Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), "Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation" Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.4

comprising of Darjeeling region<sup>125</sup>. The movement was initially raised by the retired Nepali army and police officers, who were supported by the Nepali landed aristocrats and rich traders.<sup>126</sup> A group of aristocratic Tibetan and Bhutias families also supported the demand. The Hillmen's association comprising the Nepalese, Bhutias and the Lepchas was under the leadership of S.W.Ladenla who was an additional Superintendent of Police in Darjeeling and also the Aide- de- camp of the British Governor of Bengal for a while.<sup>127</sup> According to the Hillsmen, the Hill people in Darjeeling suffered from certain politico-economic advantages due to the plainsmen as they were the masters of Darjeeling hills.<sup>128</sup>

During the visit of India in 1917 by Edwin Montague, the British Secretary of State, the Hillmen's Association submitted a memorandum for demanding a separate administrative unit comprising the present Darjeeling district and the portion of Jalpaiguri district which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865.<sup>129</sup> The memorandum was signed by R.B.Ladenla, Kharga Bahadur Chhetri and others.<sup>130</sup> They demanded that historically, culturally, ethnically, socially, religiously, linguistically, there was no affinity between the people of Bengal and therefore it should be kept apart.<sup>131</sup> The people of the Hill had kept aside and did not participate from the agitation of Home Rules. And by underscoring the ethno- cultural dissimilarities with the rest of the people of India, the Hillsmen's kept themselves out of the nationalist movement so they demanded that the region to be included in the Northeastern Frontier Province with Assam Doars and the hill territories of the Eastern part of Bhutan.<sup>132</sup> In the wake of the Montague- Chemsford Association Reforms of 1919, the Darjeeling Planter's Association, the European Association and the Hillmen's Association, at a joint meeting in Darjeeling in March, 1920, fully supported the memorandum of the Hillmen's Association and asked for creation of a separate administrative unit outside

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p.4

<sup>126</sup> Dasgupta, Atis (1999), "Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling." *Social Scientist*, 27(11/12), p.58.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, p.58

<sup>128</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), "*Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*", New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.77

<sup>129</sup> Dasgupta, Atis (1999), "Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling." *Social Scientist*, 27(11/12), p.58

<sup>130</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988), "The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions", Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.3

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, p.4

<sup>132</sup> Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), "Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation" Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.10

the representative government as envisaged by the Reforms Act of 1919, on the plea of backwardness of the area.<sup>133</sup> In 1972, to the Royal Statutory Commission, the General Committee of Darjeeling Planter's Association submitted a memorandum that Darjeeling district should remain under the control of Bengal.<sup>134</sup>

.As against a demand of a separate province, Darjeeling was kept a "Scheduled Area" by the British in accordance with the Government of India Act 1919. In 1929, the Hillmen's Association again raised the demand before the Simon Commission.<sup>135</sup> Before the constitutional reforms of 1935, when there was a pressure from the Nationalist movement, the Hillmen's and their unions started demanding a separate unit in the constitutional reform for protecting the identity and way of life of the Gorkhas. So, in October, 1930, a memorandum with five signatories, under the banner of the Hillmen's Union was submitted to the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare.<sup>136</sup> According to this, "The Gorkhas, in view of their services rendered to the Government in the military, civil and other departments in the preservation of the solidarity of the British Empire should get some special reservation in the proposed constitution with a view to preserving their social solidarity, so that they are not forced to make a common cause with the Indians. The district of Darjeeling where the Gorkhas predominate should, therefore be excluded from Bengal and be treated as an independent administrative unit with the Deputy Commissioner as administrator, directly under the Imperial Government," the memorandum pleaded.<sup>137</sup>

According to the memorandum submitted to Sir Samuel Hoare on the 6 August 1934, "Darjeeling district is a frontier district in the spur of the Himalaya, the district being formed by carving out areas from the neighbouring states, and the people have their own religion, and social customs different from the people living in the plains. It should remain excluded area and in the fostering care of the British Government (which is incidentally different from 1927 memorandum). If the district is to be included in the reformed scheme it should be with proper safeguards. One astounding

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<sup>133</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.81

<sup>134</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.25

<sup>135</sup> Why Gorkhaland, *Published by Pranta Parishad*, 9 August, 2009, p.4

<sup>136</sup> Atis Dasgupta, "Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling," *Social Scientist*, Vol. 27, No.11/12, Nov- Dec, 1999, p.11

<sup>137</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.81



thing in the memorandum is that the Association believed that the legislative enactments should be certified priory by the Governor, to serve the interest of Darjeeling district, not to be swamped by vast majority opinion of the plains. It should be created as a separate administrative unit Governor of Bengal acting as the agent of Governor General. The area should be under the Central Government due to the fact that all the Highway roads pass from Sikkim to Tibet, and that is militantly important and needed an imperial care.”<sup>138</sup>

On 17 November 1934, some Gorkha residents submitted another memorandum to Sir Samuel Hoare and in the memorandum, it was stated that if no special reservations was made under the British protection then it would be extremely difficult for the Gorkha so as to preserve their social solidarity. <sup>139</sup>

The two Memorandum submitted in 1934 shows the dissimilarity of what the Hillmen’s Association demanded. Due to this dissimilarity, the Government of Bengal viewed that the Hillmen’s were not clear as to the nature of the treatment that should be meted out of Darjeeling in the new constitution. Therefore, the Government of India Act, 1935, made Darjeeling a partially excluded area from where one member could be elected to the reserved seat.<sup>140</sup>

It was a measure of their success that the Nepalese, Bhutias, and Lepchas accepted the common ethnic term “Gorkha” and the Nepali language.<sup>141</sup> The Hillmen’s put their efforts to distinguish themselves from the plain people in Darjeeling hills by using Nepali as a common language and also accepted the ethnic groups Gorkha. They distanced themselves from the masses of Indian people and their movement from freedom struggle. But still, the British Government did not grant autonomy for the hill people and placed in the category of the Partially Excluded area. The Hillmen’s association is not a political party and their desired for autonomy was not granted but the movement launched by the Hillmen’s prepared the ground for the emergence of an ethnic political party.

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<sup>138</sup> Kar, Chiranjib K. (1991), *Sub- regional movement in India a case study: Political history of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling district*, Calcutta: Bidhan Abasan, p. 26

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p.27

<sup>140</sup> Samanta,, Amiya K. (2000), “*Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*,” New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.81-82

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, p.83

## **(B) ALL INDIA GORKHA LEAGUE**

With the objective of securing the future of the Gorkhas, in case, if India attained freedom, the All India Gorkha League (AIGL) was founded on 15 May 1943.<sup>142</sup> The Provincial Assembly representative of the Hills Dambar Singh Gurung became the president and Shiva Kumar Rai as the General Secretary. In the first constitution of the All India Gorkha League, which promises to protect the political rights of the Gorkhas, they mentioned Nepal as the Motherland.<sup>143</sup> In the second constitution, which was adopted in 1948 deleted the word Nepal as their motherland and added two important issue:-

1. AIGL demanded the protection of Nepali language.
2. AIGL as a move towards recognition of the citizenship of the Gorkhas.<sup>144</sup>

### **2. Post- Independent period**

In 1949, after 6 years of its inception of AIGL, it came up with the demand for the creation of separate provincial legislature called “Uttarakhand” and the proposed “Uttarakhand” might comprise the following areas:-

1. Darjeeling district with Jalpaiguri, Sikkim. Doars and Cooch Behar.
2. Darjeeling district, Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri or
3. Darjeeling district and Sikkim or
4. Darjeeling district only<sup>145</sup>

From the above suggested areas one common thing is that they demanded that any how Darjeeling district should be separated from West Bengal. The aims and objectives of the AIGL is clear from the letter written by D.S. Gurung to the ex-Viceroy and the Governor General of India dated 12 August 1943 in which he

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<sup>142</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.84

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, p.88

<sup>144</sup> Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), “Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation” Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.15

<sup>145</sup> Tanka Bahadur Subba, *Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal*, p.5-20  
<http://dspace.nehu.ac.in/handle/1/2848>

mentioned that though the Gorkhas were loyal to the British, but they were not recognised and this further harm to them politically, economically and culturally.<sup>146</sup>

On 29 April 1952, N. B. Gurung submitted a memorandum stating that Gorkha League wanted separation from Bengal and indicated that, “the district be a separate administrative unit directly administered by the centre, a separate province be set up comprising the districts of Darjeeling and neighbouring areas and, that the district of Darjeeling with a section of Jalpaiguri viz. the Doars be included in Assam.”<sup>147</sup>

AIGL was not successful in its demand. After post-partition, the scenario is clear that it is not possible to achieve the demand for “Gorkhaland” due to the political turmoil happening in India based on the Re-organization of State on the basis of language. In 1961, AIGL started a movement to include Nepali language as the official language in the State of West Bengal. This language movement was led by Deo Prakash Rai who was the undisputed leader of the party at that time. He was elected to the State Assembly from the Darjeeling Constituency seven times. However, his critics said that the language movement launched in 1961 under his leadership had led to the marginalization of other communities, particularly the Bengalis, in the Darjeeling hills.<sup>148</sup> The AIGL received support from the Communist Party of India.<sup>149</sup> With the death of D.P. Rai, the AIGL supremo, in 1983, the party became less active.

### **(C) COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

Unlike the All India Gorkha League, who demanded the district of Darjeeling to merge with the province of Assam so that it would be able to protect the identity and culture of the Gorkhas but the undivided Communist Party of India (CPI) demand was “Gorkhasthan” for the Gorkhas. The Communist Party of India was influenced by the Soviet ideas of Communism and therefore supported “Gorkhasthan.”<sup>150</sup> On 6 April 1947, a memorandum was submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru who was the Vice-President of the Interim Government and to Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Finance

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<sup>146</sup> Bagchi, Romit (2012), *Gorkhaland: Crisis for Statehood*, India: Sage Publication, p. 76

<sup>147</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988) “The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions”, Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.7

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, p.79

<sup>149</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub-Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkata: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.84

<sup>150</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), “*Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*”, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.91

Minister of the Interim Government and the leader of the Muslim League by the Communist Party of India. In the memorandum submitted the Communist Party of India demanded “free Gorkhasthan in free India”, by joining the three contiguous areas of Darjeeling district, Southern Sikkim and Nepal.<sup>151</sup> At that time, Nepal was an independent State, Sikkim was considered to be an independent State and Darjeeling district was under the British India and later included in the State of West Bengal.

The All India Gorkha League from the beginning consistently opposed the idea of creating a “Gorkhasthan” by the Communist Party of India by joining the three independent countries. According to the All India Gorkha League leader Deo Prakash Rai, in his refusal against the Communist Party of India stated that, “The people are already waiting for the bugle call not for the creation of ‘sthan’ but for the onward march in the struggle for survival as equal human beings.”<sup>152</sup> Deo Prakash Rai was against the clubbing of Darjeeling with the whole of Nepal and to the Southern part of Nepal.<sup>153</sup>

The idea of creating “Gorkhasthan” by joining three independent countries of Darjeeling district, southern Sikkim and Nepal was dropped by the Communist Party of India after the partition of India in 1947 and it was in April 1954, that the Communist Party of India first spoke about regional autonomy for the hills of Darjeeling within the State of West Bengal.<sup>154</sup> In the presentation to the States Reorganization Commission in 1954, the Communist Party of India was in favoured of regional autonomy for Darjeeling within the State of West Bengal and with the recognition of Nepali language as a scheduled language. Darjeeling District Congress Committee (DDCC) on 17 May 1955 also made a similar demand i.e, regional autonomy within the State of West Bengal but they termed it as a Statutory District Council and in 1957, regional autonomy demand was placed by the Congress, and the

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<sup>151</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.98

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p.99

<sup>153</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988), “The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions”, Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.6

<sup>154</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.91

Communist Party of India and the All India Gorkha League before Jawaharlal Nehru visited the district of Darjeeling.<sup>155</sup>

In 1970, the Communist Party of India had the idea of demanding regional autonomy for the Nepalese in Darjeeling and a Bill to be introduced in the West Bengal Assembly for constituting an autonomous region to have a Regional Council having both Legislative and Executive power.<sup>156</sup> According to the plan of the autonomous region, “the proposed Regional Council should have powers to make laws on all subjects including the social, economic and cultural life of the people living in the region; a two –thirds majority of the West Bengal Assembly would be needed to overrule any law enacted by the Regional Council; and Nepali language would be the language of the Council Administrations and medium of instruction at all stages in the Council area.”<sup>157</sup>

After the formation of the left front in West Bengal in 1977, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) introduced a resolution in 1978 demanding the Centre Government the inclusion of Nepali language in the eighth scheduled of the Indian constitution and again on 23 September 1981 demanded the central Government to amend the Constitution for constituting an autonomous authority in Darjeeling.<sup>158</sup> The proposed autonomous authority which they demanded was to be placed under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The State Government of the ‘white paper’ claims that- “It was felt by all political parties represented in the State Legislature, that such a body would make a balanced and correct assessment of the needs of the said region, to give proper representation to the democratic aspiration of the people of the region, to mobilise extensively the human natural resources for speedy and well-co ordinate execution of the development projects and further strengthening the bonds of unity between the people speaking Nepali, Bengali and other languages.”<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p.91-92

<sup>156</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988)“The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions”, Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.8

<sup>157</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p. 100

<sup>158</sup> Akbar, M. J. (1987), “Seasons of Discontentment” *Illustrated Weekly*, 31 August-6 September, p.26-29

<sup>159</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.100

In 1982, the Communist Party of India (M) passed a resolution in the assembly for regional autonomy. In 1983, the party took the move for Regional Autonomy but the Constitution Amendment Bill rejected it. Again, on 9 August 1985 a Bill was again moved in Parliament by the Communist party of India (M) Member of Parliament, Ananda Pathak and Somnath Chatterjee, seeking the amendment of article 244 A of the constitution so that the article can be applicable even beyond the State of Assam.<sup>160</sup> The Private Member's Bill moved by Ananda Pathak and Somnath Chatterjee proposed that- "Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, Parliament may, by law, from within the State of West Bengal, an autonomous region comprising such areas, as may be specified of the district of Darjeeling and neighbouring district where the Nepali speaking people are in majority and create for the administration of such region a District Council."<sup>161</sup> Pathak states that, "autonomy would strengthen the unity and integrity of the country."<sup>162</sup> The private member's Bill introduced in the Lok Sabha on August 9, 1985 was debated on December 6, 1985 and March 7, 1986 and it was eventually turned down by vote.<sup>163</sup> According to S. B. Chavan, the Union Minister, "these are very dangerous implications, if a proposal of this nature is accepted; it would be interpreted all over the country as another victory for separatist forces."<sup>164</sup>

Thus, the demand made by the undivided Communist Party of India for free "Gorkhasthan" and later the demand for regional Autonomy was turned down by the Parliament. The Government was feared that by granting regional autonomy would further lead to the demand of a separate State and further to the demand of an Independent State. Moreover the Government is feared that it would further lead to the rising of the demand for a separate State by other separatist movement in India.

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<sup>160</sup> Akbar, M. J. (1987), "Seasons of Discontentment" *Illustrated Weekly*, 31 August-6 September, p.26-29

<sup>161</sup> WG, "Gorkhaland? A compendium of memoranda," Kalmipong: Ajambari Press, 1986, p.37

<sup>162</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988) "The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions", Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.10

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, p.11

<sup>164</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.104

#### **(D) PRANTA PARISHAD**

Pranta Parishad was the first organization to demand a separate State for the Gorkhas. It was formed in April 1980 and in 13 April 1980, under the Presidentship of Indra Bhadur Rai submitted its first memorandum to Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India demanding a separate State of "Gorkhaland" consisting of Darjeeling and the Doars of Jalpaiguri.<sup>165</sup> Pranta Parishad is composed of the people of different sections from the All India Gorkha league, the Congress party, the Janata party and Subash Ghising, the leaders of the Gorkha National League Front also extended his moral support for the demands and the agitation programmes of the Pranta Parishad.<sup>166</sup> After the death of its leader D. P. Rai in 1983, Madan Tamang from the All India Gorkha League broke away from his party and joined Pranta Parishad and took the leadership of the Parishad. Pranta Parishad was not succeeded in its demand because it could not mobilize the Nepali masses and according to its constitution it is not a political party but a political platform for demanding "Gorkhaland."<sup>167</sup> The demand was not success because it is only confined to the urban youth, students, leadership crisis and one of its leaders G. S. Chamling was known to be the agent of the King of Nepal, which affected the reputation of the organization.<sup>168</sup>

#### **(E) GORKHA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT**

In 1983, All India Gorkha League declined due to the formation of Pranta Parishad and leadership crisis and later Pranta Parishad too declined due to leader ship crisis. GNLF was formed on 30 July 1980 and demanded a separate state in the name of "Gorkhaland" including Doars and the adjacent areas.<sup>169</sup> After a trip to the Nepali inhabited areas of Assam and Mizoram, he had an interaction with the leaders of the Mizo National Front, an outfit for the demand of the creation of Mizoram at that time.<sup>170</sup> He was impressed by their activities. With a believe that a more radical aim

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<sup>165</sup>Why Gorkhaland, *Published by Pranta Parishad*, (9, August, 2009), p.47

<sup>166</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.90

<sup>167</sup>Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), "Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation" Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.40

<sup>168</sup>Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p. 90

<sup>169</sup>Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), "Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation" Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.42

<sup>170</sup> Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.117

for the movement of “Gorkhaland”, the Government of India can be seized instead of a Political party he formed the Gorkha National Liberation Front on 24 July 1980. The aims and objectives of Gorkha National Liberation Front were more clear as compared to the demands made by the various others party like the AIGL or Pranta Parishad etc :-

(a) GNLF demanded the creation of a separate homeland for the Nepalese within India.

(b) GNLF demanded Nepali language to be included in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution

(c) GNLF also made a demand to remove Article VII of the India- Nepal friendship with a view of removing uncertainty in the Nepalese mind

(d) Employment of the ‘sons of soil’ with emphasis on more recruitment in the army.<sup>171</sup>

The movement for separation has been raised by different parties since 1917 but the Gorkha National Liberation Front had the most heightened support from the masses of the Gorkhas or the Nepalese because of its positive programmes if the demand was fulfilled. Its positive manifesto include- “generation of employment for the youth, promotion for the employee, forty thousand of Gorkha to be recruited and promoted to the rank of Officer, after the formation of “Gorkhaland” one lakh is to be awarded to all writers and poets from Darjeeling, increase of MLA’s to 65 and MP to 4, and one university and medical college to be set up in Darjeeling.”<sup>172</sup> With the Gorkha National Liberation Front the identity movement scaled new height. Pranta Parishad has raised the issue of language and culture but GNLF gives primacy to identity.<sup>173</sup> The GNLF movement can be credited for bringing the issue of Identity and Citizenship into the political discourse.

Subash Ghising as a leader played a very important role. He was born in 1925 in a tea worker’s family and spent his life within the hills of Darjeeling and in 1960’s he

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p.117

<sup>172</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.90

<sup>173</sup>Chakrabarti, Dyustis (1988), “Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation” Lectures delivered on 10 April 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.43



joined the Youth Wing of the All India Gorkha League and also organised the tea garden labourers into a Union Affiliated to the congress.<sup>174</sup> His involvements in the earlier parties help him to be able to read the minds of the people. In 1979, when the Prime Minister Morarji Desai visited Darjeeling, at that time Subash Ghising witnessed it and the Prime Minister words of saying Nepali as a foreign language was used as a tool by Ghising in his later movement for the demand of “Gorkhaland”. Ghising explained that the demand for “Gorkhaland” is a question of their identity and based on this he demanded “Gorkhaland.” He sought the support of the King of Nepal and sent appeals to some Heads of different Countries and also to United Nations seeking their co-operation for the movement of “Gorkhaland.”<sup>175</sup> On 9 April 1981 he sent a telegram to the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri. Joyti Basu and in the letter he mentioned that the Nepalese were under the Prison – Administration of Bengal and they should be set free from their prison. In his latter he compared the status of the Nepalese in West Bengal as a slave.<sup>176</sup>

In the early 1980s the issue of identity and citizenship acquire special significance in the wake of the expulsion of the Nepalese from North East India. The eviction of the Nepalese occurred since 1967 in Mizoram where about eight thousand were driven out by the Mizo.<sup>177</sup> In 1980s the eviction of the Nepalese from Assam as Bahira-Gatas (foreigners) occurred. This was followed by the driving out of 5000 Nepali speaking workers from the coal mines of the Jowai Hills in Meghalaya at the instance of the Khasi Students Union.<sup>178</sup> Following this agitation, Ghising took the idea of identity and citizenship. He traced the roots caused to be the Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950 between Nepal and India. He raised the question of citizenship “the demand for a “Gorkhaland” is basically a question of identity and a fight for justice and economic progress. You have the Bengalis, Biharis, Punjabis, Tamils, Marathis etc but who are ‘We’ - Nepali speaking people who have been living in Darjeeling and surrounding areas since the 12<sup>th</sup> century. We are only reciprocal Nepalis thanks to the Indo- Nepal Treaty of 1950, I want abrogated.”<sup>179</sup> The India- Nepal Treaty of 1950<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>174</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.188

<sup>175</sup>Dasgupta, Atis (1999), “Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling,” *Social Scientist*, 27(11/12), p.63

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, p.120

<sup>177</sup> Lal (1968), “Nepal without Nepali”, *Nepal Review*, 1(8)

<sup>178</sup> Ghosh, Anjan (2009), “Gorkhaland Redux”, *Economic and political weekly*, 44(23), p. 10

<sup>179</sup> Jit, Inder (1986), “Gorkhaland and Basic Issues,” *Economic Times*, 15 July 1986.

created confusion for determining the distinction between the Indian born and Nepal born Nepalese. Even the Ex Prime Minister Morarji Desai refers to the Nepalese as foreigners.<sup>181</sup> B.P.Mishra pointed out that, “An Indian Nepali may be suspected to be a Nepali of Nepal origin. The onus of proof that he is a Nepali of Indian origin usually lies on him while it is not specified clearly as to what type of proof in his favour will be regarded as a conclusive one. His land document, educational certificates, services record etc. may be of little use because even the Nepalese of Nepal origin in India may produce the same for they are entitled to such privileges according to Article 7.”<sup>182</sup>

In the India- Nepal friendship treaty of 1950, what Ghising objection was particularly Article VII of the treaty, where both the countries agreed, “to grant, a reciprocal basis to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other, the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and privileges and similar nation.”<sup>183</sup> In a petition sent to the then Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi, he mentioned that, “the West Bengal Government has been penetrating genocide of the innocent Gorkhas in the said areas since 1955..and after Bharat independence the Bengal Government has done nothing in the hill areas of Darjeeling and Doars except eye wash of the Gurkhas by offering petty things and doing minor repairs works in the name of hill development.”<sup>184</sup> Leaders of the GNLF also blamed the CPI (M) led Bengali administration as isolating and neglecting the District of Darjeeling.<sup>185</sup>

Thus, Ghising demand was “Gorkhaland” as well as the abrogation of Article VII of India- Nepal Treaty of 1950. Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India on September made clear that he was not in favour of the creation of a separate state and further stated that removing Article VII of the India- Nepal Treaty, “they (the people from

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<sup>180</sup> See Appendix of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship

<sup>181</sup> Ghosh, Anjan (2009), “Gorkhaland Redux”, *Economic and political weekly*, 44(23), p. 10

<sup>182</sup> Mishra, B.P. (1986), “Behind Gorkhaland Agitation” *Mainstream*, 30 (7)

<sup>183</sup> Samanta, Amiya K. (2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.123

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, p. 129

<sup>185</sup> Sen, Sumanta (1986), “Another Body plans stir in Darjeeling”, *The Times of India* 18 May 1986, p.16

Nepal) will forfeit the right to stay here and we will have to remove them from here”<sup>186</sup>

The movement turn violent from the period between May 1986 and December 1988 between the GNLF and the supporters of CPI (M), between the GNLF and the police.<sup>187</sup> The Gorkha National Liberation Front movement was finally launched with an eleven point programme on 13 March 1986. The Communist Party of India (M) openly opposed the demand for “Gorkhaland” by the Gorkha National Liberation Front led by Subash Ghising. Within two years lots of energy were lost, much of lives and properties got destroyed.

The following table shows the lost occurred due to the violent movement in Darjeeling Hills<sup>188</sup>:-

TABLE NO.5

Casualty

YEAR	TOTAL		CPM		GNLF		POLICE		OTHERS	
	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured
1986	48	181	10	31	37	118	2	26	6	
1987	73	159	17	20	31	52	14	56	14	31
1988 (Jan. to Sept.)	162	275	20	25	72	61	13	78	56	111
Total	283	615	47	76	140	231	29	150	70	148

TABLE NO. 6.

Destruction of property

1986 PRIVATE PROPERTY DESTROYED	
Total number of houses destroyed	509
Houses belonging to GNLF members	226

<sup>186</sup> Ganguly, Rajat (2012), “Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India”, *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.484-485

<sup>187</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), “*Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*”, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.123

<sup>188</sup> Samanta, Amiya K. (2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.149- 151

Houses belonging to CPI- M members	254
Houses belonging to Cong- I members	28
Houses belonging to CPI members	1

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY DESTROYED	
Buses	4
Police vehicles	5
Primary School	1

1987: PRIVATE PROPERTY DESTROYED	
Total number of houses destroyed	270
Houses belonging to GNLf members	33
Houses belonging to CPI- M members	164
GOVERNMENT PROPERTY DESTROYED	
Government offices	190
Vehicles	40
Culvert	17
Other Buildings	10

1988 (January to September ) PROPERTY DESTROYED	
Total number of houses	385
Houses belonging to GNLf members	54
Houses belonging to CPI- Members	19
Government offices, buildings, culverts etc	313

SOURCE: Amiya K. Samanta: Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism

Table no.5 shows the number of casualty as a result of the Gorkha National Liberation Front. Within two years the number of persons killed was as high as 283. Table no. 6 shows the destruction of property as a result of the Gorkhas agitation. Not only there was loss of lives or property get destroyed, it all so led to the destruction of the economy of Darjeeling Hills. Thus, the movement was not between political parties but during the time of the movement the CPI (M) Government were the ruling party

in the State of West Bengal so the CPI (M) Government opposed to the demand made by the Gorkha National Liberation Front which led to a clash or conflict between the two party supporters.

After the loss of so many lives and properties get destroyed Subash Ghising accepted a political settlement and the first Tripartite talks between the Centre Government, State Government and the GNLF was held on 25 January 1988.<sup>189</sup> 148 delegates from various sister organization of GNLF voted in favour of the Hill Council on 10 July 1988.<sup>190</sup> A memorandum of settlement was signed at Kolkata between the Gorkha National Liberation Front and the State Government of West Bengal on 22 August 1988 in the presence of the Chief Minister Jyoti Basu and Home Minister Buta Singh.<sup>191</sup> Various Organizations such as the Pranta Parishad, All India Gorkha League and Gorkha Liberation Organization were unhappy with the autonomy because the Gorkhas have been demanding “Gorkhaland.”<sup>192</sup>

## CONCLUSION

There was a demand for a separate administrative set up since 1907. The Hillmen’s association comprising the Nepalese, Bhutias, Lepchas submitted a memorandum for the set up of a separate administrative outside West Bengal but the demand failed. The All India Gorkha League again demanded “Uttarakhand” comprising the areas inhabited by the Nepalese but the demand failed after it loses out its member to a more militant outfit Pranta Parishad. The Communist Party of India demanded a separate Independent “Gorkhasthan” comprising three Independent Countries:- Darjeeling in India, Southern Sikkim and Nepal. The demand made by Communist Party of India failed as it did not get support from the other party especially the All India Gorkha League stands opposed to “Gorkhasthan.” And the Government was not in favour of a separate sovereign state too. The Communist Party later changed its demand to regional autonomy but this is also rejected by the Government as it feared that by granting regional autonomy would lead to a demand for a separate State and later to an Independent Country. It is also feared by the Government because by

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<sup>189</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.153

<sup>190</sup> Ibid. p.155

<sup>191</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p. 97

<sup>192</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.170-171

granting autonomy could influence the other separatist movement. The Pranta Parishad demand a separate “Gorkhaland” but due to lack of leadership the demand failed after the coming up of Gorkha National Liberation Front. The Gorkha National Liberation Front demanded a separate “Gorkhaland” for the Gorkhas in India. It also demanded the recognition of citizenship and identity rights. The movement took violent from the year 1986 to 1988 which later led to the signing of an agreement between the Government and Gorkha National Liberation Front known as the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.

The demand for a separate State or autonomy in the hills of Darjeeling has been a long history. The demand has been flagged off by various parties. In Darjeeling hills ethnic identity demands get priority but it is also associated with economic issue where there is degradation of land, distribution of lands, and restoration of ecological balance and so on. The people felt that they were under the trapped of the predominantly ethnic Bengali. The political, economic and social condition of Darjeeling hills of West Bengal has been controlled by the majority Bengali. This causes resentment among the ethnic Gorkhas and started demanding autonomy. But it should be kept in mind that granting autonomy is not always the solution. For example the creation of the State of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh did not lead to development. Instead the government should take serious measures so as to develop the people equally and granting them their rights. If not, India being a federal State, the Government should grant autonomy having social, political rights and economic development. The Government should be careful in framing its policies or plan so that it can further checked the growth of various movements in future.

## CHAPTER – 4

### FORMATION AND WORKING OF DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was formed as a result of the Memorandum of Settlement signed between the Gorkha National Liberation Front and the Government of India on the 22 of August 1988.<sup>193</sup> According to the Memorandum of the Settlement signed, “in the overall national interest and in response to the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi call, Gorkha National Liberation Front agreed to drop the demand for a separate State of “Gorkhaland”. For the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the people of the hill areas of Darjeeling District, it was agreed to have an Autonomous Hill Council to be set up under the State Act.”<sup>194</sup> Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was set up for the development of the people of Darjeeling hills as the Nepalese considered that they were deprived by the majority people in West Bengal. In West Bengal, the majority community are the Bengalis; they control the political, economic and social environment of the State.<sup>195</sup> Even in the main towns of Darjeeling hills, most important places of business centres were owned by the Bengalis where the local Nepalese performed menial jobs and so with the success of business by the Bengalis there was resentment growing among the Nepalese.<sup>196</sup> The Nepalese felt that they were derived in all the spheres as compared to the majority Bengalis. They wanted autonomous for socio-political and economic development in Darjeeling hills.

Before going into the formation and working of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, let us make a comparative study of Darjeeling hills or districts in respect to other parts of West Bengal. The given data is taken around the year when the movement for autonomy was at its peak i.e, a period between 1970 to the present year.

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<sup>193</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p. 97

<sup>194</sup> <http://gorkhalandstate.blogspot.in> Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council- Memorandum of Settlement-DGHC, 22 March 2012

<sup>195</sup> Kaushik, Anupama(2000), “Resurgent Gorkhaland: Ethnicity, Identity and Autonomy,” *Conflict Trends*, p.46

<sup>196</sup>“The Struggle for Gorkhaland,” *International Relations and Security Network*, Special Network, Switzerland, Feb. 2008, p.1

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DARJEELING DISTRICT

It is not only the issue of identity or citizenship that are the thriving force for the movement of autonomy in Darjeeling hills. In West Bengal State, the Bengali groups were the main dominant since they were the majority. The minority group who considers themselves as deprived by the majority group started demanding autonomy so as to develop themselves. It is not only the minority groups who felt insecure but the negative attitude of the dominant Bengali institutionalized the emergence of the "Gorkhaland."<sup>197</sup> Even the Chief Minister of West Bengal order an issued to the Darjeeling district to treat the Nepali who supported the movement for autonomy as anti- social and on 27 August 1985, a Nepali student seeking admission in Darjeeling Government College was asked by a Bengali teacher to go to Nepal and this spread like wild fire where the Nepali sentiment was badly hurt by the remarks.<sup>198</sup> For the development of Siliguri a huge amount were spent by the West Bengal government where majority were Bengali and the same amount was not spent for Darjeeling hills and the attitude of the Bengalis were mostly exposed when the Gorkha National Liberation Front started agitation, various criticisms were made by some Bengalis in Calcutta and Siliguri.<sup>199</sup>

The all round development in Sikkim around 1975 also created a sense of jealousy among the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills because in Sikkim the Nepalese had dominated the people of Sikkim culturally and educationally for over hundred years.<sup>200</sup> In the Bulletin of the Study of Darjeeling hills it is written that, "Our greatest sorrow is that, like in all other spheres, we the people of the Hills have no say what so ever in policy matters and are deliberately and conveniently debarred from participation in any decision making process even when the issues revolve around resources that are basically ours."<sup>201</sup> This shows that it is due to the lesser population

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<sup>197</sup> Mitra. Amit (1988), "Ethnicity and the minorities: The case of the Gurkhas." Lecture delivered on *Seminar on problems and strategies of Development in the Eastern Himalayas*, March, 1988, p.18-19,

<sup>198</sup>Subba. Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.204

<sup>199</sup>Ganguly, Rajat (2012), "Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India", *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p. 497

<sup>200</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1989), *Dynamics of a Hill Society: The Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas*, New Delhi: K. M. Mittal, p. 113- 114

<sup>201</sup> Bulletin No.3, Study forum Darjeeling, "Study on Gorkhaland: Review No.1, on the information document of Government of WestBengal", January 1987, p.4

\_\_\_\_ Sachanandan Sau, "Database for planning and development in West Bengal", *Volume 1*, (Districts of West Bengal. Kolkatta, 2009) , *census.gov.india*



or being minority that the people of the Darjeeling hills were in a disadvantage position.

Let us see the profile of Darjeeling hills from 1971 to till present. Here the year from 1971 is selected because the movement for autonomy is at its peak:

TABLE NO.7

Decennial growth of population<sup>202</sup>

YEAR		WEST BENGAL	DARJEELING
1971-1981	TOTAL	23.17	31.02
	RURAL	20.36	23.36
	URBAN	31.73	56.57
1981-1991	TOTAL	24.73	26.91
	RURAL	23.01	21.79
	URBAN	29.49	40.37
1991-2001	TOTAL	17.84	23.54
	RURAL	16.94	20.04
	URBAN	20.2	31.51
2001- 2011 (PROVISIONAL)	TOTAL	13.93	14.47
	RURAL		
	URBAN		

Source: Census of India, 1981, 1991, 2001, Darjeeling Census Handbook, Darjeeling District

In terms of population size in 2001, among the 19 district of West Bengal, Darjeeling District ranked 18 positions. It is almost one of the least populated Districts after Dakshin Dinajpur. But, the growth rate of Darjeeling is very high; it is above the State growth rate. The reasons for the unnatural growth of population are due:-

1. Tea Industry created job opportunity and people started moving into Darjeeling hills.

<sup>202</sup> Census of India 1981 Series 23, Part XIII- B, *Darjeeling Census Handbook*, Darjeeling District  
 \_\_\_ Census of India 1991, Series 26, Part XII- A, *Village and town Darjeeling District*  
 \_\_\_ Census of India 2001, Provisional

2. Opening up of railways line between Siliguri and Darjeeling
3. Construction of hydro- electric power plant
4. Opening up of schools for the Anglo- Indians as well as for the Europeans has led to migration.
5. Utilization of forest resources attracts the nearby town.
6. Continuation of immigration after Independence due the permission for settlement and hold properties in India.<sup>203</sup>

The increase in population is disadvantages in one sense because with the increase in population there is an increase for the needs of wants or material resources.

TABLE NO.8

Density of population per square kilometre<sup>204</sup>

YEAR	WEST BENGAL	DARJEELING
1971-1981	615	325
1981-1991	767	413
1991-2001	904	510
2001- 2011 (PROVISIONAL)	1029	585

Source: Census of India 2011; Provisional population Totals for West Bengal, Census of India, 1981, 1991, 2001, Darjeeling Census Handbook, Darjeeling District

In 2001, among all the 19 Districts, the population density of Darjeeling hills occupied 17 positions in West Bengal. It is one of the least populated Districts in West Bengal. The density per square kilometres is low as compared to the whole of West Bengal State.

<sup>203</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy(2004), Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi and Company, p. 78

<sup>204</sup> Census of India 1981 Series 23, Part XIII- B, *Darjeeling Census Handbook*, Darjeeling District  
 \_\_\_ Census of India 1991, Series 26, Part XII- A, *Village and town Darjeeling District*  
 \_\_\_ Census of India 2001, Provisional

TABLE NO.9

Percentage of rural and urban population of Darjeeling district with respect to West Bengal<sup>205</sup>

YEAR		WEST BENGAL	DARJEELING
1971-1981	RURAL	73.5	72.5
	URBAN	26.5	27.6
1981- 1991	RURAL	72.5	69.5
	URBAN	27.5	30.5
1991-2001	RURAL	72.0	67.6
	URBAN	28.0	32.4
2001- 2011	RURAL	68.13	60.58
	URBAN	31.87	39.42

Source: Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Kolkata, 2009

The rural population is higher than the urban population in Darjeeling as well as in the whole West Bengal State. Comparing the rural population of Darjeeling district and the State total rural population, Darjeeling district population is lower than the State total rural population and it decreases every decade. But the urban population of Darjeeling district is higher as compared to the State total urban population as seen above in the Table no.9.

TABLE NO.10

Sex ratio (Number of females per 1000 males)<sup>206</sup>

YEAR	WEST BENGAL	DARJEELING
1971-1981	911	888
1981-1991	917	914
1991-2001	934	943

<sup>205</sup> Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Kolkata, 2009

<sup>206</sup> Census of India 1981 Series 23, Part XIII- B, *Darjeeling Census Handbook*, Darjeeling District  
 \_\_\_ Census of India 1991, Series 26, Part XII- A, *Village and town Darjeeling District*

\_\_\_ Census of India 2001, Provisional

\_\_\_ Darjeeling Census Handbook, Darjeeling District, *Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal*, Kolkata, 2009

2001-2011	947	971
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Source: Census of India 2011; Provisional population Totals for West Bengal, Census of India, 1981, 1991, 2001, Darjeeling Census Handbook, Darjeeling District, Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Kolkata, 2009

Sex ratio gives us an idea of what a Society or a State is? It gives us an information of how developed as well as it shows the human development index. It is also an indicator of the health and social status of women in that particular society, and also and has a direct and immediate bearing on other key indicators like child mortality. Out of the 17 Districts presented in the provisional population of 2001, Darjeeling district occupied the 12<sup>th</sup> position and it is one of the lowest sex- ratio among the District after the district of North twenty four Parganas, Barddhaman, Haora and Kolkata. Out of the number of females per 1000 male, Darjeeling has only 937 female in 2001.

TABLE NO.11

Literacy rate<sup>207</sup>

YEAR		WEST BENGAL	DARJEELING
1971- 1981	TOTAL	40.94	42.47
	MALE	50.67	51.89
	FEMALE	30.25	31.85
1981- 1991	TOTAL	57.70	58.00
	MALE	67.81	67.10
	FEMALE	46.56	47.80
1991- 2001	TOTAL	68.64	71.79
	MALE	82.67	81.30
	FEMALE	71.16	63.90
2001- 2011	TOTAL		
	MALE	77.08	79.92
	FEMALE		

<sup>207</sup> Source: Census of India 2011; Provisional population Totals for West Bengal, Census of India, 1981, 1991, 2001, Darjeeling Census Handbook, Darjeeling District, Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Kolkata, 2009

Source: Census of India 2011; Provisional population Totals for West Bengal, Census of India, 1981, 1991, 2001, Darjeeling Census Handbook, Darjeeling District, Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Kolkata, 2009

Literacy rate is a very important indicator of a society which is also links to the socio-economic progress and development. Among the 19 district of West Bengal, Darjeeling district in terms of education in 2011 and 2001 ranked 6<sup>th</sup> position excluding the age group between 0-6years. Darjeeling district occupied a very high position among the districts of West Bengal.

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF DARJEELING HILLS

Economic deprivation is one of the main reasons for the movement of autonomy. When there is economic stagnation over a long period, the solution against this blockade is to organize for political movement.<sup>208</sup> Darjeeling hills is one of the examples and Subash Ghising leaders of the Gorkha National Liberation Front raise an important question whether there is an involvement of economic issue or not but, Jyoti Basu, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal argued that there are no linkages between economic issues and the movement for autonomy in Darjeeling hills. He pointed out that per- capita expenditure and per capita income of Darjeeling is the highest among the district of West Bengal.<sup>209</sup>

Let us see the profile of Darjeeling hills in terms of expenditure under various plans and the per capita plan expenditure with respect to the State West Bengal:-

TABLE NO.12

Expenditure under various plans<sup>210</sup>

(Unit: Rs Crores)

Plan	Total	Special Central Assistance	State Plan
Fifth Plan			

<sup>208</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.197

<sup>209</sup>Dasgupta, Manas (1988), "The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions", Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p. 17

<sup>210</sup>"Gorkhaland Agitation facts and Issues", *Information Document II*, (Government of West Bengal, January 1987), p.39

(1974- 79)	37.22	15.00	22.22
1979- 80)	10.82	3.99	6.83
Sixth Plan (1980- 85)	78.84	29.43	49.41
Seventh Plan Outlay (1985-90)	122.98	44.55	78.43

Source: Gorkhaland Agitation facts and Issues”, Information Document II, Government of West Bengal, January 1987

The table 12 gives detailed account of the planned budget for Darjeeling hills. The planned outlay for expenditure was for the development of Darjeeling hills. The Government of India as well as the State Government of West Bengal provided fund for the development of Darjeeling hills. The planned expenditure from the fifth plan, sixth plan and the seventh planned shows that there is an increase in the planned expenditure, which is almost twice the expenditure spent in each planned than the previous.

TABLE NO.13

Per capita plan expenditure in West Bengal and Darjeeling hills<sup>211</sup>

(UNIT: RUPEES)

Plan	West Bengal	Darjeeling Hills
Five Years: Fifth Plans	283	775
Sixth Plans	446	1,431
Seventh Plan outlay	756	2,232
Single year: 1979-1980	86	226
1984- 1985	124	421
1985-1986	124	449
1986-	142	421
1987 (outlay)		

Source: Gorkhaland Agitation facts and Issues”, Information Document II, Government of West Bengal, January 1987

The per capita planned expenditure is shown in table no.13. The per capita planned expenditure in Darjeeling hills is almost thrice the plan in the entire State of West Bengal, and it increases tremendously. Thus, this shows that in terms of per capita

<sup>211</sup> “Gorkhaland Agitation facts and Issues”, *Information Document II*, Government of West Bengal, January 1987, p.40

expenditure Darjeeling hills is not lacking behind, it exceeds the amount spent in the State.

The economy of any State or any Country is also best known by the number of work participation. Work participation shows the number of employed and unemployed status within a particular area. It helps in a better understanding of the overall employment status. Table 8 shows the work participation rate in the districts of West Bengal and Darjeeling districts in terms of gender as well as in the rural and urban area.

TABLE NO.14

Work participation rate in districts of West Bengal, 2001<sup>212</sup>

Districts	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female	DISTRICTS	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female
Darjeeling	47.9	47.1	25.7	10.7	North 24 Parganas	54.1	12	53.8	10.8
Jalpaiguri	52.2	49.7	26.2	8.8	South 14 Parganas	51.6	12.4	53.1	8.8
Coochbeha	55.1	23.3	52.7	11.6	Hoogly	57.7	18.9	54.1	10.5
Uttar Dinajpur	52.1	25.5	50.2	11.1	Bankura	57	33.5	53	13.4
Dakshin Dinajpur	56.6	26.9	48.8	13.8	Purulia	52.9	39.2	46.8	9
Maldah	52.7	29.6	50.8	11.6	Paschim Medinipur	55.0	24.3	50.6	10.1
Murshidabad	51.3	14.7	50.2	27.7	Purba Medinipur	55.0	24.3	50.6	10.1
Birbhum	54.5	20.3	51.8	12.2	Howrah	55.5	10.3	56.2	8
Burdwan	56.5	20	48.6	9.1	Kolkata	0	0	58.1	12.8
Nadia	55.1	13.2	54.6	17.4					

Source: Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Kolkata, 2009.

In terms of work participation rate in West Bengal, the work participation rate of Darjeeling districts is one of the lowest. The number of rural male work participation rate for Darjeeling district is the lowest where as the rural female work participation

<sup>212</sup> Database for planning and development in West Bengal, Volume 1: Districts of West Bengal, Resources in Districts of West Bengal, 2009, p.166 -167

rate for Darjeeling District is the Second highest among the various Districts of West Bengal. Urban male work participation for Darjeeling district is also the lowest where as the Urban female work participation among the various district of West Bengal occupied 8<sup>th</sup> position. This shows that the number of employment rate is very high in Darjeeling district.

As per the census of India 2001, Darjeeling district registered the lowest number of workers 4.03 lakh male workers and 1.66 lakh female workers. Among the various districts of West Bengal, North Parganas occupied the highest work participation of which 23.03 lakh for male and 3.21 lakh for female.<sup>213</sup>

### **FOREST COVER AND TEA PLANTATION IN DARJEELING HILLS**

Forest and tea industries play a major role for the development of Darjeeling hills. Darjeeling hills faced the problem of deforestation. The traditional form of cultivation is Jhumming in Darjeeling where destruction of forest is a massive by product of human activities. The agriculture development in the modern sense of the term was still limited in the district until 1972- 1974 when the SEDA (Small Farmer's Development Agency) was established.<sup>214</sup>

### **FOREST COVER**

The number of forest cover decreases in a massive scale:-

TABLE NO. 15

Forest area in Darjeeling<sup>215</sup>

Year	Total Forest (sq.kms)	Percentage of forest	Per Capita Forest (in hectares)
1901	1554.21	51.54	0.62
1921	1481.81	49.14	0.52
1941	1414.08	45.81	0.37

<sup>213</sup> Data base for planning and development in West Bengal, p. 162

<sup>214</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1985), *The Quiet Hills: A study of Agrarian relations in Hill Darjeeling*, New Delhi: ISPCCK, p.18

<sup>215</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988), "The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions", Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p.21



1961	1432.65	46.07	0.23
1981	1204.00	38.23	0.12

Source: Manas Das Gupta, 1988

Table no.15 shows the decreases in forest coverage areas for the district of Darjeeling. The percentage of forest cover in 1901 was 51.54 but in 1981 it was only 38.23.

The decrease in forest cover causes a serious problem for Darjeeling because the people are totally depending on the products of forest such as timber, tea, agriculture and forest also played an important role for the Tourism industry<sup>216</sup>. Some of the main reasons for the causes of deforestation are:-

1. Commercialization of forest. Deforestation cause by due the activities of the West Bengal Government.
2. Rapid growth of population.
3. High unemployment within Darjeeling hills and
4. Due to poverty the local people directly depend on forest product like fuel, fodder, timber; and clandestine illegal felling of trees by professional criminals gangs often in connivance with the local politicians, forest department personnel and the police.<sup>217</sup>

In Darjeeling hills the economy has gradually shifted from self- consumption to market based and in the process of an economy that is monetised, it is the businessmen communities like the Marwaris and the Biharis and some few Nepalese business Caste like the Newars that are benefitting from it.<sup>218</sup> Obtaining maximum profit out of forest product was the main motive of any industry. The area of forest coverage changes with the industrialization process because every industry needs raw materials in order to function. For setting up it requires a large amount of land which further led to the destruction of forest. Commercialization of forest product started increasing. Not only hard woods were planted in the forest but softwood started increasing and according to the Government, "it serves the needs of matchwood and

<sup>216</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.197

<sup>217</sup>Lama, Mahendra P(1986), "Darjeeling's Eroding Environment: Cause for concern", *Patriot*, June 1986, p.4

<sup>218</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1985), *The Quiet Hills: A study of Agrarian relations in Hill Darjeeling*, New Delhi: ISPCK, p.21

plywood industries.”<sup>219</sup> This commercialization of forest led to cutting down of trees, especially the hardwood which further led to destruction of land, causes soil erosion, landslides, changes in climatic conditions, destruction of soils. Forests are continuously under attack because the people were mainly dependent on forest products, agriculture were the main source of livelihood, grazing livestock, extraction of trees for firewood, looping of leaf twigs for fodder.<sup>220</sup> Gorkha National Liberation Front also involve in trees cutting because they sell woods for their funds and wood was used as a lamp posts to block roads.<sup>221</sup>

Even the environmental status of Darjeeling hills is degrading. “Although the Centre provides special financial assistance for the hills, there is no sign of an integrated approach for the development of such areas in Darjeeling (by the Hill Development Council). As in other parts of the Himalayas, the Darjeeling hills have certain peculiar agro- ecological and socio- cultural features which have to be taken into account while formulating developmental programme. But the concept of development without destruction is necessary for the conservation and utilization of resources that has not yet taken root in Darjeeling District. The region, therefore, finds itself in the quandary of dwindling resource base and mounting poverty, a grim situation that affects people in the plains of North Bengal as well. Forests constitute the main source of livelihood in the hills of Darjeeling. They check soil erosion, prevent wildlife and vegetation, regulate precipitation patterns and safeguard the life style and culture of the people. Removal of forest cover has led to considerable denudation through loss of the top soil and land-slides, making several areas in the Darjeeling hills uninhabitable.”<sup>222</sup>

## TEA INDUSTRY

In Darjeeling Hills, Tea industry forms the backbone of the economy. It is the source of income which further generates employment.

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<sup>219</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1988), “The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions”, Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p. 20

<sup>220</sup> Ibid, p.21

<sup>221</sup> Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing house, p.199

<sup>222</sup> Pradhan, B.L. (1984), “Neither wood nor trees” in *The Statesman*, 10 December 1984

TABLE NO.16

Employment of tea gardens in Darjeeling<sup>223</sup>

YEAR	TOTAL NO.
1951	63042
1961	60979
1971	56990
1976	49192
1981	44052

Source: Manas Das Gupta, 1988

Tea industries generate employment in Darjeeling hills, but the number of people working in tea industry is declining. It is clear that there is a decrease in unemployment due to decrease in tea garden. In the mountain slopes of Arangrove, Rohini, Downhill, Upper Fagu, Lebong, Mineral Spring etc tea have disappeared and it is expected that by the year 2001 A.D. few isolated tea garden will further disappeared.<sup>224</sup> Apart from declining of tea garden, 60 percent of the total area under tea garden contain tea plants belonging to the uneconomic age group of more than 70 years and further, nearly a quarter of the area for tea garden contain plants which are more than 100 years old.<sup>225</sup> Most of the tea garden in Darjeeling is owned by outsiders such as the Marwari, Bengalis and a few Nepalese. The outsiders who own tea garden have a mindset of profit maximization and also have a feeling that one day they might be forced by the local to leave the area, these private owners rarely ploughed back a substantial share of their profits in their tea estate. The tea industries further suffer from lack of investment.<sup>226</sup>

Thus, we have studied in detail about the profile of Darjeeling hills. It is seen that in terms of Per Capita it is very high as compared to the other Districts of West Bengal. Darjeeling district has a good account of literacy rate. But the area under forest cover

<sup>223</sup>Dasgupta, Manas (1988), "The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions", Lecture delivered on 9 March 1988 at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal: North Bengal, p. 18

<sup>224</sup> Ibid. p. 18

<sup>225</sup> Dasgupta, Manas (1986), "Forest Management in Darjeeling Hill Area from British Raj to Swaraj", *In forestry Development in North East India, Assam*, p.72- 93.

<sup>226</sup> Lama, Mahendra P.(1987), "Darjeeling Hills: Some Economic Issues," *The Hindustan Times*, 13 May 1987, p.9

is declined due to various factors which further led to unemployment. Countering, the movement for autonomy that the region is backward, in 1987, the West Bengal government published an information document giving certain facts and figures about Darjeeling district. According to the State Government, though the district of Darjeeling is poor but it is not poorer and more backward as compared to the other district of West Bengal.<sup>227</sup> The Nepalese in Darjeeling hills demanded autonomy based on their social deprivation, economic inequality and political instability. But the above facts and figures show that they were better off than some of the other community in terms of education, per capita income etc in respect to the others district. of West Bengal but in terms of Sex- ratio, work participation rate it is one of the lowest among the districts of West Bengal. The social, economic and political status was used only as a tool for demanding autonomy for the development of the Nepalese and Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was formed for this in 1988.

## **FORMATION AND WORKING OF DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL**

A memorandum of settlement was signed between the Gorkha National Liberation Front and the Government of West Bengal and Central Government on the 22 August 1988 known as the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act or the West Bengal Act XIII OF 1988.<sup>228</sup> The Bill was introduced in the State Assembly and was passed on the 28 August, 1988. The Bill got the assent of the President of India and it was first published in the Calcutta Gazette on 15 October, 1988 as West Bengal Act XIII of 1988.<sup>229</sup> The total geographical area of the Council is 2467 sq.km of which 2433 sq.km is under rural area and only 34 sq. km. is urban area.<sup>230</sup>

According to the Agreement signed between the Centre Government, West Bengal Government and Gorkha National Liberation Front for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council states that Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council shall consist of a two body- ie, General Council and Executive Council. Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council is

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<sup>227</sup> "Gorkhaland Agitation: Facts and Issues", *Information Document- II*, Government of West Bengal, January 1987, p.38.

<sup>228</sup> <http://www.darjeelingtimes.com> DGHC: Its shortcomings 19 May 2012, also see appendix 4 for the working of DGHC

<sup>229</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.97

<sup>230</sup> Ibid. p.97

empowered with several autonomy where different departments come under its Jurisdiction.<sup>231</sup>

### **General Council**

In the General Council, out of the 42 members 28 members are to be elected by the people of Darjeeling Districts on the basis of adult suffrage and the General Council have the rights to elect its own Chairman and Vice Chairman.<sup>232</sup> Among the 144 nominated Councillors, three are members of the State Legislative Assembly elected from three hill constituencies of Darjeeling and one member of the Lok Sabha elected from Darjeeling, three Chairman of Municipalities are to be elected from the hill areas, and the remaining seven Councillors are to be nominated from the communities of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Women. The tenure of the Councillors is five years.<sup>233</sup> The General Council meet at least once in every quarter of a year. It is the responsibility of the District Council to ensure various plans and schemes associated with development in the hill districts and also have the rights for acquisition or disposal of all immovable properties within the coverage area of the Darjeeling District Hill Council.<sup>234</sup>

### **Legislative Power**

The General Council of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has limited Legislative power. The General Council of the Darjeeling District has got the power to make by-laws only after the law that has been made by the State Government.<sup>235</sup> Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act of Section 27 empowers the Council to make by-law that is applicable in the Hill areas. The General Council has the right to exercise powers and supervision over the Panchayat Samities, Gram Panchayats and Municipalities falling within the jurisdiction of the District Council.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> See Appendix- 4

<sup>232</sup> Ganguly, Rajat(2012), "Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India", *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.467- 502

<sup>233</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p. 98

<sup>234</sup> Ibid, p.98

<sup>235</sup> <http://www.gorkhacreed.com/bimal-gurung-gta-subash-ghishing-dghc-no-gorkha-land/>

<sup>236</sup> <http://gorkhalandstate.blogspot.in/>, "Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council- MOS- Memorandum of settlement- DGHC", *Gorkhaland blog*.Retrived 22 March 2012, Signed on 22 August 1988.

## **Financial Power**

The General Council of the district has the power to collect taxes, can levy tolls on persons, vehicles, animals; it may levy tolls in respect of any ferry established by it; levy fee on the registration of boats or vehicles, for licences within its jurisdiction and it can also impose water- rate and lightning rate etc.<sup>237</sup> With the approval of the State Government, the General Council can also raise loans. The General Council totally depend on the funds from the State Government, and financial assistance from the State Government and the Union Government.

## **Supervisory Power**

As against the provisions of the West Bengal Panchayat Act 1973 or the Bengal Municipal Act 1932, the General Council has power over the Panchayat Samitis, Gram Panchayats and Municipalities falling within the area of the Council's jurisdiction.<sup>238</sup> The Panchayats and the Municipalities is sub- ordinate to the District Council.

## **Executive Council**

The Executive Council is created in order to assist the General Council. The Executive Council consists of the Chief Executive Council and the Vice Chairman and also 15 other Councillors to be elected within the elected Councillors, 2 are to be nominated by the State Government from the nominated Councillors. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the General Council are ex-officio members of the Executive Council.<sup>239</sup>

## **Chief Executive Council**

The Chief Executive Council is designated as the Chairman in the Executive Council. The Chief Executive Council as well as the Chairman of the General Council enjoyed the status and privileges that are enjoyed by the Minister in the Hill Council and also like a Minister of the State. The Chief Executive Council position is like the Chief

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<sup>237</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p. 100

<sup>238</sup>Subba, Tanka Bahadur (1992), *"Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling"*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, p.267

<sup>239</sup><http://gorkhalandstate.blogspot.in/>, "Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council- MOS- Memorandum of settlement- DGHC," *Gorkhaland blog*.Retrived 22 March 2012, signed on 22 August 1988.

Minister in a State Cabinet and he is elected by the Councillors for a period of five years. The Chief Executive Council or the Chairman of the Executive Council is responsible for the maintenance of records, financial and executive administration for the transaction of business of the Executive Council, it exercises administrative supervision, control over all offices and employees of the General Council and also enjoyed powers as that are vested with the General Council. The Vice Chairman of the Executive Council is empowered to exercise power in the absence of the Chief Executive Council or Chairman of the Executive Council.<sup>240</sup>

The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council is not within the provision of either the Schedule V OR Schedule VI of the Constitution, though the status and powers conferred on the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council are more or less the same as that of an autonomous body formed under the Schedule V or Schedule VI.<sup>241</sup> The creation for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was a significant movement. Through the creation of Council, the people of Darjeeling were now been able to administer for the social upliftment, political stability and for economic development directly. All funds allocated for Darjeeling districts are to be directly control by the District Council. The new Council had no police or legislative powers but through this there was a huge infusion of Central Development Funds.<sup>242</sup> The District Council was an apex body for the district, village, and municipal Governments with an authority for development funds and economic planning that are vested in it.<sup>243</sup>

With respect to the tripartite agreement, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has the jurisdiction over the Governing body for the District of Darjeeling. Subash Ghising leaders of the Gorkha National Liberation Front has been the Chaiman of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council since its inception.<sup>244</sup> After the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, the Gorkha National Liberation Front wins election for three

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<sup>240</sup>Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.102

<sup>241</sup>Samanta, Amiya K.(2000), *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, p.176

<sup>242</sup>Lacina, Bethany (2012), "India's Stabilizing segment States" . *Working paper*, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, p.15

<sup>243</sup> Ibid, p.16

<sup>244</sup>"The Struggle for Gorkhaland", *International Relations and Security Network*, (Special Issue, Switzerland, Feb, 2008), p.1-2

consecutive terms between 1989 and 2001.<sup>245</sup> And regarding elections, the Elections Commission of the State did not supervise the nature of election but a separate Election Commission was appointed in particular for the Darjeeling Districts. In the first election held after the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1988, the Gorkha National Liberation Front secured 26 out of 28 seats.<sup>246</sup> Ghising after the victory of the first election declared that, “we will change the face of Darjeeling in the next few years.”<sup>247</sup> Ghising further made a statement that he was interested to work in co-operation with the State Government.<sup>248</sup> In the second election held in 1999 the Gorkha National Liberation Front won 26 seats out of 28 seats in District Council.<sup>249</sup> In 1996, and 1998 and 1999, Gorkha National Liberation Front boycotted the Lok Sabha elections.<sup>250</sup> In the third election which was held in 2001, out of the 5 candidates 3 won the State Assembly Elections in West Bengal. The fourth election for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was to be held in 2004, but the Government of West Bengal decided to withhold the election and instead made Subash Ghising as the sole Care Taker as they were planning to introduce Sixth Schedule Tribal Council in placed of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>251</sup>

The new Council has no police or legislative powers but there was flow of funds from the Government of India for the development of Darjeeling hills.<sup>252</sup>

Thus, the allocation of funds for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council under the Special Central Assistance is given below:-

Table No. 17

#### Funds allocation for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Lacina, Bethany (2012), “India’s Stabilizing segment States” , *Working paper*, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, p.16

<sup>246</sup> Sarkar, D & Bhaumik, D. (2000), “*Empowering Darjeeling Hills: An experience with Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council*,” New Delhi: Indian publishers Distributors, p.121.

“Darjeeling Poll result worries CPM”, *The Hindustan Times*, 4, January 1994, p.7

<sup>247</sup> Kamal Jeet Rattan, “Hope of Peace: GNLF wins Hill Council,” *India Today*, 15, January, 1989, p.63

<sup>248</sup> Bose, Sikha (1994), “Ethnic appeal swept Gorkha National League Front to victory,” *Times of India*, 5 January 1994, p.5

<sup>249</sup> Gorkha National Liberation Front, *The Telegraph*, 20 March, 1999

<sup>250</sup> Demand for New State in Bengal, *The Tribune*, 21 May 2005

<sup>251</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhash\\_Ghisingh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhash_Ghisingh)

<sup>252</sup> Lacina, Bethany (2012), “India’s Stabilizing segment States” , *Working paper*, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, p.15

<sup>253</sup> [www.darjeelingtimes.com](http://www.darjeelingtimes.com) DGHC: Its Shortcomings 19 May 2012



Sl.no.	Year	Allocation Crore	Fund Received Crore
1.	1988-89	35.02	35.02
2.	89-90	13.75	18.75
3	90-91	16.32	16.32
4	91-92	19.32	12.68
5	92-93	19.32	Nil
6	93-94	20.61	21.45
7	94-95	20.61	21.64
8	95-96	33.35	15.86
9	96-97	22.23	32.12
10	97-98	22.23	10.06
11	98-99	22.23	16.52
12	99-2000	21.23	04.50

Source: [www.darjeelingtimes.com](http://www.darjeelingtimes.com)

The above table shows that the fund allocated for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was not utilised fully. Apart from the utilization of the central fund, even the councillors were accused of misusing the funds for the development of Darjeeling hills. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya describe Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council as “totally defunct,” and further stated that the people are not getting the benefits of public money because the councillors and the Chairman of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council are corrupted and misused their power and money given to them.<sup>254</sup> Ananda Pathak, committee member of the Communist Party of Marxist, West Bengal also demanded for the proper utilization of Rs. 45 crore that has left unutilised by the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in the current financial year of 2001<sup>255</sup>. The people are also not satisfied with the working of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council which will be discuss in the next chapter.

## CONCLUSION

The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was created for the Social, Political and Economic development of the people living in Darjeeling district. According to

<sup>254</sup> Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya slams Ghising for misusing power, *The Times of India*, 16 November 2001

<sup>255</sup> CPM lines up fireworks at hill meet, *The Times of India*, 1 December 2001

Gorkha National Liberation Front, the Bengali dominated the State and so they wanted autonomy. It is argued that in every State where there are different ethnic groups living together there can never be equal opportunity. Even within Darjeeling Hills the Original settlers felt that they were dominated by the majority group the Nepalese. According to the document published by the West Bengal Government, the various minorities living in Darjeeling districts are feeling threatened and insecure. The attitude of the Gorkha National Liberation Front leader Subash Ghising against the Lepchas threatened them. He is recorded as describing the tribals as “uncivilized, very backward, whose men go naked and whose women bare-breasted,” and who need to be administered centrally, compared to the civilised Nepali-speaking Population.<sup>256</sup> And through the facts and figures studied, it is clear that we cannot totally said that Darjeeling District is under developed because compared to other Districts it is far better in terms of various areas such as- Per Capita, Density is lower, But, the tea industry is declining, decrease in forest cover and its product, there was degradation of soil etc.

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council administered Darjeeling Hills for twenty three years with some degree of autonomy. The Hill Council were given more power in the decision making process in the hills of Darjeeling so that they can developed themselves. But it is also a victim of the same disease affecting politicians where there is corruption and autocratic rule. It has miserably failed to fulfil the aspirations of the Gorkhas and other sections of the people residing in Darjeeling District which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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<sup>256</sup>“Gorkhaland Agitation Facts and Issues”, *Information Document II* , Government of West Bengal, January, 1987, p.3

## CHAPTER- 5

### FROM DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL TO GORKHA TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION: PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS

The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has been administering the district of Darjeeling from August 1988. Under the rule of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council the people in Darjeeling are expecting that things are going to change for the better. The Council's experience has been successful. Armed conflict was absent during the mid 1980's. With the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Bengalese were satisfied as the State of West Bengal was not divided. Though there was still a demand for "Gorkhaland", the Gorkhas get some autonomy and they were under the controlled and affairs of the District Council. After the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, its Chairman Subash Ghising had a cordial relationship with the Chief Minister of West Bengal Jyoti Basu. With the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, the West Bengal Government also assisted the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council by offering a grant of Rs. 2.5 crore over and above the outlay for 1989 to 1990 financial year to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council for urgent developmental work in the District. The Government further promised to increase the amount by 50% within two months. The Chief Minister also proposed that the Central Government would be asked to elevate the Hill Cart Road, the main road connecting the Darjeeling hills to the plains, to the status of National Highway. Subash Ghising also asked the Government to create District police forces by recruiting 200 locals in Darjeeling Districts.<sup>257</sup>

#### DISILLUSIONMENT OF DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL

The decision for the settlement of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council did not go very well with the other party such as the All India Gorkha League and even within the members of the Gorkha National Liberation Front. It is so because the initial demand made by Gorkha National Liberation Front was a separate state called "Gorkhaland" within India including Darjeeling hills and areas of Doars and Siliguri/Terai regions

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<sup>257</sup> Ganguly, Rajat (2012), "Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India", *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.490-491

that are contagious to Darjeeling hills. Gorkha National Liberation Front compromised with the “Gorkhaland” demand by accepting the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and only Darjeeling hills was included within its administrative units excluding the Siliguri/Terai regions. The discontentment within the party is obvious because against the party’s official candidates many of the Gorkha National Liberation Front contested the 13<sup>th</sup> December 1988 elections to the newly formed Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. Ghising was very much content with the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council that he made a statement that Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council would not be used as a stepping stone for the formation of a separate State in future.<sup>258</sup>

The people of Darjeeling Hills were against the working of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. After the formation of the Hill Council it was expected by the people of Darjeeling Hills that many changes will come up. The initial hope among the Gorkhas that things are going to be better under the working of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council came to be gradually replaced by an intensifying sense of gloom and despair.<sup>259</sup> The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Chairman and the Executive Councillors enjoy all the frills of cars/jeeps with red lights etc as those like other Minister in West Bengal and elsewhere. The Council is dominated by the Gorkha National Liberation Front and Subash Ghising and there is a tendency to equate Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council with the Gorkha National Liberation Front.<sup>260</sup>

Under the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, there was no improvement, the issue of unemployment was still there, most of the town in Darjeeling faces water shortages during every summer and during monsoon the conditions of road deteriorate because of landslides affecting the transport system. Dissatisfaction against Ghising arose due to his dictatorial style of functioning, unfulfilled promises and due to his corruption. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has failed in implementation any major development projects in the Hills and failed to eradicate the problems that the District has suffered since long. During the long period of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council

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<sup>258</sup> No Separate State, says Ghising, *The Statesman*, 24 January 1988

<sup>259</sup> Ganguly, Rajat (2012), “Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India”, *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.469

<sup>260</sup> Chakrabarty, S. (2005), “Silence under freedom: the strange story of democracy in the Darjeeling hills” in R.Samaddar(eds.) *The politics of autonomy: Indian experiences*, New Delhi: Sage publications, p. 173-195

rule, infrastructural problems such as shortage of water and power, poor road conditions and lack of higher educational institutions have not only been magnified, the economic condition of Darjeeling get deteriorated with the fall in tea price, political instability. Darjeeling continued to remain embedded in endemic poverty.<sup>261</sup> Social and environmental condition of Darjeeling Districts also get deteriorate, alcoholism and drugs usage, anti- social activities have continued to grow over a year, increase in HIV/AIDS infections rates and there was growth of punk culture.<sup>262</sup>

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council is not only accused of by the people of Darjeeling Hills for the non implementation of various developmental plans or not fulfilling its aims and objectives but it is also charged with corruption.<sup>263</sup> It is not a transparent and accountable body because the Chairman Subash Ghising has refused to submit the detailed accounts of the fund spent in Darjeeling Hills. Corruption within the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council got rampant. No significant changes took place with the rule of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.

Moreover, there is some section even within the party of Gorkha National Liberation Front that was not satisfied with autonomy but demanded a fully fledged State.<sup>264</sup> Subash Ghising after the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council did not raised the issue of a separate State called "Gorkhaland". And it was not success in its demand because the administrative autonomy of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council confined only in the hills of Darjeeling and did not include the Terai regions.<sup>265</sup> The discontentment with Ghising and the working of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has led to the formation of a Committee that was formed in Darjeeling around 1990's known as "Save Gorkha National Liberation Front Committee." The Committee was anti-Ghising.<sup>266</sup> They were against Ghising, and protested him from entering the main town, along the major roads in Darjeeling and Kalimpong posters that were containing Anti- Ghising were pasted, which accused his wrong practices and indirectly for helping the Communist Party of India (M) to regain political power in

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<sup>261</sup> Ganguly, Rajat (2012), "Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India", *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.495

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, p.496

<sup>263</sup> Subba Hints at Fresh Stir for Gorkhaland, *The Times of India* 24 January 2012

<sup>264</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), "*Sub- Regional Movement in India: With Reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*", Kolkatta: K.P.Baghi & Company, p. 106

<sup>265</sup> Ghosh, Anjan (2009), "Gorkhaland Redux", *Economic and political weekly*, 44(23), p.10-13

<sup>266</sup> Ganguly, Rajat (2012), "Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India", *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.492

the hills. The committee also accused Ghising and Gorkha National Liberation Front for the practices of corruption under the aegis of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>267</sup>

Another political party known as Gorkha Liberation Organization was formed by Chattrey Subba in 1988 for the revival of “Gorkhaland” agitation. Chattrey Subba used to head the militant wing of the Gorkha National Liberation Front during the violent agitation of the 1980’s but he parted with Subash Ghising, the party leader as he vehemently opposed to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>268</sup> Gorkha Liberation Organization tried to link with the party in Doars known as the Doars Gorkha Sabha(DGS), a political organization formed under the leadership of the former Chief of Gorkha Volunteers Cells(GVC). During this time, the sentiment for a separate “Gorkhaland” was strong in the Eastern Doars. The Nepali in Doars supported the “Gorkhaland” movement initially, but they became deeply disillusioned when Subash Ghising settled for the Hill Council comprising only the Hill Districts of Darjeeling.<sup>269</sup> After the settlement for the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in 1988, the Eastern part of Doars was excluded from its jurisdiction. The Doars Gorkha Sabha was set up just to uplift the people and developed them. They announce that it would not seek Statehood if the West Bengal Government works for the development and upliftment of the Doars Nepali; but disillusionment with the State Government forced the Doars Gorkha Sabha to re-think the question of separate Statehood.<sup>270</sup>

Ghising tried to deflect all the criticism against him and the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. He accused his opponent as a group that tried to create “Greater Nepal”. In a letter to the Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in July 1991, Subash Ghising mentioned that other party under the banner of Gorkha Liberation Front with the Doars Gorkha Sabha, a political organization under the leadership of Kamal Pakhrin, the former chief of Gorkha Volunteers cell in Darjeeling is working for the creation of Greater Nepal and are also causing a treat to the integrity of India as well as Darjeeling hills, it has reached a critical point but the Gorkha National Liberation Front is the only party

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<sup>267</sup> Ghising Treatens Fresh Stir, *The Hindustan Times*, 11 May 1990

<sup>268</sup> Rebel Gorkha Leader Chattrey Subba Critizes GTA, *Hindustan Times*, 10 Sept 2011

<sup>269</sup> Ganguly, Rajat (2012), “Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India”, *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, p.492

<sup>270</sup> Pradhan, Keshav (1989), “Demand for Gorkhaland persists in the Doars,” *The Telegraph*, 12 July 1989

that stands for India, their motherland and against Greater Nepal.<sup>271</sup> The people of Darjeeling and Doars have restarted their fight for their rights to self assertion by demanding the formation of “Gorkhaland” and this causes a sense of insecurity among the State Government and among the Hill Council.

The Gorkha National Liberation Front and the State Government started accusing each other of attempting to sabotage the new Council. Ghising started accusing the State Government of withholding funds meant for the Council while the State Government, in turn, alleged that this had been done because of the non-submission of accounts by the Council. After a few months a serious row emerged between the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and the West Bengal government over the allocation of funds for the development of Darjeeling district. Ghising demanded Rs. 260 crores for the development projects and the West Bengal sanctioned Rs. 37 crores as a part of its plan outlay for the hills development in 1989 to 1990 fiscal year.<sup>272</sup> Ghising was also upset that the Indian Government in which they had not reacted positively to his request for a “Package Deal” for Darjeeling.<sup>273</sup> In 1981, Ghising observed that “I have a feeling that the Council has been formed only on paper. Their attitude needs to be changed. They are behaving (as far as financial commitments are concerned) as if there is no Council at all. If they are not ready to sanction funds needed by us, why did they sign the agreement at all?”<sup>274</sup> Ghising also criticised the State Government for not providing the needed infrastructure for the smooth functioning of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>275</sup>

To divert against people attention Ghising started raising the issues of “Greater Nepal” and Darjeeling as a “No-Man’s land.” Ghising also raised the issue of language where Nepali language was included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Ghising was against the inclusion of Nepali language because he wanted to replace Nepali to Gorkhali in the Eighth Schedule. He considers Nepali as a foreign language and the inclusion of Nepali language is a preparatory ground for the launching of Greater Nepal movement. He proposed the Government of West Bengal

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<sup>271</sup> Ganguly. Rajat (2012), “Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gotkhaland Agitation in India”, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, p.493

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, p.491

<sup>273</sup> Ghisingh seeks package from the Center, *Indian Express*, 12 March 1989, p.7

<sup>274</sup> Meagre: West Bengal Funds upset GNLFC Chief, *The Telegraph*, 10 March 1989, p.1

<sup>275</sup> Anupma Kaushik, “*Resurgent Gorkhaland: Ethnic Identity and Autonomy*”, *Conflict Trends*, 2000, p.50

to modify the Official Language Act of 1961 and replaced Nepali as Gorkhali for the official language of the hill.<sup>276</sup> On 18 July 1991, he met the Chief Election Commissioner and asked him to delete all the voter list of those who consider Nepali as their mother tongue and he also alerted the Home Minister about Nepali as a foreign language and therefore should be replaced with Gorkhali.<sup>277</sup> Thus, the inclusion of Nepali language for Ghising was a violation of the Memorandum of Settlement that was signed between the Gorkha National Liberation Front and the Government on 23 August 1988 and he further asserted that the movement for “Gorkhaland” was to assert their identity.<sup>278</sup> He threatened to revive the agitation for a separate State; He refused to talk with the State Government and also decided to dissolve the Council.<sup>279</sup> Ghising did make periodic demands on the Centre and State Government, parrying criticism of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council by pointing gaps in its jurisdiction and budget. In 1994, Ghising petitioned the Supreme Court to review the status of Darjeeling under the 1950 Indo- Nepal Friendship Treaty; and in 1998 he refers the Treaty to the International Court of Justice.<sup>280</sup> Throughout the early 1990’s, tensions continued to simmer in Darjeeling. Accusation and counter accusation continued to fly thick and fast. And on 5<sup>th</sup> November, 1996, a resolution was passed by the General Council of Darjeeling with the overwhelming majority, demanding the upgradation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council into a full-fledged State of “Gorkhaland”. The Prime Minister rejected the demand and further stated that the proposed area of the state should be as per the 1980 blue-print of the Gorkha National Liberation Front.<sup>281</sup> Ghising replied by saying that in order to build a good relationship between the people of Bengal and the Gorkhas, “Gorkhaland” must be supported.<sup>282</sup>

On November 1996, to discuss about the situation of Darjeeling, the Chief Minister and the Left Front discusses the situation and agreed the rejection of “Gorkhaland”,

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<sup>276</sup> Ibid, p.46

<sup>277</sup> Samanta, Amiya K (2001).“*Gorkhaland Movement: A study in Ethnic Separatism*,” New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporations, p.182

<sup>278</sup> Press Statement issued by Subash Ghising, Chairman, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, Gorkha Welfare Centre, New Delhi, 3 September 1992

<sup>279</sup> Mr. Ghising’s New Offensive, *The Hindu*, 3 April, 1993

<sup>280</sup> Lacina, Bethany (2012) “India’s Stabilizing Segment State”, (Department of Political Science, University of Rochester Work in Progress),8 September, 2012. p.16- 17

<sup>281</sup> Chaklader, Snemahoy (2004), *Sub- Regional Movement in India: With reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*, Kolkatta: K.P.Bagchi & Company, p.107

<sup>282</sup> Ibid, p.107-108



instead they offer that the Autonomous Council can be given more power and brought under the modified Sixth Scheduled of the Indian Constitution. The left front Government argued that the Council was functioning well and the allotment of funds Rs. 400 Crore for the fiscal year 1995 to 1996 is a lot more than the money spent on most Districts in West Bengal.<sup>283</sup> This shows that the demand for separate State was not accepted by the Government. On 28 July 1997, Ghising publicly announced his intention to move into an open confrontation with the Government of India in order to raise the demand for a separate “Gorkhaland” in the near future. The move taken by Ghising is a move believed to be a play to put pressure on the West Bengal Government to release more funds for the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>284</sup> In 2000, the movement for the creation also got intensified with the creation of the three new States- Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttaranchal. But the Chief Minister Joyti Basu was against the creation of a separate State for Darjeeling. In 2000, the Gorkha Liberation Organization, called for a “Gorkhaland” state and threatened to start a campaign against the Centre.<sup>285</sup> The political conditions of Darjeeling got deteriorated further and on 10 February 2001, while Ghising was travelled near Kurseong he was ambushed by a militant but he managed to escape from the assassination attempt; however several numbers of his supporters died on the spot.<sup>286</sup> For the assassination attempt, the prime accused was Chhatra Subba, the founder of Gorkha Liberation Organization as one of his militants who took part in the attack was captured by the police in the early march of 2001 where he confessed that Chhatra Subba was the mastermind for the ambush.<sup>287</sup>

With the increase in demand for separate state under the leadership of Gorkha Liberation Organization and the increase in atrocities against the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, the members of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council were not very sure of winning the next elections to be held in Darjeeling. The fourth election for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council were due in 2004 but the government decided not to hold election and instead made Subash Ghising as the sole care takers of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council until the establishment of Sixth Schedule Tribal Council.

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid, p.108

<sup>284</sup> Ghising Renews move for Ghorkhaland State, *Hindustan Times*, 29 July 1997

<sup>285</sup> Lacina. Bethany (2012) “India’s Stabilizing Segment State”, (Department of Political Science, University of Rochester Work in Progress), 8 September 2012, p.17

<sup>286</sup> Ghising shot at, 2 killed, *The Statesman*, 11 February 2001

Pallet Surgery Pulls Ghising through, *The Telegraph*, 12 February 2001

<sup>287</sup> Hillsman in Net, Subba in surrender signal, *The Telegraph*, 3 March 2001

Resentment among the former Councillors of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council grew rapidly. The last term of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council expired on 23 March 2005, but Ghising continued as the care taker administrator of the Council for 3 years, and the State Government passed the Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Council (Amendment) Bill.

## **SIXTH SCHEDULE IN DARJEELING HILLS**

Subash Ghising is rationale for the 2004 suspension of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council election because the Council was to be added to the 6<sup>th</sup> schedule of the Indian Constitution. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was to be placed under the special status of either Sixth Schedule or under Article 371, ending a prolonged tussel between the Council and the Government.<sup>288</sup> A Tripartite Agreement between Subash Ghising, the Union Secretary and the Chief Secretary of West Bengal was finally signed on 6 December 2005, for the inclusion of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, to give the Council more Legislative and Administrative Power.<sup>289</sup> Along with the signing of the Agreement the Central Government promises 1.5 billion rupees for the revamped of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>290</sup> The Sixth Schedule Amendment Bill 2007, is signed on the basis of the 'in principle' Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) signed on December 6, 2005.<sup>291</sup> The Sixth Schedule is designed only for the administration of tribal areas in the North East State of India for promoting their socio-cultural and economic developments. Therefore, Amendment of the Constitution was necessary if Sixth Scheduled is to be introduced in the Darjeeling district.<sup>292</sup> The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas of West- Bengal are being governed by the Fifth Schedule. If the tripartite agreement is implemented in the district of Darjeeling hills, then Article 244 part (1) and (2) of the Constitution needs to be applied not only on the Darjeeling hill but also on the entire state of West Bengal. Without the Amendment of Sixth Schedule it is impossible to apply to the State of West Bengal because a state can have either Fifth Schedule or Sixth Schedule but not both.<sup>293</sup> Without Amendment it would further affect other

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<sup>288</sup> Gorkha Council may get special status," *Times of India*, 15 April 2005

<sup>289</sup> Sixth Schedule status for Gorkha Hill Council. *The Hindu*, 7 December 2005

<sup>290</sup> Chattopadhyay, S.S. (2006), "Ghising Game," *Frontline*, 23, p.14 -27

<sup>291</sup> See Appendix- 5 for the Memorandum signed for the Sixth Schedule Bill

<sup>292</sup> "The Struggle for Gorkhaland," *International Relations and Security Network*, Special Network, Switzerland, Feb. 2008, p.2

<sup>293</sup> Das. Puspita (2008), "Trouble in the Hills", *IDSA comment*, 14, p. 2

Scheduled Tribes in the state such as the Koch, Rajbhanshi, Bodo etc that were Govern under the Fifth Scheduled.<sup>294</sup>

Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs on the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution Amendment Bill 2007 and the Constitution (One Hundred and Seventh Amendment) Bill 2007, was established on the 5 August 2007, after Lal Krishna Advani the opposition leader raised opposition to the replacement of the Sixth Schedule Amendment Bill. It was introduced in the Lok Sabha by the Home Minister of India, Shivraj Patil without having it first referred to the Parliamentary Standing Committee.<sup>295</sup> The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2007 and the Constitution (One Hundred and Seventh Amendment (Bill), 2007 are:-

According to the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill 2007, in Darjeeling District of West Bengal State, an autonomous self governing council is to be created known as Gorkha Hill Council. The Gorkha Hill Council shall have Legislative, Administrative and Financial powers. "The Bill also provides for adequate safeguards for the non-tribals to ensure that any law as may be made by the Gorkha Hill Council will not in particular (a) extinguish or modify the existing rights and privileges enjoyed by any citizen including his land rights within the areas of Gorkha Hill Council. This is in applicable with the commencement of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2007, and (b) under any circumstances any citizen is ban from acquiring land either by way of inheritance, allotment, settlement or by way of transfer if such citizen is otherwise eligible for such bona fide acquisition of land within the areas under GHC."<sup>296</sup> And the Constitution (One hundred and Seventh Amendments) Bill, 2007 also seek the Amendment of article 244 clause (2) of the Constitution because according to this article Sixth Schedule is applicable only in the administration for the tribal in North East India and therefore it is not applicable elsewhere without amendment. If it is amended then it can only be applied to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hills. Article 332 of the

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid, p.3

<sup>295</sup> Roy, Barun (2012), "Parliamentary Standing Committee Report-Revealing Secrets", Gorkhapedia, 10 October 2012

<sup>296</sup> "One hundred and twenty ninth report on the sixth schedule to the constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2007 and the Constitutional (one hundred and seventh amendment) Bill, 2007," Presented to Rajya Sabha on 28<sup>th</sup> February 2008 and laid on the table of Lok Sabha on 28 February 2008, Department-Related Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs, Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, February, 2008, New Delhi, p.5

Constitution deals with reservation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the State, in pursuance of the Memorandum of Settlement dated 6 December 2005, the existing representation of the Scheduled Tribes and non-Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State of West Bengal from the areas under the Gorkha Hill Council is proposed to be kept intact. The Bill, therefore, seeks to insert a new clause (6) of article 332 of the Constitution.<sup>297</sup>

### **SPECIAL FEATURES OF SIXTH SCHEDULE TO DARJEELING DISTRICT**

According to the Gorkha Hill Council, Darjeeling in the State of West Bengal shall consist of not more than 33 members, out of which 28 shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, 10 shall be reserved for Scheduled Tribes, 15 for non-Tribal Communities, 3 open for all communities and the remaining 5 of which 2 seats are for women, having same rights including voting rights and privileges as other members, to be nominated by the Governor from amongst the unrepresented communities of the areas under the Council.<sup>298</sup> The area under Gorkha Hill Council include all the Mouzas of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong Sub-Divisions of Darjeeling District, eighteen Mouzas of Siliguri Sub-Division, which is to be transferred under the purview of Kurseong Sub-Division and it may be notified in the Official Gazetteer by the Government of West Bengal.<sup>299</sup> Non-Tribal in the area of the Gorkha Hill Council must be safeguard in terms of their settlement rights, property rights etc and according to the Agreement the Council have Legislative powers in respect to 45 subjects, powers of supervision over lower tiers of Panchayats and the Executive functions of the Council are to be exercised through its Principal Secretary of a rank not lower than the Commissioners/Secretary to the West Bengal Government.<sup>300</sup> And according to the agreement Constitutional Amendment is to be carried out especially article 244 of the Constitution, dissolution of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council except those clause that are used and election and Constitution in the Gorkha Hill

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid, p.5

<sup>298</sup> Ibid, p. 7

<sup>299</sup> "The sixth schedule to the constitution (Amendment) Bill," 2007, Bill No.94 of 2007,p.2. Also see Appendix- 5

<sup>300</sup> *One hundred and twenty ninth report on the sixth schedule to the constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2007 and the Constitutional (one hundred and seventh amendment) Bill, 2007,"* Presented to Rajya Sabha on 28 February 2008 and laid on the table of Lok Sabha on 28 February 2008, Department-Related Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs, Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, February, 2008, New Delhi, p.7

Council shall be made within six months of enactment of the Parliamentary Acts.<sup>301</sup> These were some of the special features of the Sixth Schedule to be introduced.

### **GORKHA JANMUKTI MORCHA**

As the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and the Government of West Bengal agreed for introducing Sixth Scheduled in the Darjeeling District, it was not supported by the people in Darjeeling hills. A new party known as Gorkha Janmukti Morcha emerged for opposing the Sixth Schedule as well as for the removal of Subash Ghisingh from his position. The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha was under the leadership of Bimal Gurung, he was one of the lieutenants under the Subash Ghising led Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>302</sup> In 2007, there was an Indian idol contest and Prashant Tamang who was a Nepali contested for it. Bimal Gurung supported him through short messages services (SMS).<sup>303</sup> This has led to the winning of the contest which has then brought Bimal Gurung into the forefront of Gorkha Solidarity. In February 2008, thousands Gorkha Janmukti Morcha activists resorted to an indefinite bandh and they also demanded Subash Ghising to step down from his position as supremo in the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council for his non-performance, and for trying to introduce Sixth Scheduled in the District of Darjeeling.<sup>304</sup> The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha also called for a number of bandh during May to June in 2008 and blocking the cart road that is the main connection between Darjeeling and Sikkim. It causes a great disruption for the State of Sikkim because cart road is the principal lifeline and therefore the Government of Sikkim filed a suit against Gorkha Janmukti Morcha. There movement against the implementation of Sixth Scheduled was very high that it even led to the loss of lives where the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha supporters were allegedly shot dead by the Gorkha National Liberation Front, supporter's while they have a procession. The masses were very much angry that they blamed the leader of Gorkha National Liberation Front Subash Ghising and he was forced to resign as caretaker of Darjeeling hills in March 2008 after losing public support to Bimal Gurung led Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.<sup>305</sup> Ghising was forced to leave the hills and he was ceremoniously driven out of Darjeeling in July 2008 and he took shelter in the

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<sup>301</sup> "The sixth schedule to the constitution (Amendment) Bill," 2007, Bill No.94 of 2007, pp.3-5

<sup>302</sup> Romit Bagchi, Romit(2012), *Gorkhaland: Crisis for Statehood*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.102

<sup>303</sup> Indian Idol reignites demand for Gorkhaland in Darjeeling Hills, Wall Street Journal, 19 March 2008

<sup>304</sup> Darjeeling Unrest worries Intel agencies, *The Times of India*, 2 February 2008

<sup>305</sup> Ghising Quits DGHC: Hill district Celebrate *The Indian Express*, 11 March 2008

town of Siliguri.<sup>306</sup> After Subash Ghising left, the Government of West Bengal from March 2008 to till August 2012 appointed Indian Administrative officers as an administrators of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and during this time no election to the Council was held.<sup>307</sup>

Various political parties, social organization and the people of Darjeeling opposed to the implementation of the Sixth Schedule. The Sixth Schedule proposal was unpopular among the Gorkhas because it is a designation of Tribal.<sup>308</sup> The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha was supported by frontal organization, such as the women's and students wings, and started demonstrations in the hills and even in the plains. Not only bandh or strikes but also fasting unto death became a popular mode of demonstration. Political party that are operating in Darjeeling districts such as the All India Gorkha League and the Communist Party of India- Revolutionary Marxist also supported the movement against the implementation of Sixth Schedule in Darjeeling hills by joining the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.<sup>309</sup> And the Baratiya Janata Party also announced that the party is in favour of a smaller State and therefore if the party won the general election of 2009 then it will support the creation of two more states Telengana and Gorkhaland.<sup>310</sup> The GJM requested the Bharatiya Janata Party candidate Jaswant Singh to contest the Lok Sabha elections from the Constituency of Darjeeling District and he also promised to raise the issue of a separate State for "Gorkhaland" in Parliament if he won the election.<sup>311</sup> He also won the Darjeeling Lok Sabha seat with 51.50 votes in his favour.<sup>312</sup> But the parent body of Bharatiya Janata Party, the National Democratic Alliance were defeated at the National level and this has blurred the prospect of Gorkhaland.<sup>313</sup>

The movement for "Gorkhaland" also took a new turn with the assassination of Madan Tamang leaders of the Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League. On 21 May 2010, Madan Tamang was stepped unto death by the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha supporters

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<sup>306</sup> Gosh, Anjan (2009), "Gorkhaland Redux", *Economic and political weekly*, 44(23), p. 10-13

<sup>307</sup> New DGHC Administrator to take charge on March 2011," *Zee News*, 10 March 2008

<sup>308</sup> Lacina, Bethany (2012), "India's Stabilizing Segment State", *Work in progress*, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester Work in Progress, p.18

<sup>309</sup> Bagchi, Romit (2012), *Gorkhaland: Crisis for Statehood*, New Delhi: Sage publication, p.103

<sup>310</sup> "BJP promises Telengana, Gorkhaland", *The Times of India*, 4 April 2009

<sup>311</sup> Gosh, Anjan (2009), "Gorkhaland Redux", *Economic and political weekly*, 44(23), p.12

<sup>312</sup> Election commission of India, A general election, Lok Sabha, part- II, 25-Constituencies wise detailed results, 2009(15)

<sup>313</sup> Gosh, Anjan(2009), "Gorkhaland Redux", *Economic and political weekly*(23), p.12

which eventually led to a spontaneous shut down in the hills of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. There were traces that leaders of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha involvement in the assassination and therefore the West Bengal Government threatened action against Gorkha Janmukti Morcha which led to the discontinuation of talk with the Government.<sup>314</sup> Bimal Gurung, leaders of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha led a procession on 8 February 2011 and as they were trying to enter Jalpaiguri District, they were fired by the police forces which led to the killing of Two Gorkha Janmukti Morcha activists and later an injured succumbed to her death<sup>315</sup> This led to the rise of violence in Darjeeling hills and the movement for a separate State was strong in the District because in the Assembly Election of West Bengal on 18 April 2011, the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha candidates still won the Darjeeling hill Assembly seats.<sup>316</sup> Thus, after prolonged uncertainty in the District of Darjeeling a Tripartite Agreement was signed and it led to the creation of Gorkha Territorial Agreement.

## **FORMATION AND WORKING OF GORKHA TERRITORIAL AGREEMENT**

Gorkha Territorial Agreement was signed in the presence of Union Minister P. Chidambaram, Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Banerjee and Gorkha Janmukti Morcha leader Bimal Gurung and it was signed by G.D. Gautama on behalf of the Government of West Bengal, Rooshan Giri, on behalf of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and K.K.Pathak on behalf of the Government of India on 18 July 2011.<sup>317</sup> The Bill for the creation of Gorkha Territorial Agreement was passed in the West Bengal Assembly on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2011, and the Bill passed with 54 Amendment.<sup>318</sup> Gorkha Territorial Agreement is a semi- autonomous administrative body for Darjeeling district in West Bengal that replaced the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council which administered the Darjeeling district for 23 years since it was formed in 1988.

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<sup>314</sup> Tamang's murder threatens to derail Gorkhaland, *Times of India*, 26 May 2010

<sup>315</sup> Two killed in police firing on Gorkha Janmukti Morcha protesters, *The Hindu*, 8 February 2011

<sup>316</sup> Gorkha Janmukti Morcha wins Darjeeling Constituency by record margin of Votes, *Hindustan Times*, 14 May 2011

<sup>317</sup> See Appendix- 6 for the formation and working of GTA, Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Agreement signed", *news.outlookindia.com*, 18 July 2011

<sup>318</sup> Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Bill passed with 54 Amendments, *Times of India*, 3 September 2011

Gorkha Territorial Administration has the rights to administration, executive and financial power and is has more power than the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council because under the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council there were 33 Government Departments but under the Gorkha Territorial Administration there are 59 departments.<sup>319</sup> The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was entitled with the appointment of group D staff but Gorkha Territorial Administration has the right to appoint group B, C and D. Higher education is under the realm of Gorkha Territorial Administration whereas it was not under the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. Gorkha Territorial Administration would be able to spend all the money released by the Central Government. The Gorkha Territorial Administration has been administering the District of Darjeeling under the leadership of Bimal Gurung. The main aim of the formation of Gorkha Territorial Agreement was for ushering peace, normalcy and most importantly for the development of the hills but some of the political party were against the formation of the Gorkha Territorial Administration. The major political party such as the All India Gorkha League and the Communist Party of Revolutionary Marxist were strongly against it and treated as a 'betrayal' because they wanted "Gorkhaland".<sup>320</sup>

After the formation of Gorkha Territorial Agreement a meeting was held between Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and the West Bengal Government on 24 March 2012, and decided to hold election either in the month of June and July.<sup>321</sup> It was finally decided by the Mamata Banerjee that election is to be held on the 29 July 2012 for the Gorkha Territorial Administration.<sup>322</sup> There were some parties who decided not to contest the GTA elections and even some candidates from the Communist Party of India (Marxist), Trinamool Congress and some independent candidates were prevented from filing nominations for the 29 July polls.<sup>323</sup> The Communist Party of India (Marxist) though filed the nominations but withdraw the nominations of its 13 candidates because of the threat and intimidation to them and their family, the miscreants called them over mobile phones and even went door to door, but the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha General Secretary Roshan Giri, however, denied the

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<sup>319</sup> See Appendix- 6

<sup>320</sup> Sarkar, Swatahsiddha (2012), "Gorkhaland Territorial Administration: An overview", *Mainstream*, 1(22)

<sup>321</sup> High powered committee on GTA emerges as a perfect instrument to resolve impasse, *Hindustan Times* 24 March 2012

<sup>322</sup> State sets July 29 date for GTA polls, *The Times of India*, 26 June 2012

<sup>323</sup> GJM faces heat from rival parties for strong arm tactics, *Yahoo News*, 7 July 2007



allegations.<sup>324</sup> The Gorkha National Liberation Front decided to boycott the election and even its Chairman Subash Ghising filed a case in the Kolkata High Court challenging the Gorkha Territorial Administration and Bimal Gurung the leader of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha challenged Subash Ghising to contest in the upcoming elections. It is the GJM party candidate alone which contested in the elections which bagged 28 seats.<sup>325</sup> The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha rule over Gorkha Territorial Agreement, but it was not satisfied with the West Bengal Government. The Gorkha Territorial Administration set to move the court against the Bengal because of the continuous interference of the Bengal Government in the Gorkha Territorial Administration Sabbha.<sup>326</sup>

Gorkha Territorial Agreement seems to be broader and more powerful than Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council but the people are worried about the future and its sustainability. The demand made by the people was security of their ethnic identity and not development in the first place.<sup>327</sup> According to Amar Singh Rai, "It is about our identity which we are trying to establish from ages and Darjeeling hills simply cannot be a holiday destination. It is a home to more than six lakh people who need to have a separate of their own," and according to Udaya Mani Pradhan, "Gorkha Territorial Agreement was like an interim arrangement for infrastructural development of the region and was never a sustainable political solution for the "Gorkhaland" issue."<sup>328</sup> There was also unrest among the Lepchas community after the formation of Gorkha Territorial Administration. Since the formation of Gorkha Hill Council, the Lepcha community under the banner of Lepcha Rights Movement(LRM) submitted a memorandum to the Darjeeling District Magistrate demanding a separate Lepcha development Council for the protection of their language, culture and economic development. And they also complain that their identity and culture are being swamped by people of Nepalese origin.<sup>329</sup> Again, for the protection of their social status by introducing Lepcha language in the primary schools in Darjeeling hills, the

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<sup>324</sup> All CPI-M candidates pull out of Gorkhaland polls, *Newstrack India* 12 July 2012

<sup>325</sup> Morcha gets 28, Gurung thanks CPI(M), *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, 15 July 2012

<sup>326</sup> Gorkha Territorial Administration set to move court against Bengal, *The Times of India*. 16 March 2013

<sup>327</sup> Gorkhaland Territorial Administration: Few observations, *DarjeelingTimes. Com*, 9 August 2011

<sup>328</sup> Gorkhland row: Once called Queen of Hills, Darjeeling now bleeds to retain its glorious past, *IndiaToday*.in 1 February 2013

<sup>329</sup> Lepchas Agitate for separate Council, *The Times of India*, 19 August 2011

Lepcha association decided to submit a memorandum to the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration.<sup>330</sup>

The movement for the demand of “Gorkhaland” continues even after the formation of Gorkha Territorial Administration. After the remarks of the Chief Minister of West Bengal that Darjeeling will always be a part of Bengal, Bimal Gurung threatened to launch a militant agitation to for “Gorkhaland” and also accused the West Bengal government of organizing North Bengal festival without consulting the Gorkha Territorial Administration.<sup>331</sup> Bimal Gurung further alleged her as discriminating between the Lepchas and the Gorkhas community by using a divide and rule policy, meeting the Lepchas representatives and assuring them that her Government will set up an Autonomous Council for the Developments of the hill people.<sup>332</sup> Bimal Gurung further threatened to resign from his post as a Chief Executive of Gorkha Territorial Administration. He stated that, “I cannot sit on an official (GTA) Chair and demand a separate state. Now, people should come to me to strengthen the agitation for a separate state and not for work.”<sup>333</sup> Gorkha Janmukti Morcha also threatened to revive its demand for “Gorkhaland” if the centre granted the demand for a separate Telengana State.<sup>334</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Gorkha National liberation Front with its leader Subash Ghising demanded “Gorkhaland” but compromised with Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was for restoring peace and normalcy in the district and mainly for the purpose of development in the district. But as it was expected the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was unable to fulfil its purposes. With the 23 years of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council rule, there was no significant change. Not only this, the council member were even charge with corruption. The people started revolting against the rule of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and some parties supported too. Subash Ghising in order to divert the mind of the people started accusing the Government of not releasing fund and he even try to introduced Sixth Schedule in the District. The

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<sup>330</sup> Lepcha Association to submit Memo to GTA, *The North Bengal and Sikkim Times*, 24 March 2013

<sup>331</sup> Gurung threatens militant stir for Gorkhaland in Darjeeling, *Zeenews*, 30 January 2013

<sup>332</sup> Bimal threatens militant movement for Gorkhaland, *Himalayan Mirror*, 31 January 2013

<sup>333</sup> Gurung may quit Gorkhaland Territorial Administration for Statehood, *The Times of India*, 5 February 2013

<sup>334</sup> Telengana could spur more statehood demands, *The Times of India*, 13 July 2013

people were against Sixth Schedule because it is demeaning the Hindu status of being a tribal. Thus, it is clear that State Per se or granting autonomy is not going to satisfy or solve the needs of the people.

Under the banner of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha the people of Darjeeling started protesting against Sixth Schedule and it was repeal. The demand for a separate State was supported by various political parties such as the All India Gorkha League and Communist Party of Revolutionary Marxist because they were in favour of Sixth Schedule Status. After protesting in the form of bandh and strikes, with the lost of many lives the party like the Gorkha National liberation Front agreed with Gorkha Territorial Agreement not achieving the status of "Gorkhaland". Presently the Gorkha Territorial Administration is administering the district of Darjeeling. Bimal Gurung the leader must be careful and took lesson from Subash Ghising that without transparency and peoples support it will not be able to administer the District. And he should know that running a political agitation is much easier than running a party free from Corruption and Nepotism. And State or Autonomy per se is not going to meet the needs of the people, development with growth and accountability can only satisfy the people.

## CHAPTER- 6

### CONCLUSION

As the saying goes, “No man is an Island”, every one of us tries to prove him or herself in relation to the others. We do not want to be a wanderer, with no name, place or belonging, having no identity. Identity is a marker of differentiation of one from the others. Today, we have seen gender rights movement, gay rights, demand for autonomy, demand for State etc and all are related with the claim for identity. When one is not recognised there is a sense of “Alienation”, to be borrowed from Marxist terms. Recognition of identity creates a sense of warmth, a sense of belonging and a sense of security. Ethnic identity is one of the main causes for movements that the 21<sup>st</sup> century has witnessed. And in almost all the cases of ethnic identity movement the demand is often associated with autonomy or homeland.

In South Asian and particular in India, it is the legacy of the British policy that resurfaces again and again. The rise of ethnic nationalism or ethnic consciousness in South Asia can be accredited to the legacy of western colonization and de-colonization. Most of the movement which is seen were the legacy of the colonial master which still continues to haunt us again after they left. The British for their administrative convenience changed all the entire boundaries. There was no force uniting India before the British came. For their administrative convenience they united all the princely States together in a single administrative unit. For example, Sikkim was a princely State under the rule of the Chogyal dynasty, today we have seen contested boundaries. In so many cases we have seen the same ethnic groups belonging to either side of boundaries. We have the Bengali in India as well as in Bangladesh. There was Muslim in India as well as Muslim in Pakistan too. It is boundaries that separated them. These boundaries were a contested issue faced by almost all the South Asian countries. Not only boundaries were changed but it also led to the creation of a homogenous society where in the later it led to conflict, competition, assimilation etc.

After the British came to Darjeeling they started tea plantation and for these they need labour, they started encouraging the Nepalese to migrate to India. They also recruited

the Nepalese among the British army known as Gorkhas. Due to migration it creates a homogenous society where there are multiple- ethnic group living together in the same social environment. When different ethnic group lived together in a common social environment there is interaction taking place within that society. It creates a sense of solidarity within the group as well as it creates conflict between different ethnic groups. The Nepalese who migrated to the hills of Darjeeling during the British rule comprised of different ethnic groups, speaking different languages. The Nepalese before they migrated to Darjeeling has spoken different languages but after they migrated to Darjeeling hills the Rais, Limbus, Magar, Tamang etc, developed and use the same language i.e, Nepali. This Nepali language creates a sense of oneness among the various Nepalese ethnic groups in Darjeeling. Nepali identity in India is primarily based on the use of a common Nepali language. With the formation of a new identity it further led to the consciousness of ethnic identity that get reflected in their social, political and economic conditions.

No homogenous society will be equal in terms of economic, social or political advantages in relations to the other communities. The consciousness of ethnic identity is reflected in terms of their social, economic and political inequality. Politicisation of ethnic identity takes place due to marginalization as well as due to inequality between different ethnic groups. Ethnicity is often used as a tool for asserting identity. The consciousness of different ethnic identity gets developed when interaction takes places between different groups. Social inequality, political instability and economic deprivation all together led to consciousness of one's ethnic identity and further institutionalized for the movement of the demand for autonomy or homeland. Since 1907 the Hillmen's demanded a separate politico- administrative set up for the Nepalese since the people have their own religion and social customs different from the people of West Bengal.

In Darjeeling, the Nepalese feared that due to their sheer numbers, the Bengalese in West Bengal will swamp them up and their culture like the Rajbhanshi community. But, the Nepalese themselves ignore other ethnic groups living in Darjeeling, such as the Lepchas and Bhutias. Today the Lepchas and Bhutias have become the minority within the state of Sikkim and Darjeeling though they were the earliest settlers. Most belonging to these communities have forgotten their language and adopted Nepali language. Nepali language became the lingua franca of the people in Darjeeling. The

Lepcha also complain that their identity and culture are in the state of extinction due to the people of Nepalese origin who constitute majority in the hills of Darjeeling. This shows that there is an overlapping between the different communities within Darjeeling. The Nepalese fear the dominant Bengalese in the State of West Bengal and the Lepchas too fear the Nepalese in Darjeeling hills. The Nepalese also feel that they were under the control of the predominantly ethnic Bengalese because they controlled various mechanisms for the social, political and economic development of West Bengal.

Economic inequality is one of the main causes for the consciousness of one's ethnic identity. In a multi ethnic society there is a disparity or inequality between the various ethnic groups. When different ethnic groups live together in a common social environment there is also a competition for the use of resources. In Darjeeling hills, due to migration there is an increase in population and this increase in population has led to the rise of unemployment, distribution of land as the migrants need for settlement, degradation of lands and there is destruction of ecology, This has further led to the destruction of the economy of Darjeeling hills where the Nepalese feel that they are neglected and no development were occurred in the hills of Darjeeling.

The economic instability is one of the main causes contributing factors for the rise of consciousness among the ethnic Nepalese. Looking at the various demands made by the Gorkhas it is clear that the people of Darjeeling were deprived from economic advantages. The Gorkhas also often accused the Bengali administration for neglecting the hills of Darjeeling as compared to other parts. But various fact and figures show that Darjeeling is backward, but it is not so as compared to the other districts of West Bengal. The Gorkhas have developed a sense of reference constructions with the other community and have a sense of relative deprivation. However, the Government of Bengal also should be aware of the economic conditions of Darjeeling that the main source of income was tea industry and most of the trees are getting old, commercialization of agriculture was taking place, and various steps should be taken to ensure environmental factors that should not hamper the growth of economy. The prolong crisis in Darjeeling for the movement for autonomy also affect the economy because there is a decline in the field of Tourism, property get destroyed and there was an increase in unemployment rate.

The consciousness of Nepalese ethnic identity is also due to the State re- organization where States were created on the basis of language. There is Gujarat for the Gujarati, Maharashtra for the Marathi and so on. Various linguistic demands came up for the creation of State on the basis of language. The “Gorkhaland” demand is for the ethnic Nepalese living in India.

Since 1907, the Nepalese in Darjeeling demanded a separated administrative set up. Under the banner of Hillmen’s Union, the people of Darjeeling hills submit a memorandum to create a separate administrative unit for the Nepalese and urged the British Government not to merge with West Bengal because it is different in terms of socially and culturally. The All India Gorkha League after six years of its formation in 1949 demanded a separate provincial legislature called “Uttarakhand”, including Darjeeling district. But the demand was not accepted. The Communist Party of India demanded a “Gorkhasthan” for the Nepalese and later changed to regional autonomy but the demand got rejected. Pranta Parishad formed In the year 1980 demanded “Gorkhaland”. In all the cases they were not successful in their demand because it does not get people support, and the demand was vary from the other party.

The Gorkha National Liberation Front formed on 30 July 1980 demanded a separate State for “Gorkhaland”. In the demand made the issued was to create “Gorkhaland”, the movement is based on identity and citizenship. Subash Ghising demanded the inclusion of Gorkhali instead of Nepali because Nepali is a foreign language. He asked for review of Article VII of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950, between Nepal and India.<sup>335</sup> According to this article each national enjoys a reciprocal basis in terms of territory, national treatment, matter of residence, movement privileges. Ghising wanted to have a division between Indian Nepalese and Nepalese from Nepal so that the Indian Nepalese may not be treated as foreigners.

The movement turn violent from the year 1986 and after the lost of so many lives and property get destroyed, a memorandum of understanding between the Gorkha National Liberation Front, Government of India and the West Bengal Government was signed on August 1988 and led to the creation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. The formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the people of the hill areas of Darjeeling

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<sup>335</sup> See Appendix- 3

district. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was vested with executive and with limited legislative powers. It is the Apex body for administering the hill districts. Various funds were located for the development of the hill people through the District Council. With the formation of the Council there was a satisfaction among the people of Darjeeling hills because the administrative, development funds will be under the control of the Gorkhas themselves. However, it soon dissipates as the people were not satisfied with the working of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. There was no development and improvement with the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council rule for more than 23 years. The Council members were charged with corruption and only they work for their own benefits. Funds were allocated for the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council but it was not utilised. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was not accountable to the State and to the people of Darjeeling Hills.

Even the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was opposed by parties like All India Gorkha League and Pranta Parishad who were demanding formation of "Gorkhaland" based on ethnic identity rather than confining to issues related to development. With growing dissatisfaction among the people on the functioning of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, forces opposing Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council utilised the opportunity and raised demand for the formation of "Gorkhaland."

There was an increase in atrocities against Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and so to divert against the people mind Subash Ghising started to raise the issue of "Gorkhaland". On 6 December 2005 a tripartite agreement was signed between the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council for the inclusion of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. But the people were against the formation of Sixth Schedule because being a tribal status is demeaning. It was also rejected by the party members of the hill Council as they were against the formation of Sixth Schedule and it further led to the formation of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha by Bimal Gurung. This shows that without people support no party will be able to hold power in the district. Satisfaction of the people is necessary for the working of any settlement. But the creation of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha is also a doubt for achieving "Gorkhaland" because Bimal Gurung formed the GJM after having an ego clash with Subash Ghising. This shows GJM was formed to counter Subash Ghising fault and he was taking an advantage of the grievances of the people in of Darjeeling district. The



Gorkha Janmukti Morcha started demanding “Gorkhaland” again. It was supported by the people and various organizations and party such as the All India Gorkha League, Gorkha Liberation Organization supported it. Gorkha Janmukti Morcha also compromised with the formation of Gorkha Territorial Administration.

Gorkha Territorial Administration was vested with more power than Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. There was inflow of fund from the Central Government as well as from the State Government. But the fund were not utilised fully for the development of Darjeeling hills. There was dissatisfaction growing within some sections of the people because the demand was not for development but it is a movement base on Nepalese ethnic identity. Nepalese ethnic identity was used as a tool for demanding “Gorkhaland”. This shows that the demand will further rise until there is some political arrangement for the ethnic Nepalese. Since it is not vested with full independent authority having both Executive and Legislative power, the West Bengal Government keeps on interfering in the affairs of the Gorkha Territorial Administration. Even Bimal Gurung insisted that the demand did not drop for the “Gorkhaland” and Gorkha Territorial Administration was the door for the steps towards “Gorkhaland”.

Thus, the overall assessment provides evidences that support the facts that formation of ethnic identity is emerges as a result of socio- political and economic deprivation in Darjeeling hills. Nepalese ethnic identity is used as a tool for demanding political autonomy by the “Gorkhaland” movement leaders.

**APPENDIX-1**  
**TREATY OF SUGAULI, 2ND DECEMBER 1815**  
**BETWEEN EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE COUNTRY OF NEPAL**

TREATY of PEACE between the HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND MAHA RAJAH BIRKRAM SAH, Rajah of Nipal, settled between LIEUTENANT – COLONEL BRADSHAW on the part of the HONOURABLE COMPANY, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by HIS EXCELLENCY the RIGHT HONOURABLE FRANCIS, EARL of MOIRA, KNIGHT of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER, one of HIS MAJESTY's MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by SREE GOOROO GUJRAJ MISSER and CHUNDER SEEKUR OPEDEEA on the part of MAHA RAJAH GIRMAUN JODE BIKRAM SAH BHAUDER, SHUMSHEER JUNG, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nipal, 2nd December 1815.

Whereas war has arisen between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two States, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon:

**ARTICLE I**

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal.

**ARTICLE II**

The Rajah of Nipal renounces all claim to the lands which were the subject of discussion between the two States before the war, and acknowledges the right of the Honourable Company to the sovereignty of those lands.

**ARTICLE III**

The Rajah of Nipal hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity all the under-mentioned territories, viz-

First: – The whole of the low lands between the Rivers Kali and Rapti.

Secondly: – The whole of the low lands (with the exception of Bootwul Khass) lying between the Rapti and the Gunduck.

Third: The whole of the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosah, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourth: All the low lands between the Rivers Mitchee and the Teestah.

Fifth: All the territories within the hills eastward of the River Mitchee including the fort and lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that pass and nagerr. The aforesaid territory shall be evacuated by the Gurkha troops within forty days from this date.

#### **ARTICLE IV**

With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the State of Nipal, whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands ceded by the foregoing Article, the British Government agrees to settle pensions to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of rupees per annum on such Chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nipal, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunnuds shall be granted under the seal and signature of the Governor General for the pensions respectively.

#### **ARTICLE V**

The Rajah of Nipal renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claim to or connexion with the countries lying to the west of the River Kali and engages never to have any concern with those countries or the inhabitants there of.

#### **ARTICLE VI**

The Rajah of Nipal engages never to molest or disturb the Rajah of Sikkim in the possession of his territories; but agrees, if any difference shall arise between the State of Nipal and the Rajah of Sikkim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government by which award the Rajah of Nipal engages to abide.

## **ARTICLE VII**

The Rajah of Nipal hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

## **ARTICLE VIII**

In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two States, it is agreed that accredited Ministers from each shall reside at the Court of the other.

## **ARTICLE IX**

This treaty, consisting of nine Articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nipal within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver the ratification of the Governor-General within twenty days, or sooner, if practicable.

Done at Segowlee, on the 2nd day of December 1815.

PARIS BRADSHAW, Lt. Col., P.A.

Received this treaty from Chunder Seekur Opedeea, Agent on the part of the Rajah Nipal, in the valley of Muckwaunpoor, at half-past two o'clock p.m. on the 4th of March 1816, and delivered to him the Counterpart Treaty on behalf of the British Government.

D.D. OCHTERLONY,

Agent, Governor-General.

SOURCE:

<http://wienmandu.wordpress.com/2008/08/22/details-of-sugauli-treaty-ad-1815/>

For Treaty of Sugauli 2 December 1815

**APPENDIX- 2**  
**TREATY OF TITALIYA 10 FEBRUARY 1817**  
**BETWEEN EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE RAJA OF SIKKIM**

Treaty, Covenant or Agreement entered into by Captain Barrer Latter, Agent on the part of His Excellency, the Right Hon`ble the Earl of Moiram, K.G, Governor General , etc, and by Nazir Chaina Tenjin and Macha Teinbath and Lama Duchim Longdoo, deputies on the part of Raja of Sikkimputee being severally authorized and duly appointed for the above purpose,1817.

**Article I**

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputee Raja, his heirs of successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechi river and to the westward of the Teesta river, formerly possessed by the Raja of Nepaul but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of Peace signed at Segoulee.

**Article II**

The Sikkimputtee Raja engages for himself and successors to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other state.

**Article III**

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any dispute or question that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul or any other neighboring state and to abide by the decision of the British Government

**Article IV**

He engages for himself and successors to join the British troops with the whole of his military force when employed in the Hills and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in his power.

**Article V**

That he will not permit any British subject nor the subject of any European and American state to reside within his dominions, without the permission or the English Government.

**Article VI**

That he will immediately seize and deliver up and any dacoits or notorious offenders that might take refuge within his territories.

**Article VII**

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents when demanded by the British Government through their accredited agents.

**Article VIII**

That he will afford protection to merchants and trades from the Company's province and he engages that no duty shall be levied on the transit of merchandise beyond the established custom at the several golahs or marts.

**Article IX**

The Honourable East India Company guaranteed to the Sikkimputtee Raja and his successors, the full and peaceful possessions of the tract of hilly country specified in the First Article of the present Agreement.

**Article X**

The Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Raja within one month from the present date and the counterpart when confirmed by his Excellency, the Right Honourable the Governor General, shall be transmitted to the Raja.

Done at Titaliya, this tenth day of February 1817 answering the ninth of Phagun 1873 Samat and to the thirteenth of Magh 1223 Bengallie.

Sd/-

sd/

Barre Latter

Moirā

Nazir Chaina Tinjin N.B. Edmonstone

Arched Seton

Geo. Downedswell

Macha Timbah

Lama Duchim Longadoo

Ratified by the Governor General in Council at Fort William, this fifteenth day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

Sd/

J. Adam

Acting Chief Secretary to Government

SOURCE:

[http://sikkimarchives.gov.in/download/treaty\\_and\\_aggrements/Treaty%20of%20Titaliya%201817.pdf](http://sikkimarchives.gov.in/download/treaty_and_aggrements/Treaty%20of%20Titaliya%201817.pdf)

For Treaty of Titaliya 10 February 1817

**APPENDIX- 3**  
**TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP**  
**KATHMANDHU, 31 JULY 1950**  
**BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND GOVERNMENT OF NEPAL**

The Government of India and the Government of Nepal recognizing the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries. Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries. Have resolved therefore to enter into a treaty of Peace and Friendship with each other, and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely, the Government of India his Excellency Shri Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh, Ambassador of India in Nepal; The Government of Nepal, Mohun Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rane, Maharaja, Prime Minister and Supreme commander in Chief of Nepal, who having examined each other credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed and follows:

**Article I**

There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty territorial integrity and independence of each other:

**Article II**

The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

**Article III**

In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article I the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions. The representatives and such of these as may be agreed upon shall enjoy such diplomatic privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by International law on a reciprocal basis : Provided that in no case shall these be less than those granted to persons of a similar status of any other States having diplomatic relations with either Government.



#### **Article IV**

The two Government agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other Consular agents, who shall reside in towns, ports and other places in each other's territory as may be agreed to. Consuls General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequaturs or other valid authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible. The person mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

#### **Article V**

The Government of Nepal shall be free to import, from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunition or warlike material and equipment necessary for to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

#### **Article VI**

Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

#### **Article VII**

The Government of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and privileges of a similar nature

#### **Article VIII**

So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned the Treaty cancels all previous treaties agreements, and engagements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

#### **Article IX**

This treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

**Article X**

The Treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year notice.

Done in duplicate at Kathmandu this 31 day of July 1950

( Sd.) Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh  
Bahadur Rana

(Sd.) Mohun Shamsher Jang

For the Government of India  
Nepal.

For the Government of

SOURCE:

<http://indiamadhesi.files.wordpress.com/2008/11/treaty-of-peace-and-friendship-july-31.pdf>

For Treaty of Peace and Friendship 31 July 195 Treaty of Peace and Friendship 31  
July 1950.

**APPENDIX- 4**  
**TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, 22 AUGUST 1988**  
**BETWEEN GORKH NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, GOVERNMENT**  
**OF INDIA AND WEST BENGAL GOVERNMENT**  
**FORMATION OF DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL**

Based on the Agreement signed between the Gorkha National Liberation Front and the government of West Bengal and the Government of India-

In the overall national interest and in response to the Prime Minister's call, the GNLF agree to drop the demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland. For the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the people residing in the Hill areas of Darjeeling district, it was agreed to have an autonomous Hill Council to be set up under a State Act. The Saker features of the Hill council would be as follows:

(i) The name of the council will be Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.

(ii) The Council will cover the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling District namely:- Darjeeling Sadar, Kalimpong and Kurseong and it also comprises 13 mouzas of Siliguri Sub-Division such as :- Mouzas of Lohagarh tea garden, Loharah forest, Rangmohan, Barachenga, Panighatta, Choto Adalpur, Paharu, Sukna forest, Sukna Part-1, Pantapati forest- I, Mahanadi forest, Champasari forest, and Jalbari Chatt Part-II within the Siliguri sub-division.

(iii) The state government agrees to lease to the council after it is formed or acquire for it use of such land as may be acquired and necessary for administrative and development purposes, anywhere in the state and in particular in or around Darjeeling More in Siliguri sub division.

(iv) The executive powers of the Council will cover the following subjects to the provisions of the Central and state laws.

1. the allotment of lands, occupation or use, or setting apart, of land other than the land which is reserved forest, for the purpose of agriculture or grazing, or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes, or for any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the inhabitants of any village, locality or towns.

2. the management of any forest, not being a reserved forest;

3. the use of any canal or water courses for the purpose of agriculture;
4. agriculture;
5. public health and sanitation, hospital and dispensaries ;
6. tourism;
7. vocational training;
8. public works-development and planning;
9. construction and maintenance of all roads except National highways and state highway;
10. transport and development of transport;
11. management of burials and burials grounds, cremation and cremation grounds;
12. preservation, protection and improvement of livestock, prevention of animal disease, veterinary training and practice;
13. pounds and the prevention of cattle trespasses;
14. water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation, canals drainage and embankment, water storage;
15. fisheries
16. management of markets and fairs not being already managed by Municipal authorities, Panchayat Samity or Gram Panchayats;
17. education- primary, secondary and higher secondary;
18. works, lands and buildings vested in or in the lawful possession of the Council.
19. small scale and Cottage industries.

(v) The council shall exercise general powers of supervision over panchayats samitis, gram panchayats and municipalities falling within the area of the Council's jurisdiction.

(vi) The General Council will have a total of 42 members out of which 28 will be elected and the rest nominated by the state government.

## 2. Restoration of Normalcy

(i) Review of pending criminal cases;

It is agreed that a review will be done by the state government of all the cases registered under various laws against persons involved in the GNLF agitation. Action will be taken in the light of the review, not to proceed with prosecution in all cases light except those charged with murder. Release of persons will be completed within 15 days of signing this agreement.

(ii) Action against government servants;

The state government agrees to withdraw all cases of disciplinary action taken against employees in the context of the agitation. There will be no victimization of government servants.

(iii) The GNLF agrees to issue a call to its cadre for the surrender of all the unauthorized arms to the district administration. It will be made clear in the call that such surrenders made voluntarily within the prescribed date will not attract any persecution.

(iv) The GNLF hereby agrees to withdraw all agitational activities and to extend full cooperation to the administration for the maintenance of peace and normalization of the political process in the hill areas of Darjeeling.

S/d Subash Ghising  
Gupta  
President, GNLF  
Government

S/d R.N. Sen  
Chief Secretary,  
West Bengal,

S/d C. G. Somiah  
Union Home Secretary

S/d Jyoti Basu  
Chief Minister,  
West Bengal

In the presence of  
S/d Buta Singh  
Union Home Minister  
Place- Calcutta  
Date: 22.8.1988

SOURCE:

<http://gorkhalandstate.blogspot.in/p/darjeeling-gorkha-hill-council-mos.html>

For Memorandum of settlement DGHC 22 August 1988

**APPENDIX- 5**  
**DRAFT OF THE SIXTH SCHEDULE BILL FOR DARJEELING HILLS**  
**SIGNED ON 6 DECEMBER 2005**  
**BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, GOVERNMENT OF WEST**  
**BENGAL AND DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL**

Gorkha Hill Council (Sixth Schedule) MoS Memorandum of Settlement

Between Government of India, Government of West Bengal and Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council for creating a New Council for the Hill areas of Darjeeling District, under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India

1. The Government of India and the Government of West Bengal have been making concerted efforts to fulfil the aspirations of Hill people of Darjeeling District (West Bengal) relating to their cultural identity, language, education and economic development.

2. On consideration of various demands of Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) and consequent upon Tripartite Meeting held on 25.7.1988 at New Delhi between the Union Home Minister, Government of West Bengal and Shri Subash Ghisingh, President, GNLF, a Memorandum of Settlement (Darjeeling Accord) was signed on 22.8.1988. Pursuant to another meeting between the Union Home Minister and Shri Subash Ghisingh, President GNLF at New Delhi on 25.7. 1988, a further Memorandum of Settlement was signed on 23.8.1988.

3. Pursuant to the above mentioned Settlement, GNLF agreed to drop the demand for a separate State of Gorkhaland and an autonomous hill council, viz, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC), was set up under 'The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act, 1988' notified by the Government of West Bengal on 15.10.1988. The hill areas under DGHC comprised of the three hill Sub-Divisions of Darjeeling District, viz, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and

13 mouzas of Siliguri Sub-division of that District

4. However, Shri Subash Ghisingh (former Chairman and Chief Executive Councillor, DGHC, presently Administrator) had been demanding constitutional status for the DGHC as, according to him, the abovementioned Settlements could not fulfil the aspirations of the people of Darjeeling. A series of tripartite meetings were held between Government of India, Government of West Bengal and Shri Subash Ghisingh to review the implementation of Darjeeling Accord and further issues arising from it.

As a result of these meetings, it is hereby agreed in principle to create a self-governing body for the Darjeeling hill areas in the State of West Bengal.

5. Objectives The objectives of this agreement are to replace the existing Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council by an Autonomous Self Governing Council to be known as Gorkha Hill Council, Darjeeling under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India following due consultative, Legislative and constitutional processes by the State and Central Governments so as to fulfil economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of land-rights, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the hill people; and to speed up the infrastructure development in the hill areas.

#### 6. Area

The area of the proposed Council under the Sixth Schedule shall comprise all the mouzas, villages and areas as per Annexure A to be notified by the State Government. Any further alteration to the list can be made on the basis of mutual agreement between the Govt. of West Bengal and DGHC, prior to the enactment of Constitution Amendment Act. The above mentioned mouzas, villages and areas shall be comprised in 3 contiguous hills Sub-Divisions viz, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong of Darjeeling District after reorganization of the existing Sub-Divisions of Darjeeling district by the Government of West Bengal within a period of 3 months of the signing of this agreement.

#### 7. Status of New Council

7.1 The Government of West Bengal would repeal at appropriate time the existing 'The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act, 1988' to pave the way for creation of a new autonomous Council under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Government of India would initiate necessary consultative, legislative and constitutional steps to amend Article 244 of the Constitution appropriately, to include administration of the hill areas of State of West Bengal in the Sixth Schedule.

7.2 The provisions of the Sixth Schedule as and when amended and other relevant Articles of the Constitution of India will apply to the new Council, mutatis mutandis in terms of this Settlement. The safeguards for the non-tribal in the new Council area, inter-alia, will include the following:

7.2.1 Provisions of para 1(2) of Sixth Schedule regarding Autonomous Regions will however not be applicable to the new Council.

7.2.2. A provision will be made in para 2(1) of the Sixth Schedule for increasing the number of members for new Council up to 33 out of which 10 will be reserved for



Schedule Tribes, 15 for non-tribal communities, 3 open for all communities and 5 to be nominated by Governor of West Bengal from the unrepresented communities. From new Council area of which at least two should be women. Nominated members will have the same rights and privileges as other members including voting rights. Election from the 28 constituencies of the new Council shall be on the basis of adult franchise. The terms of the elected members of the new Council shall be for 5 years.

7.2.3. Safeguards for the settlement rights, transfer and inheritance of property etc, of non-tribal will be suitably incorporated in para 3 of the Sixth Schedule. Any such Law may be made by the new Council in this regard will not in particular:

(a). Extinguish the rights and privileges enjoyed by any citizen of India in respect of his land at the commencement of the new Council, and

(b). Bar any citizen from acquiring land either by way of inheritance, allotment, settlement or by way of transfer if such citizens were eligible for such bonafide acquisition of land within the new Council area.

7.2.4. Provision will be added in para 6 of Sixth Schedule that in the new Council area, language and medium of instruction in educational institutions will not be changed without approval of the State Government.

7.2.5. Para 10 of the Sixth Schedule will not be applicable to the new Council area

7.2.6. The amendments to the Sixth Schedule shall include provision in such a manner that non-tribal are not disadvantaged in relation to the rights enjoyed by them at the commencement of the new Council and their rights and privileges including land rights are fully protected.

7.3. These amendments will be carried out after following due consultative and legislative processes

## 8. Powers and functions

8.1. The new Council shall have legislative powers in respect to subjects mutually agreed with State Government to be transferred to it. The list of Subjects is given in Annexure B. Any further alteration to this list can be made on the basis mutual.

8.2. There shall be an Executive Council comprising not more than 6 Executive Members from amongst the members of the General Council, one of whom shall be the Chief and another one the Deputy Chief of the said Executive Council. To ensure adequate representation for the non-Tribal members in the Executive Council, at least 2 members of the Executive Council would be non-Tribal. There shall be no bar on nominated members being appointed as members of the Executive Council.

8.3. The New Council shall have the full control over the officers and staff appointed by it and this and connected with the delegated subjects working in the Council area. In case of all India Service Officers and State Government officer on deputation to the Council, it can only recommend suitable action to the State Government. Annual Confidential Reports of all the officers shall, however be written by the appropriate authority in the new Council.

8.4. The new Council shall also be competent to make appointments for all posts under its control in accordance with the rules of appointment followed by the Government of West Bengal. However, the posts, where recruitment is made on the recommendation of West Bengal Public Service Commission, shall not be covered under this provision. The new Council may constitute a Selection Board for appointments to be made by it and may also make rules, with the approval of the Governor of West Bengal, to regulate appointments and to ensure adequate representation for all communities living the new Council area.

8.5. All new posts within the Council are created with the concurrence of State Government. The Council shall also abide by the decision of the Government of West Bengal in respect of abolition of / temporarily keeping vacant any post.

8.6. Development functions and bodies within the competence of DGHC shall be transferred to the new Council.

8.7. The new Council would have the same powers of supervision over the lower tiers of Panchayats as the existing DGHC. The existing arrangement of lower tiers of Panchayats would continue under the new Council. In the event, Panchayati Raj System ceases to be in force in the new Council area, the powers of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in such matters shall be vested with the new Council.

8.8. The Offices of the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police will be outside the superintendence and control of the new Council.

8.9. The State Government would provide an amount, to be decided every year on population ration basis, as grants-in-aid in two equal instalments to the new Council for executing development works. The proportionate share for new Council shall be calculated on the basis of the plan funds available after setting aside the funds required for earmarked sectors and the salary. This amount may be reduced proportionately if the State plan allocation is reduced or there is plan cut due to resource problem. In addition, the new Council will be paid a suitable amount of plan funds and non-plan funds to cover the office expenses and the salaries of the staffs

working under their control. The new Council shall disburse the salaries of the staffs under their control and would ensure strict economy in the matter.

8.10. The new Council shall prepare a plan with the amounts likely to be available for development works, both under State share and Central share, covering any or all the activities of the departments under their control. The Council shall have full discretion in selecting the activities and choosing the amount for the investment under the same in any year covering all groups of people in a fair and equitable manner. This plan will be a sub set of the State plan and would be treated as its integral part. Once the plan of the State, including the new Council plan, gets the approval of the Planning Commission, the new Council authority shall start execution of their plans in the new Council area. Modifications, if any, made by the Planning Commission in the new Council proposal shall be binding on the new Council authority. The State Government shall not divert the funds allocated to the new Council to other heads and also ensure its timely release. The new Council may have Planning Department to prepare the plans for the new Council is to be submitted to Planning Commission through the Government of West Bengal.

8.11. The Executive functions of the new Council shall be exercised through its Principal Secretary who shall be an officer of the rank not below that of Commissioner/Secretary of Government of West Bengal. The sanctioning powers of Government of West Bengal shall be vested with the Principal Secretary of the new Council and sanctioning powers of head(s) of the Department(s) including for technical sanction shall be conferred on the senior most officer of that Department preferably not below the rank of Additional Director, who may be designated as Director of the new Council for that department. The principal Secretary and other officers shall exercise their powers under the overall guidance and supervision of the new Council.

#### 9. Additional Development Packages for the new Council

9.1. The State Government, within the limitation of financial and other constraints, may offer or allow the new Council to offer, possible and sustainable additional incentives for attracting private investment in the new Council area and would also support projects for external funding.

9.2. In order to accelerate the development of the region and to meet the aspirations of the people, the Government of India will provide financial assistance of Rs 30 crore per annum for 5 years for projects to develop the socio-economic infrastructure in the

new Council areas over and above the normal plans assistance to the State of West Bengal. Suitable mechanism will be built in the system to ensure that the funds are transferred to the new Council in time and at a regular interval. A list of projects which should be considered to be taken up in the new Council areas is an Annexure C.

10. Interim administration: Immediately after signing of the Agreement and till such time the process of Constitutional amendment is carried out, and the new Council is put in place, the administration of the area shall continue to be with the existing DGHC constituted under the existing Act. To achieve the objectives of the present MoS, the steps as enumerated hereunder would be taken by the parties to the settlement:

Sd/ - Sd/- Sd/-

(Subash Ghisingh)

(V. K. Duggal)

(A. K. Deb)

Administrator

Home Secretary

Chief Secretary

DGHC Government of India to Government of West Bengal. Transfer of 16 Mouzas/Villages from Siliguri Sub-Division to Kurseong, Sub-Division and consequent legislative enactments, if any, required to include them in DGHC area.

ii. Elections to the DGHC and to Panchayat bodies in the DGHC area in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Constitution / existing Laws of the Central / State Governments.

iii. Resolution by State Legislative Assembly recommending the grant of Sixth Schedule status for Darjeeling Hill areas and any other Legislative process as may be necessary precedent to initiating process for amending Article 244 of the Constitution.

iv. Amendment of Article 244 of the Constitution.

v. Amendment of Sixth Schedule through Parliamentary Act and enactment of any other consequential Parliamentary Act(s)

vi. Dissolution of the DGHC and repeal of the DGHC Act 1988 with appropriate saving clause

vii. Election and Constitution of new Council within six months of enactment of Parliamentary Acts

11. This in principal Memorandum of Settlement is the full and final settlement of the Darjeeling Hill Areas issue and no further demands in this regard would be entertained. The implementation of this Memorandum shall be periodically reviewed by the Government of West Bengal with DGHC. Signed on the 6th of December,

2005 at New Delhi in the presence of Shri Shivraj V. Patil, Hon'ble Union Home Minister and Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, Chief Minister of West Bengal

### **Annexure A**

List of Villages / Mouzas to be included in the proposed Council under Sixth Schedule for Darjeeling Hill Areas

1. All the Mouzas under the Darjeeling Sub-Division of Darjeeling District
2. All the Mouzas under the Kurseong Sub-Division of Darjeeling District
3. All the Mouzas under the Kalimpong Sub-Division of Darjeeling District
4. (a). List of Mouzas under Siliguri Sub-Division of Darjeeling District which are already part of DGHC and which are proposed to be transferred to Kurseong Sub-Division

(1). Lohagar Tea Garden (J.L No. 2 of Naxalbari P.S.) to Mirik P.S

(2). Lohagar Forest (J.L. No. 3 of Naxalbari P.S.) to Mirik P.S

(3). Rangmohan (J.L No 5 of Naxalbari P.S) to Mirik P.S

(4). Bara Chenga (J.L. No 6 of Naxalbari P.S) to Mirik P.S

(5). Panighata (J.L No 76 of Naxalbari P.S) to Mirik P.S

(6). Pantapari Forest (J.L No 81 of Naxalbari P.S) to Mirik P.S

(7). Sitong Forest (J.L No 1 of Pradhanagar P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(8). Champashari Forest (J.L No 4 Pradhannagar P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(9). Mahanadi Forest (J.L No 5 of Pradhannagar P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(10). Sukuna Pratham Khanda (J.L No 6 of Matigara P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(11). Sukuna Forest (J.L No 7 of Matigara P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(12). Paharu (J.L no 10 of Matigara P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(13). Chhota Adalpur (J.L No 11 of Matigara P.S) to Kurseong P.S

(14). Shalbari Chhat Dwitiya Khanda (J.L No 33 of Pradhannagar P.S) to Kurseong P.S

- 4 (b). List of Mouzas under Siliguri Sub-Division of Darjeeling District to be included in the proposed Council and which are proposed to be transferred to Kurseong Sub-Division of Darjeeling District:

1. Sevoke Hill Forest (J.L No 2 of Pradhannagar P.S) to Kurseong P.S

2. Sevoke Forest (J.L No 3 of Pradhannagar P.S) to Kurseong P.S

### **Annexure B**

List of Subjects proposed to be transferred to the New Council

1. The allotment, occupation or use or setting apart of land other than any land which is a reserved forest, for the purpose of agriculture or grazing, or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes, or for any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the inhabitants of any village, locality or town. Such allotment, occupant or use, or setting apart of land shall be subject to the provisions of the West Bengal Land Reforms Act. 1955 and the rules made there under:

2. The management of any forest, not being a reserved forest. Explanation • “Reserved forest” shall mean a reserved forest as constituted under the Indian Forest Act. 1927:

3. The use of any canal or watercourse for the purpose of agriculture:

4. Agriculture

5. Public Health and Sanitation, Hospitals and dispensaries

6. Tourism

7. Vocational Training

8. Public Works • Development and Planning

9. Construction and Maintenance of all roads except National Highways and State Highways

10. Transport and development of transport

11. Management of burials and burial grounds, cremations and cremation grounds

12. Prevention, Protection and Improvement of livestock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practice.

13. Pounds and the prevention of cattle trespass

14. Water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankment, waterstorage

15. Fisheries

16. Management of markets and fairs, not being already managed by Municipal authorities, Panchayat Samitis or Gram Panchayats

17. Education-Primary, Secondary and Higher Secondary

18. Works, Lands and Buildings vested in or in the possession of the General Council

19. Small-Scale and Cottage Industries

### **Annexure C**

List of Projects to be taken up by new Council:

1. Upgradation of existing educational infrastructure by way of renovation / addition of buildings, providing modern facilities for reaching such as computers, science laboratories etc. from primary level to college level in Council area.
2. Establishment of a cultural complex at Darjeeling to promote and develop Hill tradition and cultural heritage.
3. Establishment of super-specialty hospital with all modern facilities at Darjeeling and upgradation of sub-divisional and block level hospitals and PHEs.
4. Establishment / improvement of the sports infrastructure in district and Sub-divisional Headquarters.
5. Provision of Food processing, plants, integrated agro processing Park and Cold storage facilities.
6. Development of floriculture in the Hill Areas.
7. Establishment of modern dairy, fishery, horticulture and poultry farms / training Centres at different places to encourage youths for self-employment.
8. Development of adequate infrastructure to promote tourism in Council areas.
9. Upgradation and strengthening of the existing facilities in veterinary hospitals in Council areas.

SOURCE:

<http://gorkhalandstate.blogspot.in/p/gorkha-hill-council-sixth-schedule-mos.html>

For draft of the Sixth Schedule Bill 2007, 6 December 2005

**APPENDIX-6**  
**GORKHALAND TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION**  
**AGREEMENT SIGNED ON 18 JULY 2011**  
**BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, GOVERNMENT OF WEST**  
**BENGAL AND GORKHA JANMUKTI MORCHA**

Memorandum of Agreement

Whereas the Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM) has been demanding for quite sometime past a separate State of Gorkhaland for the hill areas of Darjeeling district including some areas of Siliguri Terai and Dooars (hereinafter referred to as the Region);

And

Whereas both the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal have repeatedly emphasized the need for keeping the region as an integral part of the State of West Bengal ;

And

Whereas after several rounds of tripartite meetings at the ministerial and at the official levels, the GJM, while not dropping their demand for a separate State of Gorkhaland, has agreed to the setting up of an autonomous Body (hereinafter referred to as the new Body) empowered with administrative, financial and executive powers in regard to various subjects to be transferred to the said Body for the development of the region and restoration off peace and normalcy there at;

And

Whereas the objective of this Agreement is to establish an autonomous self governing Body to administer the region so that the socio-economic, infrastructural, educational, cultural, and linguistic, development is expedited and the ethnic identity of Gorkhas established, thereby achieving all round development of the people of the region;

And

Whereas all issues including issues relating to transfer of subjects to the new Body have been agreed in various tripartite meetings at the official level;



And

Whereas after several round of Tripartite discussions between the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and the GJM, an agreement was reached in respect of all the issues; Now, therefore, the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and the GJM, keeping on record the demand of the GJM for a separate State of Gorkhaland, agree as follows:-

- 1) An autonomous Body, which shall be called the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA), will be formed through direct election. A Bill for this purpose will be introduced in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly;
- 2) While under the provisions of the Constitution transfer of legislative powers to the new Body is not possible, the power to frame rules / regulations under the State Acts to control, regulate and administer the departments / offices and subjects transferred to the new Body will be conferred upon the new Body ;
- 3) The administrative, executive and financial powers in respect of the subjects transferred will be vested in such a way that the new Body may function in an autonomous and effective way ;
- 4) The subjects along with all Departments / Offices to be transferred to the new Body is appended as Annexure – ‘A’.
- 5) The area of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration shall comprise the areas of the entire sub-divisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong with extended areas of Kurseong. In regard to transfer of additional areas of Siliguri Terai and Dooars to the new Body, a High-Powered Committee will be formed comprising four representatives of GJM, three representatives of the State Government (one from the Home Department; the District Magistrate, Darjeeling; the District Magistrate, Jalpaiguri); the Director of Census Operations representing Government of India, apart from the Chairman of the Committee to be appointed by the State Government. The Chairperson of the Board of Administrators, DGHC will be the convener of this Committee. The Committee will look into the question of identification of additional areas in Siliguri Terai and Dooars that may be transferred to the new Body, having regard to their compactness, contiguity, homogeneity, ground level situation and other relevant factors.

The Committee will be expected to give its recommendations within a short period, preferably within six months of its constitution.

6) The work of this High-Powered Committee will run parallel to the electoral process which will be based on the existing area delimitation. However, the empowering statute will have a provision for transfer of the additional areas from Siliguri Terai and Dooars that may be agreed upon, based on the recommendation of this Committee.

7) In regard to transfer of all forests including reserved forest, it was agreed that the State Government will make a reference to the Central Government on the issue of reserved forest as the power delegated to the State Government under the Central statute cannot be delegated to any other authority straightaway. However, all offices catering to the unreserved forests under the jurisdiction of GTA would also be transferred to GTA.

8) Regarding Tribal status to Gorkhas except the Scheduled Castes, the GJM or any organisation representing the Gorkhas will make an application to the Backward Classes Welfare Department of the State Government, which is the authority to process such claims. The Department, upon receiving such application supported by necessary documents will conduct a study through the Cultural Research Institute, Kolkata. After examination by the Department, the matter will be referred to the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes. The recommendations already submitted to the National Commission will be followed up by the State Government. The Government of India will consider for granting ST status to all the Gorkhas excepting SC.

9) In regard to regularization of all ad-hoc, casual, daily wage workers of DGHC, regularization by way of outright absorption is not feasible due to the current legal position as enunciated by the Hon'ble Supreme Court. However, those employees who have put in 10 years of continuous service would be guided by the Finance Department's order of 23rd April, 2010. Those outside this ambit would be extended an enhancement in wages. This would be equivalent to 75% of the remuneration admissible under the order of the Finance Department subject to a minimum of 5,000/- per month for those who have not completed 10 years of continuous service. As and when they complete 10 years of continuous service, they will be eligible for the full benefit in terms of the order of 23rd April, 2010. The employees will,

however, have the liberty to apply for normal recruitment to any other posts of State Government. It was also agreed that the State Government will make necessary financial provisions for bearing the additional non-plan expenditure for this purpose

10) There shall be a GTA Sabha for the GTA. There shall be a Chairman and Deputy Chairman to conduct the business of Council. The GTA Sabha shall consist of forty five elected members and five members to be nominated by the Governor to give representation to members of SC, ST, women and minority communities. The M.Ps, M.L.As, and Chairpersons of municipality(s) of the region shall be Ex-officio Members to this GTA Sabha. The term of the GTA shall be five years.

11) The Executive Body shall consist of a Chief Executive who will nominate fourteen members out of the elected / nominated members as Executive Member. One of them shall be the Deputy Chief to be nominated by the Chief Executive.

12) Every member of the GTA shall before taking seat make and subscribe before the Governor or one of the elected members appointed in that behalf by him an oath or Affirmation. The Chief Executive shall be administered an oath or affirmation by the Governor.

13) There shall be a Principal Secretary of the GTA, who shall be of the rank of the Principal Secretary/Secretary to the State Government and who shall be selected by the Chief Executive from the panel sent by the State Government and shall be paid from the GTA Fund such salaries and allowances as may be fixed by the State Government. The Principal Secretary once deputed to the GTA shall not be transferred for a period of at least two years without the consent of the GTA.

14) The Government of India and the Government of West Bengal will provide all possible assistance to the GTA for the overall development of the region. The Government of India will provide financial assistance of Rs. 200 crore (Rupees Two Hundred Crore) per annum for 3 years for projects to develop the socio-economic infrastructure in GTA over and above the normal plan assistance to the State of West Bengal. A list of projects which may be considered to be taken up by the GTA is at Annexure 'B1'. List of projects to be separately taken up by the GTA with the State/Central Government is at 'B2'.

15) The Government of India/ State Government will provide one time financial assistance required for development of administrative infrastructure viz., GTA Sabha House, Secretariat Complex and the residential quarters for the elected members of GTA and the senior officers.

16) The allocation sanctioned in the budget of GTA and all funds sanctioned by the State or the Union Government which remain unspent at the close of the financial year shall be taken into account for the purpose of providing additional resources in the Budget of the following year or years and the fund requirements will be met on a yearly basis.

17) The Government of West Bengal shall provide formula based plan fund with 60 per cent weightage on population and the balance weightage on area backwardness, hill areas and border areas in two equal installments every year for executing development works.

18) The Government of West Bengal shall provide Non-plan grant including provisions for bearing the additional Non-plan expenditure for existing employees payable in two instalments in respect of the offices / departments transferred to GTA.

19) The fund received from the Government of India shall not be diverted and the State Government shall release the fund in time. 20) The GTA will have the power of creating Group B, C and D posts with the approval of Governor. The recruitment to Group B, C and D posts will be through a Subordinate Service Selection Board to be set up for this purpose.

21) The State Public Service Commission shall be consulted for the recruitment of Group 'A' officers.

22) The State Government will set-up a separate School Service Commission, College Service Commission; open an office of the Regional Pension and Provident Fund Directorate; and set up an office for Registration of land, building etc., marriage, society etc. in the GTA area, subject to extant rules and regulations.

23) The Governor of West Bengal shall obtain a report on the functioning of the GTA and cause that report to be laid on the table of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly annually.

24) The Government of West Bengal will initiate action to re-organize / re-constitute the territorial jurisdictions of sub-divisions and blocks.

25) The GTA, once established, will separately take up the issues relating to grant of incentives, subsidies, waiver of taxes and tariff and other benefits as appropriate to the region's backwardness, with the Central and State Governments.

26) A three-tier Panchayat will be constituted by elections in the GTA region, subject to the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution of India. Notwithstanding anything contained in the West Bengal Panchayat Act 1973, or the West Bengal Municipal Act, 1993, the GTA shall exercise general powers of supervision over the Panchayats and the Municipalities.

27) Since the formation of new authority will take some time and since the developmental works in the hills, which have already suffered badly, cannot be allowed to suffer further, there will be a Board of Administrators in DGHC which would be fully empowered to exercise all the powers and functions of the Chief Executive Councillor under the DGHC Act, 1988 and to decide on the much needed developmental works in the hills. The Board of Administrators will comprise MLA, Darjeeling; MLA, Kurseong ; MLA, Kalimpong ; District Magistrate, Darjeeling and Administrator, DGHC in keeping with the provisions of the sub-section (1) of Section 17 of the DGHC Act as amended vide Kolkata Gazette Notification of 22nd March, 2005.

28) The GJM agrees to ensure that peace and normalcy will be maintained in the region.

29) A review will be done by the State Government of all the cases registered under various laws against persons involved in the GJM agitation. Steps will be taken in the light of the review, not to proceed with prosecution in all cases except those charged with murder. Release of persons in custody will follow the withdrawal of cases.

30) The GTA youth would be considered for recruitment in the Police, Army and Para Military Forces subject to their suitability for such appointment.

31) The implementation of the provision of the Memorandum of Agreement shall be periodically reviewed by a committee representing the Government of India, Government of West Bengal and GJM.

32) The Government of West Bengal shall repeal the DGHC Act, 1988 along with formation of GTA to be constituted by an Act of the legislature Signed on 18th July, 2011 at Darjeeling in the presence of Shri P. Chidambaram, Hon'ble Union Home Minister and Mamata Banerjee, Hon'ble Chief Minister, west Bengal.

(Dr. G.D. Gautama) (Shri Rooshan Giri )  
Additional Chief Secretary, General Secretary,  
Home & Hill Affairs Department Gorkha Janmukti Morcha  
Government of West Bengal for and on behalf of the  
for and on behalf of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha  
Government of West Bengal  
(Shri K.K. Pathak)  
Joint Secretary to the Government of India  
Ministry of Home Affairs  
for and on behalf of the  
Government of India  
Annexure 'A'

List of Subjects to be transferred to the GTA

(1) Agriculture, including agricultural education and research protecting against pest and prevention of plants diseases; Horticulture, Floriculture and Food processing;

(2) Animal Husbandry and Veterinary, that is to say preservation, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practices, cattle pounds; Dairy development;

(3) Cooperation;

(4) Information and Cultural Affairs

(5) School Education including primary education, secondary education, higher secondary education (including vocational training): Physical Education; Government Schools.

(6) College Education including Agricultural and Technical Colleges, Local Management of Government sponsored Colleges; Mass Education and Physical Education; Engineering, Medical, Management, and Information Technology with

Government and Government sponsored colleges for which wings /cells shall have to be created by the GTA for the area under its jurisdiction;

(7) Adult Education and Library Services;

(8) Fisheries;

(9) Irrigation, drainage and embankments, floods and landslide protection;

(10) Food and Civil Supplies; Consumer Affairs;

(11) Management of any forest, not being Reserved Forest; [Explanation – ‘Reserved Forest’ shall mean a reserved forest as constituted under Indian Forest Act 1927 (16 of 1927)];

(12) Cottage & Small Scale Industries including sericulture, handloom and textiles; handicrafts and Khadi and Village industries;

(13) Cinchona plantation and settlement of land in possession of the plantation inhabitants: management of lease of cinchona lands etc. under it.

(14) Woman and Child Development and Social Welfare;

(15) District Sainik Board;

(16) “Health including Public Health and Family welfare” including hospitals, dispensaries, health centres and sanatoriums, establishing a Nurses Training School;

(17) Intoxicating liquors, opium derivatives subject to the provisions of Entry 84 of List I of the Seventh Schedule; distilleries – control and regulation, Bonded House and raising of revenue;

(18) Irrigation;

(19) Water Resources Investigation and Minor Irrigation;

(20) Labour and Employment;

(21) Land & Land Revenue including allotment, occupation or use, setting apart of land other than land with reserved forest for the purposes of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes to promote interest of the people;

- (22) Library services (financed and controlled by the State Government);
- (23) Lotteries (subject to the provisions of the Entry 40 of the List I of the Seventh Schedule);
- (24) Theatre, dramatic performances and cinemas (subject to the provisions of the Entry 60 of List I of the Seventh Schedule); Sports; entertainment and amusements;
- (25) Markets and fairs;
- (26) Municipal corporation, improvement of trust, district boards and other local authorities; Fire Services;
- (27) Museum and archeology institutions controlled or financed by the State, ancient and historical monuments and records other than those declared by or under any Law made by Parliament to be of national importance;
- (28) Panchayat and Rural Development including District Rural Development Agency (DRDA);
- (29) Planning and Development;
- (30) Printing and Stationery;
- (31) Public Health Engineering; (32) Public Works Department including work relating to State Highways as well as the responsibility discharged by the State Government for maintenance of National Highways within the jurisdiction of GTA;
- (33) Publicity and Public Relations including Regulation of Media – both Print and Electronic media;
- (34) Registration of births and deaths;
- (35) Relief and Rehabilitation, establishing a branch of disaster management in consultation with NDMA under the extant laws/rules.
- (36) Sericulture;
- (37) Small, cottage and rural industry subject to the provisions of Entries 7 and 52 of List I of the Seventh Schedule;



- (38) Social Welfare; including part of SC & ST Development and Finance Corporation under GTA area;
- (39) Soil conservation;
- (40) Sports and Youth Welfare;
- (41) Statistics;
- (42) Tourism: Tourism infrastructure within the jurisdiction of the GTA catering to the area of GTA would be transferred to GTA. However, GTA may set up its own wing of Tourism Development Corporation for the area under its jurisdiction;
- (43) Transport (roads, bridges, ferries and other means of communication not specified in List I of the Seventh Schedule, municipal tramways, ropeways, inland waterways and traffic thereon, subject to the provision of Entry 40 of List I and List III of the Seventh Schedule with regard to such waterways, vehicles and other mechanically propelled vehicles);
- (44) The State Government will consider opening an RTO Office in the GTA area however; powers vested with the DM at present would remain with him only.
- (45) Tribal research institution controlled and financed by the State Government;
- (46) Urban development – town and country planning;
- (47) Weights and measures subject to the provisions of Entry 50 of List I of the Seventh Schedule; (48) Welfare of plain tribes and backward classes subject to the area being under GTA only;
- (49) Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes;
- (50) Welfare of Minorities;
- (51) Management and settlement of land including markets and market sheds controlled by the Darjeeling Improvement Fund;
- (52) Minor Minerals and Mineral development (subject to the provisions of Entry 23 of List II of the Seventh Schedule);

- (53) Rural electrification;
- (54) Renewable sources of energy including water-power (subject to Entry 56 of List I and Entry 38 of List III of the Seventh Schedule);
- (55) Sharing electricity with GTA subject to evolving a mutually agreeable formula with the State government.
- (56) Pounds and prevention of cattle trespass;
- (57) Management of burial grounds and cremation grounds;
- (58) Regulation of Cable channels; to the extent the powers of Central Act, i.e. the Cable Television Network (Regulation) Amendment Act, 2002 vests with the State government
- (59) Tauzi: Tauzi Department of the Collectorate

#### **Annexure 'B1'**

List of projects to be undertaken by the GTA to develop the physical and social infrastructure in the GTA area in order to accelerate the development of the region

1. Comprehensive water supply system in the new body area;
2. Multi-super specialty Medical College and Hospital;
3. Establishment of Hospitality and Tourism Management Institute;
4. Establishment of a College of Nursing;
5. Establishment of a Gorkha House at New Delhi;
6. Establishment of an Institute for Research and Development of the Nepali Language;
7. Establishment of a Cultural Institute to preserve, promote and develop culture, tradition, heritage of the people of the region;
8. Establishment of Research and Development Institute for Tea and Cinchona;
9. Research and Development Institute for Horticulture, Floriculture;

10. Balasan Drinking Water Project to be taken up by the Union Government and be declared as a National Project;
11. Sidrabong Hydro Project has been declared a National Heritage but neglected. Funds for its maintenance and upkeep;
12. Food processing, agro-processing complex and cold storage;
13. Creation and development of the IT industry in this region;
14. A new bridge connecting Dooars to be constructed over the Teesta River as the only  
Coronation Bridge has become very old and it may collapse any time;
15. Mini and Micro Hydro Projects in GTA;
16. Establishment of Eight Multi disciplinary College different areas of the Region;
17. Establishment of Veterinary Hospitals;
18. High School/Higher Secondary School for every twenty-five villages;
19. Processing plants for Cinchona at Mungpoo;
20. Establishment of Polytechnics for all subdivisions;
- 21.2 ITIs / Vocational Institutes in each subdivision; 22. Construction of Multi storied Car Parking at Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong;
23. Construction of Circular Road connecting Darjeeling Town-Lebong-Pandam Jorebunglow-Darjeeling Town;
24. Construction of Rope way at Kalimpong( Delo – Relly), at Darjeeling (Tukvar-Singla) and (Batasia-Roack Garden), at Mirik ( Mirik – Kurseong), at Kurseong (Giddeypahar- Rohini);
25. Special Fund for the construction of Super-speciality Hospitals in every Sub-Division;
26. Creation of an Industrial zone in an area of at least 1000 acres in the plain areas of the proposed GTA and to be accorded status of special economic zone;

27. Institute of Capacity Building & Livelihood School.

### **Annexure 'B2'**

List of project proposals which GTA may take up with the State/ Central Government

1. Establish a Central Institute of Technology
2. Establishment of a Central University;
3. National Institute of Technology (NIT) including IT and Bio-technology;
4. Construction of an alternative National Highway from Siliguri via Mirik along Balasan River to Darjeeling;
5. Establishment of a Fashion Technology Institute;
6. Establishment of a Sainik School;
7. Establishment of National Games and Sports Academy;
8. Establishment of a Tea Auction Centre at Darjeeling;
9. Darjeeling Himalayan Railway to be revitalized for boosting Tourism sector;
10. To establish a Broad-gauge Railway Terminal Station at Sukna;
11. Strengthening and Widening of National Highway 55 and 31 A;
12. Central Government Engineering College funded by GOI;
13. Revival of Trade route to Tibet via Jelep-la from Kalimpong;
14. Reservation of seats for students of this region in College/Institution of higher education including Engineering, Technical, Medical and Management etc all over India

SOURCE:

<http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/GorkhalandAgreement.pdf>

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