

CHAPTER - 4

4:1 Political Development of Darjeeling

In the year 1980 the entire district administration of Darjeeling was disrupted and paralyzed by the violent Gorkhaland Agitation spearheaded by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) – a regional political party of Darjeeling. With the coming of the DGHC – a new power structure was formulated – by the transfer of some powers and functions of the district administration of Darjeeling to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, and these two institutions that's the District administration and the DGHC have been functioning in an administrative co-existential structure since then.

The principal concern of this intellectual venture has been to understand the politico administrative situations arising out in Darjeeling as a result of the functioning and working of the dynamics of the District administration together with the DGHC . The study tries to understand the deep rooted political synthesis and its effect on the administrations of Darjeeling. The implication being to probe beyond easy generalizations and pre occupied notions and instead understand the problem locally and on its own terms. The period between 1982 to 1988 saw the people of Darjeeling in agitation for the formation of a separate state. The agitation came to an end with the signing of an agreement between the GNLF, the

State Government (West Bengal) and the Central Government (Government of India) in 1988. This agreement led to the creation of an autonomous Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the hill people. The jurisdiction of the District administration covers an area of 3149 square kilometers and the jurisdiction of the Hill Council covers an area 2476 square kilometers. For administrative purposes the district is divided into four subdivisions out of which Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong is situated in the hills and Siliguri is situated in the plains. The jurisdiction of the district administration covers all the these subdivisions whereas DGHC covers only the three (revenue)hill subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and 13 mouzas of Siligrui (revenue) subdivision.

The territorial areas of Darjeeling were acquired by the British from Sikkim. In Anglo- Nepal war of 1817 the east India Company wrested away the territory of Darjeeling from Nepal and restored to Sikkim. As a mark of respect, the raja of Sikkim gifted the territory (including hills and Tarai plains) to East India Company in 1835, Municipal institution in Darjeeling was first developed with the establishment of Darjeeling municipally in 1857. Thus Darjeeling underwent a municipal civic formation since the mid 19th century. Prior to the passage of Councils Acts, 1861 Darjeeling remained under non regulation scheme. The Act. No. XV of 1874 declared

Darjeeling as a scheduled District granting a special status along with other four district of Bengal. The district was kept outside the ambit of general laws in operation throughout the rest of India. The government of India act of 1991 had replaced the term Scheduled District by a new terminology "Back ward Tract". By way of these new arrangements the Governor of Bengal was vested with the responsibility of administrating Darjeeling and to determine whether any law the provincial legislature would be given effect in the district.

The Government of India Act 1935 brought in its wake significant changes in the administrative system and substituted the 'backward tract' by excluded and partially excluded areas with the intend to provide a special status for certain considerations,

- a) Presentation of indigenous system of land tenures,
- b) Necessary of entrusting undivided responsibility of the District Officers,
- c) Formulation of simple laws in inconformity with native institutions and simplicity of local people.

With the draw of independence Darjeeling underwent politico administrative metamorphosis. Shedding off its' status of partially excluded area, Darjeeling become district of the state of W.B. since the

district had always been / kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.

Darjeeling, the northern most tip of West Bengal has undergone various stages of political development right from the past through the British rule unto the present day. Politico administrative development with regard to Darjeeling therefore becomes a major aspect of study in the process of democratization and rapid socio-economic transformation, in the contemporary political atmosphere. The study of development in Darjeeling does not only include economic development but also social – political developments,, political awareness political consciousness and active participation of the people from all ethnic communities via Nepalese, Bhutias, Lepchas, and the other minor communities. Darjeeling is no doubt a district but it has within itself a cartload of contradictions. As pointed out earlier there are three main ethnic races namely Nepalese, Bhutias and Lepchas, besides them we also find the Tibetans and various other people from the plains. The Marwari community is a distinct community by themselves. In this study an attempt will therefore be made to study the origin, cultural patterns, practices, habits of the various ethnic communities with a focus on the peculiarities of the contemporary political development and the role of the communities in the politico administrative aspects of Darjeeling. Politics of contemporary Darjeeling

indeed requires a careful analysis. Hence location of power changes in Political institute= 2ons, Governmental organization and administration, caste Politics, electoral politics and political consciousness of the people as a result of interplay of political forces within and outside Darjeeling becomes a part of the present study.

The study also offers an insight to analyze the various Political processes, administration pattern of government and governance, politics of defection, vocal sentiment reservation and regionalism. Further the role of the GNLF, sons of the soil policy, district state district centre relation would be a special focus of the whole study.

We find a radical change in the pattern and dimension of District Administration in Darjeeling in the post DGHC formation period. It is seen that after the formation of The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act, the role of district administration has changed from being a manager to a key player. Apart from managing the various key departments, it plays a pivotal role and acts as an intermediate between the council and the Government. **Critical issues viz. elections, panchayat, law and order, revenue, etc.** are still handled by the district administration. As a result, the District administration has occupied a prominent place in the administrative set up.

4.2 The DGHC Experience in Darjeeling.

Formation of Council: The DGHC

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) (also once known for a short period of time as **Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council (DGAHC)** is a semi-autonomous body that looks after the administration of the Darjeeling District. DGHC has three subdivisions under its authority: Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Kurseong and some areas of Siliguri subdivision.

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was the result of the signing of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Agreement between the Central Government of India, the West Bengal Government and the Gorkha National Liberation Front in Kolkata on August 22, 1988. The ceremony took place at the Banquet Hall, Raj Bhavan (The Governor's Palace) at 10 A.M. The signatories to this tripartite agreement were: C.G. Somaih, Union Home Secretary (on the behalf of the Central Government of India), R.N. Sengupta, the State Chief Secretary (on the behalf of the Government of West Bengal) and Subhash Ghisingh (on the behalf of Gorkha National Liberation Front as the representative of the people of Darjeeling District).

The Union Home Minister, Buta Singh, and the West Bengal Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu, also put their signatures on the agreement.

DGHC terms

The DGHC was administered from 1988 to 2005 for three successive terms by the GNLF with Subhash Ghisingh as the Chairman. The fourth DGHC elections were due in 2005. However, the government decided not to hold elections and instead made Subhash Ghisingh the sole caretaker administrator of the DGHC.

The period 1982 to 1988 saw the people of Darjeeling in agitation for the formation of a separate state. However after an agreement between the Government and the chief of The Gorkha National Liberation Front, Mr. Subhash Ghisingh, the agitation was suspended and paved the way for the formation of an autonomous council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the hill people.

The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act was passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly as the West Bengal Act 13 of 1988 to provide for the establishment of an Autonomous Council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the Gorkhas and other people residing in the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling.

ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP :

The General Council

So far as the composition of the DGHC is concerned, the General Council consists of 42 members of which two-thirds are elected from the territorial constituencies. Of the fourteen nominated members, three are to be nominated by the Chairman of the General Council and eleven are nominated by the State Govt which may include, among others, the members of the Legislative Assembly from the hill constituencies, members of Parliament elected from Darjeeling Parliamentary Constituency and Chairmen of the Municipalities within the hill areas. The General Council elects one of its members as the Chairman and it has a life span of five years. The General Council meets at least once every quarter. The Act gives executive powers to the General Council in relation to a number of departments, which have been added to, over the years. The General Council formulates integrated developmental plans for the Hill Council and implements schemes and programs for the development of the hill areas. Due to this, a lot of departments that were under the district administration were transferred to the Hill Council. Some of the major transferred departments include:

- **Forest management except the reserved forests**

- **Agriculture**
- **Agricultural waterway systems**
- **Public health and sanitation, family welfare, hospitals & dispensaries**
- **Tourism**
- **Public Works**
- **Vocational Training(FCI)**
- **Transport and transport development**
- **Livestock management**
- **Water management**
- **Market management**
- **Education**
- **Small scale industries**
- **Sports and youth services.**

A new scene has started in the political drama of Darjeeling hills. Once a protagonist of Indian Gorkhas' rights, but now a hapless 'clown', Subash Ghising has been able to climb the hills after a hiatus of 3 years. The 65 year old Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) chief was driven

out by his vassal-turned-foe Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) chief Bimal Gurung in 2008. The former DGHC administrator who ruled the hills for 21 years with an iron hand was driven out after the incident of the killing of a GJMM woman cadre who was shot dead by a gun fired from a councillor's house in Darjeeling. Ever since then, he had been residing in a rented house at Jalpaiguri Sadar. From there he handled his party activities as there was almost no chance for him to enter the hills again. This time, finding the opportunity of poll rule, he got the chance to enter the hills. As soon as he reached the hills, he organised a mass meeting at Mirik, his home turf, and released the election manifesto of his party (GNLF) as well. From this, Ghising has started trying to gain a foothold in the hills by giving his same old rhetorical speeches. Ghising who led a bloody Gorkhaland agitation during the 80's said that he had never asked for Gorkhaland but the Gorkhaland word was used as Brhamastra to get citizenship right for Nepali speaking people in India. He also added that the Centre and state do not have any power to give Gorkhaland and Gorkhaland is already a Nafalney Bantarul (A wild yam that does not bear fruit). "The centre and state don't have not any power to give Gorkhaland and it is a Nafalney Bantaru that is why I accepted Gorkha Hill Council which will be more powerful than the Interim setup for which GJMM is dying," he reasoned.

The veteran hill politician, however, did not stop there. He further said that his party is preparing a strategy to press the Centre and state governments to get the Sixth schedule bill passed. Ghising once wanted to keep the press at a distance in an attempt to muster the support of hill people. However, the people of Darjeeling today are not the same as the people of Darjeeling then. They have lost faith in Ghising. Perhaps Ghising knows this very well and that is why, nowadays he is talking about himself before press. "I am a writer first. I entered politics after I realised that the politicians then were doing no good to the community. I was a driver trying to guide the bus for want of a proper operator," said Ghising. The novelist turned politician Ghising however after all is proved to be a rejected leader as people are not ready to listen to him. So, it is very hard to say whether all his speeches will bail him out from his present sunken position.

On December 06, 2005 a Memorandum of Settlement to replace the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council with an autonomous self-governing council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution was signed by then Union Home Secretary, V.K. Duggal, Benagal Chief Secretary Amit Kiran Deb and by Subash Ghisingh as DGHC Adminstrator purportedly to fulfil the aspirations of the people residing in the Darjeeling hills.

In March 2008, Ghisingh was forced to resign as caretaker after losing public support in the Darjeeling hills to Bimal Gurung-led Gorkha Janmukti Morcha. From March 2008, the West Bengal government has appointed IAS officers as the administrators of DGHC and no elections to this council has been held.

4.3 Gorkhaland movement under Bimal Gurung,

Two years later on October 01, 2007 this special status bill received the approval of the Union Cabinet to be placed in the session of Parliament.

While there were sporadic celebrations in a few places welcoming the approval of the bill, former GNLFC councillor Bimal Gurung announced that he would oppose this anti-people bill 'tooth and nail' on the ground that the Darjeeling hills was such a place where people of all communities lived together and the Sixth Schedule bill which was essentially a provision under the constitution to safeguard the rights of the tribals, if implemented, would divide the people of the hills on ethnic lines. Other hill political parties like AGBL and CPRM also opposed the implementation of the Sixth Schedule status to the Darjeeling hills on the ground that this damaging bill would promote disharmony among the various communities residing in the hills.

In the evening of October 01, 2007 Bimal Gurung declared that the hills should accept nothing short of Gorkhaland as only a separate state would fulfil the social, economic, educational and linguistic aspirations of the people living in the Darjeeling hills, the Terai and the Doars and he welcomed everyone to join the movement to attain this age old demand. He categorically stressed that he would avoid a bloody agitation and said that the demand could be achieved in a peaceful, non-violent and a democratic manner.

A week later on October 07, 2007 thousands of people thronged the Darjeeling Motor Stand and raised Gorkhaland slogans while welcoming the formation of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) by Bimal Gurung who emphasised that the party had been formed primarily to fight for a state of Gorkhaland.

Within a very short period of GJM received popular support from every nook and cranny of the hills, the Terai and the Doars. The popularity of the GJM has resulted from the fact that the Indian Gorkhas in India and all over the world are wholly convinced about the commitment and dedication of Bimal Gurung to the statehood issue. Units of the GJM have been opened in New Delhi and in several other states and these units

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The GJM has the unstinted support of all the people living in the hills, the Terai and the Doars. It is a party which is made up of people from all walks of life - lawyers, teachers, authors, litterateurs, lecturers, doctors, retired bureaucrats, ex-servicemen, businessmen etc. all actively involved with the GJM in its movement for statehood and this has provided the party with strength, credibility and respectability.

The GJM has been demanding that a separate state of Gorkhaland be carved out of West Bengal under the provisions of Article 3(a) of the constitution comprised of the Darjeeling hills, the Siliguri Terai and the Doars where there is a sizeable Gorkha population. The Adivasis populating the Doars have also supported the movement as the party has been actively involved in bringing about social and economic upliftment of the Adivasis.

GJM is headed by Bimal Gurung as the president with Roshan Giri as the General Secretary and other office bearers including a central committee with members.

The party has an active Women's wing, a Youth Front, a Students' Front, an Ex-Servicemen's association and is supported by various other frontal organisations which include the All Gorkha Minority Front consisting of members of other communities besides the Gorkhas.

Since its formation in October 2007 the GJM has been able to accomplish a lot in its journey towards a separate state of Gorkhaland. The first significant achievement of the GJM came within a couple of months from its formation in December 2007 when it was able to convince the Lok Sabha to refer the Sixth Schedule Bill to the Standing Committee. The bill had been on the verge of being passed in Parliament. In February 2008 the bill was headed to the cold storage when the parliamentary panel advised the Centre to make a fresh assessment before proceeding with the two pieces of legislation that would have granted the Sixth Schedule status of Darjeeling.

On March 2008 the Bengal government under continuous pressure from the GJM asked GNLFC chief Subash Ghisingh to resign as the caretaker administrator of the DGHC thus bringing to an end the 21 years of dictatorial and tyrannical rule of the GNLFC over the Darjeeling hills.

The GJM has been responsible in uniting not only the Gorkhas but other communities as well and people belonging to other communities are also sincerely and enthusiastically involved in the GJM's movement for Gorkhaland.

In th 2009 Lok Sabha polls the GJM leadership was able to bring a leader of Jaswant Singh's stature to Darjeeling to contest the Darjeeling

Lok Sabha seat on a BJP ticket. For the first time the long pending problems and demands of the Gorkhas and the Adivasis found place in the election manifesto of a national party like the BJP. The demand to separate from Bengal is a century old but it was for the first time that the demand for Gorkhaland was voiced in both Houses of Parliament by BJP leaders and is now supported by leaders of other political parties.

A number of tripartite talks have been held between the GJM, the Centre and the State governments regarding the statehood demand and the party has been firm on not compromising in any way on the demand for a separate state. It is also praiseworthy that the GJM though formed solely to pursue the demand for Gorkhaland has also seen the need to protect the rights of the people residing within the Gorkhaland area and has been responsible for bringing in a lot of development in the hills and the Doars. It has always kept the problems of the people in mind and has been responsible for opening up closed tea gardens in the Doars and has all along been fighting for the social and economic rights of the Gorkhas and the Adivasis.

The most noteworthy feature of the GJM's agitation since its formation in October 2007 is that the movement has been totally democratic, peaceful, non-violent and non-communal. It is undeniably

apparent that no other political party in the hills and the plains has been able to achieve so much in so short a period as has been achieved by the GJM. The GJM has come as a breath of fresh air and hope for the long-suffering and misunderstood Gorkha community for those who have for years been on a relentless quest for dignity, security and more importantly, for an Indian identity.

4.4 Current scenario

The Gorkhaland movement took a new turn after the West Bengal State Assembly Election of 2011. Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee and Roshan Giri, General Secretary of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha, met at Writers Buildings in Kolkata on June 7 after an "official-level agreement" was reached between the State government and the GJM.

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and the West Bengal government took the first steps towards formation of a new hill council for Darjeeling, replacing the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council that had been formed in 1988. It is expected that a new council would pave the way for return of normality in the Hills, hit by repeated bandhs and disturbances since 2008.

The talks focused on two main issues - the territorial jurisdiction of the proposed council and the transfer of the office of land (locally called "tauji") under the jurisdiction of the council. "Today's meeting was held

under a cordial atmosphere. Our points are on the way to be solved," he said. The delegation raised seven points, he said. The GJM general secretary made it clear that while they were not giving up the Gorkhaland demand, they were not pressing the issue either.

GJM wanted inclusion of areas in the Terai and the Dooars, besides the three Hills subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. If the discussion with state government officials progresses satisfactorily, the formula worked out would be taken up in a tripartite discussion at the political level in which representatives of the Centre would also be present. The state government would have to take into account the feelings of adivasis living in the Dooars and the Terai before a deal is concluded.

Earlier, in negotiations with the Left Front government, GJM had demanded that the whole of the Terai and the Dooars be included in the proposed interim council, but had later scaled down the demand to only the Gorkha-majority areas in these places. According to sources, however, identification of the mouzas in the Terai and the Dooars where Gorkhas are in a majority would take some time. On an earlier occasion, it had been planned that a committee would be set up to do this identification.

It seems that a TEMPORARY solution to the political impasse in the Darjeeling hills of North Bengal seems to be in sight, with the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) signing an “official-level agreement” with the State government. In meetings held on June 6 and 7, 2011, it was decided that an elected body with greater administrative, executive and financial powers and more autonomy would be constituted to replace the practically defunct Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC), which was set up in 1988. The geographical area over which the new body will have jurisdiction will be determined by a nine-member committee that will be set up to delineate the preponderantly Gorkha regions in the Terai and the Dooars in the foothills. The committee, comprising representatives from the Centre, the State and the GJM, is expected to submit its report within six months.

It was decided that the “official-level agreement” will be formalised in a tripartite meeting that is expected to be held soon in Darjeeling. Thereafter, a Bill will be introduced in the Assembly to hold elections to the new body. It was further decided that until the new body is established, a five-member committee will ensure that the development process in the region does not suffer and the people of hill areas are not deprived in the process.

Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee called the occasion “historic” and announced at a press conference at the end of the meeting that “the Darjeeling matter has been settled”. However, the minutes of the meeting clearly state that the establishment of the new body will not in any way “dilute” the main agenda of the Gorkhaland movement for a separate State. Moreover, the GJM leadership has also been careful in not calling the signed document an “agreement”. They insisted on referring to it as “the minutes of the meeting”. It shows the acumen of the leaders to maintain a balance with the administration and the mass.

Harka Bahadur Chhetri, a senior leader of the GJM Central Committee, pointed out that “Though it is a resolution for the time being, it is clearly a step forward. To put it symbolically, we had tea when the DGHC was formed under Left Front rule; now Mamata Banerjee has given us breakfast. But that does not mean we stop here and remain hungry for the rest of our lives. Our ultimate objective is Gorkhaland, and unless that is obtained, our movement will continue in some form or another.” Thus, the leaders made it clear that they are happy with the present steps of the government but not totally happy.

However, one important fallout of the new development is that the people in the hills and the rest of the State can, at least for the time being,

look forward to a period of peace and development. The Darjeeling hills have been on the boil since October 2007 when the GJM, under the leadership of Bimal Gurung, evicted Subhash Ghising and the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) he led from power and established its political supremacy in the hills with a fresh call for Gorkhaland. The subsequent three and a half years saw incessant strikes and violent agitations, which at times took on an ethnic colour as it spread even to the foothills, thus causing disturbance to peace and tranquility.

The GJM leadership has said that this form of agitation will not be pursued following the recent agreement. "Our priority now will be the implementation of all that has been decided in the meeting. We will rise to the challenge and show everyone that we are capable and that the faith the people have placed in us is justified," so goes the opinion of the leaders.

It should be noted that the initial meeting was led by Chief Secretary Samar Ghosh from the State government's side and party general secretary Roshan Giri from the GJM side. It was decided that a committee would be formed to look into the GJM's demand for the transfer of the Tauzi department – which deals with tea-garden land – to the proposed new body. The State government also agreed to approach

the Centre over the GJM's proposal that the new body have control of the forested areas, including the reserve forests, in the region. The GJM has been demanding the regularisation of casual workers of the DGHC. It was decided in the meeting that workers who had completed 10 years of service would be made permanent with immediate effect, while the others would be made so after they completed 10 years. In the meanwhile, casual workers can look forward to an enhanced pay packet.

According to political observers in the hills, the GJM's decision to keep its demand for Gorkhaland in abeyance for a while is not surprising. "It was clear that they would not press too much for statehood after the new government came. Locally, too, they were preparing the ground for this new strategy by telling the people that while the achievement of Gorkhaland would remain the ultimate objective, it would be prudent in the meanwhile to get whatever we can for the development of the region," thus strategically, the leaders managed the situation

It should further be noted that the recent Assembly elections showed that the GJM had not lost its supremacy in the hills. In the three hill constituencies of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, GJM candidates scored thumping victories, winning around 90 per cent of the total votes polled. Initially, the party was thought to be losing its support base,

particularly after the assassination of Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League (ABGL) chief Madan Tamang in May 2010, allegedly by GJM activists. "It is true it was perceived that the common people were getting tired of the party's agitational programme and the bandhs, but our participation in the Assembly elections proved that we are as strong as ever," a senior GJM activist observed.

Earlier, the GJM had insisted that the Gorkha Regional Authority, the interim regional set-up proposed then, be a nominated one. But now, its confidence boosted by the results of the Assembly elections, it has agreed that the new body should be an elected one.

However, the latest development may not go down well with everyone in the Darjeeling hills. Some sections, including Tamang, the assassinated chief of the ABGL, were opposed to the GJM's proposal for an interim set-up. This time too, the ABGL has been quick to cry foul, saying that the statehood demand has been compromised. "This is a great betrayal of the people. The GJM, which had gone to the polls with Gorkhaland as its main issue, has betrayed the people who voted for it. We are against any arrangement within the State of West Bengal. This is no different from the DGHC," ABGL leader Pratap Khati expressed this opinion.

According to Khati, the GJM is “desperate to reach an agreement with the State government”, particularly because the Central Bureau of Investigation hearing in the Madan Tamang murder case is coming up before the Calcutta High Court on June 23. The issue of Gorkhaland has aroused emotions in the hills. However, over the years a kind of cynicism has crept in. “There is a saying here that Gorkhaland is khane bhara (utensil in which cooked food is kept). Everybody's political career is made of it, but apart from that, nothing else happens,” it was said by a senior leader.

There are indications however that GJM could wait for the period of three months within which Mamata has promised to find a solution before launching a fresh agitation. Observers say a solution may be found by giving more autonomy to the hill council, if necessary with a constitutional guarantee, together with more development for the hills. For this, Mamata is depending on the Centre, which is taking the leading role in the tripartite negotiations with GJM. There is an opinion within the Darjeeling District Congress that a solution can be found by including in the proposed council areas in Dooars with a Gorkha majority. Some more mouzas in the Dooars could be added to the council for this.

At this point, it is a million dollar question that has Mamata Banerjee indeed set the ball rolling to ultimately resolve the hill crisis? Or has she merely bought time? Only time will tell. Still, peace seems to have been restored in the hills for a while.

The territory of the earlier DGHC formed in an agreement between the Jyoti Basu government and the GNLF comprised the three hills subdivisions and 14 mouzas in the Siliguri subdivision. Following the rise of GJM in the hills and the marginalization of GNLF, however, DGHC has practically ceased functioning.

It should be mentioned that the previous Left Front government had also tried to find a solution to the Darjeeling crisis by giving more powers to the hill council, but the Sixth Schedule solution offered by it, a brainchild of Gorkha National Liberation Front leader Subash Ghisingh, had been unacceptable to GJM.