

## Chapter 2

### History of Darjeeling

#### Early History of Darjeeling

On the facts assimilated from the archaeological relics found in Badamtari about 14 kilometers far from Darjeeling it has been apparent that there was a mixed civilization in the undivided Sikkim which dates back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century where we find the traces of the Magar, the Lepcha and Limbu Kings ruling in this part of the World. Sikkim at one time extended far to the west and included Limbuan (home of Limbus), now in Nepal. Mr. Hooker believed that the Lepchas, Limbus, the Magars and the Murmis (Tamangs) were the aboriginal inhabitants of the undivided Sikkim (before the advent of the Tibetans in Sikkim).<sup>1</sup>

Up to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Darjeeling was a part of the dominions of the Raja of Sikkim. In 1706 the King of Bhutan annexed what are now Kalimpong and Rhenock.<sup>2</sup> The Raja of Sikkim later became engaged in unsuccessful struggles with the Gorkhas who had seized power in Nepal and invaded Sikkim in 1780. During the next thirty years they overran Sikkim as far east as the Tista and conquered and annexed the Terai.<sup>3</sup> The Gorkhas celebrated their victory on the Maghe Sankranti day (middle of January) of 1789. The remnants of the Gorkha army who did not return to Nepal had settled there and became the part and parcel of Sikkim.<sup>4</sup>

Prior to the year 1816, the vast territory of Sikkim belonged to the Nepalese who had won it by conquest from the Sikkimese.<sup>5</sup> War broke out between the East India Company and the Nepalese (Anglo Nepalese War 1816) in which the Nepalese were defeated. A treaty was signed at Segoulie at the end of 1816, where the tract, which Nepal had wrested from the Raja of Sikkim, was ceded to the East India Company. As per the treaty of Titaliya (1817) between East India Company and Nepal, the whole of the country between the Mechi and Tista was restored to the Raja of Sikkim and his sovereignty was accordingly guaranteed by the Company.<sup>6</sup>

Under the treaty of Titaliya the Raja of Sikkim was bound to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes between his subjects and those of neighboring states. Ten years after it was signed disputes on the Sikkim-Nepal frontiers arose and were referred to the Governor General (Lord William Bentick). Two officers, Captain Llyod and Mr. Grant were deputed in 1828 to deal with the disputes and they penetrated to the hills of Darjeeling.<sup>7</sup> Llyod spent a few days in February 1829 at the 'Old Gurkha Station' of Darjeeling and was attracted by the possibilities of Darjeeling spur as a center which would engross all the trade of the country and a position of great strategic importance commanding the entrance into Nepal and Bhutan. Grant reported the numerous advantages to the British employees in India by a Sanatorium at Darjeeling and also recommended its occupation for military purposes as the key of a pass into Nepal territory.<sup>8</sup>

The British seemed to be very eager to bring Darjeeling under the full control of the Company. According to fresh studies by the historians, the motive force of the British appeared to be two-fold. One, the British wanted to penetrate into Tibet and establish trade mart (route), and two, the British wanted to use Darjeeling as watch tower from where they could keep vigil on the going on in Nepal and Bhutan. Regarding the overall control on Sikkim affairs, the British wanted to have safest and shortest route to Tibet to expand trade and thwart the possible penetration of Russia, as the British efforts to open route from Nepal and Bhutan to Tibet proved hazardous. Controlling Sikkim which acted as wedge between Nepal and Bhutan, the British completed the task of keeping Nepal and Bhutan apart, so that its hegemony could not be challenged.<sup>9</sup>

The climate of Darjeeling was suitable for the Europeans more like the climate back home. This hill station could be used to rule the plains, the wealth of the Himalayas could be utilized, the business from Nepal-Sikkim-Tibet and China could be controlled, (this way Darjeeling could be converted into a British business hub in the Himalayan trail), the poor farmers of Scotland and Ireland could be rehabilitated and the Russians could be resisted from their expeditions to India.<sup>10</sup>

By 1829 most of the now known hill stations of India had been established. There was Simla for Delhi and the Government of India with extensions at Landour, Mussoorie and Almora; Bombay had Mahabaleswar and Poona, and Madras developed Ootacamund

in the Nilgiri Hills. Only the chief city of British India had nowhere to go during the hot weather and had to sweat it out in Calcutta.<sup>11</sup> So Calcutta the then capital of British India and the second city of the British Empire had no hill station, hill resort or a sanatorium while even provinces hugely smaller in size and infinitely smaller in importance had places for its residents to cool off: places where one could comfortably eat, drink and dress like a European.<sup>12</sup> Calcutta for all the power it exercised, and the trade it controlled, required its high and mighty to travel to lesser provinces to enjoy the comforts of a hill station. A hill station in eastern region of India had therefore become an absolute necessity not just to obtain the obvious advantages but also to shake off the embarrassment of an enormous province that had no hill station. British Bengal desperately needed to have a place close by where one could go for short breaks.<sup>13</sup>

The hills were cool the plains hot; the hills were healthy the plains were disease ridden; the hills therefore were safe the plains dangerous. The contrast became all the more evident when nature took a front seat in the highlands. They privileged the sites and the hill stations culminated into places of beauty and splendor, places that resembled a home away from home – they made their resemblance compelling by adding artificiality in the form of colonial cottages, malls, clubs, churches introducing various aesthetic preferences in the physical environment. The hill stations were thus settings where they could renew their sense of themselves as members of a common community.<sup>14</sup>

Originally these stations were not meant to be what they are now: holiday resorts and tourist attractions. They were called sanatoria, and served as convalescent homes for the employees of the East India Company of the lower income groups in urgent need of a change of climate. Their wealthier colleagues usually withdrew alone or with their families to South Africa for the restoration of their health's or even returned to England; others went on a long trip to Australia as a sea voyage was the traditionally prescribed cure for almost every disease attributed to a prolonged residence in India. The success of the hill stations of western India had induced the Government to do something for the citizens of Calcutta and the Bengal Presidency. An experimental station for ailing troops was opened at Cherrapunji in Assam, but it proved to be a washout – literally – as it turned out to be one of the wettest places in the world.<sup>15</sup> Shillong very close by, with lesser rainfall and series upon series of undulating hills would have suited the British

admirably but the Khasi natives were fiercely defending their territory. The disappointment and the desperation at the failure to establish a hill station are not difficult to imagine especially with the rains ruining Cherrapunji and the Khasi resistance holding its own at Shillong.<sup>16</sup>

The British Government continued to look for an alternative place and asked Lloyd to follow up the recommendation of Mr. Grant, an enthusiastic explorer of the Himalayan foothills. Though Lloyd later claimed to have been the only European to see Darjeeling it must be assumed that Grant was the originator of the idea of Darjeeling's suitability as a sanatorium, since Lord William Bentick has put it on record that to the extreme earnestness of Grant in commending Darjeeling, that place would be mainly indebted for any importance into which it might hereafter rise. The reports were very favorable, and a second survey was made early in 1830 by the Deputy Surveyor-General, Capt. Herbert, once again in the company of Grant. His account was equally enthusiastic and Lloyd was ordered to start discreet negotiations with the Raja of Sikkim for acquiring the hill site.<sup>17</sup>

It was on January 23, 1835 that a proposal was first passed to send Major Lloyd "to open negotiations with the Raja of Sikkim for the transfer of Darjeeling to the British Government". On 11 February 1835 Lord William Bentick wrote to the Chogyal (Raja of Sikkim) accrediting Major Lloyd as his representative to negotiate the transfer of the tract. Lloyd first met the Raja on 12 February 1835 on the banks of Tista but a written request for the accession of Darjeeling was first made by him on 19 February 1835 only. The Raja agreed to allow the British to build houses in Darjeeling for "friendship" and for "the sick people". This is carried in the first ever deed that the Raja had granted: "That health may be obtained by residing there I from friendship make an offering of Darjeeling to the Governor-General Sahib". (February 25, 1835).<sup>18</sup>

It was in the year 1835 that part of the present Darjeeling was "granted" away by the Raja of Sikkim to the British. The oft-quoted "deed of grant" dated February 1, 1835 runs as follows:

"The Governor-General, having expressed his desire for the possession of the hill of Darjeeling on account of its cool climate, for the purpose of enabling the servants of this Government, suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, I, the

Sikkimputtee Raja, out of friendship for the said Governor-General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company, that is, all the land South of the Great Rangit river, East of the Balasun, Kahail and Little Rangit rivers and West of Rungpo and Mahanadi rivers".<sup>19</sup>

But Dr. Tanka B. Subba questions how could Lloyd obtain a deed dated February 1, 1835? Dr. Sonam Wangyal agrees to the defect with the date of the deed and says if both the negotiating parties were ignorant of the Company's decision to acquire the tract till the second half of February 1835, how could the deal have been done on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of February 1835.

Records show that the first short deed was signed 25 February and according to Atchison the final deed was done ten days later or on 6 March 1835, but yet he gave the date of the deed as 1 February 1835. The ever reliable Atchison had slipped on the slippery path of fixing a date for the deed and ever since all historians have been sliding down the same greasy lane.<sup>20</sup>

However, all we are sure of is that the Deed of Darjeeling was done sometime in 1835 and by it the British Government was legally in possession of the Darjeeling Tract. Least the climate should turn out to be as unsuitable as at Cherrapunji, Lloyd and Dr. Chapman, surgeon to the Governor-General's bodyguard, were ordered to spend nine months as 'guinea pigs' at Darjeeling. Their task was to keep detailed journals and itineraries and daily records of the weather and anything else of interest. They moved up to Darjeeling in November 1836 and wrote their final report in June 1837, again recommending Darjeeling's 'suitabilities'. At the end of the year the Government finally decided to go ahead with the settlement. 1839 was the most important year in the history of Darjeeling – the year the road which connected the hill station with the plains – its lifeline – was built. Right from the start it had been pointed out by planner: No Road – No Darjeeling, and 1839 was the critical year when the decision was finally taken to go ahead with the plans. Over the years we see the beginnings of an embryonic settlement with a few stony paths, a few wattle and huts, and hundreds of people milling about like ants, reducing the jungle to building plots.<sup>21</sup> In 1839, Dr. Campbell was made superintendent of Darjeeling. He found it an inaccessible tract of forest with scanty

population. He converted it into an excellent sanatorium and improved the communication system.<sup>22</sup>

The peaceful relation between Sikkim Raja and the East India Company lasted for almost a decade. But their relation strained in 1849 following the arrest and detention of Dr Hooker and Dr. Campbell in Sikkim during their tour. As no protest on the part of the British Government could obtain their speedy release, a punitive Expedition was forced over the borders in February 1850. The surrender of the Raja led the East India Company to annex the whole of the Darjeeling district, which covered an area of 640 sq. miles (present Siliguri Sub-division). Owing to constant violation of the treaty of Titaliya by Sikkim, in 1860 an expeditionary force first under Dr. Campbell and then under Colonel Gawler with Ashley Eden as envoy was sent. In March 1861 a treaty was concluded at Tumlong, the then Capital of Sikkim. This treaty put an end to the frontier disturbance with Sikkim and helped flow of commerce beyond the frontier. The annexation of Darjeeling was confirmed.<sup>23</sup>

### **Administrative History of Darjeeling**

Following the Indo-Bhutanese War of 1864, a treaty in November 1865 ceded what is Kalimpong sub-division to the British. Kalimpong area was first notified as sub-division under the Deputy Commissioner of Western Duars district. But in 1866, it was transferred to Darjeeling. After Kalimpong had been brought under British administration the district was divided into two sub-divisions: the headquarter sub-division including all the hills on both sides of the Tista; and the Terai sub-division which included all the plains in the foothills. The headquarter of the Terai sub-division was at Hanskhawa near Phansidewa from 1864 to 1880<sup>24</sup>, but in that year they were transferred to Siliguri, in consequence of the importance the place had acquired as the terminus of the Northern Bengal State Railway. In the meantime, Kurseong had begun to develop, and accordingly in 1891 it was made the headquarter of a new subdivision, including both the Terai and the lower hills west of the Tista.<sup>25</sup> Later in 1907, Siliguri was made a separate sub-division; this re-established the old Terai sub-division. In 1917, Kalimpong sub-division was also created, since then the four sub-divisions constituted the district of Darjeeling.<sup>26</sup>

The district was formerly a Non-Regulation district, that is the Acts and Regulations did not come into force unless they were specially extended to it. Darjeeling hill areas belonged to the Non-Regulation scheme before 1861. Though Darjeeling was brought under the General Regulation System for a short period of 1861-70, the necessity of taking them out of the Regulation System was insisted on. [On three grounds (1) preservation of indigenous system of land tenures (2) necessity of entrusting undivided responsibilities to the District Officer (3) formulation of simple laws in conformity with native institutions and simplicity of local people.]<sup>27</sup> The necessity of a non-Regulation system arose mainly from considerations of protecting the person and property of the backward tribes and races. They were entirely distinct from the ordinary population in respect of their economy, culture and level of understanding. The system of government and administration established by the general regulations was in fact inapplicable to their circumstances. It worked to their great disadvantage and even destruction. The existing rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice were suspended, and a Commissioner was appointed with full powers to conclude arrangements with tribal chiefs and conduct the entire administration of the tract, subject to the controlling authority of the Governor-General in Council.<sup>28</sup>

The administrative arrangement for the district of Darjeeling, considered as less advanced district, was only for a short period – from 1870 to 1874 placed under the direct responsibility of the Governor General. After this it was brought within the purview of the Laws Local Extent Act 1874 (also known as the Scheduled Districts Act). The Act provided that in this district “the normal legislation and jurisdiction were in force only in part or with modifications if necessary of any enactment in force at the time in any part of British India”. Therefore, the district was not placed within the ambit of the general laws in application over the rest of India: such laws were, as mentioned before, applied only in part or with modifications. Darjeeling district was Scheduled Area and hence outside the purview of laws applicable to the areas not coming under the Act. The administrative arrangement provided for remained unaltered for quite a long period.<sup>29</sup>

The Government of India Act 1919, besides retaining almost all the provisions for scheduled districts and their corresponding administration, brought all the scheduled district under a new terminology, “the Backward Tract”. The backward tract was subject

to special law usually prescribing simple and elastic forms of judicial and administrative procedure. The district of Darjeeling was a 'Backward Tract' and remained so till the passing of the Government of India Act 1935 which declared the district as a partially excluded area. Thus an Act either of the federal legislature or the provincial legislature would not extend to the partially excluded area, unless the Governor of the province concerned would give his assent to the application of the Act in its entirety or with such modifications or exceptions as he thought necessary. The Governor could also make regulations for such areas for peace and good government.<sup>30</sup> In the case of a partially excluded area the governor had to consult the council of ministers but in the case of an excluded area his discretion was final. Darjeeling became a 'partially excluded area' within the province of Bengal.<sup>31</sup> But there was one time when the British took Darjeeling out of (Rajshahi sub-division of) Bengal between 1907 and 1912, when they tagged Darjeeling to the Bhagalpur (sub-division of Bihar). The reason given was Lipi (script) for the common use of Devnagari by the Nepalis and the Hindi-speaking people made administration simpler, at least in theory. But later in 1912 Darjeeling was re-transferred to Bengal.<sup>32</sup>

From the time of its acquisition till the time of independence the district of Darjeeling fell apart from the general administrative system of British India though the description for this district's pattern differed from time to time. It was a part of the non-regulation areas since the acquisition of its territories till 1861. It was under the direct responsibility of the Governor-General in regard to legislation from 1870 to 1874. It was a scheduled district from 1874 to 1919. It was a backward tract from 1919 to 1935. It was a partially excluded area from 1935 to the end of the British rule.<sup>33</sup>

The separation of Darjeeling was emphasized on the grounds mainly of race, language and geography. The striking dissimilarities with the plains-men in all the above aspects were considered factors not permitting uniform administration for the entire country. The persistent policy of the British rulers in this century to keep the district of Darjeeling segregated from the rest of British territories was not formulated and pursued always for the benefit of the people (The progress in social, cultural and economic spheres were not at all satisfactory). Rather the British imperial interest was the more compelling justification for this policy. It was the British imperial interest, which needed

that the border areas on the north were placed under the direct management of the rulers of the empire. It was the same interest, which needed that these areas were kept out of the constitutional reforms (intent of which were ushering in the process of Self-government). Thus throughout the history of British rule, the rulers never allowed the district to come within the national mainstream, and within the purview of the general administration.<sup>34</sup>

The administration of Darjeeling district since 1835 had been in the hands of a Superintendent. In the words of W.A. Jackson "The powers vested in this officer included the political relations of our Government with the Sikkim Rajah and the civil, criminal and fiscal duties". The Superintendent of Darjeeling came to be designated as the Deputy Commissioner with effect from 8 May 1850. The duties he had to perform were almost analogous to those of a District Magistrate and Collector posted in a Regulation district of Bengal. As Hunter said, "The district officer, whether known as Collector-Magistrate or as Deputy Commissioner, was the responsible head of his jurisdiction. Upon his energy and personal character depended ultimately the efficiency of our Indian Government. His own special duties were so numerous and so various as to bewilder the outsider; and the work of his subordinates, European and Native, largely depended upon the stimulus of his personal example...He was to be a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he was also a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal...Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation...revenues of his district were to him matters of daily concern. He was expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives and with each natural aspect of the country. He was to be a lawyer, an accountant, a surveyor, and ready writer of State papers. He also was to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy and engineering."<sup>35</sup>

After the political upheaval of 1857, a district officer (Deputy Commissioner in Darjeeling) had to shoulder additional responsibilities – not so much for resisting internal disquiet or external invasion as for the expansion of state activity in the spheres of municipal and local bodies, roads and railways, commerce and industry, education and statistics, agriculture and co-operation, cadastral surveys and census operations, epidemic and famine relief, etc. Writing on the subject, O'Malley pointed out the specific functions of the Deputy Commissioner: "The Deputy Commissioner was the head of the local

administration, and performed a number of duties which do not fall to the lot of a Collector in an ordinary Regulation district. He exercised the powers of a Sub-Judge in disposing of appeals from the Munsif of Kurseong and Siliguri...he also disposed of intestate cases and of any applications to be declared insolvent, which were made over to him by the District Judge. A large portion of his work consisted of the administration of various funds and local bodies. As the Chairman of the District Road Fund Committee... he was responsible for the maintenance of a large number of roads scattered over the hills and the Terai; as Chairman of the Darjeeling Municipality, he controlled the administration of the station; and both as Deputy Commissioner and as Vice-President of the District Committee of Public Instruction, he was in close touch with the education of the people. He was also ex-officio Chairman of the Darjeeling Town Improvement Committee of the Darjeeling Dispensary Committee, of the Natural History Museum and Water-works Committees appointed by Government, and of the Managing Committee of Louis Jubilee Sanatorium". A.J.Dash wrote that by virtue of his (Deputy Commissioner) powers of control over Khas-Mahal, over the work of the District Board as its Chairman and over the Darjeeling Town administration as Chairman of the Municipality, his duties were more onerous than those of his counterpart in a Regulation district.<sup>36</sup> (Khas-Mahal was settlement surrounded by agricultural and fallow lands, situated in remote hill areas where urban influence was not felt much.)<sup>37</sup>

The British rulers decided to have in the Non-Regulation areas one visible authority in the person of one and the same district officer (read Deputy Commissioner) who would act not only as the magistrate and collector but also as the judge there. For any kind of difficulty people would be able to seek the paternal care of his office. It was further felt that to enable the district officer to perform such varied functions it was necessary to keep the territory under his jurisdiction comparatively small. As a result, he could master a complete knowledge of the habits and customs prevalent among the population in the area. Without a complete awareness of their manners and customs, their nature and habits, it was not possible for the district officer to ensure peace among them and guide them in their search for material and moral prosperity. It was felt necessary that the district officer in Non-Regulation area should have enough freedom to act in a given

situation according to his own understanding of his responsibility, this made it possible for him to be speedier than his counterpart in a Regulation area.<sup>38</sup>

Darjeeling became one of the regular districts of the state of West Bengal after 1947. Although the local administration still exhibited peculiarities due to the special application of various enactments, the Constitution Act of 1950 abolished the special privileges, hitherto extended to the district. The Deputy Commissioner now performed duties almost analogous to those discharged by the district officers in other districts of the State. After independence the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling performed functions/duties as briefly mentioned below:

- Law and Order. Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling held a wide array of powers and discharged varied responsibilities covering all aspects of the district. He had to look after public safety and protection of citizens and all their rights. For these purposes, he had to maintain law and order and administer criminal justice. The district police force was provided to him by law to enforce his authority in this regard. The Deputy Commissioner exercised overall control regarding jail administration leaving the day-to-day work to be performed by the Jailor or Sub-Jailor concerned. The Deputy Commissioner had other duties relating to anti-corruption, enforcement, utilization of scarce resources, and detention of individuals if the security of the state was involved. He had also to deal with border problems and maintain liaison with the defence services.
- Land Management. In regard to land revenues, land records and surveys and management of Government estates, the Deputy Commissioner worked under the Board of Revenue, West Bengal and ensured maintenance of varied statistics relating to records of rights, plot indexes, accounts of boundary disputes and settlement records etc.
- Supervision over Local self-government. The Deputy Commissioner exercised general supervision over the local self-government organization and ensured that their proceedings were in conformity with the law and the rules. He served as a link between the district administration and the Zilla Parishad. The District Panchayat Officer, wholly responsible to the Deputy Commissioner kept in close touch with him about the affairs of the Zilla Parishad.
- Development. As the District Development Officer, he controlled and coordinated all development activities under the Five Year Plans within the district. The district-level

officers of such welfare departments as agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry, panchayats, education, social education, communication, health etc received general guidance from the Deputy Commissioner. All the district-level officers were under instruction to inform the Deputy Commissioner of all matters so that he had an accurate idea of the current Government activities in every sphere of the life of the community. Although David C. Potter thought that attention to the welfare of the district population was not outside the scope of administration in British days, he, however, admitted that the present district set-up was more extensively concerned with the Directive Principles of the Constitution of India aiming at the welfare of the people.

- Crisis Management. In emergencies like famine, agricultural deterioration, drought or flood, he was responsible for taking proper steps so that these calamities were arrested and the victims were provided with relief. Executing food for relief works and providing gratuitous relief to the deserving were his duties. He supervised the supply and distribution of controlled articles and issued passports and visas.
- Other Miscellaneous Functions. In addition to these explicit responsibilities, the Deputy Commissioner had various residual powers as the local agent of the Government. He maintained records of births and deaths, supervised decennial censuses, granted citizenship certificates to eligible persons, conducted elections to the Parliament, the State Legislature and the local bodies. He was equally concerned with the relief and rehabilitation of refugees and tribal welfare. He associated himself with a number of official and non-official organizations. To name a few, he was the President of the Government High School, the Maharani Girls' School and the Government College and was the Chairman of the Victoria Boys' School, the Dow Hill Girls' School, the Saint Paul's School and was associated with the Jubilee Sanitorium and various other organizations.<sup>39</sup>

The principal executive officer of the district of Darjeeling designated as the Deputy Commissioner was a historical anachronism. The convention was dispersed with and the Deputy Commissioner came to be designated as the District Magistrate instead,<sup>40</sup> from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1985.

### History of Regional Movement in Darjeeling

In 1907, the first ever demand for “separate administrative set-up” for the district of Darjeeling was placed before the British government by the “leaders of the Hill people” (the Hillmen’s Union formed under the president ship of S.W.Ladenla).<sup>41</sup>

In 1917 the Hillmen’s Association sent a memorandum to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Their plea was that “this district should be excluded” and the “political life should be towards a distinct local government”. Their petition was for the creation of a separate administrative unit comprising the “present Darjeeling district with the portion of Jalpaiguri district”.<sup>42</sup> The copies of this were submitted to E.S.Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy of India. A suggestion was also made for creation of North East Frontier Province (NEFP) consisting of the district of Darjeeling, Dooars, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. By 1920 the Hillmen’s Association, in collaboration with Darjeeling Planters’ Association and the European Association, had resolved in a joint meeting to fight for the exclusion of Darjeeling district and Dooars from Bengal and to “safeguard and advocate the legitimate interests of the hill people in the sphere of politics”.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note that the Kalimpong Samiti, the Gorkhas under Bhimlal Dewan and the People’s Association, Darjeeling, opposed the exclusion of Darjeeling from Bengal. They also expressed the view that the continuation of the scheduled district status would result in perpetual backwardness of the district. Among the supporters of this view were Dr. Parasmani Pradhan and Dal Bahadur Giri.<sup>44</sup>

In 1929 the Hillmen’s Association submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding: (a) Darjeeling be taken out of the list of ‘backward districts’, and (b) at least three seats in the provincial and central legislatures be reserved for the hillmen of Darjeeling. The Hillmen’s Association seemed to have been swaying between two ideas: to remain in Bengal with special safeguards or to leave Bengal.<sup>45</sup>

Another memorandum in 1934 by Hillmen’s Association to Sir Samuel Hoare (the Secretary of State) and Sir John Anderson (Governor of Bengal) was presented on behalf of the Lepcha, Bhutias and Nepalese (Gorkhas). The hill people who were in the

majority in the district were however, a small minority in the province. So the prayer of the Hillmen's Association was that "the privileges and reservations made for the minority communities in the constitution should also be extended to the hill people in the province of Bengal". They urged "the District of Darjeeling should be totally excluded from Bengal by creation of an independent administrative unit with an Administrator at the head of the area, assisted by an Executive Council, representative of all interests in the area and the area placed directly under the Central Government".<sup>46</sup>

Since 1935 the Hill People's Social Union was established for "fraternity among Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis and their social development". 'Nebula' standing for Nepali, Bhutia and Lepcha was the name of the Association's Magazine.<sup>47</sup>

The Hillmen's Association did not prove to be a successful negotiator for the hill people for they secured nothing by way of concession for the district. They raised the demand of a NEFP again in 1938, but no longer held the allegiance even of the elite in Darjeeling. Some middle class leaders now began to pay greater attention to social service and literary organizations like the Gorkha Dukha Nivarak Sabha or the Nepali Sahitya Sammelan. Through these organizations they tried to expand their constituency to include the common people. The influence of the Hillmen's Association was clearly on the wane. Yet, they continued with their representations and in 1942, in a memorandum to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State, demanded Darjeeling's separation from Bengal and its constitution as a separate administrative unit under the governor-general with a Chief Commissioner at its head. The Planters' Association, the Europeans' Association and the European Civil Service Community supported the demands.<sup>48</sup>

Dambar Singh Gurung (representative from the hills in Provincial Assembly) founded All India Gorkha League (AIGL) in Darjeeling on May 15, 1943. AIGL made the Hillmen's Association defunct. On the eve of independence AIGL proposed two alternatives for Darjeeling district (1) Darjeeling along with Dooars should be joined with Assam to create a separate province. (2) The districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and the state of Cooch Behar and Sikkim should form a separate province. The name of the new province was suggested as Uttarkhand Pradesh.<sup>49</sup>

In 1947, a strange occurrence was witnessed in Darjeeling town. The leaders of Muslim League came forward with their own plan for Darjeeling and its merger with East

Pakistan. A Muslim League team visited Darjeeling and held talks with the leaders of the local political party and participated in a convention on the merger issue. Some understanding appears to have been reached between them. This was reflected in the bizarre developments in Darjeeling between August 14 and 18, 1947. The Pakistani flag fluttered on the Darjeeling Town Hall for full five days in place of the Union Jack. Darjeeling was popularly stated to have become part of Pakistan in preference to India. In fact, even sweets were distributed and fireworks let off in joyous celebration of Pakistan's independence. Confusion and speculation in regard to Darjeeling's fate and status ended on August 19, 1947 when India's tricolor, the national flag, replaced the Pakistani flag on the Darjeeling Town Hall.<sup>50</sup>

The undivided Communist Party of India (CPI) was first noticed in Darjeeling in 1944. Initially it worked hand in hand with AIGL. In 1945, the CPI was delinked from AIGL. In 1947, Ratanlal Brahmin (Maila Bajey) and Ganeshlal Subba submitted a memorandum on behalf of the Darjeeling District Committee of CPI to Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Vice-President of the Interim Government and Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Finance Member of Government. In this they made a Utopian demand for the Gorkhas – Gorkhasthan, an independent nation comprising of the present day Nepal, Darjeeling district and Sikkim, excluding its present North District. The Uttarkhand Movement conceived and initiated mainly by Randhir Subba of AIGL in 1949 put forward that Uttarkhand could be formed of the following areas (1) Darjeeling district, Sikkim, Jalpaiguri, Dooars and Cooch Behar, or (2) Darjeeling district, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar, or (3) Darjeeling district and Sikkim, or (4) Darjeeling district only.<sup>51</sup>

The AIGL memorandum of 1952 highlighted three alternatives for Darjeeling. (1) To make Darjeeling a separate administrative unit directly under the Centre. (2) A separate province with Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Sikkim. (3) Merger of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri with Assam.<sup>52</sup>

The CPI in April 1954 first spoke about regional autonomy for the hill areas of Darjeeling. In 1955 the Darjeeling District Congress Committee (DDCC) made demand for 'statutory district council' and in 1957 the Congress, CPI and AIGL jointly placed the demand for 'regional autonomy' before Jawaharlal Nehru when he visited Darjeeling.<sup>53</sup>

In 1967 AIGL joined the United Front Ministry in West Bengal with the express objective of persuading the Government to take up two basic demands that is the Autonomy of Darjeeling District within West Bengal and the recognition of Nepali language.<sup>54</sup> (With the death of Mr. Deo Prakash Rai the AIGL supreme in 1983, the party became more or less defunct.)

The issue of language had two aspects: recognition of Nepali as the official language for the hills and the inclusion of Nepali in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. In 1961 the West Bengal Assembly adopted Nepali as the official language for the hill subdivisions of Darjeeling. The demand for the inclusion of Nepali in the Eighth Schedule was veritably transformed into a movement when the All-India Nepali Bhasa Samiti assumed the leadership of the language movement. They co-opted members from other areas of the country where sizeable Nepali-speaking people lived. They succeeded in mobilizing public opinion through agitation and propaganda and enlisted the support of many non-Nepali intellectuals as well. The Samiti tried to set up organizations even in the remote village areas and they succeeded in mobilizing the people at the grassroots level. The awareness they created was to be exploited later by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) movement. The Government of India was not very responsive to this sensitive demand and indeed Morarji Desai, as Prime Minister, alienated many by referring to Nepali as a foreign language during a visit to Darjeeling in 1979.<sup>55</sup> (Nepali language was incorporated in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution by the 71<sup>st</sup> Amendment Act 1992.)

Pranta Parishad formed in April 1980 was the first organization to make a bold and uncompromising demand for a separate state and nothing less than that. The demand was a separate state of Gorkhaland outside West Bengal consisting of Darjeeling and the Dooars of Jalpaiguri.<sup>56</sup> Pranta Parishad in a Pamphlet entitled "A Case for the Formation of a Separate State Gorkhaland" argued that the people living in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri (Dooars) are ethnically, culturally, linguistically, socially and historically distinct from the majority-community dominant over West Bengal. This hooking up together of very dissimilar people and territory was the beginning of the ruination of the Gorkhas. And continuance of this unjustifiable arrangement has reduced this region to the position of a sub-servient colony of Bengal. It is due to these basic

differences that the people of this region have been demanding the separation of this region from the rest of Bengal in one form or other since the time of British imperialist regime till this date. The Pranta Parishad demands the formation of a separate state (Gorkhaland) comprising of the Nepali speaking areas of the Dooars in the district of Jalpaiguri and the whole of Darjeeling District, in accordance with the Article 3 (a) of the Constitution.<sup>57</sup> But by January 1987 the members of the Pranta Parishad had resigned saying that the two organizations (referring to Pranta Parishad and GNLF) with the same demand would hinder the Gorkhaland agitation. They extended their support to the democratic and constitutional programs/works of Gorkhaland agitation.<sup>58</sup>

Communist Party of India Marxist [CPI(M)] urged the Central Government to amend the Constitution for constituting an autonomous authority in Darjeeling within the framework of the State of West Bengal. This autonomous authority was to be framed under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The CPI(M) passed a resolution in the Assembly in September 1981 for regional autonomy for Darjeeling. This demand was taken to the floor of the Parliament in July 1983 when a Constitutional Amendment Bill for Regional Autonomy for Darjeeling District was moved and as expected rejected. On 9 August 1985, Private Member's Bill was moved in Parliament by Ananda Pathak and Somnath Chatterjee. The proposed District Council under this bill was given wide range of power in various administrative matters. Mr. Pathak pleaded for "some sort of statehood" and quoted Jawaharlal Nehru's suggestion about a Scottish pattern of autonomy in the region. Pathak's strong plea for autonomy, was however, rejected.<sup>59</sup>

The Gorkhaland Movement was both an ethno-linguistic and regional movement. The GNLF like various other political parties of the past had demanded separation from West Bengal. There had been a growing belief in the Darjeeling areas, that neither the Centre nor the State government had done much for the region. The feeling of economic deprivation was also heightened because of cultural backwardness stemming from what the Gorkhas perceived as neglect of their language. Though the cry for economic emancipation was voiced in the movement, the cry for political identity and due status of Gorkha community was manifest. It was the emotional appeal mainly concerning the Gorkha identity that drew supporters in lots to the GNLF movement. Mr. Subash Ghising laid that Nepalis in India had residency rights but did not have citizenship. it was because

of this citizenship issue, that GNLF gained credibility. Moreover, a growing educated middle class, the Gorkha Elite, had been looking for opportunities and recognition, which it was able to find in the demand being made by Ghising. The GNLF looked upon Bengal as a giant 'devouring' the Gorkha identity. The Gorkhaland agitation thus was the ultimate cause of the feeling of relative deprivation, transferred anger, language threat to identity of Nepalis, a movement led by the elite group and a feeling of 'internal colonialism' under Bengal.<sup>60</sup>

It was the bitter experience of the people (of Darjeeling hills) that constitutional agitation and even a sympathetic government in the state had not secured their demands. The long constitutional agitation comprising submission of memoranda, resolutions by the state assemblies and propoganda to achieve the demands were failures. The creation of Sikkim as a state of India after the merger obviously emboldened some people in Darjeeling to ask for a separate state. The state of Assam was broken up and new states created. This served as an example of what militancy could achieve. The Mizo accord reinforced such sentiments.<sup>61</sup> The Indian Nepalis sentiment upsurge actually flared up with the incidents in March 1986. One, the defeat of a Private Member's Bill introduced in Lok Sabha by Ananda Pathak and two, the expulsion of Nepalis from Meghalaya. The Bhumiputra (son of the soil) protagonists, Meghalaya students flung Indian Nepalis across the Assam border on the ground that they did not possess entry permits. In addition to these Assamese militants drove the Nepalis from Assam to West Bengal border. The West Bengal government did not pay any heed to them. These created apprehension in the minds of the Indian Nepalis that helped Mr. Ghising to incite Nepali emotion.<sup>62</sup>

The Gorkhaland agitation in West Bengal got momentum only in 1986. Established in 1980, the Gorkha Liberation Front GNLF had been trying to catch the Nepalis sentiment since 1983 when it submitted the memorandum to the King of Nepal with copies circulated to the UNO and the U.S.A, U.S.S.R, U.K., France and other governments. In February, 1984, GNLF leader met the Home Minister of Nepal, again in March, 1985 a delegation went to Nepal and submitted copies of 1983 memorandum to the embassies of U.S.A, U.S.S.R, U.K, France, Pakistan, etc.<sup>63</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> March 1986 the GNLF decided on the following eleven point program of action:

1. "To observe a 'Black Flag Day' on 13<sup>th</sup> May 1986 in protest against alleged atrocities and discrimination perpetuated on the Indian Nepalis.
2. To give a 72-hour 'Bandh' call from 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1986 to highlight the constitutional and just demand for 'Gorkhaland'.
3. In 1955, the States Reorganization Committee had increased the area of West Bengal allegedly by unconstitutionally annexing the areas of Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong, Mirik, Siliguri and Dooars which have different culture and language. The party would burn the said report of the States Reorganization Committee.
4. According to the party, Article 7 of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950 had relegated the Indian Nepalis to status of immigrants. The party would burn Article 7 of the said Treaty. [Article VII of the Treaty agreed "to grant, on reciprocal basis to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other, the same privileges in the matters of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movements and privileges of similar nature". This according to Ghising had made the Gorkhas, living in India for more than a century, merely 'reciprocal citizens' and not real citizens of the country and as such, their status was uncertain.]
5. The party would launch a movement against the indiscriminate felling of the trees of the hill areas by the Forest Corporation for sending them in the plains.
6. The party would continue vote boycott movement with the slogan 'We will not stay in the other people's State of West Bengal'.
7. The party would boycott all MLAs, Ministers and Parties, who were against the demand for Gorkhaland.
8. Over the demand for Gorkhaland and in protest against the policies of the central government the party would launch a movement by way of stopping all vehicles taking the valuable boulders of Dudhia (Kurseong) towards the plains.
9. To launch a 'Do or die' movement in protest against the alleged treatment of the Gorkhas as domiciles.

10. The Gorkhas of Darjeeling and the plains would not observe or celebrate the 15<sup>th</sup> August, 26<sup>th</sup> January, Gandhi Jayanti, Netaji Jayanti and other National Celebrations until and unless the government of India conceded the demand for Gorkhaland.
11. In protest against the alleged colonial attitude towards the Gorkhas by the Government of India, the party decided to organize a movement for non-payment of taxes and loans.”<sup>64</sup>

In accordance with this program the Gorkhaland Agitation/Movement was formally launched which was marked by violence that disrupted normal life and led to complete chaos and turmoil in the hills.

Mass fronts of the GNLF like the Gorkha National Women's Organization (GNWO); Gorkha National Student's Federation (GNSF); Gorkha National Youth Organization (GNYO) and Gorkha National Employees' Organization (GNEO) were established. The students and employees joined the movement in large numbers and a special feature of the movement was the large-scale participation of women. The movement started with continuous strikes and protests against the government of West Bengal. Later clashes with the CPI(M) and with anyone who did not fall in line started. The government (State government) decision to treat the movement as a law and order problem and the deployment of central forces like the CRPF, the BSF, the EFR and the SAP made matters worse. Darjeeling, for nearly, two years witnessed violence like it had not seen before.<sup>65</sup>

Amiya Samanta points out three distinct phases of violence in the hills. From the beginning Ghising identified CPI(M) (for opposing the Gorkhaland Movement and siding with the state government) as his enemy and consequently the CPI(M) followers were at the receiving end. April to October 1986- the first phase of the movement was marked by GNLF aggression. November 1986 to April 1987, the second phase of the movement, where the CPI(M) built up its capability to face the armed attack of the GNLF militants and mounted a counter offensive. June 1987 to signing of treaty on August 1988, the state government deployed Para-military forces in large numbers in the hills, reshuffled the officials and gave them greater responsibility to take on the challenge of the GNLF (TADA was invoked in July 1987 in the wake of 13 days' bandh).<sup>66</sup>

In 1987, the State Government prepared a broad framework of the Hill Council for Darjeeling. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu discussed this with the Prime Minister Rajiv

Gandhi and Home Minister Buta Singh and after that, a draft plan was submitted to the Central Government for obtaining Ghising's approval. A premature disclosure of the plan to the public enraged Ghising, who then demanded a Gorkha Council with extended territory which was unacceptable to the State Government. The impasse continued and not much effort was made by the Central Government to reconcile the differences. While intermittent violence in the hills continued, Ghising called for "40-day bandh" from February 10, 1988 demanding withdrawal of the CRPF from Darjeeling. Violence reached its peak during this period. Impatient with the lack of initiative on the part of the Central Government, the State Government announced that it would proceed with the Hill Council Bill even if the GNLF did not participate in the negotiation. This provoked Ghising. In May 1988, he announced a plan for "do or die" struggle for achieving Gorkhaland and appealed to the people to be ready for supreme sacrifice. He ordered enlistment of at least one able-bodied man from each family who would not hesitate to lay down his life for Gorkhaland... Ultimately, under the shadow of Ghising's threat of violence the Central Government decided not to allow the grass to grow under their feet. They arranged tripartite meetings, one at the end of June 1988 and another on July 25, with Chief Minister Jyoti Basu to discuss the Hill Council proposal. With both the sides seeking peace and the Central Government eager for an early solution, an agreement was signed on August 22, 1988 for setting up the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Jahar Sen, *Darjeeling A Favoured Retreat*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1989, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Jules Dash, *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*, Calcutta: Government Printing, 1947, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> H.B.Bura Magar, *Op.cit.* p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> K.C.Bhanja, *History of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalaya*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, Reprinted 1993, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Shanti Chhetry, *Women Workers in The Informal Sector*, Gyan Sagar Publication, Delhi, 1999, pp. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup> A.K.Banerjee et al, *West Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling* Government of West Bengal, 1980, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> L.S.S.O'Malley, ed. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*, 1907 (rpt. 1985), p. 20.

- <sup>9</sup> C.D.Rai, in the Preface of Ram Moktan Compiled and Edited, *Sikkim: Darjeeling. Compendium of Documents*, Gopal Press, Varanasi, India, 2004, p.ix.
- <sup>10</sup> Chittabrata Palit, "Origin and Development of Darjeeling", *Discursive Hills Studies in History, Polity and Economy*, St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, 2007, p. 22.
- <sup>11</sup> Fred Pinn, *The Road of Destiny. Darjeeling Letters '1839*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1986, p. 1.
- <sup>12</sup> Dharnidhar Dahal: *Sikkimko Rajnaitik Itihas* ("Political History of Sikkim" written in Nepali), Subba Prakashan, Gangtok (Sikkim), 1984, p. 56.
- <sup>13</sup> Sonam B. Wangyal, *Sikkim and Darjeeling. Division and Deception*. KMT Press Pvt. Ltd., Bhutan, 2002, pp. 24-26.
- <sup>14</sup> Nupur Das, "Was the British Hill Station an Isolated Retreat – A Case Study of Kurseong", *Discursive Hills*, Op cit. pp. 49-50.
- <sup>15</sup> Fred Pinn, Op cit. p. 1
- <sup>16</sup> Sonam B. Wangyal, Op cit. pp. 25-26.
- <sup>17</sup> Fred Pinn, Op cit. p. 2.
- <sup>18</sup> Sonam B. Wangyal, Op cit. p. 59.
- <sup>19</sup> Arthur Jules Dash, Op cit, pp. 37-38.
- <sup>20</sup> Sonam B. Wangyal, Op cit. pp. 59-60.
- <sup>21</sup> Fred Pinn, Op cit. p. 2-3.
- <sup>22</sup> Lalan P. Gupta, *Tribal Development Administration (A Study in Darjeeling – District of West Bengal)*, Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1998, p. 38.
- <sup>23</sup> Hope Namgyal, 'The Sikkimese theory of Landholding and the Darjeeling Grant', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, 3, November 2, 1966, p. 56:
- <sup>24</sup> Lalan P. Gupta, Op cit. p. 38.
- <sup>25</sup> L.S.S.O'Malley, Op cit. p. 156.
- <sup>26</sup> Lalan P. Gupta, Op cit. p. 38.
- <sup>27</sup> D.B.Gurung, 'Darjeeling District: Struggle for Administrative Status', in Rukesh Mani Pradhan compiled *Continuous Political Struggle for a Separate Constitutional Status of Ceded Land of Darjeeling and Leasehold Land of Kalimpong*, Mahakal Press and Publications, Darjeeling. 1996, pp. 31-32.
- <sup>28</sup> B.B.Misra, *District Administration and Rural Development in India*, Policy Objectives and Administrative Change in Historical Perspective, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983, p.49.
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- <sup>30</sup> Ibid, pp. 32-33.
- <sup>31</sup> Dutis Chakrabarty, 'Gorkhaland – Evolution of Politics of Segregation', Special Lecture No. X, *Centre for Himalayan Studies*, North Bengal University, 1988, p.14.
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- <sup>33</sup> D.B.Gurung, Op cit, pp. 33-36.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, pp. 36-41.
- <sup>35</sup> *West Bengal District Gazetteers*, March 1980, p. 362.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 363.
- <sup>37</sup> Mitra Ghosh, 'Study of the Functional Character of Rural Settlements in the Darjeeling Himalayas', in *The Eastern Himalayas: Environment and Economy*, Edited by R.L.Sarkar and Mahendra P.Lama, Indian Institute of Hill Economy Darjeeling, Atma Ram and Sons, 1986, pp. 524-528.
- <sup>38</sup> B.D.Gurung, Op cit, p. 34.
- <sup>39</sup> *West Bengal District Gazetteers*, March 1980, p. 364-368.
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- <sup>43</sup> Tanka B. Subba, Op cit. p. 77-79.
- <sup>44</sup> B. De and P.R.Ray, Notes on the History of Darjeeling District, Indian History Congress, Waltair Session 1979, pp. 10-12.
- <sup>45</sup> C.K.Kar, *Sub-Regional Movement in India, A Case Study: Political History of the Gorkhas of Darjeeling District*, Calcutta, n.d. Appendix A.
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- <sup>47</sup> Tanka B. Subba, Op cit. pp.82-82.
- <sup>48</sup> B. De and P.R.Ray, Op cit, pp. 10-12.
- <sup>49</sup> Dutis Chakrabarty, Op cit, p. 25.
- <sup>50</sup> The Text of the Memorandum Submitted by the G.N.L.F. President To the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India (Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao) dated 26<sup>th</sup> July 1991, points 4 and 5.
- <sup>51</sup> Tanka B. Subba, Op cit. pp. 87-90.

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- <sup>52</sup> Amiya K. Samanta, *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2000, p.88
- <sup>53</sup> Tanka B. Subba, Op cit, p.91.
- <sup>54</sup> Amiya K. Samanta, Op cit, p.89.
- <sup>55</sup> Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, 'Identity, Movements and Peace: The Unquiet Hills in Darjeeling' in R. Samaddar and Helmut Reifeld Edited *Peace as Process. Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution in South Asia*, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, pp, 268-269.
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- <sup>57</sup> Why Gorkhaland? 1981.
- <sup>58</sup> Nagendra Gorkha, *Gorkhaland Andolan*, Vol. II, Information and Culture Department, DGHC, Mani Printing House, Darjeeling, 1993, p. 36.
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- <sup>60</sup> Alina Pradhan, "Ethnic Identity – the Search for Identity of the Nepalis in Darjeeling", *Discursive Hills*, Op cit, pp. 113-114.
- <sup>61</sup> Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, Op cit, pp. 271-273
- <sup>62</sup> Sajal Basu, *Regional Movements, Politics of Language, Ethnicity-Identity*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p. 54.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid, p. 53.
- <sup>64</sup> *Gorkhaland Agitation. The Issues. An Information Document*. Government of West Bengal, 1987, p. 12.
- <sup>65</sup> Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, Op cit, pp. 274-275.
- <sup>66</sup> Amiya K. Samanta, Op cit, pp. 142-143.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid, pp. 148-150.