

Chapter IV

UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY : DARJEELING DISTRICT AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE.

'Rural Development' as conceptualised in Chapters II and III, is a process of improving the quality of life of the rural people through improved agricultural and allied activities such as, horticulture, sericulture, floriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, rural industry, and other development activities adding to the rural poor's income including education. This section, is therefore, intended to provide, in brief, a socio-economic profile of the study area along with a brief survey of the various rural development activities.

The three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling district, the northernmost part of West Bengal, constitute the locale of the study. These sub-divisions, namely, Kurseong, Kalimpong and Darjeeling Sadar, cover an area of 2417 sq.km. which account for the 74.24 per cent of the total area of the district and 2.72 per cent of that of West Bengal.¹

A.(I) The People : The population of the hill areas of the district is 5,07,155 of the total of the district i.e. 10,24,269 according to the 1981 Census. This accounts for 52.4 per cent of the total population of the district and roughly 1 per cent of West Bengal. According to the 1991 Census (Provisional) the total population of the Darjeeling district is 13,35,618 which is 1.96 per cent of West Bengal. Though the Census work of 1991

has been completed, its report has not come out, only the provisional report is available. The provisional report does not provide a separate account of the population of the hill areas of the district. Therefore, the comparative analysis between the hill and the plain areas has been made on the basis of 1971 and 1981 Census Reports depending on the availability of data.

The population of the district is steadily increasing. The following table gives the population growths in the last few decades.

Table 4.1

Population Growth in Darjeeling District

Year	Population	Year	Population
1891	2,29,914	1941	3,76,369
1901	2,49,117	1951	4,45,260
1911	2,65,550	1961	6,24,640
1921	2,82,748	1971	7,81,777
1931	3,19,635	1981	10,24,269
		1991	13,35,687

Source : Gorkhaland Agitation, An Information Document,
Government of West Bengal, based in Censuses of
respective years.

One of the significant facts is that inspite of the steady growth rate of population in the district, the growth rate of population in the hill areas over the decades has been

moderate. From 2.40 Lakhs in 1931, the hill population after a period of 40 years reached a total of 4.80 Lakhs and in 1981, 5.07 lakhs. Over the span of 1931 to 1971 the district as a whole has registered a population growth of 135% whereas as the plains subdivision of the district has registered a growth of 225% as against the growth rate of 134% in the State.² This high growth rate of the population in the plain sub-division of the district during the period under reference was mainly due to two factors - (i) influx of refugees from the erstwhile East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) after the independence of that country; (ii) development of Siliguri as an important urban centre causing migration of the people from various parts of North Bengal. The hill areas in 1971 constituted about 59% of the total population i.e. 4,79,988 of 7,81,777 of the district, whereas in 1981, the percentage of the hill population was reduced to 52% i.e. 5,07,155 of the total 10,24,269 of the district.

II. Linguistic Groups : Though the Lepchas are the "original inhabitants of the hilly part of the district",³ at present the Nepalese constitute the majority. The other major linguistic groups are Bhutias and Lepchas in the hills and Bengalis and Tribals in the plains. The following table 4.2 shows the linguistic breakdown of the population according to 1971 census.

Table 4.2

Linguistic Breakup of the Population of Darjeeling

Sl. No.	LINGUISTIC GROUP					Total
	Bengali	Gorkhali/ Nepali	Lepcha	Bhutia	Others	
Subdivision						
1. Sadar	1,688 (0.69)	2,27,836 (92.92)	1,193 (0.49)	970 (0.39)	13,520 (5.51)	2,45,207
2. Kalimpong	1,964 (1.46)	1,18,163 (87.83)	8,330 (6.19)	2,859 (2.13)	3,222 (2.39)	1,34,508
3. Kurseong	2,130 (2.13)	87,284 (87.08)	1,135 (1.13)	90 (0.09)	9,594 (9.57)	1,00,233
4. Siliguri	56,567 (51.88)	23,363 (7.74)	415 (0.14)	54 (0.01)	1,21,400 (40.23)	3,01,799
Total	1,62,349 (20.77)	4,56,646 (58.41)	11,073 (1.42)	3,973 (0.50)	1,47,736 (18.90)	7,81,777

(Figures in Parenthesis represent ^{the} percentage)

Source : 1971 Census, Government of India. The first three Subdivisions in the serial constitute the three hill Subdivisions of the district.

According to Table 4.2 the Nepali speaking people constitute 92.92%, 87.83% and 87.08% of the population respectively in the three hill Subdivisions and 58.51% in the district; Bengalis constitute 0.69%, 1.46% and 2.13% in the three hill Subdivisions respectively and 20.77% in the district. The percentage of the Indian tibetan (Bhutias) are 0.39%, 2.13%, 0.09% respectively in the three hill Subdivisions and other linguistic groups constitute 5.51%, 2.39%, 9.57% respectively in the three hill Subdivisions. In Siliguri, the Subdivision in the plains, the largest ethnic group is Bengali, including Rajbansis with 51.88% of the total

population of the subdivision. The other linguistic groups constitute 40.23% in this subdivision. The 7.74% population of this subdivision are the Nepalese. The Bhutias amount for 0.01% of the total population of this subdivision.

One of the significant facts shown in the Table II is the percentage of the Lepcha population who were the aboriginal inhabitants of the district. The percentage of their population is 0.49%, 6.19%, 1.13% and 0.14% in the subdivisions of Darjeeling Sadar, Kalimpong, Kurseong and Siliguri respectively.

III. Male Female Ratio : As per 1991 Census (Provisional) 694,687 (52.01%) of the population are males and 640,931 (47.99%) are females. Among the Scheduled Caste and Tribe, about 14% are males and 15% are females.

IV. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe : The percentage of the population of Scheduled Caste is 14.25% in the district compared to 21.99% of the State. The Scheduled Tribes constitute 14.75% in the district as against 5.63% of the State. Together, they constitute 29% of the total population of the district. The table 4.3 below shows the subdivisionwise break up of their population.

Table 4.3

Subdivisionwise Breakup of S.C. and S.T. Population

S.I. No.	Subdivision	Total population	S.C.	S.T.
1.	Darjeeling Sadar	2,81,346	22,562	26,345
2.	Kurseong	1,11,302	10,827	7,406
3.	Kalimpong	1,58,726	13,384	26,384
4.	Siliguri	4,72,895	99,169	90,488
	Total	10,24,269	1,45,942	1,50,623

1981 Census, Government of India.

Note : Subdivisionwise breakup of population is not available in 1991 Census (Provisional).

The main Scheduled Caste communities in the hill are Kamis, Damies and Sarkies, who are engaged in traditional occupation of Blacksmith, Tailoring, Cobbery and Leatherworks respectively. Along with these, all of them are in agricultural occupations as share croppers and agriculture labourers. Most of them are Hindus.

About 82% of the Scheduled Caste (1,35,950) and 89% of Scheduled Tribe (1,35,943) live in rural areas.

The Lepchas, Bhutias, Kagates and the Yolmos are the main scheduled tribes. About 82% of the Lepchas are cultivators and 3.01 are agricultural labourers as per the Sub-plan for the Tribal areas of West Bengal.⁴ A good number of them are Christians while the rest are Buddhists.

About 51.14% of Bhutias according to 1961 Census depend on non-agricultural sector. The Bhutias at present are considered as the most developed not only among the Scheduled Tribes but even among the General Castes.

V. Rural-Urban Ratio of the Population : The percentage of the rural population in the district is 72.86 and the urban population is 27.86 according to 1981 Census. The growth rate in the decennial population between 1971-1981 is 31.02 as against 23.17 of the State. Of this, the growth rate in the rural population is 23.36 (State 20.36) and Urban population is 56.57% (State 31.73). As far as the hill areas are concerned the rate of urbanisation is one of the lowest in the State; only 21.58% of the population of the hill areas live in Urban agglomeration, in fact, the proportion of the Urban population have declined in between the period from 1931 to 1971 from 86% to 45%.⁵

VI. Density of the Population : The gross density of population in the district is (1981 Census) 356 persons per sq.km. against 615 of the state. The gross density of population in the hill areas is approximately 199 per sq.km. and the corresponding Urban and rural densities of population are 3404 per sq.km. and 166 persons per sq.km. According to 1991 Census's Provisional Report, the density of the population of the district is 448 persons per sq.km. compared to the State's 766. The decennial growth rate of population during the period 1971-1981 was 23.17 per cent which

in 1981-91 period was 24.55 per cent.

Unlike in the plain areas of the district, there are no villages in the usual sense of the term in the hill areas. There are only homesteads resting on the hill side or in the valleys. The large tracts of land in the hill areas lie under difficult terrain, forests, rivers and high hills. Therefore, the analysis of the population growth and density based on entire hill areas will present a distorted image of the spatial distribution. The following table indicates the spatial distribution of inhabited villages in different blocks of the hill areas.

Table 4.4

Number of Inhabited Villages, Average Population per Village and Number of Villages per Square Kilometer (As per Census Report of 1971) (Such block-wise comparison is not available in 1981 and 1991 Census Reports)

Block/Region	Area (sq.kms.)	No.of inhabited person village	Total person	Average No. of person per inhabited villages.	No. of inhabited per sq. km.
1. Darjeeling- Pulbazar	231.29	23	80,276	3490	10.00
2. Jorebunglow Sukhiapokhri	385.91	39	70,233	1801	10.42
3. Rangli-Rangliot	307.69	20	51,825	2591	6.56
4. Kalimpong I		72	70,949	985	11.97
5. Kalimpong II	600.80	64	78,806	1231	10.81
6. Gorubathan	446.77	27	32,302	1196	5.79
7. Kurseong	322.71	38	55,289	1455	11.58
8. Mirik	97.38	10	28,519	1852	10.42
9. Hill Areas(Rural)	2392.64	239	3,97,250	1355	8.16
10. Darjeeling (Rural)	3214.45	597	6,01,565	1187	15.83
11. West Bengal (Rural)	66,842.70	38,074	3,33,44,978	876	44.02

Source : Plan for Darjeeling Hill Areas, 1980-85, p.7.

The figure in table 4.4 shows that the population pressure is much higher in the rural hills than in the plains of the district and the State. The average number of the population per inhabited villages in all the blocks is above 1000, with the exception of Kalimpong Block I where it is 985 but much higher than the State average of 876. The average number of persons per inhabited village is 1,187 for the district as a whole, while it is 1,355 for the hill areas as against the State average of 876.

VII. Block-wise population : The Eight Blocks shown in Table 4.4 constitute the rural areas of the hills of the Darjeeling district. Of the eight blocks, three of them lie to the east of the Teesta river within Kalimpong (Kalimpong I, Kalimpong II and Gorubathan) and the rest lie to its West covering the Sadar Darjeeling and Kurseong Subdivisions. The growth rate of the population have been much higher in the blocks to the West of the river Teesta than to its East. More than 90% of the total tea plantation land lies in the blocks to the West of Teesta while almost all of the hill areas agricultural and forest land lie to the east of Teesta. The following Table shows the blockwise break-up of the population.

Table 4.5

Blockwise Population

Block	Urban	Rural	Total	Male	Female	S.C.	S.T.
1. Darjeeling-Pulbazar	57,603	91,514	1,49,117	77,516	71,601	11,818	15,184
2. Jorebungalow-Sukhiapokhri	--	81,004	81,004	41,003	40,001	6,755	6,838
3. Rangli-Rangliot	--	51,225	51,225	26,006	21,219	3,989	4,323
4. Kurseong	29,046	52,836	81,882	44,510	37,372	8,538	6,319
5. Mirik	--	29,420	29,420	14,814	14,606	2,289	1,087
6. Kalimpong-I	37,596	43,059	80,665	46,225	34,430	8,845	13,110
7. Kalimpong-II	--	37,893	37,893	15,161	22,732	1,669	9,222
8. Gorubathan	3,533	36,645	40,178	21,381	18,857	2,870	4,502
9. Siliguri-Naxalbari(Plain)	1,63,086	150,699	3,13,785	1,71,843	1,41,942	44,609	40,023
10. Khoribari-Phansidewa(Plain)	--	1,59,110	1,59,110	84,168	74,942	54,560	50,265

Source : Annual Action Plan, 1985, D.R.D.A., p.5.

VII. OCCUPATION

a. Break up of Main Workers : A careful observation shows that actually about 82 per cent of the employed population are engaged in agricultural and allied activities. The following figures show the percentage of the main workers to total population and break up of main workers according to 1981 Census.

Table 4.6

Break Up of Workers as per 1981 Census (Not available
in 1991 Census (Provisional).

Percentage of total Population	West Bengal	Darjeeling
1. Main Workers	28.26	35.01
2. Marginal Workers	1.91	1.23
3. Non-Workers	68.83	63.76

b. Occupational Distribution : The following table showing the blockwise occupational distributions according to 1971 Census drives home the point that one of the main sectors of the economy in Darjeeling district is agriculture and allied activities.

Table 4.7

The table 4.7 proves that a large section of the work force are engaged in agricultural and allied activities. Of the total workers, 30.47 per cent are cultivators, 9.12 per cent are agricultural labourers and 26.96 per cent are engaged in allied agricultural activities. The workers employed by cottage and household industries is 1.74 per cent which is very low.

Table 4.7
Blockwise Occupational Distribution

ITEMS	Darjeeling Block	Siliguri Malda Block	Kurseong Block	Mirik Block	Jorebunglow Sukhiapukhri Block	Rangli Rangliot Block	Darjeeling Pulbazar Block	Kalimpong-I Block	Kalimpong-II Block	Gorumathan Block	Total of the District
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION											
No. of workers % to total workers in brackets.											
1. Cultivators	18,558 (48.35%)	8,908 (14.10%)	3,763 (15.69%)	1,964 (16.21%)	3,994 (15.61%)	7,009 (34.48%)	13,329 (29.37%)	2,414 (40.43%)	11,050 (67.85%)	7,265 (51.35%)	86,054 (30.47%)
2. Agricultural Labourers	5,659 (14.74%)	5,353 (8.87%)	1,566 (6.53%)	993 (9.20%)	1,814 (7.87%)	1,600 (5.95%)	2,703 (17.83%)	4,153 (7.27%)	1,270 (4.75%)	672 (4.75%)	25,783 (9.12%)
3. Allied Agric. Activities	11,118 (28.96%)	9,064 (12.77%)	9,376 (39.07%)	5,340 (50.00%)	15,631 (61.12%)	9,629 (47.37%)	12,434 (27.40%)	194 (0.83%)	38 (0.21%)	3,348 (23.66%)	76,172 (26.00%)
4. Cottage, household Indus.	180 (0.46%)	1,578 (2.49%)	338 (1.40%)	81 (0.75%)	103 (0.40%)	467 (2.29%)	1,238 (2.77%)	869 (3.73%)	45 (0.26%)	24 (0.16%)	4,923 (1.74%)
5. Other Indus.	310 (0.80%)	4,364 (6.91%)	592 (2.46%)	188 (1.74%)	643 (2.51%)	287 (1.41%)	1,482 (3.26%)	766 (3.24%)	91 (0.52%)	89 (0.62%)	8,802 (3.11%)
6. Trade & Commerce	594 (1.54%)	10,619 (16.81%)	1,099 (4.58%)	325 (3.01%)	758 (2.96%)	285 (1.40%)	3,079 (6.67%)	1,372 (1.04%)	266 (1.52%)	204 (1.44%)	19,051 (6.74%)
7. Others....	1,959 (5.10%)	24,257 (38.41%)	7,246 (30.21%)	891 (0.26%)	2,630 (10.28%)	1,046 (5.14%)	11,158 (24.59%)	6,024 (25.97%)	5,901 (22.34%)	2,545 (17.98%)	61,657 (21.82%)
Total Workers	38,378	63,143	23,980	10,762	25,573	20,323	45,373	23,292	17,461	14,147	2,82,442

Source : District Credit Plan, Darjeeling, (1971), p.22.

B. RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Rural development activities in the hill areas consist of agriculture and allied activities such as animal husbandry, horticulture, sericulture, floriculture, and rural industries.

I. Agriculture : From the point of view of employment generation, till now, agriculture has been the most important sector of the economy. Of the total population of the district i.e. 10,24,269; there are 94,633 agricultural families as per 1981 Census. The number of marginal farmers is 41,733, according to the list taken by District Rural Development Agency (D.R.D.A.). According to 1981 Census, the number of male and female agricultural labourers are 23,590 and 7,258 respectively.

But, from the point of view of the economic development of the areas of the district, agriculture does not seem to provide the only sector of the economy. Developing other sectors must form the future strategy for economic development as there is little scope for the extension of the agricultural sector. Only 86,900 acres or about 14 per cent of the total land surface of 5,97,000 acres is under cultivation and the cultivated land per person in the hill areas is only 0.18 acres.⁶ Such a small land-holding supporting 82% of the population is the peculiar characteristics of the land-use pattern and agricultural activities in the hills. This land-man ratio is the lowest in the State. About 48.3 per cent of the area is under permanent waste and 8 per cent is occupied by tea gardens. Land under cultivable

wastes and current fallows jointly account for 5.3 per cent of the total area.⁷ According to the Hill Plan Document 1980-85, even if the entire land under cultivable wastes and current fallows are put to agricultural use, the total land under agriculture will be less than 20 per cent of the total geographic area. The relative position of the land utilisation differ from one place to other in the hill areas. In Darjeeling Sadar, Wastes land not available for cultivation constitute 30 per cent of the total area; whereas in Kurseong and in Kalimpong, wastes land not available for cultivation are 16 per cent and 23 per cent respectively.⁸

II. Cropping Pattern : The cropping pattern shows a traditional bias for crops, such as Maize, Paddy, and Millet, which are grown in 54 per cent, 17 per cent and 14 per cent respectively of the net cropped area. The yield per acre of Paddy, Maize, and Millet is very low and is uneconomic. But due to the lack of awareness, cash crops which are beneficial are not grown extensively. For example, cash crops such as Potato is grown in 5.2 per cent; Ginger in 1.1 per cent; Cardamom in 2.9 per cent; Orange in 2.0 per cent vegetable in 3.1 per cent and Seasonal Fruits in 4 per cent of the total cultivated area.⁹

The block-wise cropping pattern is shown in the table below, which proves that the area under cultivation for Cash Crops like Potato, Ginzer, Orange, Cardamom are very low whereas in tradition crops like maize and paddy are very high in each of the blocks.

Table 4.8
Block-wise Cropping Pattern

ITEM'S	Mahihari Phansidewa Block	Siliguri Naksalbari Block	Kurseong Block	Mirik Block	Jorebunglow Sukhiapukhri Block	Rangli Rangliot Block	Darjeeling Pulbazar Block	Kalimpong-I Block	Kalimpong-II Block	Gorubathan Block	Total of the District
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
VI. CROPPING PATTERN (AREA IN ACRES)											
1. Double Cropped area	31,650	12,770	4,408	676	1,817.66	5,625	12,969	13,411	15,200	3,487	1,91,513.66
2. % of double cropped area to net area sown	58.50%	62.90%	29.24%	23.90%	36.50%	69.29%	55.28%	74.40%	85.30%	28.79%	60.96%
3. Single cropped area	85,675	33,060	9,970	3,501	6,038.38	12,520.77	36,427	31,427	32,099	15,597	2,68,015.15
4. Area under different crops											
(a) Aman Paddy	46,250	17,500	120	30	5	260	3,600	8,299	5,589	2,500	84,153
(b) Aus Paddy	18,000	7,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,000
(c) Jute	6,000	1,500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,500
(d) Wheat	5,000	2,660	54	-	30	70	30	75	521	200	8,640
(e) Vegetables	1,410	600	390	184	1,770	857	3,077	497	751	400	9,935
(f) Pineapple	8,000	700	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,750
(g) Potato	300	1,050	600	40	1,671	800	3,827	160	1,224	400	10,022
(h) Maize	125	200	4,550	1,192	1,980 2,159	12,900 4,950	17,300	13,108	14,160	6,500	64,244
(i) Millet	142	-	3,450	510	175	2,425	7,500	9,250	3,845	3,500	30,795
(j) Ginger	35	-	250	186	-	40	690	425	422	800	2,848
(k) Cardamom	-	-	889	70	902	300	1,370	50	1,255	260	5,096
(l) Orange	-	-	300	430	36	720	500	250	150	63	2,449

Source : District Credit Plan (1971), p.26.

III. Development of Agriculture : Because of the extremely limited scope for extension of agriculture, terracing of the slope is the main strategy for agriculture development along with the adoption of intensive cultivation on already cultivated land. This however, depends on the development of basic rural infrastructures like roads, communications, storing facilities, supply depots, marketing organisation and most importantly on irrigation.

IV. Irrigation : The only source of the irrigation is the spring water called "Khola" (small streams) from which the water is diverted to terraces by digging "kulos" (narrow channels dug on ground) or through pipelines. Usually well defined channels exist only in rice fields in which the irrigation water flows from one terrace to another. Most of the springs which are the only source of irrigation are seasonal. The perennial springs are limited. In fact, many springs have dried out due to massive deforestation. On account of the lack of irrigation as well as sound agricultural practices, the yield per acre in the hill is very low. The table below reveals the state of irrigation block-wise in the district.

Table 4.9

Block-wise Irrigation

ITPS	Kharibani Phansidewa Block	Siliguri Nakshabari Block	Perrong Block	Mirik Block	Jorebunglow Sukhiapukhri Block	Rangli Rangliot Block	Darjeeling Pulbazar Block	Kalimpong-I Block	Kalimpong II Block	Gorubathan Block	Total of the District
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
V. IRRIGATION(Latest)											
1. Net irrigated area in acres	3,017	8,251	1,351	1,050	1,563.05	1,984	3,320	8,290	3,114	3,500	35,440.05
2. % of irrigated area to net area sown	3.60%	40.40%	24.28%	37.00%	31.13%	26.82%	14.00%	46.00%	17.50%	28.90%	21.28%
3. Mode of irrigation (irrigated area in acres)											
(a) State Tube well	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
(b) Private tube well	235	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	265
(c) Other wells	-	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90
(d) Canals & Streams	1,700	7,188	-	-	-	-	535	-	-	-	9,423
(e) R.L.I.	760	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	790
(f) Jhora tapping	-	-	1,351	1,050	1,563.05	1,984	2,785	6,290	3,114	3,500	23,637.05
(g) Others (tank & ponds)	322	908	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,230

Source : District Credit Plan,Darjeeling(1971),p.25.

The table 4.9 clearly shows the poor state of irrigation. The irrigated area to the net area cultivated does not exceed 40 per cent with the exception of Kalimpong-I. In Mirik the irrigated area is 37 per cent of the net area otherwise it is lower than 30% in most of the blocks.

V. Allied Agricultural Activities : Due to the limited scope of agriculture development, it is very essential to develop agricultural and allied activities for the development of hill areas. The Horticulture, Sericulture and Animal Husbandry have tremendous scope in the hill areas. However, full potential in these areas is yet to be fully utilised.

i. Horticulture : The soil and the climatic condition being similar to those in the hill areas of Himachal Pradesh, Darjeeling hills have the congenial environment for growing subtropical and temperate fruits. For this purpose, even the lands at higher altitude which are not suitable for the agriculture can be used. The use of land for horticulture also provide soil conservation and go a long way in the ecological balance. Horticulture development can also help in the development of small scale industries for the extraction of juice, tinning or bottling. It can also help in the expansion of Bee Keeping industry.

ii. Sericulture : There are no major industries in the hill areas, except tea, for providing employment. In addition to agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, sericulture can be

a very good alternative for farmers for earning cash crops and also for reducing unemployment in the hills.

From the climatic point of view, most of the areas in the Darjeeling hills are quite suitable for sericulture.

iii. Floriculture : It has immense potentiality which can help in the improvement of the living standard of the people. Flowers of different varieties and colours and orchids of thousands of species abundantly grow in hill areas which have a good market in India and abroad. Till now, this has been the monopoly of the few rich private nurseries. An organised effort is needed to develop it as an occupation amongst the target group farmers.

iv. Animal Husbandry : It has played a vital role in the rural economy of the hill areas. The farming community of the area has largely depended on live-stock as the size of the agricultural holdings is small and uneconomic, and most of the areas are unsuitable for agricultural use. The House Dairy, Piggery, Goat and Sheep rearing, Poultry and also Jhora fisheries are the major activities in this regard.

The table below shows the areas identified as those with scope of intensive development of Sericulture, Horticulture and Animal Husbandry in different blocks of the district.

Table 4.10

Clockwise Name of the Villages Identified as those with scope for Sericulture, Horticulture, Dairy and Piggery

STPS	Kharibari Phansidewa Block	Siliurri Naksalbari Block	Kurseong Block	Mirik Block	Jorebunglow Sukhiaoth- ri Block	Ranlik Rangliot Block	Darjeeling Pulbazar Block	Kalimpong-I Block	Kalimpong-II Block	Gorubathan Block	Total of the District
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
a) Name of the villages identified as growth centre or focal point.	1.Kharibari 2.Phansidewa 3.Bi Thannagar 4.Bandorra 5.Atharokhai	1.Siliurri 2.Dilaram 3.Kurseong	1.Tinmaria 2.Souroni 3.-	1.Mirik 2.Sonada 3.Jorebunglow Ghoom 4.-	1.Sukhiaothri 2.Takdah 3.Mungpoo	1.6th Mile 2.Takdah 3.-	1.Pulbazar 2.Darjeeling 3.-	1.Kalimpong 2.Teesta bazar 3.Mungpoo	1.Angrah 2.Pedong 3.-	1.Gorubathan 2.-	25
b) Name of the villages identified as those with scope for intensive development of											
(i) Sericulture	1.Batasi 2.Thikari 3.Bidhannagar 4.Phansidewa 5.Narapatheram 6.Chaterhat 7.Ghulipur	1.Khapraill 2.Ramnani 3.Burunanj 4.Mitring 5.Saqjogra 6.-	1.Rohini T.E.I.School (Infunct) 2.Lower Souroni	- - - - - - -	1.Takdah 2.Kolbong 3.Soreng 4.Bamhatta 5.Mungpoo	1.Pulbezer 2.Welling 3.-	1.Bhaluk Op 2.Sindipong 3.Pudong 4.-	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	25 No.
(ii) Horticulture	-	-	1.Chirney 2.Deorali	1.Duptin-10 2.School area	1.Rangbull 2.Sonava	1.Tekchah 2.-	1.Darjeeling 2.-	- - - - - -	- - - - - -	- - - - - -	11/8 No.
(iii) Orange & Cashewnut	-	-	3.Sittong 4.Gayntari 5.Up & "Id Tatyuk	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	9 No.
(iv) Dairy & Piggery	-	-	All villages	All villages	All villages	All villages	All villages	All villages	All villages	All villages	All villages except in plain blocks
i) Name of the villages with concentration of rural industry.	1.Bidhannagar 2.Kharibari 3.Bandorra	1.Siliurri 2.Kurseong	1.Tinmaria 2.Dilaram	1.Sonada 2.-	1.Darjeeling 2.-	1.Kalimpong 2.Sindipong 3.Bhaluk Op.	1.- 2.- 3.-	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	11 No.
j) Name of centres where bank branches are considered necessary	1.Kharibari 2.-	1.Atharokhai 2.-	1.Tinmaria 2.Dilaram	1.Souroni 2.-	1.Mungpoo	1.Teesta	1.Kimbong	1.Jalshaka	-	-	9 No.

Source : District Credit Plan, 1971, pp.37-38.

C. INDUSTRIES

I. The hill area of Darjeeling district is an extremely backward region in West Bengal. The potential resources of the district remain largely unexploited even today, and except for the tea plantation industry, which also appears to have reached a stage of near stagnation, the district has a languishing agrarian economy with hardly any industrial base. Broadly speaking, deficiencies of development components in a hilly terrain, inadequate fuel and power supply and insufficient transport and communication facilities have retarded the industrial growth of the district.¹⁰

The occupational structure is heavily tilted in favour of agriculture and plantation spheres. Manufacturing industries, including both "household" and "non-household" categories employ only 4% of the total workers as against 14.01 per cent in West Bengal as a whole.¹¹ The hill areas of Darjeeling claim 2.2 per cent of the total workers of Darjeeling but only 0.3 per cent of its industrial workers.¹² There is virtual absence of heavy industries and new growth-oriented industries. The only watch assembly unit at Tung near Kurseong which was opened as subsidiary of H.M.T. is now closed.

The table below shows the number of industrial units in the different blocks of the district.

Table 4.11
Blockwise Statement of Industry

ITEM'S	Kharibari Phansidewa Block	Siliguri Nakhalbari Block	Kurseong Block	Mirik Block	Jorebunglow Sukhiapokhri Block	Rangli Rangliot Block	Darjeeling Pulbazar Block	Kalimpong I Block	Kalimpong II Block	Gorubathan Block	Total of the District
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
XI. INDUSTRIES											
1. No. of large scale Industries											
(i) Distillery	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
(ii) Railway workshop	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
(iii) Other (Specify)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2. No. of Small Scale Industries											
(i) Registered units	35	1,288	163	28	43	65	335	124	53	35	2,169
(ii) Unregistered units	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
3. No. of units registered under Factories Act	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	(Lead Bank Survey Report)
Persons employed in such units	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
4. Important Household Industries											
(i) No. of shoe-making units	3	11	23	5	18	17	28	21	6	2	134
(ii) No. of bee keeping units	-	-	85	20	-	-	15	-	-	-	80
(iii) No. of carpenters units	3	15	8	1	6	11	16	17	8	2	67
(iv) No. of tailoring units	5	14	39	8	5	2	12	11	5	4	94
(v) No. of wool knitting units	-	-	21	15	25	16	20	20	15	1	133
(vi) No. of basket making units	3	3	17	4	-	1	7	-	-	4	39
(vii) No. of Misc. units	19	602	64	13	30	16	212	69	18	24	1,067

Source : District Credit Plan, Darjeeling (1971), p.29.

Thus, we see in the table 4.11 that there is complete absence of large scale industries in the hills excepting one workshop in the Kurseong block. This is located in Tindharia. The number is neither very encouraging in the plains. But now Siliguri-Naxalbari block is improving fast and has the highest number of registered units. In the field of household units, the picture is not that encouraging.

II. Tea Industry : One industry, in which the hill areas can boast of is Tea Industry, which dates back to 1840. The total area under tea plantations in the three hill Subdivisions stood at 18, 428 hectares which represents 8 per cent of the rural areas. According to the statistics available pertaining to 1979, there were then a total of 102 tea gardens in the hill areas, whereas in 1982, there were 84 full-fledged tea gardens in Darjeeling hills of which 12 have remained closed for several years and there were actually 72 functional gardens.¹³ The tea industry in Darjeeling is facing a major crisis due to a variety of reasons. The large-scale disposal of tea gardens after independence by Britishers brought a new set of people to control the industry in the Darjeeling hills. It is said that this new breed of tea merchants, unlike the old tea planters, have the tendency to extract the maximum possible profit from the tea bushes without any effort to replace them with better strains; causing irreparable harm to the tea industry and reducing the

average yield per hectare to less than half of the neighbouring Dooars region and among the lowest amongst the tea growing areas in the country.¹⁴ On the other hand, the number of labourers per acre is the highest in the country. Along with these problems, the high costs of production and unremunerative prices have resulted in a serious crisis in the tea industry.

III. Rural Industries : The other principal group of small industries in the hill rural areas include food beverages, dairy and piggery, tea garden implements; agriculture implements, handicrafts of wood and bamboo, wool-weaving and knitting etc. The plantation industry and agricultural cultivation account for the major engagement of work force in the hill areas.

The table below shows the percentage of the workers in different sectors from among the working population and indicates the change in the characteristics of the working population of the hill areas during 1961 to 1971.

Table 4.12

The table 4.12 above clearly shows that only 2.1 per cent of the work population in 1961 and 4.0 per cent in 1971 were engaged in industry whereas 38.1 per cent in 1961 and 32.4 per cent was engaged in cultivation from among the working population. However, the share of the industry has increased.

Table 4.12

Change in the Employment Characteristics of the Working Population of the Hill Areas During 1961 to 1971

Occupation	Working Population				Percentage of decade variation			
	1961		1971					
	Number	% to total	Number	% to total				
Total workers	176508	100.0	180921	100.0	+ 2.5			
A. Primary Sector	132876	75.2	130388	72.1	- 1.9			
1. As cultivators	67325	38.1	58588	32.4	- 13.0			
2. As agricultural labourers	4414	2.5	14771	8.2	+ 234.6			
3. In plantation, forestry livestock, minnint etc.	61137	34.6	57929	31.5	- 6.7			
B. Secondary Sector	5620	3.2	9520	5.2	+ 69.3			
1. In Industry	3645	2.1	7293	4.0	+ 100.1			
(a) Household Industry	3319	1.9	3165	1.7	- 4.6			
(b) Other than household industry (Manufacturing)	326	0.2	4128	2.3	+1166.3			
2. In construction	1975	1.1	2227	1.2	+ 12.8			
C. Tertiary Sector	39012	21.9	41013	22.7	+ 7.9			
1. Trade & Commerce	6908	3.9	7838	4.3	+ 13.5			
2. Transport, stores etc.	2295	1.4	6911	3.8	+ 201.1			
3. In other services	28809	16.3	20264	14.6	- 8.8			
Total population (Hill Areas)	404792		479978					

Source : Hill plan for Darjeeling Hill Areas 1980-85, pp.52-53.

In fact, the climate of the hill areas is excellent and the people are hard-working. Given the right incentive, there is immense potential for the development of small industries. Now, the hill areas are directly linked with Calcutta via Siliguri. The Siliguri town is fast developing as a big center and is a focal point of North Bengal linking Assam, Bihar, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal.

According to the Plan Document of Darjeeling District Rural Development Agency 1984-85, industrial development in the hill areas of Darjeeling can occur in two directions :

"First, additional units of many existing industries may be set up. Secondly, there is a good scope for development or range of new industries based on local resources."¹⁵

IV. Tourism : One main stay of the economy in Darjeeling is tourism. On an average it is estimated that approximately 1,25,000 tourists from different parts of the world and from different parts of the country visit Darjeeling. Even tourism in Darjeeling is yet to develop to its full potential as a viable industry on a sustained basis due to the lack of basic infrastructure such as, transport, accommodation facilities, youth hostels and a serious drinking water problem. The main influx of the tourists is concentrated in the Darjeeling town. Due to the poor roads conditions and the lack of civic amenities;

the adjoining areas of Darjeeling and many other beautiful places of tourist interests have not developed as tourist centers. The tourism industry can be localised, decentralised and extended to rural areas which can help the local poor to gain some earnings.

D. COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL DATA - DARJEELING AND OTHER NORTH BENGAL DISTRICTS.

I. Having analysed and explained the different ingredients of rural development and their potential for the future, we may now turn our attention to the assessment of the selected 'indicators of development' in order to obtain, at least, a bird's-eye-view of the position of Darjeeling district vis-a-vis the state of West Bengal on different sectors of development. For the purpose, a table is presented below.

Table 4.13

According to the table 4.13 in some of the sectors like banking, crossbreed cattle, milk production, medical and other facilities, the position of the district is more or less at par with the rest of the state. The weakest point is agricultural sector as the table shows that the proportion of cultivated area is the lowest here. As already stated in the preceding paragraphs, 82 per cent of the hill people depend on this sector whereas proportion of the cultivated area is only

Table 4.13

Selected Indicators of Development for Darjeeling and Other North Bengal Districts

Indicators	State average	Darjee-ling	Jalpai-guri	Cooch Behar	West Dinajpur	Malda
1. Area (% of W.B.)	100.00	3.55	7.02	3.82	6.04	4.21
2. Population(% of W.B. in 1981)	100.00	1.88	4.06	3.25	4.41	3.72
3. Density (per Sq.Km.)	615.00	325.00	356.00	523.00	449.00	544.00
4. Proportion of cultivated area to total area	64.94	32.26	53.77	80.16	89.03	82.97
5. Cultivable area of agricultural worker(that is cultivators and labourers together) - hectares	0.80	0.94	1.22	0.84	1.07	0.86
6. Index of agricultural production in 1982-83 with 1971-72 = 100	96.14	133.48	107.29	94.24	94.43	117.16
7. Percentage of workers	30.22	36.88	33.72	29.80	32.08	30.26
8. Population per bank(in thousand)	20	14	27	34	41	25
9. Literacy rate	40.9	42.5	29.9	30.00	26.90	23.10
10. Medical Institutions (% of W.B.)	100.00	4.20	5.39	3.55	4.03	3.62
11. Radio (% of W.B.)	100.00	3.18	1.35	2.79	0.60	0.70
12. Television (% of W.B.)	100.00	0.30	0.17	0.30	0.05	0.07
13. Percentage of cross-breed cattle	9.66	64.59	1.47	8.97	5.52	8.17
14. Milk Production(% of W.B.)	100.00	4.58	3.88	3.03	3.51	4.25
15. Agricultural enterprises(% of W.B.)	100.00	5.06	3.10	1.08	5.19	9.19
16. No. of non-agricultural enterprises(% of W.B.)	100.00	2.09	3.34	2.94	3.23	2.82

Source : Gorkha Land Agitation, An Information Document, Government of West Bengal, p.48.

The Table XIII above does not show a very discouraging picture.

32.26 per cent of the total area with one of the lowest land man ratio of 0.18 acres.

However, the district has one of the highest literacy rates. The district has improved immensely in this field compared to previous years. It was 18.63% in 1951; 28.70% in 1961; 32.90% in 1971 which went high up to 42.20 per cent in 1981 compared to the state's rate of 40.9%. Such a high literacy rate was maintained even in the period after 1981. As per 1991 Census (provisional) the literacy rate of the district is 52.01 per cent compared to the State's 47.84 per cent. The male literacy rate in the State as a whole is much higher i.e. 61.29 per cent compared to the district's 51.16 per cent. However, the female literacy rate in the district is higher (42.60) as against 38.71 of the State. The literacy rate is more evenly distributed in the district compared to the district between the males and the females.

II. Proportion of Rural Population Served by Different Amenities :

One difficulty in analysing these figures for our purpose here is that, such indicators are not available separately for the hill areas of the district. There may be considerable variations between the plain and the hill areas of the district. However to get some idea of such variation we can take the help of the table below showing proportion of population served by different amenities. This

has been shown 'Police Stationwise' on the table as the 'Blockwise Distribution' was not available.

Table 4.14

The table 4.14 shows that all the police stations belonging to the hills have higher percentage of the population covered by educational, Medical, Electricity, Postal and Telegraphic facilities. However, in communications, the police stations of the plains have higher percentage of population covered. In Pucca Roads and Drinking water the percentage of population covered is more or less same between the plain and the hill areas.

The table 4.15 below helps us in understanding the position of the blocks in the plains and the hill areas of Darjeeling district regarding the availability of amenities in different villages.

Table 4.15

The percentage of villages covered by Educational, Medical, Postal and Telegraphic amenities are higher in the blocks of the hills. With the exception of Gorubathan and Pulbazar, the hill areas have higher percentage of villages covered by power supply. In Communication, Drinking Water and Pucca roads the blocks in the plains and in the hills have almost the same standing with one or two exceptions.

Table 4.14

Proportion of Rural Population Served by Different Amenities

Sl. No.	Name of P.S.	Total popu- lation of inhabited villages in the P.S.	Educa- tion	Medi- cal	Drin- king	Post & Market/ Tele- graph	Communi- cation	Approach by Pucca Road	Power supply	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Sukhiapokri	28,975	95.61	79.87	100.00	92.03	21.84	36.26	82.51	70.95
2.	Pulbazar	44,746	95.96	46.55	100.00	51.31	16.98	25.92	58.39	18.35
3.	Darjeeling	46,768	60.79	32.69	98.17	18.16	..	1.30	83.59	48.23
4.	Rangli Rangliot	51,225	76.47	52.94	100.00	52.64	1.37	..	21.44	61.52
5.	Jorebunglow	52,029	88.22	45.80	97.58	60.51	24.42	9.05	89.83	89.73
6.	Kalimpong	89,663	83.14	20.97	100.00	34.61	9.25	15.71	55.60	31.15
7.	Garubathan	36,645	84.11	66.71	100.00	53.55	22.54	41.41	54.57	19.24
8.	Kurseong	52,836	64.02	52.51	98.64	39.04	2.93	3.17	37.54	43.90
9.	Mirik	29,420	95.60	95.60	100.00	68.09	47.13	86.08	94.45	82.05
10.	Naxalbari	72,467	58.44	19.80	82.50	9.81	6.59	31.69	35.00	9.25
11.	Siliguri	78,232	54.98	7.73	100.00	22.92	12.92	38.38	52.50	34.32
12.	Phansidewa	107,464	71.29	13.66	98.92	26.92	35.52	32.13	45.62	3.56
13.	Kharibari	51,646	78.27	9.80	100.00	9.40	15.13	28.05	48.18	
Total		742,116	74.63	33.61	97.75	35.94	16.19	25.02	54.53	33.58

Source : 1981 Census, p.21.

Note : The last four, Sl.Nos.10,11,12,13, Police Stations belong to the Plain Areas of the district i.e., Siliguri Sub-division.

Distribution of Villages According to the Availability of Different Amenities

Sl. No.	Name of P.S.	No. of inhabited villages	Educa- tion	Medi- cal	Drin- king water	Post & Market/ Tele- graph	Commu- nication	Approach by Pucca Road	Power Supply	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Sukhiapokri	17	16 94.12	13 76.47	17 100.00	15 88.24	3 17.65	5 29.41	13 76.47	12 70.59
2.	Pulbazar	21	20 95.24	8 38.10	21 100.00	8 38.10	3 14.29	3 14.29	9 42.86	2 9.52
3.	Darjeeling	27	16 59.26	7 25.93	26 96.30	5 18.52	1 3.70	19 70.37	11 40.74
4.	Rangli-Rangliot	29	23 79.31	11 37.93	29 100.00	11 37.93	1 3.45	4 13.79	12 41.38
5.	Jore Bungalow	28	23 82.14	13 46.43	27 96.43	17 60.71	5 17.86	3 10.71	23 82.14	23 82.14
6.	Kalimpong	73	46 63.01	12 16.44	73 100.00	18 24.66	7 9.59	8 10.96	27 36.99	12 16.44
7.	Garubathan	31	17 54.84	10 32.26	31 100.00	8 25.81	5 16.13	6 19.35	8 25.81	1 3.23
8.	Kurseong	60	35 58.33	20 33.33	59 98.33	18 30.00	1 1.67	2 3.33	18 30.00	22 36.67
9.	Mirik	13	12 92.31	11 84.62	13 100.00	9 69.23	3 23.08	3 61.54	10 76.92	8 61.54
10.	Naxalbari	94	38 40.43	7 7.45	78 82.98	3 3.19	2 2.13	16 17.02	20 21.28	5 5.32
11.	Siliguri	85	34 40.00	4 4.71	95 100.00	8 9.41	4 4.71	20 23.53	30 35.29	21 24.71
12.	Phansidewa	108	59 54.63	8 7.41	106 98.15	10 9.26	20 18.52	18 16.67	32 29.63	2 1.85
13.	Kharibari	73	53 72.60	3 4.11	73 100.00	3 4.11	5 6.85	11 15.07	27 36.99
Total		659	392 59.48	127 19.27	638 96.81	133 20.18	59 8.95	101 15.32	240 36.41	131 19.88

Source : 1981 Census, Government of India, p.20.

The analysis, made so far, on the different ingredients of rural development including the selected indicators of development revealed that the district and its hill areas do not lag behind that much compared to the rest of the districts of North Bengal. Even then, it can be remarked here that the vast potential of the area is yet to be utilised fully. This depends, to a significant extent, on the political and administrative machinery geared for the purpose. The detailed analysis of the administrative machinery has been made in Chapter V. At this juncture, we propose to make a brief analysis of political process and political development in the hill areas of Darjeeling which might, in some cases, explain the lack of adequate and effective implementation of development plans.

E. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The history of the present-day Darjeeling begins with the acquisition of a 'hilly tract' by East India Company in 1835 from the Raja of Sikkim. The land presented by Sikkim did not comprise the whole of Darjeeling. It was a narrow enclave of 138 sq.miles which included sites of the present Darjeeling and Kurseong towns and touched the plains near Pankhabari. The additional territory was acquired by the British in 1850-51. It comprised of the entire Sikkim Morung Terai i.e. present Siliguri Subdivision and the hills of the whole of southern part of Sikkim between the Great Rangeet and the plains of India and from Nepal

on the West to Bhutan frontier and the Teesta river in the East. The British Government acquired 'Dalimkote' i.e. present Kalimpong and adjacent plain areas (now in Jalpaiguri district) in 1866 under the Treaty of Sinchulia. With this, the district of Darjeeling assumed the present shape and size.¹⁶

Two factors have profoundly influenced the political process and political development of the hill areas of Darjeeling. They are (i) the British policy of keeping the district under the separate administrative arrangement and outside the constitutional reform process; (2) the process of the formation of the Nepalese sub-nationalism - a process which had made heterogenous ethnic groups a homogeneous one giving them a distinct identity. These factors have also significantly determined the responses and reactions of the hill people toward the Government policies in the past as well as in the present. The following section intends to dwell upon these factors in brief.

1. British Policy : The British policy regarding the administration of territories of India did not provide a uniform system of administration, the division of the administration into 'regulated' and non-regulated having been started prior to 1861. Darjeeling hill areas including Kurseong, and later, Kalimpong, belonged to the 'nonregulated' scheme till 1874. Under the system, the Governor General possessed the power of adopting legislation for the non-regulated province by means of executive orders. From 1874, within the purview of the Laws Local Extent Act 1874 (also known

as the Scheduled District Act), Part III, Sixth Schedule, Darjeeling district was made the scheduled district.¹⁷ It was, therefore, quite clear that the district, along with the other scheduled districts, was not placed within the ambit of the general laws in application over the rest of India; such laws applied only in part or with modifications. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 also did not bring about any change in this respect.

The Government of India Act, 1919, besides retaining almost all the provisions providing for Scheduled districts and their corresponding administration, brought all the scheduled districts under a new terminology, 'the Backward Tracts'. So, Darjeeling became a backward tract 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 of the provincial legislatures, would not extend to either the excluded area or the partially excluded areas, unless the Governor of the Province concerned would give his assent to the application of the Act in its entirety or with such modification as he thought necessary.¹⁸ The district remained a partially excluded area till the attainment of Independence by India.

On the basis of the foregoing, it can be asserted that the district of Darjeeling was kept outside the purview of general administration, and it remained so throughout the greater part of the British rule in India. That means, the district was kept outside the constitutional reforms which the British Government

was introducing in the direction of self-government in other parts of the country to allow larger popular participation in the governance of the country. The persistent policy of the British rulers in this century to keep the district of Darjeeling segregated¹⁹ had far-reaching implications in the political process of the hill areas of the district. This has, to a significant extent, alienated the people from the mainstream of national polity which ultimately culminated into a feeling of insecurity and separateness.

II. The Process of the Formation of Nepalese /Gorkhali

Sub-Nationalism : At the outset, it must be pointed out that the term Nepali has a political and a social meaning. Politically, it means the nationality of Nepal and the nationals of Nepal, and not necessarily Nepali-speaking ethnic group. Socially, it means an ethnic group with a common language and not necessarily Nepali citizen. This social meaning of Nepali has developed in India and generally refers to Indian Nepalese which was the result of a long historical and political process in British India. The following analysis will explain this process in brief.

The present Nepali community (Jati)²¹ was not a homogenous community. The birth of the Nepali community as a homogenous entity was the result of a historical political and social processes in India by which heterogenous ethnic groups consisting of Indo-Aryan (Khas Speakers)²² like Brahmins and Chettris (Kshatriyas) and the diverse Mongoloid groups such as Rais, Limboos, Mangars, Tamangs, Newars, Sunwars and many others

who spoke a number of Tibeto-Burman dialects and languages integrated and assimilated into one ethnic group. The process was facilitated by the political socialisation under British India and the birth of a distinct political culture compared to that of Nepal. In Nepal, no such integration has taken place, and a homogenous Nepali community has not originated where Nepali language is not a community language (Jati Bhasa) but a National (official as well) language (Rajkiya Bhasa) imposed by the state authority on different ethnic groups. As the Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects like Newari, Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Sunwar and others were mutually unintelligible, it was but natural for the Nepali language to serve as the common medium of communication between such groups where they lived together.

Nepali as a lingua franca is yet to emerge fully in Nepal, whereas in Darjeeling and other parts of India, the original dialects of each of the distinct ethnic groups have been given up and Nepali has been accepted as mother tongue and a community language. The process of such integration of different and distinct ethnic groups was strengthened by the need of developing a lingua franca in Darjeeling and other parts in India where these different groups lived together and mixed up with each other working in tea gardens and towns in newly settled places, unlike in Nepal where each of these groups lived in isolation from each other in their own, tribal Chieftains with a sense of belonging to their groups and spoke their own distinctive dialects.²⁴ Thus, the Nepali community, or, in a sense, Nepalese sub-nationalism, was

born in India under a particular socio-economic and political context, political socialisation²⁵ and political culture since the last hundred years in India.

Another unifying factor of these various groups was their common economic background. Most of the migrants to Darjeeling were from the poorest underprivileged class and became tea garden labourers. Those who were already there in those areas which came to Darjeeling from Sikkim were poor agricultural peasants. Thus, working under the same environment and experiencing the same feeling for a long time gave them a sense of belongingness. On the other hand, the plainmen who migrated to Darjeeling hills were mostly the officials and the businessmen. The officials were regarded as 'Babu's' or 'Sahebs' and were identified as the oppressive administrators like the British officers. The businessmen who were also called 'Mahajan's' were also identified as the cunning 'loan givers' or exploiters. The problem was so acute that 108 cases on loan repayment were registered in Darjeeling Kachahari (Court) in 1902.²⁶

Many folk poems, folk songs and other literary works tell about the high interest rates on which businessmen gave loans to labourers and forcefully made them repay the same with the help of the administrators. Thus, the class-consciousness and identification in case of the hill areas overlapped with the ethnic consciousness and identification. The feeling of economic insecurity coincided with the ethnic insecurity and further

strengthened the process of the integration of various groups into one.

The development of a lingua franca, the class-cum-ethnic identification, coupled with the British policy of keeping the hill areas segregated from the mainstream of the political and administrative development of the country, not only strengthened the pace of the process of the formation of Nepalese subnationalism in India but also alienated them from the mainstream of the national polity with the far reaching implications for the future.

The main factors that led to the emergence of various social associations in the early 1910s were local rather than national. In the wake of the growing Nepalese subnationalist consciousness in the hill areas and other parts of India, those associations were concerned mainly with protecting and preserving the Nepalese identity as a community and their socio-economic and political interest. These also have been the primary concerns of the political parties, such as the All India Gorkha League (AIGL) and the Darjeeling branch of the Communist Party of India which were formed in 1943. A brief analysis of the activities of these associations and political parties has been attempted in the following sections.

F. ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

I. Before Independence : The alienation of the hill people as a result of the factors mentioned in the previous section manifested for the first time in 1907 when "the then leaders of the Hill

people of Darjeeling submitted a memorial to the British Government demanding a separate administrative set up for the district of Darjeeling.²⁷ The distinct factors of language, religion, history and culture representing the hillmen were stressed on as the British authorities did justifying segregation of the district from constitutional reforms for the exclusion of the district of Darjeeling together with the tea districts of the Duars (the portion of the Jalpaiguri district annexed from Bhutan in 1865).²⁸ Goaded with such feeling, the leaders demanded "the creation of a wider province to be called North Eastern Frontier Province to include in addition to this district of the Assam Duars and the hill territories which lie to East of Bhutan and whose peoples have affinities with hill people."²⁹

Till 1917, the demand for exclusion of the district from Bengal was unequivocal with no known dissent whatsoever. But after 1917, the demand for inclusion of the district in Bengal also grew and dissent over the demand of exclusion developed. The exclusion-inclusion issue became one of the great importance at the time with every association worth the name voicing its demand on one way or the other.³⁰ Thus, the associations pleading for inclusion of the district in Bengal and thereby within the reforms under the 1919 Act were the Kalimpong Samiti, the Gorkhas of Darjeeling led by Sardar Bhimlal Dewan and the People's Association of Darjeeling. These associations, by their opposition to exclusion, also gave vent to their resentment of the policy followed by the British government in respect of the Darjeeling district :

"(i) They emphasise their desire for the fullest measure of the Reforms Act for the district of Darjeeling, (ii) They strongly protest against the exclusion of the district from Bengal as well as from the Reforms Act."³¹ On the other hand, the European Association, the Planters' Association, and specially the Hillmen Association, held on to the notion that the real welfare of the district rested on its exclusion from Bengal and from the reforms. But even some of the signatories of the 1917 memoranda demanding for exclusion of the district from Bengal seemed to have given second thoughts on the issue in the meeting held on 26 May, 1920 under the Chairmanship of Mackenzie. There was a realisation that they could never avail themselves of the rights enjoyed by the people of the provinces coming under the reforms. Thus, they adopted a resolution on May 26, 1920, that "they wish to remain in Bengal as they are now and have the Reforms Scheme in total."³² The willingness to stay under reforms on the one hand and the half-hearted implementation of special laws outside the reforms by the British on the other led even the Hillmen Association to accept inclusion of the district in Bengal provided that "the positive as distinct from negative safeguards are ensured."³³ The negative safeguard meant guarantees long available since 1874 that no act of the Central or local governments would automatically apply to the segregated areas, and that the Governor-General or the Governor would make necessary modifications and exceptions before their application. The positive safeguard meant that the same authorities would provide for special financial sanctions or were necessary for

the protection and furtherance of the hillmen's economic interests in particular. The arrangement for the district of Darjeeling under the Act of 1935 fall short of the hillmen's expectation which made the district a 'partially excluded area'. The dissatisfaction was expressed in a memorandum that the Act of 1935 had not recognised Gorkhas as a community in India and pointed out that even the Montford Reform, 1919, made no mention of the British Gorkhas and the Government of India Act, 1935, recognised the right of every small community, but the three million Gurkhas in India and Burma were ignored.³⁴ In a similar vein, the Hillmen Association submitted a memorandum criticising the arrangement under the 1935 Act and expressed their apprehension that "their social solidarity and their very existence as a community is being threatened with serious disruption owing to various factors coming to play chiefly the realisation by many of them that their welfare is now dependent on the exigencies of party politics in Bengal Assembly and their interest completely lost on the whirlpool of various conflicting party interests in which they have very little concern."³⁵ Later on, a discussion was held on the issue between the then President of the Indian National Congress, the great Subhash Chandra Bose and the Gorkhali leader D.S.Gurung. Subhash Chandra Bose had observed that inspite of the many similarities of the problems of the hill people with the common masses of the plains, special attention should be given to them as a 'minority' and a special committee would be appointed to look into the matter when the Congress party would come to a position to do so.³⁶

As the freedom movement gathered momentum and the independence of the country was becoming almost a certainty in the forties, the apprehension of the hillmen about their fate in a free India was growing. This period saw the formation of the two important political parties, (i) the All India Gorkha League(AIGL) and (ii) the Darjeeling District Committee of the Communist Party of India (CPI). The policies and practices of these parties were largely influenced by the activities of the previous associations or mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. The politics of the hill areas were profoundly shaped by the policies and activities of these two political parties till today. Even the Darjeeling branch of the Indian National Congress which was formed after Independence, was compelled to follow the path taken by them so far as the Gorkha question or the Hill question was concerned.

III. After Independence : Despite differences in ideology and policies in many respects, both the AIGL and CPI, Darjeeling unit, shared the common feeling of apprehension regarding the fate of the Indian Gorkhas in a free India. Thus, their primary concern was to protect the social, economic and political interests and the survival of the Nepali Community as a distinct Indian Community. For this purpose, these political parties drew sustenance from the activities of the previous social associations which have been drawing the attention of the Government since 1907 to the problems of the hill people. On the other hand, the issue of the Indian Nepalese asking for some special attention and treatment had become

so sensitive issue in the hill areas by that time that no political parties could ignore it. These political parties had to present themselves as representatives of the Gorkha interest if they had to extend their mass base and survive as viable political parties. This has been aptly demonstrated by the working of all the political parties in the hill areas.

The AIGL and also the CPI, Darjeeling Committee had offered their policies and plans for the protection and preservation of the Nepali interest in India. Despite their ideological differences, they had taken many common stands on the Gorkha question. The AIGL in 1st May, 1947 submitted a memorandum to the Congress High Command and also to Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor General of India for providing either special arrangement for the hill people or to take out the hill areas from Bengal and include them in Assam because the memorandum point out that the Gorkhas have many things in common with the hill people there. In 1952, during the visit of Prime Minister Nehru to Kalimpong, the AIGL submitted the three alternative proposals regarding the hill areas of Darjeeling and adjacent plain in Siliguri and Duars in Jalpaiguri. These alternative proposals were (i) separating Darjeeling from Bengal and making it a Union Territory, (a) creating a separate state consisting of the Nepali speaking areas of the Darjeeling district and the Duars region of the Jalpaiguri district, (iii) separating Nepali speaking areas of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri district from Bengal and including them in Assam.

During the period, the CPI, Darjeeling Committee was against the inclusion of Darjeeling and Duars in Assam and had floated the idea of a 'Free Gurkhaстан in a Free India' which was to be constituted as one of the province of India consisting of Nepali speaking areas of the Darjeeling, district, Jalpaiguri district and Assam, Sikkim and Nepal.³⁷

Ideologically and policywise, the AIGL was closer to Indian National Congress (INC). The AIGL supported INC on economic and foreign policy issues, but shared a common perception with the CPI as far as the Gorkha question was concerned. The abiding concern of protecting the Nepali interest was so much there that the AIGL allowed some of its members to join the INC so that they could work for realising the demands of the hill people as well as link them with the mainstream of the national polity. The understanding then was that INC would allow Gorkha League's candidate to represent Darjeeling in the Constituent Assembly. It was in this way, the branch of INC was formed in Darjeeling.

In the initial years that followed Independence, both AIGL and CPI took very radical stands on their demand of 'Statehood' for the Nepali speaking areas of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and their exclusion from Bengal. Subsequently, they become milder, may be due to the realisation of the intricacies and practical difficulties of realising such a goal. Then the AIGL in league with CPI, developed the concept of 'Uttarakhand' which was to be created consisting of

the Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts. After the 1960s, the AIGB softened up more and campaigned for 'Hill Autonomy' within Bengal for the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling and Nepali speaking areas of Duars in the Jalpaiguri district. The CPI(M) (after the division of CPI) too, in a much milder tone developed the concept of 'Regional Autonomy' for the hill areas. The District Committee of INC, Darjeeling, also developed the concept of 'Hill Autonomy' on the lines suggested by the 'Nehru Proposal' and the Pataskar Commission Report regarding the creation of autonomous councils for the hill areas in Assam. In 1967, the District Committee of INC, Darjeeling submitted memorandum to the Government for the creation of autonomous Council for the hill areas of Darjeeling including the Nepali speaking areas of Duars of the Jalpaiguri district.

However, it was the language movement which dominated the centre stage of the politics in the hill areas in the fifties till the late seventies. In the late fifties, the language movement centred around the demand of making the Nepali language the official language in the Nepali speaking areas of the State. The West Bengal official language 1961, made Nepali and Bengali the official language in the hill areas of the district. In the seventies, subsequent to the formation of the All India Nepali Language Committee in 1972, the demand for the recognition of the Nepali language in the Eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution was made. Stating why the language should be included in the eighth schedule of the Constitution, the Committee pointed out that

the recognition would solve the problem of 'identity crisis' of the Indian Nepalese and make this community an integral part of the Indian society and would remove the feeling of insecurity of the Indian Nepalese about their fate in India.³⁸ Surendra Munshi and Tridip Chakraborti, in their study 'National Language Policy and the Case for Nepali', based on case study of the three villages of Darjeeling, observed that such sense of insecurity had developed from the "generation of experience which has not remained free at different levels from the intergroup conflict of interest and prejudices between the plainsmen and the hill people."³⁹

But, in course of the language movement, there came a turning point in 1979 which relegated the language issue into the background and the movement for the Statehood became the central issue in the hill politics. This 'turning point' came in the wake of the disenchantment of the hill people with the Prime Minister Morarji Desai and his Government following his statement given to the 10th delegation of the All India Nepali Language Committee that Nepali is a foreign language. Immediately protests were launched. Such statement aggravated the feeling of insecurity and a concern for identity of Indian Nepalese, a conference was organised in 'Sukha Pokhari' in Darjeeling in 1979 on "the Demand for Separate State for the Protection of Community Existence," which was attended by the representatives of almost all sections of the hill people including the political parties, intellectuals, trade unions, students and others. As a result, the 'Pranta Parishad' was formed in April, 1980 with the objectives of fighting for the

statehood demand. The United Student Union supported the demand and launched a massive campaign even before Pranta Parishad had started its activities. In fact, the top-level leaders of the language movement joined the Pranta Parishad. The President of the All India Nepali Language Committee became the President of the Pranta Parishad. In the same year, i.e. July, 1980 the Gorkha National Liberation Front (G.N.L.F.) was formed which launched the movement for 'Gorkhaland' as a separate state consisting of the Nepali speaking areas of the district of Darjeeling and Duars portion of the Jalpaiguri district.

The demand for the 'Separate State' was opposed by the national parties like the CPI(M) and the Indian National Congress which were working in the hill areas. Among the two, the stronger and the dominant CPI(M) opposing the demand for the statehood continued its demand for 'Regional Autonomy'. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly took a resolution in support of Regional Autonomy in 2nd July, 1977 and on 23rd September it urged the centre to concede the demand. The CPI(M) leader for the hills, Mr. Ananda Pathak, Member of Parliament, introduced a bill in the Union Parliament for the creation of 'District Council' on 9.8.85.

During the period, the Congress leaders from the hill areas and members including the President of the District Congress Committee of Indira Congress submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister of India for the creation of a 'Union Territory' comprising

of the Nepali speaking areas of Darjeeling and Duars in the Jalpaiguri districts.⁴⁰

The Pranta Parishad and the GNLF simultaneously launched their campaign for the separate state since the 1980s. But, by the mid eighties, the GNLF sidelined the Pranta Parishad along with all other political parties and organisations. And by 1986, the Gorkhaland Movement took a violent turn and the hill areas came under serious ethnic crisis that was never seen in the areas which had remained relatively peaceful. Some attributed the success of the GNLF to spearhead the Gorkhaland Movement (to the extent it grew) to the 'transferred anger' which was the outcome of the ouster of the Nepalis from the North-East region in the late 1980's, particularly from Meghalaya.⁴¹ To some others, the emergence of the Gorkhaland movement was due to the 'administrative policies'. Those who hold such a view find a link "between governmental decisions and policies and the rise of such demands."⁴² Yet, there were some who thought that the main reason behind the Gorkhaland Movement was the economic stagnation of the hill areas.⁴³

However, more careful observation shows that these factors may have had some link with the Gorkhaland Movement, but they cannot alone explain the sudden widespread support of the people to the GNLF in the mid 1980's. The ouster of the Nepalis in the North-East was not a new phenomenon as these had occurred in the past, in 1967 and in 1979. It has been clearly shown in the previous section that dissatisfaction over the administrative

policies were growing since 1907 and protests have been launched by various organisations and the political parties in the past. The 'economic backwardness' or economic stagnation also had been recognised during the late 1950s and different organisations had attracted the attention of the people and of the Government on the issue. Even the Statehood demand was not a completely new thing. But never, never was the enthusiasm so high and the public support so strong as in the case of the GNLF-led Gorkhaland Movement.

The success of the GNLF may largely be attributed to the style and the kind of leadership that was provided by its leader, Mr. Subash Ghising, who in the initial stages was supported by the Samyukta Vidyarthi Sangh (SBS) (established in 1979), the forerunner of the Gorkha National Students' Front, but much better organised and accepted than the latter. In fact, the SBS had started campaigning for the separate State since 1979 and had also named the movement as 'the Gorkhaland Movement' - There was also a 'leadership vacuum' in the hill areas. The Congress I was split into many factions and had no 'party organisation' worth the name. The All India Gorkha League had as many as 11 factions. Even the CPI(M), the strongest among these parties, had at that particular time not been able to compensate and provide the alternative to the leadership of their veteran leader Mr. Ratan Lal Brahman, after his death. The emergence of a unified, compact, cadre-based party with one undisputed leader seemed to have filled that leadership vacuum. Furthermore, the GNLF was positive in

approach in the sense that it never talked about the past failures, the weaknesses of the past movements and helplessness and pessimism on many political issues like what the other organisations, including the Pranta Parishad, did. The GNLF had shown optimism and put emphasis specially on the Gorkha pride for achieving the Gorkha land which had emotional overtones.

The Pranta Parishad was a mass-based party and its activities were limited to town areas. Its supporters were mainly intellectuals and educated groups. Its peaceful approach and functions resemble a regular political party. The GNLF, on the other hand, acted like a revolutionary party and talked about 'Gorkha valour' which appealed to the hill people who consist mostly of martial races. It talked about Gorkha bravery and called upon people to use 'Khukri', their racial weapon, if the need arose. The slogan was 'donot run away but behead the enemies (police and paramilitary forces) the way you behead enemies in the ways as brave Gorkhas.⁴³' The GNLF raised the issue of 'Citizenship' while demanding the Gorkhaland to which the Nepalis or the Gorkhas are very sensitive. Last, but not the least, the GNLF called up 'exservicemen' for their service to community and for realising the objectives of achieving the Gorkhaland. It may be mentioned here that it is difficult to get a single house without one or two 'exservicemen' in the hill areas. This was one of the reasons why the Indian Army launched 'operation Handard' providing relief to the affected people during the agitation.

Besides these, we cannot set aside influence of the external factors behind the rise of the Gorkhaland Movement which may also have determined its characteristic to a significant extent. The politicking between the Centre and the State Government also have made the matter worst. The Central Government never was willing to condemn the Gorkhaland Movement as anti-national rather considered it to be the 'law and order problems'⁴⁴ whereas the State Government was out to condemn it as 'anti national movement' and decided to oppose it with all the means at its disposal. The Left Front perception was completely different with that of the Congress(I) as its Chairman expressed that "high ups in the Central Congress(I) were considering a proposal for bifurcation of Bengal by taking Darjeeling Areas to form Gorkhaland."⁴⁵ There was also a view which held that the Gorkhaland Movement was being used as a ploy to embarrass the Left Front led State Government. Thus, the rise of the Gorkhaland Movement in the hill areas during the 1980s has to be traced in the interplay of all these factors. One has to take an integrated view of the whole scenario to really understand the rise of the movement.

III. Impact on Society, Economy and Development : As the movement gradually turned violent the hill areas became the centre of national and international attention. The situation become more serious when the State Government decided to oppose the GNLF through administrative and political measures. The GNLF was already showing its militancy; therefore, a stage was set in the hill areas for violences and counterviolences. The violence and counterviolence

have occurred mainly between the GNLF and CPI(M) and the GNLF and Police or paramilitary forces. By December 1987, more than 500 hundred houses were set on fire and over 65 persons killed in violence between the GNLF and the CPI(M).⁴⁶

Such violences continued for sometime after the signing of the 'Accord'. It is, in fact, difficult to really assess the loss of life and property during the period. One example of the violence between the GNLF and Police force was that it was reported (by the Times of India) that by January 19, 1988, as many as 126 GNLF activists were killed by police forces and 15 policemen were killed by the GNLF.

The frequent strikes which were called for 72 hours, 108 hours and once even for 40 days, had destroyed the already fragile economy of the hills which depended on tea and tourism. The estimates made by the Darjeeling Tea Planters Association show that once, the nine-day work stoppage had cost the tea gardens about Rs.5crores in revenue and workers had lost wages amounting to Rs. 1 crore.⁴⁷ Due to the fall-out of the movement, the already limping tea industry came to a halt after the movement began.⁴⁸ The tourism industry also suffered heavily, and by 1988, the income from tourism was reported to have slashed down by 95 per cent according to a report in the Times of India.⁴⁹ The 'preparatory and other high schools offering English medium teaching' are also important components of the hill economy. This enterprise was also affected and students en masse had left the hill areas by 1986.

The impact of the movement on the implementation of the development plans and programmes was immense. The Hill Areas Development Council and the Hill Affairs Branch Secretariat, responsible for formulating and implementing the Hill Plans, were made useless as the members had to resign at the call of the GNLF. Similarly, the resignation of the elected members of the Panchayati Raj Institutions affected the development programmes such as IRDP, NREP and RLEGP. Furthermore, the organised campaign against repayment of the loans to the Government and banking agencies virtually stopped the implementation of a wide variety of loans - subsidy based development programmes. The Times of India⁵⁰ reported that by that time about 274 Government establishments had been burnt. This included 4 Panchayat Samiti Buildings, the Zilla Parishad Office (Building) and the papers of the Comprehensive Area Development Project, Kalimpong.

The conciliatory process started from April, 1987, but materialised only in August 22, 1988, when a tripartite agreement was reached between the representatives of the Central Government, The State Government and the G.N.L.F. Following the 'Accord', the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was formed under the Darjeeling Hill Council Act (Government of West Bengal), 1988. The first election to the DGHC was held on December 13 and the GNLF won 26 out of 28 seats, the remaining 2 having gone to the CPI(M).

The working of the DGHC has been dealt with in depth in the following chapter. It may be pointed out at this juncture that the main efforts of the DGHC as well as the State Government

in the initial years had been on the restoration of the normalcy and to bring back the hill economy and development process back to the tract. This has, obviously, slowed down the pace of development. Its acceleration depends largely on how soon the political stability and order can be established and maintained. The political stability and order to a large extent now depends on the success of the DGHC and to the extent it can fulfil the aspirations of the hill people. However, there were/ few problems between the GNLF and the State Government following charges and counter-charges between the two and the latter imposed 'financial embargo' in June, 1990. The GNLF responded radically and threatened to restart the movement for Gorkhaland. Recently, in May 1993, an understanding was reached between the two, according to which certain changes and modifications would be introduced in the Council Act by an amendment to make the Council more effective. This is a step in the right direction, and is very important, too, because the dissension against the Council is gradually becoming pronounced, as is evident from the growing popularity of the newly formed Gorkha Democratic Front which is against the 'Accord' and the 'Gorkha Hill Council' and is campaigning for the creation of a separate state for the hill areas.

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- 16 For details, See District Gazetteer, op.cit..

- 17 The five districts referred to are Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Hill Tracts of Chittagong, Santhal Parganas, Chotanagpur Division and Mahal of Ahgul and Banki.
- 18 Bhattacharya, K.K. (1936). The Indian Constitution, (Calcutta, The Book Company), p. 489, cited in Gurung, D.B. (1983). "Darjeeling District : Struggle for Administrative Status", The Calcutta Journal of Political Studies, (Calcutta University), p.57.
- 19 Gurung, D.B., Ibid., p.65. The author argues that the intension of the British rulers to keep Darjeeling segregated from the rest of the British territories was not formulated and pursued always for the benefit of the people. Rather the British imperial interest was the more compelling justification for this policy.
- 20 The term 'Gorkhali' and 'Nepali' refer to the same people and the same language. They have been used interchangeably and synonymously by the different scholars, organisations and even by the Governments. The term 'Gorkha' became popular in India after the British rulers in India named the youths from Nepal who were recruited in Indian army as 'Gorkhas' impressed by the valour of the people of the then 'Gorkha Kingdom' whose king Prithivinarayan Shah had unified Nepal in 1768-69. Practically, there is no difference between the two, the disagreement of whatever kind that exist today is of nomenclature only, both the terms refer to the same people and the language.
- 21 In Nepali language the word 'Jati' is used to mean community and not nationality. Thus for 'nationality' the word

'Rastriya' or Rastriyata is used and not 'Jatiyata' or 'Jatiya'.

- 22 The Khasas formed a branch of Indo-Aryan immigration and they are mentioned as a frontier people of the north-west in epics, like the Puranas, Kalhana's Rajatarangini and many Graeco-Roman accounts of India. The Khasas had carved out a great kingdom or empire which included western Nepal, Garhwal, Kumaon and parts of Southwest of Tibet. For details see Kumar Pradhan (1984) A History of Nepali Literature (New Delhi, Sahitya Academy).

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3 cases and 300% in one case.

- 27 Memorandum to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, by a number of representatives of Darjeeling dated 8 November, 1917. (From the files of AIGL).
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Gurung, D.B., op.cit., p.67.
- 31 Memorandum to the Secretary, Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the commons appointed to consider the rules under the Government of India Act 1919 by P.M. Pradhan, Secretary, Kalimpong Samiti (Association) Dated Kalimpong 10 July, 1920. (From the files of AIGL.)
- 32 Minutes of a meeting of the Kalimpong Samiti (Association) held at Kalimpong on 10 July, 1920 under the Chairmanship of Prem Singh Kumain, Vice-Chairman of Kalimpong Central Union (From the files of AIGL).
- 33 Proceedings of a Conference held at the Municipal Council Chamber, Town Hall, Darjeeling on 4 March, 1933.
Vide Proceedings "....Safeguards could be of two kinds i.e. negative which would protect the district against innovation or changes in the system of administration with personal concurrences of the Governor, but would not guarantee the receipt of any particular grant from provincial finance, to guarantee this, safeguards of a positive type would be required. Some of those in the best position to know were of opinion that Darjeeling would

have nothing to fear from illiberality on the part of a provincial government. On the other hand, fears had been expressed on this point for the future.", p.54 from the files of AIGL).

- 34 Memorandum submitted to the Viceroy and Governor General of India by the President of AIGL on 1st May, 1947 (from the files of AIGL).
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- 36 Vide a letter from the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Darjeeling District Committee. Mr. G.L.Subba to the President of AIGL, dated 9th May, 1946. See also an article by M.D. Thapa, the then CPI leader (1951) in Prawasi Nepali, 1st Sept.(Siliguri).
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- 47 Subba Tankha, (1992). Ethnicity, State and Development - A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling. (New Delhi, ISBN), p.197.
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- 50 The students wing of the Gorkha Democratic Front won students' election in Darjeeling Government and Kalimpong College. A district Conference of this party in Kalimpong attracted a good number of people.

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