

CHAPTER VII

The Rise of New Movement under Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJM)

The fresh demand for the separate state of Gorkhaland movement in 2007 has brought a new dimension to Bengal politics in particular and national politics in general. The year 2007 is another Landmark like the year of 1907 when a new chapter started in the history of the Gorkhaland Movement. It was a departure of GNLF leader Subhash Ghising from the Darjeeling hill's political stage and the entry of Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM) under the leadership of Mr. Bimal Gurung. From 2007, the Gorkhaland agitation was started by the Gorkha Janamukti Morcha led by Mr. Bimal Gurung who had been a Gorkha Volunteer Cell and became councilor Tukver constituency in the DGHC after the previous councilor Rudra Pradhan was murdered in Darjeeling. He was also fought for the creation of a Gorkhaland state in India during 1986-1988 under the GNLF.

Bimal Gurung, once a right hand man of Ghising revolted against him as the latter was adamant on imposing Sixth Schedule in the Darjeeling hills. He was prompt enough to take all advantage of the trust-deficit ambience that quickly transformed the political benchmarks, its issues and actors. After twenty years of misrule under the GNLF party as a whole and its councilors in particular, people of the hill were fed up with the leadership of Ghising. The Cabinet approval of the Sixth Schedule status to the Darjeeling hills created euphoria among the Ghising's followers.

The misgoverned and unsuccessful part played by the DGHC causes the public discontentment produced by granting of Sixth Schedule Status. It paved the way for the rise of new hilly political unit known as the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM). The movement of GJM was intensified when the center and the state government initiated to bring the sixth schedule to the hill areas in Darjeeling. The Sixth Schedule provision was recommended for the Darjeeling hills in 2005. Ghising chose to adopt the D.G.H.C. area in the Sixth Schedule as a means to fulfill the growing socio-economic and ethnic aspirations of the people. The GNLF wanted the 6th Schedule status with enhanced powers for the Hill Council but the GJM desired full statehood.¹ While there were sporadic celebrations in a few places welcoming the approval of the Sixth Schedule bill, Bimal Gurung declares that he would oppose this anti-people bill 'tooth and nail' on the ground that the Darjeeling hills was such a place where people of all communities lived together. The

Sixth Schedule bill was essentially a provision under the constitution to safeguard the rights of the tribal which will not implemented in Darjeeling.

There has also been an allegation of corruption and development under the rule of the GNLF. However, in order to silence the protest against Sixth Schedule for Darjeeling from the rank and file of the party, Bimal Gurung was expelled from GNLF on 3rd October, 2007. Before that, both Subash Ghising and Bimal Gurung fell out in 2007 over the attempt to extend 6th Schedule Status to Darjeeling hills. He then strongly protested the Sixth Schedule proposal arguing that it as the suppression of the legitimate aspiration of the Gorkhas for a separate state of Gorkhaland.² The GJMM supporters in the hills of Darjeeling went on an indefinite hunger strike demanding the scrapping of the sixth schedule. The outcome of these protests was that the bill for the amendment of the Constitution to implement the sixth schedule status was stalled after a Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs called for a fresh assessment of the ground realities in the district. After the downfall of Subhash Ghisingh and GNLF and the rise of a new party Gorkha Janamukti Morcha under the leadership of Bimal Gurung, Madan Tamang became a vocal opponent of the GJMM. There had been always a difference between the AIGL and the GJMM since the formation of GJMM as the AIGL, under the leadership of Madan Tamang, was proposing for a collective leadership while, on the other hand, Bimal Gurung and his GJMM was least interested in it.³

Bimal Gurung expulsion from GNLF led to the formation of Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) on 7th October, 2007 at Chowk Bazar, Motor Stand, Darjeeling. Moreover, this new political party was founded with the objective of rejecting the proposed sixth schedule, removal of Subash Ghising as the caretaker administrator of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC), and the formation of a separate state of Gorkhaland. The objective of the GJMM leadership was to remove Subash Ghising from the post of Caretaker Administrator of DGHC. The *Janamukti Asthayee_ Karmachari Sangathan*, a frontal organization of Morcha went on an indefinite hunger strike for the regularization of jobs for the ad hoc employees of the DGHC. The GJMM supporters protested against it and call a strike in the hills. These protests ultimately led to the resignation from the post of caretaker administrator of DGHC by Subhash Ghising on March 10, 2008.⁴

It was the short message service (SMS) campaign in 2007 for Prashant Tamang, a young Gorkha singer from Darjeeling competing for the Indian Idol Season 3 crown that brought Gurung into the limelight. By this electronic campaign Bimal Gurung came into the forefront of new started another Gorkhaland movement. With quality of life deteriorating, corruption, people were searching for an alternative through this movement. The Prashant Tamang Indian Idol episode transformed the entire course of Darjeeling hill politics.⁵ He came into prominence after mobilizing support for Prashant Tamang in the Indian Idol contest. Tamang won the contest that made Gurung very popular in the hills contrary to Ghising.⁶

Through Prashant Tamang, the people of Darjeeling found their pride. But Subhas Ghising and his followers failed to feel the pulse of the hill people. It was stated that if the GNLFF leadership did not care for the sentiments of the Nepalese in such a minor case of voting how he could be genuine to the greater cause of Gorkhaland. He totally sidelined the foremost undercurrent of the agitation because it was a movement for identity recognition but Prashant Tamang at that point of time represented that identity. So, Ghising's insensitivity to the issue lent fuel to the fire.⁷ The Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha is demanding to include some parts of Siliguri and Dooars in the proposed state of Gorkhaland which created a matter of serious concern.

The proposed map for the Gorkhaland envisages not only the three hills subdivisions of Darjeeling district, but also Siliguri and some parts of the Dooars that fall in the Jalpaiguri districts in North Bengal, extending up to the River Sunkosh on the border with Bhutan. It is a very serious issue because, the region is strategically consists of diverse political units and is situated between Bangladesh, Tibet, Burma and Bhutan. More specifically, the Northeastern region of India is the homeland of unique and diverse ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity zone. Seven vibrant states characterized by comprising of all hill tribes, plain tribes and non-tribal population as well. The seven states are popularly known as 'seven sisters' namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Tripura. The spirit of the movement lies not only in political and economic deprivation but also in their sense of being a deprived and neglected lot. GJM's activities in Darjeeling hills take privilege from Telengana movement in such a way that it works as an eye-opener for the separation.⁸ In December 2009 central Government's decision of making Telengana as an independent state paved the way to GJMM leaders for the creation of Separate state of Gorkhaland. On 11th December, 2009 they

launched “fast onto death” for separate Gorkhaland in Darjeeling.⁹ Although, the movement got more strengthened with the creation of Telangana on July 20, 2013.

It should be mentioned that activities for support of Gorkhaland has also been seen in some areas located outside of the District. The mainstream political parties of the state of Sikkim have supported the Gorkhaland movement and pledged solidarity. In this situation, the movement gained the latest stage paved the way for the outcome of the movement that the State of Gorkhaland to be added to the list of the existing states or not.¹⁰ On 7th October 2007, thousands of people thronged the Darjeeling Motor Stand and raised Gorkhaland slogans. People welcoming the formation of the new political party (GJMM) by Bimal Gurung who declares that the party had been formed primarily to fight for a separate state of ‘Gorkhaland’ under the provisions of Article 3(a) of the Indian Constitution.

The territorial limits of the new State of Gorkhaland measuring a total of about 6246 km² would be comprised of the District of Darjeeling, (roughly 2417.3 km²) and the adjacent area known as the Dooars running along the northern border of the Jalpaiguri district and southern border of Kalimpong subdivision and Bhutan, roughly 3828.7 km².¹¹ The GJMM received massive support from every nook and corner of the hills and some parts of Terai and Dooars. In order to extend his influence in Siliguri and the adjoining Dooars area, protest actions in the form of bandhs, meetings and demonstrations were initiated by GJMM. On the other hand, the agitation of Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikash Parishad (ABAVP) against GJM added flame in the pot boiling situation of Darjeeling. They had been opposed to the inclusion of Siliguri and Dooars in ‘Gorkhaland’. However, to gain the cooperation from the Adivasis over the inclusion of Dooars in the interim set-up, GJM decided to change the name of the proposed state from ‘Gorkhaland’ to ‘Gorkha Adivasi Pradesh’ (GAP), to gain the former's cooperation in the separate statehood struggle.¹² The political process in the hills paralyzed for long time as the meeting regarding the functioning of Gorkhaland Authority for Darjeeling (GAD) instead of DGHC progresses.

In October 01, 2007 Bimal Gurung declared that the people in the hills Darjeeling should accept nothing short of Gorkhaland and only a separate state would fulfill the social, economic, educational and linguistic aspirations. He also declares that they would avoid violence and said that the demand of Gorkhaland could be achieved in a peaceful, non-violent and a democratic manner. In fact, GJM is getting support from the masses for the original demand of Gorkhaland.

Primarily, he has taken *Gandhian* non-violent methods and launched the movement in a peaceful manner. The most significant difference of the GJMM leadership has with that of the previous GNLFF leadership is its call for a *Gandhian* form of protest that took the form of non co-operation and home rule movement by way of non- payment of taxes to the Government including electricity and bills, taxes like vehicle, land, housing etc.,. The owners of the shops and other establishments in the hills were asked to write ‘Gorkhaland’ on their sign boards. It also declares to change of the vehicle numbers in place of West Bengal with the use GL (Gorkhaland). In fact, GJM successfully arranged several rallies and procession wherein they got the support of the common people, students, and government employees in the hills of Darjeeling. The Government of West Bengal and Centre expects to meet in tripartite talk during December 2009 but Bimal Gurung and his party shows no initiative to join in this meeting.¹³ The GJM movement reaches to state that their supporters burn down several tourist lodges and causes Rs 3 crore losses to forest department. The police kill two persons in Darjeeling during this time. Though, the situation goes out of control and army is called for maintain peace from this situation.¹⁴

Shortly the party became massively popular in the hills of Darjeeling. The leadership baton and the political narrative of the hills passed on to the new party and its leaders. Unlike the agitation of the 1980’s, the new movement was professed to be based on the Gandhian way of non-violence. The leaders of the new political party also unified cultural uniqueness of Gorkha *jati* with highlighted through their traditional dress code and cultural festivals. The struggle for ST status was going on under the shadow by the agitation for separate Gorkhaland. Some of the traditional Nepali attire constituting *Daura Sural* and *Dhaka topi* for men and *chaubandi choli* for women. It used to be the *jatiya* dress for all the constitutive *jats* like *Magars, Rais, Limbus, Newars* and so on in Darjeeling.

A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Smt. Vishnu Mani, Deputy Director General of Ministry of Tribal Affairs. The committee was entrusted with the task of consulting Sikkim and other state governments where Gorkha population are significant and suggest to the government on granting of ST status to the constitutive groups. The Four-members of the committee headed by Smt. Vishnu Maini visited Sikkim and Darjeeling on the second week of November 2016.¹⁵ Subhas Ghising, the chairman of D.G.H.C. signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2005 with both State and Central government to recognize Darjeeling

as a tribal territory under the purview of the Sixth Schedule of the constitution. This was a complete turnabout from the 1980s because earlier GNLF under his leadership rejected that proposal during 1980's. It was claimed that "the provisions of Sixth Schedule of the constitution are applicable only to Assam's backward tribal populations but we are not tribal...We are civilized." The MoU claimed that the Sixth Schedule is the 'full and final settlement' to the question of sovereignty in the Darjeeling hills.¹⁶ The institutionalization of tribal status for Darjeeling hills provoked more and more dissidence and public opinion went against Ghising.

People of the three hills of the district started demanding the D.G.H.C. election that was pending for a long time. In the meantime, the Central Government decided to place the constitutional amendment bill in the Lok Sabha on November 30, 2007 that sought to amend the Constitution to include D.G.H.C. in the Sixth Schedule. The Sixth Schedule bill for Darjeeling was referred to the Standing Committee of Home Affairs, with Sushma Swaraj as its chairperson. The Standing Committee of Home Affairs submitted its report on February 28, 2008.¹⁷ The hill administration of Darjeeling district seems to have broken down with most of the Government offices found non-functional and even the police were unable to maintain law and order. The situation became more violent when a female GJM supporter was allegedly shot dead by GNLF supporters during a protest in Darjeeling.

The political situation became normal after GJM leaders and supporters called for restraint. The central and the state government have called for a tripartite meeting with the GJM leaders to resolve the issue. Since 2008, a series of tripartite talks were held among the GJM, the state government and the Central Government. The Central Government was in consonance with the state government regarding the Gorkhaland. An alternative proposal placed before the centre that an Autonomous Council named Gorkha Regional Authority (GRA) should be constituted that would certainly be recognized by the Indian Constitution. The Central Government proposed a Gorkhaland Autonomous Authority (GAA) for the hills of Darjeeling which would enjoy legislative, financial and administrative powers like the area of the under DGHC. The state government adopted a flexible and democratically elected body for this new Autonomous Authority but GJMM preferred the Council to be formed by members nominated by them.¹⁸ On January 6, 2008 the GJM supporters organized a giant rally at Lebong in Darjeeling. The leadership of the GJM had to swear in public declaring their faithfulness to the new political

party. The GJM volunteers shut all the government offices in the hills of Darjeeling from January 14, 2008 to January 18, 2008. They also declare to postpone the attempt of the Darjeeling Municipality which was then dominated by the GNLFF to elect a new Chairman on January 14, 2008.

A large number of People's support for the GJM could thwart the combined force of GNLFF and the administrative machinery that ultimately in postponement of the election. After 2008 meet the centre, state government and GJM leaders in a tripartite meet agree on the issue to abolish the DGHC power and authority with the set up a new administrative framework in Darjeeling. In exchange GJMM supporters agree to keep peace in hills of Darjeeling.¹⁹ The GJM became adamant in ousting Ghising from the DGHC body in Darjeeling. The followers of GJM then undertook a fast unto death program at Siliguri on February 27, 2008. A meeting was held among GJMM and senior opposition leader L.K Advani on December 21, 2009 and decision was taken to stop the hunger strike and move positively towards tripartite meet.²⁰ The then Chief Minister of West Bengal Buddhadeb Bhattacharya was compelled to ask Ghising to resign from DGHC within March 10, 2008.

The movement of 'fast unto death' which was started in the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling from February 17th, 2008 to February 29th, 2008 was withdrawn.²¹ GJM rejoices this decision to abolish DGHC and sees it as the first step towards the formation of separate of Gorkhaland in Darjeeling. But their claim for separate state is denied at the onslaught of the tripartite meet in 2008.²² It is believed that the major issue confronting the Gorkhas being the question of identity, only Statehood status for the Gorkhas would address this problem. The Sixth Schedule status could not be a substitute of separate state. The GJM launched its protests by burning some of the Memorandum of Settlement signed between the Government of India, the Governemnt of West Bengal and Subash Ghising.

The Gorkhaland movement as stated earlier reached its peak after 2007, when Subash Ghising, the formidable and uncrowned monarch of the hills was ousted by his supporters. The political unrest was surcharged with so much anger and desperation that no peace process could be initiated. Along with this, it was followed by the political upheaval in 2011 with the fall of the Left Front government in West Bengal. Generally, the GJM in its overt manifestation is a follower of non-violent Gandhian mode of agitation but in reality, by now it has strikingly

demonstrated its affiliation for violence like GNLFF and expressed its militant propensity. The All India Gorkha League president Mr. Madan Tamang is brutally stabbed and killed arguably by GJMM supporters.²³

The distinguishing features between violent and non-violent movement is very much in flux. The violent conflict with the police force at Sibchu leading to the ruin of government property, its nexus with the militant outfits and the murder case of Madan Tamang on May 21, 2010 definitely were open proof of GJM's inclination towards violent form of agitational politics. Madan Tamang was the President of AIGL and his murder in broad day light brought on the surface the involvement of the GJM cadres. Bimal Gurung challenged state government to prove their involvement. Not only that, he also alleged the government itself was responsible for the incident as there were security lapses.²⁴ Home Ministry of Central Government finalizes broad outlines to stop the movement and proposed to arrange another meeting for talk over the Gorkhaland issue. In March 2010, GJM proposes to set up interim administrative unit for Darjeeling prior to Gorkhaland.²⁵ A proposed meeting was held 9th April 2010 by the initiative of P. Chidambaram which prominently ignores involvement of state government.

Another tripartite meeting on Gorkhaland issue was failed in May 2010 because of differences of opinion regarding the territory under the interim set.²⁶ But the tripartite meet ends with no positive decision because of GJM leaders now overemphasis on the issue of separate Gorkhaland state.²⁷ Ahead of the 2009 General Elections in India, the BJP announced their policy of having smaller states and to create two more states, namely Telengana and Gorkhaland if they win the general election. The GJM had supported the BJP in lieu of the latter's positive outlook towards the formation of Gorkhaland as mentioned in their party manifesto for the Lok Sabha elections. Jaswant Singh, the BJP candidate, supported by the GJM, won the Darjeeling constituency Lok Sabha election 2009 defeating his nearest rival Jibesh Sarkar of the CPI (M) by a margin of over 2.5 lakh votes. But soon Jaswant Singh got expelled from the BJP and Congress-led UPA Government got power in Centre.

After repeated failure in tripartite meetings, GJM supporters started to threatening Superintendent of Police and District Magistrate to drive out from Darjeeling. They also declare to start home rule in Darjeeling.²⁸ In December 2010, GJM calls seven day strike in the hills of Darjeeling as the centre assures them of taking quick action regarding GAD.²⁹ Former railway

minister and Trinamool Congress (TMC) leader Mamata Banerjee makes a visit in Darjeeling for maximizing her support with a promise to initiate development activities through rail. The GJM retreats from their Gorkhaland demand and welcomed the Government decision to set up new administrative body for the hills namely Gorkha Territorial Administration. Mamta Banerjee declares that Darjeeling issue is resolved.³⁰ A tripartite agreement was finally concluded on 18th July 2011 and established an autonomous Council called the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA). The GTA Memorandum of Agreement was signed at Pintail village near Siliguri among the then Indian Home Minister Mr. P. Chidambaram, West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee and GJM. The signatories of this agreement were West Bengal Home Secretary G.D. Gautama, Union Home Ministry Joint Secretary K.K. Pathak and GJM General Secretary Roshan Giri. It was decided that the Bill for the creation of GTA in the hills of Darjeeling will be passed in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 2nd September 2011.

The GTA will have administrative, executive and financial powers whereas the legislative powers will be in the hands of the State Government. Autonomy arrangements like the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) were formed under State Act but Bodoland Territorial Council in Assam was formed under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. It was decided that the GTA would be constituted through direct election subject to a Bill which will be introduced in the State Legislative Assembly. West Bengal State Assembly ratified the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Treaty on 2nd September, 2011. The GTA Bill took almost half year to get the required assent of the President. In these circumstances, the GJM getting impatient with the procedural delay and threatened to start movement for separate state from March 27, 2012 if GTA was not materialized till then.³¹ However, the Left Front Government lost power in West Bengal and new Trinomool Congress-led Government came with the promise of resolving the Gorkhaland matter without bifurcating West Bengal. After three years of agitation, the GJM reached an agreement with the state government to form a semi-autonomous body to administer the Darjeeling hills.

The Memorandum of Agreement for Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) was signed on 18th July 2011 at Pintail Village near Siliguri in the presence of Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram, West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee and GJM leaders. This new agreement was signed by West Bengal Home Secretary G.D. Gautama, Union Home Ministry

Joint Secretary K.K. Pathak and GJM general secretary Roshan Giri. It is a semi-autonomous administrative body which replaced DGHC and has three hill subdivisions – viz. Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Kurseong - and some areas of Siliguri subdivision under its authority. A Bill for the creation of GTA was passed in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 2 September 2011.³² The GTA have administrative, executive and financial powers but no legislative powers. It was decided that a ten member joint verification committee headed by a retired High Court judge would examine the demand to bring the Gorkha-inhabited pockets of the Dooars and the Terai under the GTA. It also assuring that a complete economic package would be given to GTA, West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee said that the agreement sought to confer to the maximum possible autonomy.

Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram said that the GTA would cover entire range of development - agriculture, education, forests, industry, women and child development, culture, land and land revenue, panchayat, sports. On 29 October 2011, the GJMM and the Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad (ABAVP), Dooars Unit signed an 18-point agreement at Mongpoo. These two organizations jointly proposed a new administrative body called the Gorkhaland and Adivasi Territorial Administration (GATA) in place of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration. The ABAVP decided to agree to incorporate 196 mouzas of the Dooars and 199 mouzas of the Terai region into the proposed GATA. The President of India Pratibha Patil gave her assent to the GTA Bill of West Bengal on 7 March 2012. After that the West Bengal government issued a gazette notification for the GTA Act on March 14, 2012 and signaling preparations for elections for the GTA. In a meeting held on 24 March 2012 between GJMM leaders and the West Bengal government about the election. It was decided that the election to the GTA would be held before the month of August 2012. On the other hand, the Justice Sen Committee was requested to submit its report on the inclusion of additional areas of Terai and Dooars in the GTA before the upcoming election. Soon after, the West Bengal government released a list of 45 constituencies of the GTA on 26 May 2012 to which elections are to be held in July 2012.

A high-power committee was appointed by the West Bengal government for the inclusion of some mouzas under the proposed GTA by which five mouzas finally included with this. This committee was headed by retired judge Shyamal Kumar Sen under West Bengal government.

However, the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha had demanded 398 mouzas from the Dooars and Terai regions.³³ Gorkha Janmukti Morcha rejected Justice Sen Committee report. The West Bengal government decided that it would set up a three-member "Fact Verification Committee" to go into the recommendations of Justice Sen Committee. On the other hand, The Calcutta High Court admitted on 19 June 2012 the case moved by Gorkha National Liberation Front leader Subhash Ghising challenging the legality of the GTA. Justice Dipankar Dutta told the three signatories to the GTA agreement namely the central government, the state government and the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha, to file affidavits stating their stand on Ghising's contention. The West Bengal government announced the election for the GTA would be held on July 29, 2012.

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha announced that it would contest the GTA polls. Though earlier it had threatened to boycott over the Justice Sen-headed committee recommendations on territorial inclusion of the Dooars and Terai that it had rejected. After a period of long time, the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha announced the names of its GTA election nominees. Several parties was formed like Gorkhaland Task Force [CPRM, ABGL, Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh, GNLF(C), Gorkhaland Rajya Nirman Morcha and others] decided not contest the GTA elections. Both CPI (M) and Trinomool Congress fielded candidates in the election. The GNLF supporters decided to boycott the elections. The GNLF chairman filed a case in the Kolkata High Court challenging the GTA. In the meantime, the CPI (M) withdrew the nominations of all its 13 candidates from the GTA elections by alleging threats and intimidation by the GJM. The GJM secured 28 seats of the GTA uncontested. The remaining 17 seats of the GTA election were held on 29 July 2012. The GJM candidates won those remaining 17 from all the constituencies. These newly elected members of the GTA were sworn in on 4 August 2012 at Darjeeling³⁴ in the presence of home minister Sushil Kumar Shinde and West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee.

Politicization of ethnicity is a phenomenon not new in India. At the group level, ethnic group have, over time become strong 'interest' groups and ethnicity a 'resource'. The demands for regional autonomy therefore emerge as a result of identity crisis and conflict between different ethnic groups on certain interests. In this respect Lambert argues that, "The most durable and troublesome conflicts are those where a ethnic or social group resides in a substantial homeland where ties blood, culture, language, religion and history come together".³⁵ This argument is relevant to some extent in the context of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling. In 2013, GJMM

again started agitation demanding Gorkhaland. People in the hills believed that Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) is also a substitute like DGHC.³⁶ This is the second time after Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) when Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) unsuccessful in solving the Gorkhaland issue. Following the path of the Nepalese, Rajbangshis also revamped their movement of separate statehood out of West Bengal.³⁷ People of the hills think that GTA cannot be an ultimate solution. Every separatist demand has some root causes that influence involvement of the common masses. No political solution can be permanent till addressing those issues. The politics between some political parties is making the condition of Darjeeling more complex day by day. Socio-political and injustice is the causal factor of separatism.

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