

ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN GORKHALAND MOVEMENT IN

DARJEELING DISTRICT

(1980 -2007)

A Dissertation Submitted

To

Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the

Degree of Master Of Philosophy

By

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DECLARATION

I, **Prerna Tamang**, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation titled **“Role of the Youth in Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling District (1980-2007)”** submitted to **Sikkim University** for the award for the **degree of Master of Philosophy** is my original work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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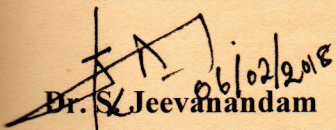
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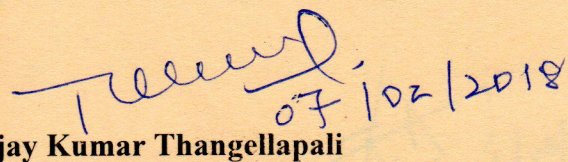
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ABBREVIATION

ABP	Ananda Bazaar Patrika.
AIGL	All India Gorkha League.
ASU	American Student Union
AYC	American Youth Congress.
BSF	Border Security Force.
CPI	Communist Party of India.
CRPF	Central Reserve Police Force.
DGHC	Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.
DPS	District Planning Scheme
GJMM	GorkhaJanmuktiMorcha.
GNSF	Gorkha National Student Front
GNYP	Gorkha National Youth Front.
GNWO	Gorkha National Women Organisation
GNLF	Gorkha National Liberation Front.
GP	Gram Panchayat
GTA	Gorkha Territorial Administration
GVC	Gorkha Volunteer's Cell.
GWO	Gorkhaland Welfare Organization.
GNEO	Gorkha National Ex-Servicemen Organization.
PWD	Public Works Department
SAP	State Armed Police
SDPO	Sub- Divisional Police Officer
SNYC	The Negro Youth Congress
SRC	States Reorganization Commission

SSC	School Selection Commission
WBCS	West Bengal Commission Scheme
WBP	West Bengal Police
WSEB	West Bengal Electricity Board
YMCA	The Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	The Women's Christian Association

Map 1



Darjeeling District

(Includes Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong region)

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

There are no epoch in human history is entirely free from problems that was confronted by the youth and the society at large. Youth has been participated in different movements around the world. In India, the earliest radical elements of youth movement appeared on the eve of the partition of Bengal.¹ Similarly, Gorkhaland Movement has been a long political struggle of Gorkhas (Indian Nepalis), in which youth became the main profound pillar of the movement. The youth participation made possible to carry the Gorkhaland demand more frequently. The present study will focus on the role played by the Youth in Gorkhaland Movement.

Gorkhaland is the name given to the area in and around Darjeeling and Dooars in North West Bengal in India.² The demand for Gorkhaland is not a recent political phenomenon. The demand for the recognition of the distinctiveness of the region was made as early as in 1907 and has been represented through various memorandum, parliamentary bills, and negotiations and manifestly in the form of mass movements in 1980s.³ The long history of the movement does not only prove its antiquity but also establishes the distinct history of the region. This is a protracted movement, which has been raised by Gorkhas to preserve their cultural identity, which has been tangled around to prove their Indian nationality and citizenship. The process of immigration of people from Nepal to India during the colonial period that has been a contentious issues, where lays the complexity of maintaining the ethnic identity of Gorkha.⁴

Indian Nepalis are fighting against two kinds of labels such as foreigner or aliens and *Kancha*(household servant), *Daju*(porters), *Bahadur* and *Gorkha*(chowkidar).⁵The identity used to refer Nepalis or Gorkha paved the way for consolidation of

community in asserting their authentic identity through political mobilisation. There are several regional or autonomy movements that are founded on a sense of deprivation, marginalization and are basically economic in orientation. The struggle of the Indian Nepalis relates to the similar issues as relegation of their citizenship and the legitimate right to be claimed as Indian by the people of India which can be fulfilled by forming the separate state of Gorkhas.⁶

The history explains that the contributions of the Gorkhas to the Indian Freedom struggle. There were many young Gorkha soldiers laid down their lives during the Freedom Struggle. Major Durga Malla, who was hanged by the British at the Central Jail in Delhi on 25th August 1944, is a shining example of the Gorkhas's contribution to the Indian Freedom Struggle.⁷ Gorkhas participated in Gandhi's Dandi March and were close associates of Gandhi and other national leaders at various fora. Gorkhas have richly contributed to the nation-building as brave soldiers, who defending the borders of India, during the post-independence. The Youth was the main pillar for these Gorkhaland agitations. Student and Youth from different places came together put forwards their opinion regarding the movement. They organised meetings in different places and used poster as a tool to aware the people about the demands of separate State. There were many Youths and Students has been arrested during the procession.⁸ The huge awareness student meeting was held under the leadership of Subodh Pradhan in Pankhabari on 21st August 1985. GNYF (Gorkha National Youth Front) and GNSF (Gorkha National Student Front) organised a meeting and massive procession in Mirik on 25th August 1985. Both the wings organised a meeting in Kurseong in 1st September 1985. GNYF and GNSF conducted meetings in different places such as Phupguri, Mainguri and Nagari.⁹

The identity crisis and socio-economic problems of the region played an integral role in shaping the hopes and dreams of youth, particularly those who are marginalized. Aloysius, sociologist, stated that nationalism instead of giving birth to one national society seems to have delivered a whole litter of communities divided from one another in terms of language, religion, region or caste.¹⁰ Similarly, Gorkhas's demand for Gorkhaland is based on the provision in Article 3(a) of the Constitution of India.

1.1.Statement of Problem

The problems of the Youth cannot be studied in an isolation. It is always influenced by the prevailing social, political and economic situation. These play an integral role in shaping the hopes and dreams of youth, particularly those who are marginalized. The youth is a special category in society in regarding their emotions, behaviour, mentalities and spontaneity. Unemployment, poverty, hunger and destitution have alienated the youth from the national mainstream. It influenced the youth to support the demand. However, they all are claiming as Indian Citizen and they wanted to retain their identity. They visualized that the demand is about seeking a solution to the problem that vexes on Gorkhas. The main problem that youth of Darjeeling District faces constant, irresponsible and extremely offending inspection of their Indian Identity. Their identity as an Indian is constantly comes under scrutiny. The youth has supported the demand for Gorkhaland. They believed that a separate state would solve the identity crisis of Indian Gorkhas.

1.2.Review of Literature

Thomas F Neblett has briefly mentioned about the youth of United States and their behaviour and activities. He tried to explain the definition of youth movement and their political involvement. He stated that youth movement may be defined as

organized effort on the part of youth itself directed towards a goal identified with the interests of young people and with the general welfare of society; youth in pursuit of a dominant ideal or a new adventure, a major cause in which youth can lose itself, or a break from the stuffy bounds of narrow living. He discussed about the positive influence on the life of youth, especially those who were indulging in the movement. However, the movement resulted in some sort of pain to every youth.¹¹

Aline Coutrot attempted to explore the remarkable ability of youth in France and the growth of their membership during the World War II. The youth movements responded to the need for autonomy and free expression. The young people were aware about their distinct and separate identity. In the meantime, they seek to escape the restricting frame works that curb their strength in order to build their future. The influence of the youth movement was extended beyond members. Sometimes, they created adult organizations as an extension. Coutrot explained that motives and objectives of youth were identical with adult. However, she failed to explain that youth as a separate category, which includes their different ways of thinking.¹² Henry A. Wallace stated that Flaming Youth movement of America has been wrongly accused and heard. According to him, a true youth movement must be a new, vital and adventurous in approach.¹³

Athikho Kaisii noted the day to day life problems of youth of the frontier tribes. He stated that the increasing violence was becoming part of everyday lives of youth. The author discussed much about the youth of the North East region and how their life is becoming more and more difficult to fit in this contemporary world.¹⁴ Trent Brown pointed out that globalization became new sources of mobility for India's youth. However, all youth do not experience the mobility in the same manner. The author's main focus was to analyse the rural and urban youth of Darjeeling region and their

condition. The article of Trent Brown illustrated the mobility trends. It carried the stories of youths from various backgrounds, especially in the town of Darjeeling. It explored the different source of mobility as they migrate from rural to town and how urban youth are confronted with the downward mobility and frustrated with the professional careers and modern lifestyle.¹⁵

James D. Fearon stressed on 'identity', as a social and personal category.¹⁶ Richard Jenkins asserted that 'identity' has two essential principles that were grounded on similarity and difference. Identity as such is not a given phenomenon or should not be taken for granted. According to him, identities classified the society and correlate one with, or attach oneself to, something or someone else such as a friend, a sports team or an ideology.¹⁷ Both the authors discussed about identity. However, they were only focused on one aspect and cultural aspect was left out. George Schopflin pointed out that identities are anchored around morale values such as right/wrong and desirable/undesirable. It leads to the formation of hierarchical identities based on judgements of the individuals concerned. The creation of identities is not an inevitable production of a country's history or culture rather the involvement of human agencies and their creativity. Schopflin believed that only through human creativity identity could be established. He did not mention about social and cultural aspects of human beings, which lead to a particular identity.¹⁸

Atis Das Gupta briefly discussed about the history of Darjeeling. He has also explained about the eminent personalities, such as Parasmoni Pradhan, Dharanidhar Koirala and Surya Bikram Gewali, who were made efforts in the recognition of Nepali language in Calcutta University in 1918. The author viewed the evolution of the demand for separate state among the Darjeeling people. However, the word did not discuss much about the activities of agitators and their participation.¹⁹ Romit

Bagchi made an attempt to unravel the various layers of the crisis in the Darjeeling Hills. The author endeavoured to delve into the deeper restive hills and attempts to put the prevailing stereotypes under a subjective scanner. Bagchi approached the century old tangle from four perspectives; the problem of assimilation of the various ethnic groups; the course of the movement, from Subhas Ghising to Bimal Gurung; and the fulfilment of the statehood dream. The author did not mention about the involvement of youth of Darjeeling in the movement.²⁰

Dick. B Dewan detailed the actual scenario of the movement. He mentioned the impact of movement, especially specifically in Education field. However, he failed to recognise the will of the Youth for the sake of the Gorkhaland issue.²¹ K.R. Sharma in his book mentioned the various facets of Gorkha marginalization in India. He highlighted the marginalization of Gorkhas's life. The author failed to mention about the role played by youth for the quest of Indian Identity.²²

Narendra Gorkha pointed out the basic needs of separate statehood and focused on the movement of 1980s under the leadership of Subhas Ghising. He mentioned about the different activities of Youth and GNLFF's various wings. The author dealt with a specific party and other parties were left untouched.²³

Swatahsiddha Sarkar dealt with the Gorkhaland movement as an ethnic movement. The book offered a sociological perspective and used Gorkhaland Movement as a case study. He did not mention about the activities of youth in the movement.²⁴ Basant Lama pointed out that the Nepalese inhabitants of the Darjeeling hills have been viewed as migrants from Nepal and therefore "foreigners", even though their predates an independent India. The allegation of being "foreigners," used by those opposed to the statehood movement demand for a separate state, paradoxically feeds the

insecurity of the Indian Nepalis. The author was reason out for the movement. However, he failed to link the movement in an appropriate manner and did not discuss much about the participation of Youth and their activities.²⁵ C.K. Shrestha discussed about the crisis of identity of Indian Nepali and faced the discrimination in its own home land and tagged as “foreigner”. He mentioned that Indian Nepali experienced every day challenge and feeling as a homeless person. The demand of Separate state became the main agenda of Indian Nepali.²⁶

In general, there were many scholars have contributed their research work on Gorkhaland Movement. However, the existing works did not discuss about youth as the historical category and missing the arguments and articulations in the Gorkhaland Movement. Therefore, it is necessary to study the role of youth in Gorkhaland Movement and this particular work is trying to bring out the above mentioned discourse.

1.3.Objectives

The main objectives of the present study are as follows:

- To study the causes behind the participation of youth in the Gorkhaland Movement.
- To examine the nature of youth participation in the Gorkhaland Movement.
- To understand the state responses to the youth participation in Gorkhaland Movement.

1.4.Methodology

The present work is based on archiving various documents, letters, government records and newspapers, which are available in various archives, libraries, institutions etc. Both the primary and secondary source has been used in this work.

The field work had faced many problems in collecting primary materials and to visit different places due to the indefinite strikes in Darjeeling. Despite of such situations, the work carried some important primary sources.

1.5.Chapterization

Based on the above arguments and discussion, the present study is divided into following chapters:

Chapter I, *Introduction* dealt with the importance of youth and the contribution of Gorkhas in the Indian state. Further, it discussed about the Statement of Problem, Review of Literature, Objectives of Study, Research methodology, and Chapterization.

Chapter II, *Understanding the Youth Participation in various Political Movements in the World*, focused on the ability of youth in global world, Indian context and similarly relate with the Gorkhaland Movement.

Chapter III, *The Youth participation in Gorkhaland Movement*, discussed about the causes behind the participation of youth in Gorkhaland Movement.

Chapter IV, *State Response and Gorkhaland Movement*, detailed the state responses and the Government reaction towards the young agitator of the Gorkhaland Movement.

Chapter V, *Conclusion* summarized all the chapters.

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CHAPTER - II

UNDERSTANDING THE YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN VARIOUS POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD

The youth is an age group that is gaining more importance in the most countries of the world, because of its growing importance in various sectors of social life such as education, labour force, cultural continuity and change etc. The youth as a category that evolved in time in sociological literature and still it is an hesitant social construct with no unified characteristics. It does not have clear cut boundaries. As a cultural construct, the meaning of youth alters across time and space. The scholars from cultural studies are in agreement that the concept of youth has no universal meaning to it. It is a language category, which is applied by one segment of society in identifying and orienting to another segment. Such identification and orientation includes the creation of social roles, attributes, and meanings to those to whom it is applied. Youth remains a contested ambivalent classification fixed between the boundaries of childhood and adulthood.

In the Sociological point of view, the word youth was first put forward by August Hollingshead in his study on the impact of social classes on adolescents. He defined youth as the period in the life of the person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him/her as child and does not accord him full adult status, roles and functions.¹ The United Nations and its allied agencies defined youth demographically as those within the age range 15 to 24 years. The government of India uses a broader categorization of youth as those within 15 to 34 years, due to the varied situation that exists in the country. Further, the National Youth Policy of 2003 covered all the youth in the country in the age group of 12 to 35 years.² This study has not applied any of

this above definitions of youth. The justification for the choice is firstly, youth participation in various political movements may fall above the age of 35 or more but still they consider themselves as “Youth”. As August Hollingshead in his study on the “Elmtown’s Youth” stated that youth is not marked by a specific point in time because its form, content, duration, and period in the life cycle are differently determined by various cultures and societies.³ Abbink for instance, argued that for in terms of age, the youth-category can be defined as people belonging to a 14-35 years of age-category. At the same time, he admitted that this might deny social, cultural and political realities whereby, for instance, in the context of AIDS or violent conflicts, orphaned youth even below the age of 14, might already be having responsibilities in taking care of entire families that otherwise belong to adulthood, or one in which people above 35 years of age remain in a state of dependency and therefore are categorised as ‘children’.⁴

The generational perspective, as invigorated and developed by Alber, perceived the differentiation of society into age-categories as a socio-historical construct that of necessity remains ‘fuzzy’ and actually requires a kind of fuzziness in order to have significance in ever-changing contexts,⁵ where the meaning of age is continuously in the making—a point also developed by Christiansen as an aspect of how youth is a navigating category; i.e., indicating a younger set of people in society that usually is placed in a position where they need to develop their skills to navigate changing societal conditions constantly.⁶ Secondly, by not using any of definition it is easier to introduce a new dimension to the research. The research on youth is still one of the less developed fields.

2.1. Youth as a Social Category

Rosenmayr in his essay “Conceptual and Theoretical Foundations” postulated that youth is an outcome of societal reproduction and as an agent of social transformation.⁷

Youth is a product of societal reproduction as well as a force in social change or social transformation. Youth is the product of socialization; hence it is understood as ‘reproduction’. Youth is to be understood as ‘transformation’ because the pluralism that exists in the most societies allows for a certain freedom of selection of values. Rosenmayr further argued that it is important to look upon youth as attitudinal systems and behaviour pattern related to a position in society. Any age status such as childhood, youth, and old age are structured by social forces. Hence, youth must be defined in relation to empirically frequent form of behaviour in a roughly determined age range. He further argued that it is necessary to conceptualize youth not as an isolated group rather within the framework of all other age groups of society.⁸

Parsons (cited by Barker) hypothesised that youth is a changing social construct, which appeared at a particular time under definitive conditions. He associated the emergence of youth as a social construct with the development of capitalism. He argued that the emergence of specialized, universalized and rationalized occupational and adult roles in capitalist society that created a discontinuity between the family and the wider society and this needed to be filled by a period of transition and training for the young people.⁹

The youth groups or youth cultures tend to arise in those societies in which the family unit cannot ensure the attainment of full social status on the part of its members. This is normal case in societies wherein the family or kinship groups do not constitute the basis for the social division of labour as in the case of industrialized societies. Thus,

youth culture tends to develop in differentiated, non-kinship based societies and societies in which the major political, economic, social, and religious functions are performed not by family or kinship units but rather by various specialized groups. In these societies, the major roles that adults are expected to perform in the wider society differ in orientation from those of kinship group. Peer groups, especially youth groups tend to arise as these can serve as a transitory phase between the world of childhood and the adult world. Thus 'youth' is seen as an interlinking sphere between family and other social institutions. The recognition of "youth" as a social category became more clearly defined amongst industrialized societies.

2.2. Young People can be Powerful Agents of Social Change

There are many young people have the desire and capacity to transform the world, and are looking for opportunities to do so. In fact, youth have been key actors in nearly every major social movement in the modern history. During the U.S. Civil Rights movement, Claudette Colvin was just fifteen, when she was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a Montgomery Bus to a white person (nine months before Rosa Parks). Young Civil Rights activists like Diane Nash developed the new tactics like the Freedom Rides, and built powerful organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Youth activism is sometimes framed as a thing of the past, but nothing could be further from the truth. In the past, young people have been important participants in movements to topple dictatorships in Tunisia and Egypt, protest austerity measures and corruption in Greece and Spain, and defend public education in Canada and Chile.¹⁰

2.3. The Nature of Youth Politics

2.3.1. Youth Politics as a Form of Behaviour

The apparent nature of youth politics, rather than the actual type of politics and political ideas that youth could engage in, is the subject of much focus in the literature. This is likely because of the fact that politics is less of an outlet for political expression of ideas than it is an opportunity to overcome the “feeling of limbo”¹¹ experienced by many young people both during schooling and afterwards when the problem of unemployment is a common occurrence.

As a result, it is the character of politics, more than anything else, that is actively informed and shaped by young people. Their own insecurities and personal aspirations are often the factors that drive them towards politics, consequently determining the manner in which they express themselves politically, more so than the issues they choose to debate. Presenting a certain type of behaviour and identity through engaging in politics, rather than pushing for a certain policy, provides a quicker and more direct solution to the problems of boredom, restlessness, shame, alienation, social immobility and unemployment.

2.3.2. The Behaviour of Youth Gangs

The literature on youth gangs is useful in providing a possible explanation as to why youth behaviour overpowers political objectives as a driving force behind youth politics. One similarity between youth politics and gangs that conveys this particular dynamic is the indifference youth have towards the activities that define the organisations they join. As is evident from Pitts, the study of youth gangs in East London, the prospect of “criminal involvement”¹² or being a gangster is seen to have

little weight in the decision to join a gang in contrast to the possibility of social integration and interaction. The participation in youth groups, not because of what the group means or stands for in terms of its objective, but for the opportunity to have fun, is a common incentive that links young men involved in gangs and political groups together.

The similarities in the composition and organisation of youth gangs across the world and youth politics in India point to the distinctiveness of youth groups that operate in public spaces as ‘visible’ and, to a certain extent, ‘controlling’ entities. Like most gangs around the world which mainly consist of groups of boys, young college-going men. According to F Osella and C Osella, they are often segregated from girls and socialising in all-male gangs.¹³

2.3.3. Youth Politics as a Form of Performance

The representations of youth politics as performance in the literature are especially helpful in several ways. In addition, to uncovering the highly active and emotive nature of youth politics, they help to illustrate the reasons for the young people turn to politics in search of identity. Shiv Sena, the right wing political organization of Maharashtra, attempted to remain rooted in political society as a site for permanent protest. Its presentation of politics as a form of performance was especially successful in increasing the accessibility of politics to young people.¹⁴ The performance-based nature of Shiv Sena politics allowed young men to act out their idealised gender roles publicly. Therefore, it became evident that how the Shiv Sena’s focus on political identity through performance, which touched on many of the insecurities that young men in the region faced such as emasculation and powerlessness, was able to empower, and in the process, politicise youth.¹⁵

Lukose's fieldwork among the college students in Kerala traced the way in which the college environment had provided space for young men to organise demonstrations and protests. She specifically identified a link between the nature of politics in the state and the age and gender identities of the actors, who engaged in it within the space of the college. In highlighted the importance of this linkage and she stated that youth as a space of masculine political agency has been key to the articulation of public politics in Kerala.¹⁶

2.4. Youth Movement in the World

Youth as a social category and they have been participated in various political movements in the world. Broadly, the direction of youth movements may be on the one hand diffuse, passive, person centered: *Youth* is seen as the fountain of value personal experience and expression, on the other hand their direction may be relatively specific, activist, reforming: where *youth* is seen as the bringer of a new order. There are many youth movements do not label themselves as such and may not be easily recognized. Youth movements did occur in China, Japan, and in various developing countries as soon as certain social conditions exist. These social movements then are generally important phenomena in the study of social change. It influences, sometimes strongly, the transmission of values from generation to generation.¹⁷

2.4.1. The Youth Movement in Germany

The movement which has arisen among the young generation, particularly among university and high school students, is distinguished by ever new and spectacular events, which have attracted public attention. It is obviously a world-wide

phenomenon, apparently independent of political systems and having only a vague relationship to specific social structures.

The Nationalist Socialists maintained that the entire German youth enthusiastically followed the Swastika banner, and they pointed proudly to the millions of the Hitler Jugend. They wanted to prove that long before 1933, the year of Hitler's elevation to the power, the young generation was striving for a revolution in the Nazi Style. The National Socialist movement was remained a movement of youth. The state grew out of the youth movement. The German youth movement was reached its climax and founded its realization in the Third Reich. As far as the youth movement was concerned, it was true that some groups cherished ideals that recognized in the party program or in the vocabulary of the Nazi Literature. However, there were many more youth groups whose memberships was far numerous that stood for humanity, world-wide brotherhood and religious life, and which for this reason could not abhor everything connected with Nazism.¹⁸

There are many non-German scholars regard the youth movement as a typical German feature. American publications treated the subject as if there had never been a youth movement outside of Germany. Russian Nihilism in the 1860's contained an element of a true youth movement. There were youth movements in the Slavic states longing for an autonomous national life. There were oriental youth movement in land, where modern youth struggled against pressure of old customs and prejudices.¹⁹ During the ninetieth century, there was more pressure upon the German Youth than the youth of many other nations. That was the reason for the German Movement. It aroused more echo and attention than the youth movements within other nations. The beginning of the modern youth movement can be traced back to the year 1897. Before the outbreak of the World War I, about 40,000-50,000 young people had joined in the various

unions. The significance of the movement was far greater, estimated by the interest which it aroused among educators, in the learned and in the literary world, as well as among the general public.

During the war, the most of the leaders and the older, more responsible members of the youth movement joined the Army. In the course of time, more and more people from the youth movement signed up with political parties or found fields of activity in religious and social organizations. The “pure” youth movement, split and weakened as it was sank more and more into obscurity.²⁰ The survey of 1930 show edits numerical strength as to be not more than 20,000 young people. By the time, the Independent youth movement was no more a factor to be counted. Even though movement seemed ups and down, but the effect of youth was not less important. The conception of a youth movement became broader and common among all ranks of youth. It was no more the property of special groups or unions.²¹

The short-lived years of the German republic saw a constant growth of youth associations. In 1930, Catholic and Protestant Youth organization included about 2,00,000, the Socialist top organization and various democratic groups around 8,000. The Jewish Youth groups had about 30,000 members. The Communist youth organization reported 19,000 members in 1928. On the other hand, the number of Hitler Jugend members in 1931 was reported to be 18000. Other nationalistic and rightist organizations counted about 50,000 followers.²² “Who has the youth, has the Future”²³ seem to proof in the phase of Germany. In the Post war period several organisation of the youth movement were revived.

2.4.2. The Youth Movement in China

The migration of Chinese Youth to Western Countries and Japan, with its motives and its effects upon the minds of these Youth is described and illustrated by many quotations from the writings of the more prominent leaders among these young men. These youth and student who received a Western Education in China became ferment in the Chinese society. There seem to have been two phases of Western influence: in the beginning a rather uncritical adoption of Western technology and science and western habits, resulting in contempt for Chinese culture. Then a reaction followed and Chinese ideas and institution which they thought worth conserving and developing. This initiated the repulse of foreign influence.

The contact with Western civilization led to the revolution of 1911 that resulted in the introduction of the Western form of government. Its character was chiefly political and the effect has been disastrous. Bitterly disappointed with this attempt to improve the status of China by a mere transplantation of some acquisitions of Western influence. A group of young scholars began to realize that they had to attack the evil of its roots. They interested to reform the Chinese social ideas, custom, and institutions. Thus a radical movement with more universal aims arose. This is what calls the Youth Movement according to Tsci C Wang.²⁴

It was originating at University of Peking about 1915 and it soon spread over a great part of the country. It aimed to rebuild the Chinese social order from the Bottom. Therefore the attacks upon the ethics of Confucianism especially upon the ideas and norms of family life and the creation of a new literature disregarding the classical style and using the vernacular which of course made it possible to spread the *new* ideas even beyond the ranks of scholars.²⁵

2.4.2.1. The Chinese Communist Youth Movement

In the Cultural Revolution, the task of dismantling and reorganizing the Communist Party did not spare the various youth organizations that operated under the Party's aegis. Mao's injunction to the bourgeois central headquarters within the Party had similar bombardment of lesser headquarters in dependent establishments. The Party organization was by-passed in the formation committees, so Communist youth organizations have been or swamped in the Red Guard movement. The Youth League in particular, as the Party's "main assistant", has shared its fate.²⁶

The youth movement thus became an additional forum for the power struggle enveloping the Cultural Revolution. The League and other youth organizations were not actually buried but rather left in a state of suspended animation. Some Red Guards made the interesting proposal to change its name as "Mao Tse-tung Communist Youth League" and issued the new membership cards. The Party made some rectification rather than outright abolition that appeared to be the watchword for already existing youth organization.

The question nevertheless arises as to how the organized Communist youth movement, involving millions of young people recruited and trained under the watchful eye of the Communist Party, could have come to its present pass, and what in its record or its structure could have so displeased the Maoist faction in the leadership. It could, of course, be supposed that the same bureaucratization and resistance to Maoist policies were found in the established youth organizations as appeared to characterize State and Party organs. Yet the nurture of the nation's "130 million youth" had been for years a principal focus of endeavour, more recently in the campaign begun in 1964 to "cultivate revolutionary successors". Mao stated some

years earlier that the New China must care for her youth and show concern for the growth of the younger generation. Therefore, the full attention paid both to their work and study and to their recreation, sport and rest.²⁷ He was aware the great importance of youth.²⁸

The youth work served the political purpose of indoctrination and organization into movements that designed to support and perpetuate the regime. Since 1949, the Communist China extended its Party's prerogative power into every field that has been facilitated the functional and social associations in linking the Party the non-Party masses. With regard to youth, it all grouped together in the All-China Youth Federation, whose principal components were the Communist Youth League, the Young Pioneers and the All-China Students' Federation. Quite the most important, and the nucleus of them all, was the Youth League. Like the equivalent organization in the Soviet Union, Komsomol, the Youth League was the principal adjunct of the Party in leadership and control of every facet of national life. It has been a major source of Party member's cadres.

It is necessary to understand the League to the better understanding the general conditions and activities of the youth of China. The Youth League was something more than a vanguard of politically conscious youth and something less than a mass organization. The youth of country could be mobilized together with the masses in organized support of the Party's political and economic programmes. This relationship of the League to the masses generally, as well as to youth particular, under the direction of the Party, gave to the activities League members as a whole the same "cadre" character as members.

Table I

Young Communist League (1949-1965) (Estimates in bracket)

Year	Members (millions) ^a	As % of total youths	Branches ^e	Average branch membership	Cadres ^f	Cadre-member ratio
1949	0.19					
1950	3.00				16,000	1:188
1951	5.18		242,000	21		
1952	6.00					
1953	9.00		380,000	24		
1954	12.00		520,000	23		
1955	16.00		600,000	27		
1956	20.00	17.0 ^b	700,000	28	80,000	1:250
1957	23.00		920,000	25		
1958	23.20					
1959	25.00		1,000,000	25		
1960-1	—					
1962	20.00	15.0 ^c				
1963	—					
1964	(33-37)	13.0 ^d (rural)	1,300,000	(25-28)		
1965	(40.00 plus)					

Table 2.1 The Youth Involvement in Communist Party in China.²⁹

TABLE II
Young Pioneers (1949-66)

Year	Members (millions)	Instructors	Instructor-member ratio
1949	0.5		
1950	1.9		
1951	3.0		
1952	5.2		
1953	7.0		
1954	8.0		
1955	10.0		
1956	25.0		
1957	30.0		
1958	35.0		
1959	44.0		
1960	50.0		
1961	—		
1962	50.0		
1963	—		
1964	50.0	1,200,000	1:42
1965	—		
1966	100.0		

Table 2.2 Membership of Young Pioneers in China

These are surely enough grounds for the Maoist aversion League as it stood, and for concern the general direction movement. Youth Involvement made possible to bring a new dimension of the generation.

2.4.3. The Potentialities of the Youth Movement in America

During the Great Depression of 1930s, American youth joined and formed an expanding array of organizations tackling problems of widespread poverty and

protesting racial bigotry at home and increasing militarism abroad. America was different from Italy, Germany, Japan, and other nations who experienced the fascist and racist tyranny., The American youth organizations, including the American Student Union (ASU), the American Youth Congress (AYC), the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC), the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Young Communist League, and the Young People's Socialist League addressed the dismal state of "Black-White relations". A disparate group of young activists socialists, communists, liberals, pacifists, Christians, and civil right advocates linked their fight against the white racist practices at home to the broader international fight against the spread of Nazism and fascism.³⁰

These young people longed for a more egalitarian society at home and abroad, and it was in this spirit that a national youth movement within the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) was reborn and situated within the context of the 1930s youth movements. This examines Juanita Jackson's leadership in the formation of a "national youth movement" within the NAACP between 1935 and 1938. It focused on the activism of the youth councils and college chapters. The activism of NAACP youth organizations has been discussed by several historians. In along with explorations of the Black experience, August Meier and Elliot Rudwick showed that the NAACP was not monolithic and did not use litigation as its only strategy to secure black civil rights. Meier and Rudwick maintained that the activism of NAACP youth groups in staging nationwide demonstrations against lynching, initiating early sit-in demonstrations, and protesting other forms of discrimination demonstrates that NAACP groups did employ "nonviolent direct action strategies" in their fight for equal rights. In Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists

during the Great Depression, historian Robin D. G. Kelley reported that the NAACP was not active in Alabama in the late 1930s, and this lack of activism created a political vacuum that was filled by the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC), founded as an outgrowth of the militant National Negro Congress, which provided an outlet for black youth activism in that state.³¹

Jackson used her astute leadership abilities and personal charisma to create a successful youth movement within the NAACP, in which direct action protests were common. During her tenure as national youth director, the NAACP established youth councils and college chapters in 30 states and 128 cities throughout the United States. Jackson's success in building a vibrant national youth movement within the NAACP can be attributed to her organizing and activist skills, rooted in a legacy of nonviolent direct action activism well established in her family, the Baltimore community, and the African American protest tradition.³²



Fig.2.1. NAACP Youth Council Members in Charlotte, NC in 1942.³³

There are several number of youth organisation, youth movement in America, which bring the change in each steps of an individual. The youth played an important role in sphere of difficult situation despite having from different group names or

organizations. Secretary Wallace, in his speech in 1933 on "The Potentialities of the Youth Movement in America," said that a true youth movement must be a new, vital, adventurous approach to the potentialities of the coming age. Therefore, the youth of America did some extensive steps for the better days as Thomas F. Neblett admitted so.

2.4.4. The Belgian Youth Movement

The term "Youth Movement" is used in Belgium to indicate voluntary organizations whose aim is to educate, physically and morally, to prepare them for a certain conception of life and to guide their steps in the fulfilment of that role.³⁴ The Boy Scout movement was early known in Belgium. It first came to be a non-confessional association (Boy Scouts of Belgium) in 1910 and became a Catholic one (Baden-Powell Belgian Boy and Sea Scouts). Later it was split as Flemish and French-speaking sections. In 1938, an Inter-federal Bureau of Scouting was formed to establish closer contacts and co-operation. Membership now is roughly 7,000 for the Boy Scouts of Belgium and 36,000 for the two Catholic sections. There are, similarly, two organizations for girls: Girl Guides of Belgium, with some 5,000 members, and Catholic Guides of Belgium, with some 7,000.³⁵

As early as the exodus³⁶ to France in May 1940, youth (and the members of youth movements more especially) saw their energy, skill, and reliability greatly tested. Reception centers along the roads, information bureaus, canteens, dormitories, and repatriation centers after the French armistice, were manned and often administered by members of the youth movements. In southern France, some army camps for youths from 16 to 20 were taken in hand by the Boy Scouts with surprisingly good results.

Under the occupation, the youth movements which continued openly () rendered³⁷ many welfare services and enlisted in these the help of many young people who had never before been members of youth organizations. They took an interest in the welfare of the war prisoners and of the wounded in hospitals. They participated in collections of money, food, clothes, and so forth for the Secours d'Hiver ("Winter Aid") and other relief societies. They (and more specially the Scouts and the Guides) took responsibility on a large scale for the leadership of children in the camps and homes for the undernourished; and they made use of this opportunity to give to these children of all social classes something of the spirit of the youth movements, and in particular something of a patriotic education. During the bombardments, the members of the youth movements played a prominent role in the rescue and social service teams. Other youth movements went on living in the open, but many of their members were active in intelligence work, sabotage, evacuation of Allied airmen, and preparation of military action. In all those organizations, and in the fighting underground of 1944, Scouts, Jocists, and young Socialists and Communists were the most active leaders and the most heroic fighters.³⁸

2.4.5. The Black Youth Movement

From its beginning of 1960 until well past the middle year of the decade, the black youth movement did not have much to do with what is commonly thought of as education. Although it began among students in exclusively black institutions, where the common pretence of the instructors and the quality of instruction generally left something to be desired, the average of the students had no quarrel with the learning they were getting. They lacked sophistication to question it. After all, they understood it to be as in fact it was - the same learning that their contemporaries in white colleges and universities were getting. And what was good enough for white folks was good

enough for them. Besides, the average of black students professed to believe that Southern University, a black institution, was as good as Louisiana State, house College as good as Sewanee, Bennett College as good as Agnes Scott, and Howard University quite the equal of Harvard.³⁹

What black students of the year 1960 wanted was simply an end to segregation and discrimination. Although integration was undoubtedly their ultimate goal, they did not say so. All their talk was of desegregation and all they asked was that the process begins on a basic level that everyone could understand and all ordinary folk could relate to.

For the final test of Afro-American studies will be the extent to which they rid the minds of whites and blacks alike of false learning, and the extent to which they promote for blacks and whites alike a completely rewarding participation in American life.⁴⁰

2.4.6. The Youth Movement in Indonesia

The rise of the youth movement in Indonesia at the beginning of the twentieth century coincided with the emergence of a group of Western (Dutch) educated Indonesians. In fact, it was the students who led the movement; this was due to the fact that contact with Western culture led the students to recovery of their cultural identity. In addition, Western education equipped them with skills which could be used to strengthen themselves politically.⁴¹

At First, the Dutch authorities prohibited students, especially there in government the twentieth century coincided with the emergence of a group of Western (Dutch) educated Indonesians. In fact, it was the students who led the movement; this was due

to the fact that contact with Western culture led the students to recovery of their cultural identity. In addition, Western education equipped them with skills which could be used to strengthen themselves schools, from participating to be non-political and concentrated on such activities as sports, education, cultural shows and others. Nevertheless, they were gradually politicized and eventually became the vanguard of Indonesia nationalism. "Java centricism" characterized the early youth movement, which was strongly Java-based centering on several major towns. Jakarta was particularly important since the Dutch schools were first established in the city. Understandably, the first "nationalist awakening" took place among the students in Java rather than those of the outer Islands. The Javanese formed the first student organization and were followed by the ethnic groups. Most of these student associations used Jakarta as their headquarters, with branches in other places.⁴²

The pre-war youth movement in Indonesia not only constituted a vital component of Indonesian nationalism but on many occasions became the actual vanguard of the nationalist struggle. It was the secular youth movement, which created and first popularized the Indonesian "natural symbols" such as country's name the language, the Flag and what was to become the Indonesian Youth movement was initially characterized by ethnic identity but later in the 1920s it gradually became national as it cut across ethnic boundaries. Although there was a revival of ethnic youth organizations in the 1930s, they were small and insignificant. However, the Indonesian Youth movement failed to cut across secular and Islamic boundaries due to deeply rooted socio-cultural difference existing among the Indonesian particularly Javanese.⁴³

2.4.7. The Youth Movement in India

Every nation has its own youth movement, but certain features are common to all. Youth Movement in India has a chequered history. Its first elements appeared on the eve of the Partition of Bengal. The first organized youth movement can be traced back to the Naxalbari uprising.⁴⁴ In the sixties, the colleges and universities were the places of youth agitations. In 1966, there were 2,206 student demonstrations staged and among 480 were violent.⁴⁵ The prominent student agitations till 1968 had been recorded by Viswa Yuvak Kendra. An overview of these agitations bore testimony to the fact that how these movements obstructed the normal functioning of academic institutions during 1968.⁴⁶

A close examination of the series of student strikes in Karnataka, Benaras, Calcutta and elsewhere in the 1960s and in Delhi during the early 1970s highlighted that in the sixties the student agitations started gradually regaining an organized form.⁴⁷ Student unions came to be increasingly influenced by political parties though devoid of ideological fervour. But it was only in 1974 that the student agitations started manifesting characteristics of an articulated movement. It originated in Gujarat and spread to Bihar and was later transformed in to a country wide movement.

The Students Federation of India, the student's wing of Communist Party of India Marxist, at Jawaharlal Nehru University is at the fore front of agitational politics in early 70s. Contrary to expectations, the end of the Emergency did not bring peace and tranquillity to the campus. According to an official estimate, there were 7,520 incidents of student unrest in 1977, of which 1,146 were violent. The corresponding figures for 1978 till August stood at 8,838 and 1,050 respectively. State-wise, student unrest was more pronounced in Uttar Pradesh (22 %), Maharashtra (21 %) and Bihar

(13 %). Moreover, the percentage of violent incidents was only 15 for the whole of 1977 whereas the corresponding percentage for the first eight months of 1978 was 18.⁴⁸

Student and Youth in India played a significant role in the national movement. For the first time Youth took part in large numbers in the freedom movement, when Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905. The Youth were mainly behind the Indian National Congress at that time. When the congress was split in its Lahore Session in 1907, the Student and youth also got distributed between groups. They rallied around the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and later on, of Gandhi. Under the leadership and guidance of Gandhi, the students became a formidable force in India. When Gandhi launched his campaign against the Rowlatt Act, 1919 and the Jallianwalla Bagh atrocities, Youth participated in big number. Youth played a vital role in various campaigns launched by Gandhi against the British such as the No Tax campaign 1921, the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Dandi Satvagraha 1930. Youth also participated in programs such as removal of untouchability and casteism, adult education, popularizing Swadeshi and the use of Khadi and so on. The All India student Federation, the first student organization of India, was born in order to support the Indian National Congress in its struggles. In 1920, The First All India Students Conference was held in Nagpur under the President ship of Lala Lajpat Rai. All India Student Federation was divided into two factions in 1938 such as the All Indian Youth Congress and All Indian Students Federation.

2.5. Conclusion

There were many young people who have the desire and capacity to transform the world and are looking for opportunities to do so. Youth have been key actors in the most of the major social movements. Youth involved in various political movements in the world like in America, Belgium, Japan, Australia and so. In each of these cases, young people took part in many ways. Indeed, youth have been deeply important to every progressive social movement. Youth Movement or involvement has been seen in various movements in India, where the large amount of youth has given their life for the country. Lastly, Youth have the capacity to do certain aspects of work or change the system or law which seem impossible to the World.

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³⁵*Ibid.*,

³⁶In May 1940, when the Germans invaded Belgium, the Belgian Government issued a decree commanding all young men between the ages of 15 and 18 to leave the country for France by any means at their command. In response, some 150,000 Belgians between these age limits fled to France, where from May until the end of that year they lived in the Assembly Camps of the Belgian Army. These camps, due to the circumstances of the time, suffered neglect and came to be internally organized and administered by former Boy Scouts who found themselves there. This work was performed so efficiently that, upon the return of these Belgian youths to their own country at the defeat of France, they found the Boy Scout movement in Belgium greatly admired, its prestige enhanced, and its membership suddenly augmented.

³⁷Especially, the Boy Scouts, the Young Christian Workers and other branches of Catholic Action, and the Red Cross Cadets

³⁸Bruggen, Van der C. and Louis C. Picalausa. (September, 1946). *Op.cit.*, 115.

³⁹Redding, Saunders. "The Black Youth Movement." *The American Scholar* 38, no. 4. (Autumn, 1969):584.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*,587.

⁴¹Suryadinata, Leo. "Indonesian Nationalism and the Pre-War Youth Movement: A Re-examination." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 9, no. 1. (March, 1978): 99.

⁴²*Ibid.*,100

⁴³*Ibid.*,

⁴⁴Jawaid, S. "The Naxalite Movement in India." New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1979: 177-80.

⁴⁵Altbach, Philip G. "Students and Politics." *Comparative Education Review* 10. (June, 1966): 175-87.

⁴⁶*Documents of Viswa Yuvak Kendra*. 1968.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*,

⁴⁸*Ibid.*,

CHAPTER - III

THE YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN GORKHALAND

MOVEMENT

3.1. Historical Background of the Demand of Gorkhaland Movement

Shivraj Sharma¹ stated that the demand for Gorkhaland is a natural product of democratic process in India. It signals the triumphant march of Indian democracy. The demand is democratic, which expresses the aspiration of the community that wishes to facilitate its development and growth through fuller and more meaningful participation of the people in the democratic process.² According to Basant Lama, the Demand of the Indian Gorkhas of Darjeeling had the same rationale. They were historically, ethnically, socially, linguistically, and culturally different from Bengal and they wanted their own homeland, which is distinctly apart from Bengal. It has more than hundred years that the Darjeeling people have been nursing their demand for a separate homeland.³

3.1.1. The Demands for Separate State

In 1907, the first ever demand for “separate administrative set-up” for the district of Darjeeling was placed before the government by the “leaders of the Hill people”. The Hill people here referred as to Lepchas, Bhutias, and Nepalis.⁴ According to Chakravarti⁵, the demand is considered as anti-participation wave in Bengal. However, it is difficult to leave it completely to such “waves”.

On November 8, 1917, the representatives of the “Darjeeling District” submitted a memorandum to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, demanding for the creation of a separate unit. The copies of this were subsequently submitted to E.S.

Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy of India. The signatories of the memorandum were S.W. Ladenla (Bhutia), Yen Singh Sitling (Lepcha), Khadge Bahadur Chhetri (Nepali), Prem Kumar Kumai, Meghbir Singh, Lachuman Singh, Narprasad Kumai, Deonidhi Upadhyaya and others. The memorandum contained a demand for Separate Administrative Arrangement for the region comprising the whole of Darjeeling district and the portion of the areas taken from Bhutan in 1865 and tagged to Jalpaiguri. The demand of the representatives of Darjeeling District is found to have been based on the incontrovertible data and facts of distinctiveness of the history, culture and geography of the place, which being the homeland of the nationalities speaking and following entirely different language, custom, tradition and mind-set to that of Bengal.⁶

According to the memorandum, the signatories were inspired by the movement for 'home rule' in India, which the British had accepted as a goal towards, which India should move gradually. The grounds that this demand was based on were geographical, racial, historical, religious and linguistic. NEFP had given three additional grounds such as health consideration, educational development, and defence interests of the country.⁷

Later in 1930, the three native associations, Hillmen's Association of Kalimpong, Darjeeling Officer's Association and Kurseong Gorkha Library laid memorandums to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of the State of India, to treat Darjeeling as an independent administrative unit.⁸ This memorandum was jointly signed by H.P. Pradhan (President, Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong), Lt. Gobardhan Gurung (President, Gorkha Officers Association) P.M. Sunder (Secretary, Kurseong Gorkha Library), N.B. Gurung (Secretary, Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong) and P.P.

Pradhan(Secretary, Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling).⁹ D.S. Bomjan stated this above memorandum had the same picture as that of earlier submissions. The political scenario of India was developing with rapid stride on account of intensified movement for independence of the country. British with a view to lengthening the tenure of their rule in India had been taking measures one after another. Among those measures, the years between 1930 and 1932, three consecutive Round Table Conferences were held in London, and on the basis of the discussions held in those Conferences. The British Parliament passed an act that came to be known as the Government of India Act, 1935.¹⁰ The Act was brewing that there was apprehension and anxiety for the possibility of overlooking the long cherished desire of the people of Darjeeling as there was no one at the Round Table Conference and subsequent Select Committees in London to voice the cause for Darjeeling People. Hence, the Hillmen's association as its last effort was found to have made representation on 6th August, 1934 to Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, London and Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, with the request to either for making adequate provisions in the Statute Book for the protection of the interest of the hill people by safeguards or the District of Darjeeling should be totally excluded from Bengal by creation of an Independent Administrative Unit.¹¹ The signatories to this were Sonam Wangel Ladenla, Gorbardhan Gurung and Madan Thapa. T.B.Subba stated that the memorandum interestingly silent about the Dooars area of Jalpaiguri district as seen in the 1930 memorandum.¹² This memorandum indicated in item number 4, that the "excluded area" status accorded to Darjeeling had benefited the Hillmen in two respects: one, it had controlled the alienation of land to the plainsmen; and two, the Hillmen had received "preferential treatment" in government services. Thus, in item number 7 of this memorandum, they demanded that no legislative

enactments passed by any of such legislatures be applicable to this district without being certified by the Governor of the Province and this wholesome provision of the Status Book should not be distributed¹³

They feared alienation of their lands and wanted to enjoy “preferential treatment” in government services had been emphasized in item number 8. The memorandum noted that the district of Darjeeling should be totally excluded from Bengal by creation of an independent Administrative unit as demanded on October 25, 1930.¹⁴ Under section 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935, Darjeeling as a “partially excluded area” and an “independent Administrative unit” as demanded by Hillmen Association, was not granted.¹⁵ T.B Subba stated after last draft of memoranda submitted by Hillmen’s Association, began with the demand by the Nepalis to introduce “Nepalis” as a medium of instruction in schools, which in turn was a response to the Nagpur Resolution of 1920 by the Indian National Congress on the Linguistic principle of reorganisation of province.¹⁶ According to D.S. Bomjan, the very spirit of the reorganisation of province as propounded by the Congress in its Nagpur Session weakened the unity of the demand for the separation of Darjeeling and its contiguous areas from Bengal, on the fact of difference of language, culture, tradition, history and geography with the rest of Bengal.¹⁷

The All India Gorkha League (AIGL) was organized in 1943. It took demanded that the District of Darjeeling together with the Dooars, a section of Jalpaiguri be included in the province of Assam. The petition demanded a separate administrative setup for the district of Darjeeling.¹⁸ The AIGL had various aims and objectives, namely, amongst others to organize and consolidate the Gorkhas, who are all widespread in India and elsewhere as an organic whole. Initially, the various ethnic groups in Darjeeling such as Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis were known as the Hillmen. Later,

they were bracketed under the umbrella term, 'Gorkhas'. The Lepchas and Bhutias spoke the Nepali language apart from their mother tongues. The above gamut of various demands for autonomy began to be more crystallized because of the aggravation of the economic problems in the Hill sub-division during the last decade of the colonial rule.¹⁹

3.1.2. Darjeeling in the Post-independent Period

During the post-independent period, there were more demands for autonomy of Darjeeling. The Communist Party was formed by Ratanlal Brahmin in Darjeeling in 1943, with the help of Sushil Chatterjee. Later, other prominent persons like Ganeshlal Subba and Bhadrabhadur Hamal also joined the CPI. The Darjeeling District Committee of the CPI, led by Ratanlal Brahmin put forth a memorandum on 6th April, 1947.²⁰ It laid down that the three contiguous areas of Darjeeling District, the feudal states of South Sikkim and Nepal be formed as one single zone as a sovereign state called Gorkhasthan, to safeguard interests of the Gorkhas. Further, they stated that the principle of proportional representation must be introduced, so that the smallest minorities like the Gorkhas do not go unrepresented.²¹

Pranta Parishad was another political party had been formed in the Darjeeling hills. It was formed at a convention in Sukhiapokhari on 8th August 1980. It was formed by former Gorkha League and Congress leaders and I.B.Rai, Madan Thapa, Madan Tamang and others. It demanded the formation of a separate state of Gorkhaland. It comprised the Nepali speaking areas of the Dooars Jalpaiguri district and the whole of Darjeeling district in accordance with Article 3(C) of the constitution.²² They believed that in the formation of a separate state of Gorkhaland. However, it was operating within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The party was declined mainly

because of weak organization. In early 1980's, the congress was shrinking in the hills. Swatantra Manch is yet another political organization that promoted the idea of a separate state of the people of the hills. CPI (M) demanded the "Regional Autonomy" within West Bengal. This needs an amendment of Article 244A of the Constitution, which permits regional autonomy within a State in case of tribal region.²³ On 2nd August 1980, Subhas Ghising, the President of the newly formed GNLFF (Gorkha National Liberation Front) Party submitted a Memorandum to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. It demanded a separate State within the Constitution. According to the memorandum, the Indian Gorkha after independence is stateless and futureless all over India. The future was murdered by the Indian Constitution. The land and territory was wrongly and blindly merged with Bengal in 1956. It resulted in Indian Gorkhas were politically tortured all over India. The memorandum corrected the mistake and returned the land and territory from West Bengal.

Again in 1981, Communists in the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal passed a "unanimous resolution" to support the formation of an Autonomous District Council that comparing the District of Darjeeling and all its historically contiguous area of Dooars. The proposal was forwarded to the Central Government at Delhi for due consideration. Following that nothing was happened and it was stated by Basant. B. Lama.²⁴ The movement was raised with same agenda from time to time by different political parties, but the motive behind the movement was same.

3.2. Causes for the Demands of Gorkhaland Movement

The demand of Gorkhaland Movement is not a recent phenomenon. It appeared as political struggle for more than hundred years. The demand has been raised considerably in pre-independence period and is still remains unabated. The demand

for Gorkhaland raises with the question of Gorkha Indian political identity as the spectre of being ‘foreigners’, ‘alien-ness’, ‘debarred as bonafide citizens of India’, which continues to rummage the Indian Gorkhas even today. The words like ‘Gorkha’²⁵, ‘*Bharpali*’, which is an acronym of ‘*Bharatiya Nepali*’ and ‘*Bhargoli*’, an acronym of ‘*Bharatiya Gorkhali*’ have also been proposed at different points of their struggle for carving a separate Indian identity for themselves.²⁶ However, none of this nomenclature seems to have received wide acceptance in achieving their goal. This long demand history has been reflective of two major claims: firstly, an aspiration to govern themselves without jeopardizing the sovereignty of the nation- state and secondly, the urge to recognize the collective rights and almost all salient cultural and social issues that earmarked their distinctions and distinctiveness from an inescapable other i.e. ‘politics of culture’, identity and recognition.²⁷

3.2.1. Identity Crisis and Discrimination

Gorkhas of India are struggling for their survival and identity. According to R.B Rai, Gorkha known for their honesty and bravery that branded them as a martial race and the most of the times were taken as granted and used as mercenaries by different war-monger masters at different times to suits their interests.²⁸ He explained the different sources of Gorkha exploitation.²⁹ They were used in the making of protection of Indian state and its boundaries. However, they seek shelter, security and dignity. They are asked for their genuineness, originality of their origin. They have survived one century of struggle for maintaining their stand and they need a homeland of their own. They demand their own distinct Indian Identity, concrete and stable.³⁰

The angst of the Indian Gorkha with regard to his ‘identity’ as an Indian has its roots in his high profile as a ‘Gorkha soldier’ belonging to a supposedly “martial race”

much like the Sikhs and Coorgis, who also served under arms in the East India Company and subsequently the British Crown during the days of “The British Raj”.³¹ In spite of being Indians, the Indian Gorkhas have been labelled by some national leaders as foreigner, immigrants and lately as refugees.³² These remarks reflected the ignorance among the national leaders of the fact that Indian Gorkha has been a part of Darjeeling even before Nepal ceded this area to the British Indian Government by the *Treaty of Sugauli*³³ in 1815. Further, such remarks also reflected in the spirit of the Clause 7 of the *Indio–Nepal Treaty* of 1950, which is detrimental to the Indian identity of the Indian Gorkhas. These remarks alienated the people and have induced identity crisis because the feelings are not being reciprocated. The Indian Gorkhas do not wish for separate sovereign state but a state within the Indian Union.

The identities of the Gorkhas are intertwined with instrumental perspective. The Gorkha identity is more of a constructed identity woven by the internal force of colonialism. They have struggled to forge their identity in terms of its relationship with other communities. Thought out this century, they distinguish themselves across the borders; it is difficult to distinguish between the two identities, Indian Nepalis and Nepalese from Nepal. The treaty³⁴ has however been criticized by Nepalis living on the both sides of the borders. Nepalese of Nepal considered that the treaty as symbolizing India’s hegemony and infringement of their political sovereignty. On the other hand, Indian Nepalis remain resentful of the treaty as it entitles Indian Nepalis to all the rights like Indian citizen and not as Indian citizen.³⁵ According to T.B.Subba, the most disturbing part of Indian Nepalis is the fear and insecurity of their own nationality, even though being the bonafide citizen of Indian like other communities where they also have their relatives across national boundaries of India.³⁶

The major reason for the participation of Youth in the Gorkhaland Movement were basically Indian Nepalis face certain predicaments, one is the fear of eviction, second is the political status in the region as foreigners. The third in the early nineteenth century; these instance there by breed the fear and insecurity among Indian Nepalis and are constantly demanding for the separate political autonomy separate from Bengal.³⁷ One of the most important historical backgrounds regarding the participation of various sections of people especially youth in the Gorkhaland Movement was the identity crises.³⁸ The Nepalis psyche was hurt when Morarji Desai as the Prime Minister made a public statement in 1979 that he would not recommend the inclusion of Nepali in the Eight Schedule, because, he considered Nepali to be ‘foreigner’ language.³⁹ Almost a similar remark was made in 1956 by B.G. Kher, the then Chairman of the Official Language Commission, and its repetition by the Prime Minister caused serious frustration among the Nepalis in Darjeeling. Rajiv Gandhi during his premiering allowed the creation of more small provinces in North-East India in the 1980s on the ground of the ethnic movements in Mizoram and Assam. These decision encouraged ethnic military among the Nepalis on strive for the creation of an autonomous small province in Darjeeling through a course of violent confrontation.⁴⁰

During the Constituent assembly debates between 9th to 23rd December 1946, the leader of the All India Gorkha League, Damber Singh Gurung addressed the assembly stating that they are very backward educationally and economically and nothing has been done by the British Government so far the upliftment of the Gorkhas. They have been badly neglected. Only at the time of war they remember the Gorkhas.⁴¹ These statements proved that Gorkhas were looked during past days and now so. Each and every day Indian Gorkhas faced such issues of identity crisis, especially youth those

who moved to the cities to access education and other purposes felt such a crisis. The main problem that all Indian Gorkhas face irrespective of which part of India they come from is the constant, and extremely interrogative, of their Indian Identity.

3.2.2 Unemployment

Unemployment is considered as one of the important causes for the Gorkhaland movement. They faced several problems like discrimination against them by being called 'foreigner', 'alien-ness' debarred as bonafide 'citizen of India', which continues to humiliate the Indian Gorkha even today.⁴² The economy of Darjeeling Hills and its surrounding areas, except for Siliguri⁴³ is dependent on Tea, Timber, Trade, indigenous type of agriculture, horticulture, floriculture and engagement in Army, Para military, government and semi-government offices as well as schools as teachers. D.S. Bomjan stated that there was no dearth of opportunities in those sectors for the local people. However, the share of the indigenous educated people in the administration sphere is negligible after the departure of the British in the early eighties of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ The officials being duly qualified in state public service commission some are promoted. The officials being duly qualified in state public service commission examination and having been thus appointed have no involvement in policy framing and decision making for the place and also for the people. It has been so arranged that they are entitled to work only as subordinates. The inhabitant Nepali speaking people is holding the post of Home Secretary of state government in North East. However, in the place where they are born and brought up are only entitled to work as subordinates.⁴⁵

Table 3.1: Non-Workers in Darjeeling District, Kalimpong and Kurseong Subdivision⁴⁶

District/Subdivision		1971			1981		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Darjeeling District	Total	499335	212169	287166	653073	27370	379370
	Rural	372238	159790	212448	455310	194835	260475
	Urban	127097	52379	74718	197763	78868	118895
Kalimpong	Total	79648	34034	45614	97089	41326	55763
	Rural	62753	27013	35740	73865	31864	42001
	Urban	16895	7021	9874	23224	9462	13762
Kurseong	Total	65471	29944	35527	72092	32658	39434
	Rural	53172	24698	28474	50115	23300	26815
	Urban	12299	5246	7053	21977	9358	12619

Table 3.1.shows that the number of total non-workers in the three hill subdivisions had increased between 1971 and 1981. There is the grim prospect to ensure service in Darjeeling hills in different departments, even in group D and other clerical posts. Hence, many educated youths had to go to Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal in search of services. But with the passage of time, such opportunities are fading due to various factors in those lands. The youth of Darjeeling have no other option but to be counted as unemployed.⁴⁷ The situation has further worsened on account of the absence of technical and vocational institutions in Darjeeling hills. In modern times, the information technology has dominated in every field of education. However,the absence of initiative from the government mechanism for verifying the credentials

and credibility of the centre as well as fee structures, the computer education is not affordable for those students coming from lower income group.⁴⁸ Therefore, they had no choice but to pursue with the traditional education. Socially, economically backwardness and discrimination paved the way for Indian Nepali Youth to participate the Gorkhaland agitation.

Economically, there is enough evidence to show that there has been considerable degeneration in vital sectors like agriculture, tea, trade, forest and tourism. Being a hilly, terrain, agriculture of the conventional type holds limited scope. The production and employment in tea have been falling sharply over the decades. Forest has hardly any existence after the clean felling by the West Bengal Forest Development Corporation established in November 1947.⁴⁹ Trade has virtually stopped after the Indo-Chinese War of 1962. As for tourism, it is the plainsmen who are found to have benefited more than the local people themselves. On top of all this, there are reports of misspent and unspent funds and their diversion.⁵⁰

Above reasons were the root-causes, which emphasised the young ones or every section of people to rose their voice against the injustice and the demand for the separate state. The economic situation in the Darjeeling hills had so worsened that it became vulnerable to any instigation of the youth. The Gorkhas do not aspire to merely having greater financial or administrative control. They aspire to completely immerse themselves in the Indian identity. That is reasons for all Gorkhas across the political and social spectrum unanimously rejected to address the problem of Darjeeling. The proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by the people of Darjeeling and it proves that the people of Darjeeling Gorkhaland is not just about Darjeeling or its economic development; it is about the identity of every single Indian Gorkha. The creation of a full-fledged State can bring a lasting and complete solution to the issue

of Gorkhaland. All other arrangements fall far short of the aspirations of the people and can only provide artificial and temporary solutions.

It is clear that the demand for Gorkhaland is not only for economic reasons. It is not about the region of Darjeeling and Dooars being in a state of neglect. Yes, the region lacks in development and could be better administered but that is not the point. The youth in Darjeeling know as much as the people outside do that the demand is about securing the identity of the Gorkhas as Indians.

3.2.3. The Role of Media

Media has played an important role that has attributed towards the political consciousness. The portrayal of youth in the media as active political participants and leaders can greatly boost their political participation. In countries with high illiteracy rates, radio and television can play an especially important role in promoting political confidence. The media coverage in the hills has played an instrumental role in shaping people interest to participate in the movement. Newspapers like *Himalaya Darpan* (Nepali), *Daynik Jagran* (Nepali), *Telegraph* are some of the important sources that report the current political event in the hills.

3.3. The Nature of Youth Participation in Gorkhaland Movement

During the early 1980s, the stagnated political undercurrents of the hills were transformed into a vibrant and volatile struggle for attaining a separate state for the Indian Gorkhas to be carved out from the state of West Bengal. Subhas Ghising and his newly formed political platform Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) took the lead and spearheaded the Gorkhaland Movement in the region.⁵¹ Ethnic passion bordering almost on xenophobia seems to be ruling the roost. Demand on land

‘historically our’ has become the mainstay of the Statehood agitation.⁵² Throughout the early 1980s, Ghising was busy in preparing the ground work for his newly formed party. By 1985, Ghising was able to establish the required mass base for his party, which helped him unleash the violent struggle of Gorkhaland.⁵³ By 1985, Ghising had been successful to establish six frontal organisations, namely, Gorkha National Youth Front (GNYF), Gorkha National Student Front (GNSF), Gorkha Volunteer’s Cell (GVC), Gorkha National Women’s Organisation (GNWO), Gorkhaland Welfare Organisation (GWO) and Gorkha National Ex-Servicemen Organisation (GNEO). All these organisations as their names suggest had different categories of followers and different spheres of activities although they were guided by a single thread, i.e. the demand of Gorkhaland.⁵⁴

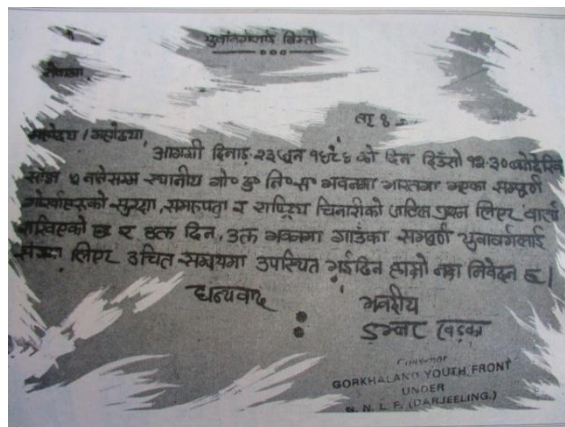


Fig.3.1. Invitation forwarded by Gorkhaland Youth Front under GNLFF inviting all the youths of the society.⁵⁵

Youth became ready to sacrifice their life by a single call of their undisputed leader. Thus the preparation on all sides for a violent and aggressive movement was almost over by 1985. The Darjeeling Government College incidence of August 28, 1985 had added fuel to the smouldering state of the movement. On August 28, 1985, B.K. Chatterjee of Darjeeling (Assistant Professor, Government College) had passed a

sarcastic remark (Go back to Nepal) referring to a group of agitating students who failed to secure an admission in the college⁵⁶.

Therefore, GNSF took several political programmes that included procession and strike against such a comment made by a senior Bengali College Teacher. Darjeeling Government college remained closed from August 28, 1985 to September 10, 1985 as a result of the strike called by GNSF. The government of West Bengal instead of calling upon an enquiry commission as was demanded by the GNSF. It had promulgated Section 144 Cr.P.C. in Darjeeling town.⁵⁷ By July 1985, Ghising could mobilise adequate number of student and youth. AIGL gradually decline due to the death of its leader D.P. Rai on January 5, 1981. The member supporter of AIGL and its Youth wings were readily available to GNLFF and its front organisation.⁵⁸

3.3.1. An Effective Participation of GNYF (Gorkha National Youth Front) and GNSF (Gorkha National Student Front)

The Youth was the main pillar for these Gorkhaland agitations, youth and students from different places came together put forwards their opinion regarding the movement and they were more participated in the movement compared to the present day movement (GJMM).⁵⁹ They used to organise meetings in different places. They used poster as a tool to aware the people and to made them alert for demands of separate State. There were many of them has been arrested.⁶⁰ On 21st of August 1985 under the leadership of Subodh Pradhan big awareness student meeting was held in Pankhabari. Again 25th of August 1985 GNYF and GNSF organised a meeting and did huge procession in Mirik, 1st of September 1985 again both the wings organised a meeting in Kurseong. Likewise in many places GNYF and GNSF in such activities, places like Phupguri, Mainguri and Nagari where we find most of the activities of

GNYF and GNSF. Subhas Ghising has enormously influenced every stage of the people and Youth were influenced the most.⁶¹



Fig.3.2.Candle light Rally by GNYF (Gorkha National Youth Front)⁶²

The able leadership of Ghising and Youth enabled GNLF to capitalise the situation. In order to disseminate the activities of the GNLF throughout the three hill subdivisions several magazine and journals mushroomed under different parties. Those were *Swantra Manch Ko Bulletin*, *Jana-Paksh*, *Voice of Gorkhaland*, *Radio Gorkhaland*, *Gorkhaland Ko Jankari*, *Gorkhaland Ko Sankalp*, *Gorkha Sandesh* and others.⁶³ In March 1986, Subhas Ghising appealed to the Ex-Servicemen to train the Young members of GVC and GNSF, the hint was clear; they would not shun violence if it was necessary. Signing of a pledge with blood on May 4th by 40 youth gave a touch of frenzied determination.⁶⁴

3.3.2. The role of Women in Gorkhaland Movement (Gorkha National Women Organisation)

In spite of the disturbing political environment, Women (mostly young ones including married women) participation began to be noticed even though in a marginal level.

The formation of Women's mobilising the women in the movement. They gradually started to come to the fore and involve themselves in political activities like campaigning, protest, rallies, indefinite strikes etc.⁶⁵



Fig.3.3. Members of the Gorkha National Women Front protesting against arrest of the Chief K.N. Subba and Nishan Das Rai of Gorubathan.⁶⁶

The participation of Women in the political activities began to be conspicuous. They were part of the important political events like Black Flag Day on April 13, 1986 in protest against the alleged atrocities and discrimination faced by the Indian Nepalis.⁶⁷ They were part of the every volatile struggle and became victims of many incidences like inter party clashes, clash with army personnel and police forces.⁶⁸ However, in spite of the participation of women in impressive scale, it was not so influential and could not be sustained rather remained unnoticed. One of the reason behind restricted level of women participation during that period was the violent mode of protest and principles when prevented women from involvement in totality. The other reason was the lack of media coverage, which could not highlight the issue of the movement that impedes the awareness among and in the hills.⁶⁹ However, lately after a hiatus of years the re-emergence of GNIF has started creating a new political scenario in the hills. The party is looking forward to strengthen and reform its hills in order to garner

more support for its demand for the Sixth Schedule State.⁷⁰ Apart from political activities, the GNWO has further decided to initiate various social and public interest related issues as well.

This movement have not only presented a complex and diverse picture in terms of strategies and actions for state separatism but it has consistently resurfaced Gorkha/Nepali women in the political arena from the last ten years. Generally, within this political variability, there was a silent political participation of women till the past Gorkhaland Movement where their contribution remained unnoticed and was not influential. Moreover, the movement has been successful in drawing women in the movement and their role has been very much impressive and appreciated. The formation of women's political wing has played an influential role in encouraging women's participation in the movement. Their participation is not only influential in spearheading the movement but it has also increase the capacity of women representation and women power in hill politics.

The movement revived with the formation of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM), which became functional since 2007 by capitalising on Prashant Tamang phenomena and soon emerged as the most powerful political platform in the hills.⁷¹ Gurung took the initiative in mobilising people to support Prashant Tamang, one of the contestants from Darjeeling in "Indian Idol" a national level popularity show, who immediately became one of the representative and heartthrob of millions of Indian Nepalis. The issue has brought a sense of solidarity among Nepalis living in different parts of the world. Campaigns for 'votes' were undertaken on a war footing and leading this was not Subash Ghising but one of his former aides, Bimal Gurung.⁷² However, it took no time in capitalising the situation which led to outing of Subash Ghising from the hills with the formation of new political party (GJMM).

3.4. The 'Gorkhaland' Agitation

During 1986, the movement reached the do or die phase. In a meeting at Ghoom, GNLF including its various wings viz, GNYF, GNSF, GVC decided on the following eleven point programme of actions:

(i) To observe a 'Black Flag Day' on 13.3.86 in protest against alleged atrocities and discrimination perpetrated on the Indian Nepalis.

(ii) To give a 72 hour '*Bundh*' call from 12 to 14th may, 1986 to highlight the constitution and just demand for 'Gorkhaland'.

(iii) In 1955, the State Re-organisation Committee had increased the area of West Bengal allegedly by unconstitutionally annexing the area of Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong, Mirik, Siliguri and Dooars which have different culture and language. The party will burn the said report of the State Re-organisation Committee.⁷³

(iv) According to the party, Article 7 of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950 has relegated the Indian Nepalis to status of immigrants. The party will burn, Article 7 of the said Treaty.

(v) The party will launch a movement against the indiscriminate felling of the trees of the areas by the Forest Corporation for sending them to the plains.

(vi) The party will continue vote boycott movement with the slogan 'We will not stay in the other people's State of West Bengal'.

(vii) The party will boycott all MLAS. Ministers and parties, who are against the demand or 'Gorkhaland'.⁷⁴

(viii) Over the demand for 'Gorkhaland' and protest against the policies of the central Government the party will launch a movement by way of stopping all Vehicles taking the valuable boulders of Dudhia (P.S.Kurseong) toward the plains.

(ix) To launch a "Do or Die" movement in protest against the alleged treatment of the Gorkhas as domiciles.

(x) The Gorkhas of Darjeeling and the plains will not observe or celebrate the 15th August, 26th January, Gandhi Jayanti, Netaji Jayanti and other National Celebrations until and unless the Government of India concedes the demand for Gorkhaland.

(xi) In protest against the alleged colonial attitude towards the Gorkhas by the Government of India, the party decided to organise a movement for non-payment of taxes and loans.⁷⁵

In accordance with this programme, a meeting was held in Kalimpong Stadium on 29.03.86, where the supporters of GNLF displayed kukari and then on 13th April 1986 another public meeting was called in Darjeeling, where about 3,500 people attended.⁷⁶

In both the meetings, Ghising made speeches more or less on the line of the speech outlines above, tried to rouse ethnic passion and hinted at the adoption of violent means to achieve their end. On 4th May 1986, about 30 supporters of GNLF drew blood from their thumbs with kukari to write a poster in blood demanding Gorkhaland.⁷⁷ In order to make seventy two hours *bandh* successful, GNLF member especially youth had put some posters in every walls of Chock Bazaar to spread the news as much as possible. But then in order to make this issue of seventy two hours *bandh* unsuccessful the Government of West Bengal sent troops in different places (Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong, Dooars, some village areas of Kaman Busty) and

arrests the member of GNLF. But still people were not kept themselves silent and they poster as many as possible.⁷⁸

3.5. Activates by Various Wings

In pursuance of the eleven point programme of action a Black Flag protest successfully began on April 13, 1986 when a huge body of mass (more than 15,000 souls according to newspaper reports) assembled in Darjeeling despite the imposition of Section 144 and road blockade by the police .Once begun in April the movement gained momentum and spread like a rapid fare.⁷⁹



Fig.3.4. Procession by GNYF and GNSF⁸⁰

The second step of the movement started with the declaration of the seventy two hours *bandh*(strike) call which started, according to the eleven point programmes, on May 12,1986.The *bandh* call was marked by a series of incidents leading to death and mass imprisonment of the movement supporters. This was followed by a road blockade by the GNLF in demand of unconditional release of their party members arrested during the course of seventy two hours *bandh*. Another *bandh* was called in Kurseong the next day which turn out to be total and curfew was declared all over the hills. More BSF and Eastern Frontier Rifles platoons were added to the already deployed three companies of the CRPF and other armed personnel.⁸¹

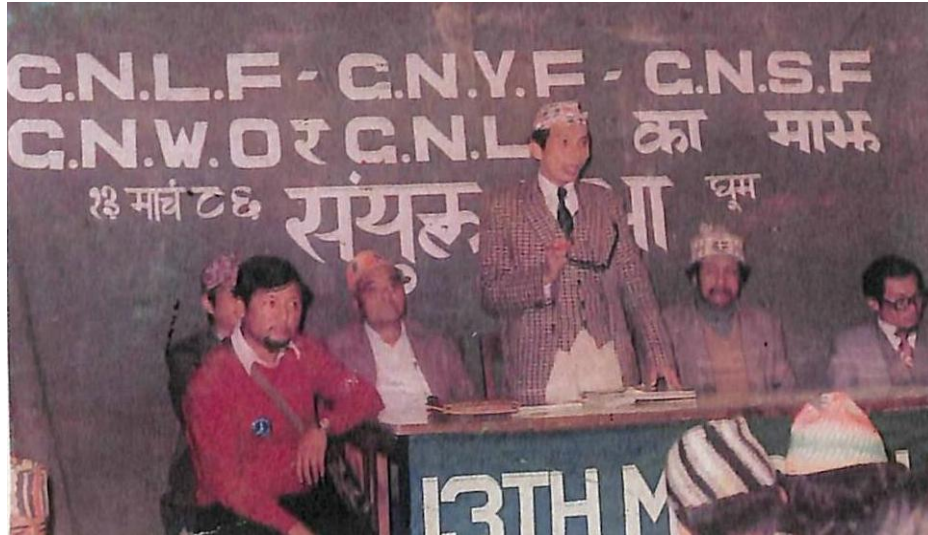


Fig.3.5. Meetings and gathering for upcoming activities by different wings on 13th March 1986 at Ghoom.⁸²

Further ten days non-stop meetings were addressed in Darjeeling and its neighbourhood to mobilise support for the movement in Kalimpong area. In course of these meeting wings (GNYF, GNSF and GVC) became very enthusiastic and more active. July 27, 1986 was decided to be the day when the clause 7 of the Indo-Nepal Peace Treaty of 1950 would be burnt in every towns and village of Darjeeling hills.⁸³ Copies of the said clause were burnt on the scheduled date followed by a mass procession at 8th Mile, Kalimpong. Police took resort to *lathi* charge and ultimately fired indiscriminately at the agitating mob that claimed fifteen lives among which women and children were in majority⁸⁴ As a reaction to these atrocities they declared a 108 hours bandh bringing life in to a standstill. The GNLf had also called off the Independence Day celebration in the hills as a measure to protest against the police firing in Kalimpong. However, the decision was withdraw by the Party President himself just at the eve of the Independence Day.⁸⁵

In a certain sense, the Kalimpong killing did mark a point of no return from the demand of Gorkhaland .The movement which hardly had much supports base in Kalimpong gained popular support and created mass excitement over the issue of Gorkhaland overnight. Prem Kumar Alley, the President of AINBS had sent a Telegram to the Prime Minister in protest against the incidence of mass killing in Kalimpong⁸⁶ Yonzon from Singi in Kalimpong resigned as a member of Darjeeling Zilla Parishad in protest against the police atrocities. The event of police firing in Kalimpong had resulted into a mass resignation of the hill people from the different platform of governance which they represented .Eight Commissioners (out of 15) from Darjeeling Municipality, one (out of 12) from Kurseong Municipality, several others from the Panchayats Samitis, Darjeeling Hill Area Development Council , ABTA and other bodies have resigned.⁸⁷ Toward the end of the year several incidence of violence, blood shedding, and destruction of public and private properties were reported. Inter-party clashes (between GNLFF and CPI (M)), clash with the army personnel took place at Singtham tea state, Pool Bazaar, Rambuk tea state and at Sonoda.⁸⁸ In short, throughout the 1986 Darjeeling hills remained fierce, tensed and was blazing.

3.6. The Track Record of Violence in Gorkhaland Movement

In an attempt to provide a brief overview of the violence and atrocities cropped up during the mid 1986s in the hills either in the name of spearheading the Gorkha movement or counter the same by the State authorities. Nagendra Gorkha stated one incident when Youth wings viz. GNYF were processing a peaceful rally during that time CRPF and SAR began their ruthless activities toward innocent people (including lathi-charged and fairing). Rodhan Kumar Pradhan , Narayan Pradhan, Satyam Pradhan, Arun Kumar, DharanPradhan, PradhipBradwa were injured and five

member was arrested. Nima Thing one of GNYF was killed while firing. Food or *rashin* supply was stopped by government.⁸⁹ On 13th April 1986, GNYF was attacked by CRPF and Bengal Police who tried to suppress the procession activity by *latti* charge and including firing so while firing 5 people was killed and they were Arjun Pradhan (27yr), Tik Singh (28yr), Rohit Pradhan (19yr), Ratan Gupta (46yrs), Dhan Bhadur Ghising (48yr) these two of them are pretty old but still they were belong to the Youth Front and 12 were injured.⁹⁰ From Kurseong to Kalimpong, the death toll has taken a sharp upward swing. On May 25, 1986, five supporter of the Gorkha National Liberation Front were killed in police firing at Kurseong, another round of police firing at another sub divisional town, Kalimpong on July 27, 1986 has already led to the death of 12 GNLF supporters on official count while unofficial count put the figure at 18.⁹¹

Unfortunately, one of the most and great impacts of the movement to the local people was on education field.⁹² The situation was very tense i.e. intermittent strikes, bomb explosions, arrests, murder and intimidation. The student would be in the class but some teacher in police custody or vice versa. Since the young boys were targets of the police the students could not go to their schools freely or stay home peacefully⁹³. A student would be arrested in Kalimpong with charges of burning a Guest house which they had never seen. Then they clash with police and more arrests and casualties. More classes missed by increasing more students. Such was the situation in Darjeeling.⁹⁴ There were three phases of violence in the hills. From the beginning Ghising identified CPI (M) as his enemy and consequently the first phase is (April-October, 1986) is marked by inter party clashes. Violence erupted out of a strategy that projected those whoever had opposed the idea of Gorkhaland. This has become a popular saying in those days that 'one can be merciful with a snake but not with those

who opposes Gorkhaland'. The second phase (November 1986-April 1987) started with the counter movement spearheaded by the CPI (M) men to combat the armed attack of the GNLFF with counter offensive measures. Killing and counter killing marred hill politics for some moment. In the process of maintaining peace in the region state armed police were engaged. Not to mention that within these series of instances of inter –party violence and police intervention uncounted innocent civilians and many youth had been slain⁹⁵. The following Table 3.2 give minuscule idea of the human casualties occurred during this turbulent phase. However, human casualties were much more than what this rather official statistics reveal.

Table 3.2: Official statement regarding human casualties occurred during Gorkhaland Movement.⁹⁶

Category	1986		1987		1988 (Jan-Sep)		Total	
	killed	injured	killed	injured	killed	injured	killed	Injured
CPI(M)	10	31	17	20	20	25	47	76
GNLFF	37	118	31	52	72	61	140	231
Police	02	26	14	56	13	78	29	160
Others	06	-	14	31	56	111	76	147
Total	55	175	76	159	161	275	292	609

It was the turn of the State that characterised the third phase (June 1987- till the signing of the accord in August 1988). Besides the State armed police and BSF the State Government deployed huge contingent of paramilitary force to normalise the violent situation by force and repression.⁹⁷ GNLFF's active wings call GVC, GNYF, GNSF had underwent many suffering and many private and government property in

the form of buildings, vehicles, and even culverts were destroyed while clash between police and GNYF and GVC.⁹⁸ For the sake of Gorkhaland many people has sacrifice their life especially young blood (Youth), many parents became childless and children became a fatherless during this movement. An idea of the extent of destruction of public and private property may be obtain from Table 3.2.

Table 3.3.Destruction of Property⁹⁹

Categories of property	1986	1987	1988	Total
Private property				
GNLF member's houses	226	33	54	313
CPI (M) member's houses	254	164	19	437
Cong-1 member's houses	28	–	–	28
CPI member's houses	01	–	–	01
Government property				
Vehicles	04	40	–	44
Police vehicles	05	–	–	05
Offices, buildings, culverts etc.	01	217	313	531
Total	519	454	386	1358

The attack, defence and counter-attack had become the order of the Gorkhaland movement that cost the lives of several hundred helpless and innocent people. A good number of victims became physically disabled for whole life, public and private properties worth several crore of were reduced to ashes. But the people making such a huge and unprecedented sacrifices were not in the know of the source, from where they were made fight.¹⁰⁰ The search for a solution toward the 'loss of nerve' created by the violent movement spearheaded by the GNLF and its wings began from the very beginning of 1987. The efforts towards this ends were initiated at the behest of the

Central Government. A common line of action regarding Darjeeling problem did not emerge even after the completion of two successive meetings held on January 8 and 14, 1987 in which both the Central and Government authorities have participated.¹⁰¹ After several rounds of talks between the State and the Centre a common approach was developed for normalising Darjeeling situation and ultimately the decision was finalised by the month of June 1987 in favour of a Development Council with required amount for Darjeeling hills.¹⁰²

Accordingly a tripartite meeting was scheduled to be held on July 22, 1987 in Delhi, to be participated by the State and Central Government authorities besides the GNLFF delegation. A delegation of 49 GNLFF (GNYF) members have met the Prime Minister on the scheduled date and submitted the memorandum of four fold demands: (i) to create a separate state of separate state of Gorkhaland under Art. 3(A) of Constitution of India; (ii) to grant citizenship; (iii) to establish a separate Indian Gorkha Regiment ; and (iv) to include Nepali language in the 8th Schedule of Constitution of India.¹⁰³ Although nothing concrete came out of the meeting expect the dissension among the GNLFF members themselves, which also embarrassed the hill politics of subsequent period.¹⁰⁴ Youth were part of the every volatile struggle and become victims of many incidences like inter party clashes, clash with army personnel and police forces. Some youth turned into prominent leaders. Youth activities were very effective and for some extend they did their level best for the sake of statehood.

However, with all of these consequences, the positive effect of the movement has been the rise of massive youth participation in the movement. Youth from every corner of the region have participated in the movement whether be it educated or illiterate. The modes of participations have been both direct and indirect. Many of them have directly participated in the movement with their physical presence and

participating in various activities while some of them have not participated physically in the movement but contributed indirectly through supporting the cause of the movement. The indirect way of support includes through donations, taking care of domestic responsibility to enable other family members to participate in the movement, by providing tea and snacks to the participants during the party meetings and other political activities. While many have participated in the movement voluntarily, some participated as a result of the political party pressures.

Endnotes

¹Shivraj Sharma is the author of *Gorkhaland Darpan*.

²Sharma, Shivraj. *Gorkhaland Darpan*. Darjeeling: Gorkha books Store, 1989: 231.

³Lama, Basant B. *The Story of Darjeeling*. Kurseong: Nilima Yonzon Lama Publications, 2008:191.

⁴Subba, T.B. *Ethnicity, State and Development: A case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1992:76.

⁵Chakravarti, Dyutis. "Gorkhaland: Evolution of Politics of Segregation." Special Lecture No. X. Centre for Himalayan Studies. University of North Bengal. Darjeeling. (April, 1988):4.

⁶Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling-Dooars People and Place under Bengal's Neo-Colonial Rule*. Darjeeling: Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008:78.

⁷*Why Gorkhaland? A case for the Formation of a Separate State*. Kalimpong: Ajambari Press, 1986:51-53.

⁸The President of the Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong, was Rai Hari Prasad Pradhan, President of Gorkha Officer's Association was Lt. Gobardhan Gurung, P.M. Sundar was Secretary, Kurseong Gurkha Library, Darjeeling.

⁹Subba, 1992, *Op.cit.*, 79.

¹⁰Bomjan, 2008, *Op.cit.*, 83.

¹¹*Ibid.*,

¹²Subba, 1992, *Op.cit.*,80

¹³Moktan, R. *Sikkim: Darjeeling Compendium of Documents*. Kalimpong: Gopal Press, 2004: 97.

¹⁴WB,1986, *Op.cit.*,57.

¹⁵Subba, 1992, *Op.cit.*,81.

¹⁶*Ibid.*,81.

¹⁷Bomjan, 2008, *Op.cit.*,83.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 450.

¹⁹Dasgupta, Atis. "Ethnic Problem and Movement for Autonomy in Darjeeling." *Social Scientist* 27, no. 11/12. (November-December, 1999): 14.

²⁰Moktan, *Op.cit.*,99.

²¹Quoted in Rakesh Mani Pradhan, *Continuous Political Struggle for a Separate Constitutional Status of Ceded Land of Darjeeling and Leasehold Land of Kalimpong*, Dept.Of Information and Cultural Affairs, DGHC, 1996: 109-110.

²²WB, 1986, *Op.cit.*,3.

²³Chettri, Mona. *Chossing the Gorkha: At the Crossroads of Class and Ethnicity in the Darjeeling Hills*. London: University of London, 2013:16.

²⁴Lama, 2008, *Op.cit.*, 213.

²⁵The word Gorkha was originally the name of the principality located on the west of Katmandu valley. Prithivinarayan Shah the who credited to have unified the present Nepal in late 18th century was from this principality known as Gorkha King and his force Gorkhali fought with the British in Anglo- Nepal War and won the praise of British. Many of them served the British India and finally settled in various parts of India mostly in North east India (Subba, 2002).

²⁶Subba, T.B. *Being a Nepali in North East India; Predicaments of a Privileged Nation*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 2003:4.

²⁷Sarkar, Swatahsiddha. *Gorkhaland Movement; Ethnic Conflict and State Response*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt.Ltd, 2013:3.

²⁸Quoted of R.B Rai. In Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling-Dooars People and Place under Bengal's Neo-Colonial Rule*. Darjeeling: Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008.

²⁹*Ibid.*,

³⁰*Ibid.*,

³¹Lama, 2008, *Op.cit.*, 230.

³²Gorkha, Nagendra. *Gorkhaland Andolan (Nepali)*. Darjeeling: Darjeeling Gorkha Publishing Lt, 1992:54.

³³*Treaty of Peace* between the Honourable East India Company and Maha Raja Bikram Sah, Rajah of Nepal, 2nd December 1815.

³⁴*Indo-Nepal Peace Treaty* signed in 1950 allows the nationals of Nepal and India to cross the border freely without any difficulty and privileges in matters of residence, ownership of property, employment, trade and commerce etc.

³⁵Chettri, 2013, *Op.cit.*,16.

³⁶Subba, 2003, *Op.cit.*, 43.

³⁷*Ibid.*,

³⁸Gorkha,1992, *Op.cit.*, 54.

³⁹*Ibid.*,

⁴⁰Dasgupta,1999, *Op.cit.*, 14.

⁴¹Lama, 2008, *Op.cit.*, 204.

⁴²Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*, 55.

⁴³Siliguri is the modern district of West Bengal.

⁴⁴Bomjan, 2008, *Op.cit.*, 49.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁶*District Census Handbook*. Darjeeling, 1971 and 1981.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*,

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 49-50.

⁴⁹*Statesman*. 25 May 1988.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*,

⁵¹Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 69.

⁵²Bagchi, Romit. *Gorkhaland; Crisis of Statehood*. New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2012:38.

⁵³Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 68.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 69.

⁵⁵Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*, 1992.

⁵⁶*Swatantra Manch Ko Bulletin*. 5 October 1985. 6-7.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*,

⁵⁸Samanta, Amiya K. *Gorkhaland Movement; A study in Ethnic Separatism*. New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, 2000:133.

⁵⁹The information was given by Dawa Lepcha, one of the respondents and member of GJMM from Pedong. The interview was done on 03rdFebruary2016.

⁶⁰Gorkha,1992, *Op.cit.*, 92.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 172.

⁶²Gorkha, Nagendra. *Gorkhaland Andolan (Nepali)*. Darjeeling: Darjeeling Gorkha Publishing Lt, 1992.

⁶³Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 70.

⁶⁴Samanta, 2000, *Op.cit.*,138.

⁶⁵The information was given by Dawa Lepcha, one of the respondents and member of GJMM from Pedong. The interview was done on 03rdFebruary2016.

⁶⁶Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*,

⁶⁷Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 71.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*,

⁶⁹Rai, Ashlesha. “Women in Gorkhaland Movement: A Sociological Study.” Sikkim University Thesis.2015:75.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 75-76.

⁷¹Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 95.

⁷²Chettri, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 7.

⁷³Kumer kar, Chiranjib. *Darjeeling Himalaya in Flames*. Darjeeling: Jetsun Publishing House, 1999:22.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*,

⁷⁵*Ibid.*,

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 22.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*,

⁷⁸Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*, 166.

⁷⁹Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 70-71.

⁸⁰Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*,

⁸¹*Ibid.*,70-71.

⁸²*Ibid.*,

⁸³*Telegraph*, July 16, 1986.

⁸⁴*Telegraph*: July 28, 1986.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*,

⁸⁶An Emergency Meeting of the AINBS, which dated July 28, 1986.

⁸⁷*Ananda Bazaar Patrika*.(November 21,1986).

⁸⁸*Ananda Bazaar Patrika*.(December 3, 1986) and *Telegraph*.(December 14, 1986).

⁸⁹Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*,170.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 91- 92.

⁹¹Chaudhari, Sachin.“Wrong Response.”*Economic and Political Weekly* XXI.(August 2, 1986):2181.

⁹²*Telegraph*: August 23, 1986

⁹³Dewan, Dick B. *Education in the Darjeeling Hills during the period of Gorkhaland Agitation*. Siliguri: Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, 2014: 25.

⁹⁴Subba, 1992, *Op.cit.*, 214-215.

⁹⁵Gorkha, 1992, *Op.cit.*,173.

⁹⁶Compilation from official source as quoted in Samanta, Amiya K. *Gorkhaland Movement: A case study in Ethnic Separatism*. New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation, 2000:149.

⁹⁷Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*, 74.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*,

⁹⁹Compilation from official source as quoted in Samanta, Amiya K.2000.*Op.cit.*, 150-51.

¹⁰⁰Bomjam, 2008, *Op.cit.*, 21.

¹⁰¹Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*,75.

¹⁰²Bomjan, 2008, *Op.cit.*,

¹⁰³*Ananda Bazaar Patrika* and *Statesman*.(July 24, 1987).

¹⁰⁴Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*,76.

CHAPTER - IV

STATE RESPONSES AND GORKHALAND MOVEMENT

The demands for the new states are not a recent phenomenon in India. In 1956, the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) suggested in rearranging the administrative boundaries of states after independence to accommodate various demands for linguistically homogenous states. Since then, the number of states has doubled to twenty eight and recently Chattisgarh, Jarkhand, Uttarakhand were created in the year 2000.¹ In July 2013, the Government of India created Telangana State from the State of Andhra Pradesh and fulfilled the long-standing demand of the people. Other demands for more autonomy were accommodated by granting the local self-government, through the Sixth Schedule or other forms of autonomous Councils.² However, there are still about thirty demands for new states in various areas of the country that includes Gorkhaland (West Bengal), Vidharba (Maharashtra), Bundelkhand (Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) and Bodoland (Assam), to name but a few.³ According to Benedict Anderson, communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.⁴

The Indian Gorkha of Darjeeling is demanding a State (homeland) within India, which could address their cultural homogeneity. They desire to be identifying them as Indian as well as with their cultural identity that is primarily *Gorkha*. They do not demand for land from any other State. They have their geographically defined area, homeland, which at no point in history was ever conquered or subjugated by any *Nawab* or *Rajah*(king) of Bengal. The region, Darjeeling was attached to India by the British, not by Bengal.⁵ Basant Lama⁶ stated that all Indian Gorkha of Darjeeling demands the “separate state” within India. Gorkha people do not want to belong to

any state and certainly they do not want to be treated like a colony. The District of Darjeeling has a history and background, which is tailor-made to satisfy this demand for a separate Gorkhaland, which has always been historically, linguistically, culturally, socially, ethnically and politically separate from Bengal.⁷

4.1. The Reaction of Bengal Government

The Gorkha agitation was no longer considered to be a political problem by the government. It was regarded precisely as an agitation that disrupted the law and order situation in the locality and hence needed to be resolved punitively before it was too late. Consequently, both the State and the Central Government joined hands in controlling it. The agencies of 'repressive state apparatus', viz. the police, the BSF(Border Security Force) and the paramilitary forces were deployed to meet the requirement of what Foucault would call *thanato politics*, a politics wherein the exercise of absolute power is made by or in the name of the sovereign, literally to take life.⁸ According to the State Government, this area neither has a majority of Nepali speaking people nor was there geographical contiguity to the hill subdivisions. Thus, there was no basis for this demand and hence it could not be conceded. Regarding the demand that the proposed hill council be named the Gorkhaland Hill Council, the State Government felt that it would amount to an implicit recognition of the demand of West Bengal and so it could not be conceded.⁹ The various memorandums were placed before the Government of West Bengal through different political parties or association. There were no single responses from the Government of West Bengal. The Chief Minister¹⁰ convened an all-party meeting and passing a resolution to counter the Gorkhaland Movement. The resolution stated that the Gorkhaland Movement, led by the Gorkha National Liberation Front, is divisive, anti-people, ant-national and anti-state. This meeting

resolved that a joint programmed by all Political Parties against the Gorkhaland Movement be undertaken in the entire state of West Bengal.¹¹ It is argued that conceding regional autonomy to Gorkhas would lead to similar demands from sections in India and eventually national disintegration.¹² Basant Lama stated that an idea was a divisive. Darjeeling desired to be divided away from Bengal. It was certainly not an anti-state or anti-national movement.¹³ The people had suffered enough of the government's utter negligence in virtually every sphere. The people had faced silence nature of government in many cases especially with regards to place a various memorandum or notice. The Centre and the State government presumably calculate that the hill people are tired of the seventeen month old agitation marked by violence and several *bandhs* (strike). The regional economy, dependent on tourism, tea and timber has received a setback and this has affected the livelihood of the people. In the opinion of the Centre and the State government, the hill people are disillusion with the Gorkhaland Movement.¹⁴ The Central government has never been sympathetic to the demands of the Gorkhas.¹⁵ To quote Mahendra Lama, "Historically the role of the Congress has been one of unfulfilled promises and betrayal in the hills."¹⁶

4.1.1. The Suppression of the Movement

In May 1986, the supporter of Gorkhaland Movement called the series of *bandhs* (strikes), which completely paralyzed the life in the District of Darjeeling. Despite large scale "preventive measure" and "massive preemptive" arrests the shutdowns were a huge success.¹⁷ The Bengal State Government could not to prevent the strikes. The Government of Bengal unleashed the full force of its Government machinery to anyhow suppress the rapidly growing movement.¹⁸ The *Statesmen*¹⁹ mentioned that more Border Security Force (BSF) and Eastern Frontier Rifles Platoons were added to

already deploy three companies of the CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force) and armed personnel.²⁰ *Telegraph*²¹ reported that *lathi* (Police's stick) charge to agitator during peaceful rally. It may be noted that the term 'police' here includes the CRPF and the BSF personnel besides those in Home Guards and State Armed Police (SAP), who had a much lesser role to play than the paramilitary force, particularly the CRPF.²² It may be pointed out at the outside that the most such clashes occurred during the *bandhs*, which were frequent and often longish. The *Statesman*²³, reported that the clash between the GNLF (Gorkha National Liberation Front) and the police took place on May 10 1986 at Rangli-Rangliot Police Station²⁴ which were geared by several hundred GNLF supporters in protest against the arrest of six of their supporter earlier. The Police simply resorted to *lathi* charge²⁵ then and arrested fifty GNLF supporters. According to T.B. Subba²⁶, the clashes occurred between the supporters of Gorkhaland and the Police force between every day of 1986 and December 1988.²⁷

The *Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1985* was enforced in the three hill subdivisions on June 24, 1987.²⁸ The West Bengal government reacted by re imposing the Anti-Terrorist Act which perhaps marks a new phase in police repression. The West Bengal government has justified the Police repression by citing the violence and arson indulged in by the GNLF. But it seems that this violence was provoked and preceded by the violence of the Police and paramilitary force.²⁹ This Act gave almost absolute power to the police and more indiscriminate arrests by the police occurred after that. The police excesses were particularly never reported by it. The police was projected often even by the printed media as a sincere, law-abiding lot, who would not pull the trigger or lift their *lathi* unless their lives were threatened or would not arrest people or burn houses without some valid reasons.³⁰ The *Gorkha Express* claimed that by February 10, 1988, the CRPF and the State Armed Police

killed about five hundred persons and harassed six thousand persons, and looted private property worth thirty crores and mass raped about five hundred and fifty women.³¹ In Dooars³², an unsigned and undated appeal made to the Superintendent of Police, local Sub-Divisional Officers, Home Minister of India contained the followings that about two hundred innocent Gorkha people were kidnapped at night and inhumanly beaten up hanging them in the electric fans under the SDPO (Sub-Divisional Police Officer). It further stated that Alipurduar³³ having affected the places Birpara, Madarihat, Jaigaon and Kalchini. It resulted in the death of some and serious injury to many. Bhansay Bajey of Pathorjhora by WBP (West Bengal Police), Laxman Gheesing of Dumchipara by WB Punder Madarihat Thana, Durgadas Tamang of Birpara by WBP under Birpara Thana, had been killed very mercilessly.³⁴ Moreover, on 7th January 1987 consisting of WBP, CRPF, BSF personnel from Mal Thana entered Pathorjhora Teagarden and Toribari village and arrested the innocent Gorkha people, who were working in factory and inhumanly tortured them in their houses, women were charged with *lathi* and police personnel have extorted the exercise of Third-Degree.³⁵ T.B. Subba stated that though appeal was badly drafted but the message was clear and the information was true and most of the instances cited above were reported in local and a couple of regional newspapers.

4.2. An Alternative Solutions

After several rounds of discussions between the State and the Centre, a common approach was developed for normalizing Darjeeling situation. The decision was finalized in the month of June 1987 in favour of the Development Council with required amount of autonomy for Darjeeling hills. Government (both the Centre and the State) insisted its firmness to the decision of Hill Council³⁶ instead of a separate state.³⁷ Darjeeling get a brief relief due to the Tripartite Agreement that was

happened between Centre, State and GNLF. The accords signed by the Central government with the Separatist forces like Mizo National Front conferred legitimacy on the movements. The creation of a separate Nepali speaking sub-state in Sikkim had also enthused the agitations. All these had given the GNLF an impression that they would be able to get their demands conceded by the Central government if pressure could be mounted on it.³⁸ In India, the agreement was made such a way that the genuine or the commoner would never imagine to go against it. Jyoti Basu gave direct statement to all Gorkhas of Darjeeling that the main demand to create a separate state, Gorkhaland, could not be fulfilled.³⁹ A new kind of administrative system was forced to function so that the Gorkhas and their movement enabled to bother the parameter of West Bengal.⁴⁰

4.2.1. The Role of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council

As per the triangular discussion held between Sri Subhas Ghising, President GNLF, the Chief Secretary on behalf of West Bengal Government and the Union Home Secretary on behalf of the Central Government at New Delhi on 22nd August 1988, that resulted in the working agreement of the DGHC (Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council) administration.⁴¹ The Council elections held on 13th December 1988 and the Office was opened on 17th January 1989. The DGHC replaced the existing *Zilla Parishad* and *Panchayat Samitis* and Municipal came the super-visionary powers over the Darjeeling hill sub-divisions. DGHC came as into existence as a model Autonomous Administrative unit and almost all the departments except the Home department, Police, Relief, Fire, Excise etc were transferred to it. There were about 26 Government Department transferred to the DGHC. The setup had a council of 28 elected and 14 nominated Councilors, with the Chairman (Status of State Cabinet Minister), a Vice-Chairman, Executive Councilors and other Councilors holding

charge of the departments. The Chairman DGHC also functioned as the Chief Executive Councilor of DGHC.⁴²

Meanwhile, some changes were occurred in the Council with the DGHC (Amendment) Act 1994. Like eleven members to be nominated among the fourteen members by the Government and three members were nominated by the Chairman.

The Development Plan was formulated by the General Council to implement the proposals and programs for the betterment of the region. However, it was instructed to work within the framework of general policies of the State Government. The chairman and vice-chairman of the general council became the ex-officio-members of the executive council with the chairman of the general council functioning as the Chief Executive Councilor.⁴³ Under a department Councilor, there used to be a Secretary holding charge of one or more departments and there is also a post of Principal Secretary in DGHC. As per Government sanction, there had to be nine Secretaries, but there were hardly three in position at the end of tenure and hence each Secretary had to be given charge of five to seven Departments.⁴⁴ Under the state legislature the DGHC was formed, it was not amended in the Indian Constitution. The DGHC functioned as a mediator of the State Government of West Bengal. However, it has the power in enhancement of plans and budgets for the region. In the meantime, the prior approval of the State Government was made mandatory. With regarding resources, the Hill Council under Act of 1988 has meager sources of revenue. However, They has the control to charge on the over the things on vehicles and boats, sanitary at the religious places, charges for licenses, and water and lighting rate.⁴⁵ According to the Amendment Act Council Fund comes under the General Council to execute various functions. Similarly, funds received by the General Fund are attributed to the Council Fund. Both Centre and State gave funds to DGHC to perform

the various functions. There were three ways of funding systems were known as shared revenue, grants-in-aid and assigned revenue. However, the Council did not have any power to increase the council funds, unless the expenditure is covered by the existing budget allotment. Ghising observed that total grant committed by Central and State Governments was to the extent of two hundred and sixty crores during five years in 1989-90 and the allocation was rupees sixty crores. At the end of the financial year, rupees thirty seven crores were made available to DGHC and this fell far short of the commitments.⁴⁶

Furthermore, all funds have to flow through the State Government including the Central funds such as the VIth Schedule Autonomous District Councils. Similarly, the DGHC could not derive any fund from the Consolidated Fund of the state. Though, with regard to fund not a single mention was found for the Autonomous District Council. In general, Funds are allotted by the Indian Government to the States from Consolidated Fund. However, there is no liability on how or who distributes the funds of the Autonomous District Council.⁴⁷

The departments comes under the DGHC were Irrigation, Informal and Cultural Affairs (only Drama and Song Unit and Nepali Printing Press), Public Works Department (Road Construction), Labor (only Industrial Training Institutes, Tung and Creche Houses), Public Health, Engineering, Fisheries, Tourism, Education (other than Higher Education), Animal Resources, Agriculture, Forest (other than Reserve Forests).

The two administrative and planning units of Darjeeling were bringing more ineffectiveness to the region. In case of land, the DGHC was given the authority of use or setting apart of land other than land under reserved forest, allotment,

occupation but activities with respect to land reforms and land possession are with the state. The Tea gardens had been exempted from the DGHC and also the cantonment areas of Lebung, Jalapahar and Sukna. The State Government was also enforced to open a separate PWD (Public Works Department) for the Council because the plains PWD employees working in Darjeeling and Nargrakatta refused to work under the Council. The DGHC brought some development plans to Darjeeling region that included road construction, tourism, primary education and electricity. The following data shows some of the electrification programs undertaken by the DGHC. It helped in the electrification of different villages. West Bengal Electricity Board (WSEB) sanctioned ninety lakhs to District Planning Scheme (DPS). In the first phase of program, nineteen *Gram Panchayats* (GP) were incorporated and three crore rupees sanctioned for electrification. Later, forty-four *gram Panchayats* were got electrification. Lastly, the West Bengal Rural Electricity Development Corporation sanctioned eight crores rupees that covered thirty-seven *gram panchayats*.⁴⁸ The Agreement provided for the “Establishment of an Autonomous Council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the Gorkhas and other sections of the people residing in the areas of the district of Darjeeling”.⁴⁹

In education, the DGHC has been given decision-making powers in the primary, secondary and higher secondary education. However, the state government controlled the secondary and higher secondary education. It created frequent conflicts between the State Government and DGHC. Previously, the State Government had instituted the School Service Commission in Darjeeling District. For the first time SSC (School Selection Commission) examinations was held and around 172 candidates were got through SSC in the year 2000. In the meantime, all the appointments became ineffective. DGHC demanded for the complete control of SSC. The candidates, who

waited for the appointments complained that the posts were reserved for the preferred candidates, who were not having a proper experience and educational qualifications. The SSC has been brought to an end by the government. Five crores and fifty rupees worth funds were allotted for the implementation of *Sarva Siksha Abhiyan* for the development of primary education in Darjeeling. The complaint was launched with regarding the matter of missing of such huge fund against the DGHC educational department. The documents showed that the money was released in between 4th December 2004 to 23rd March 2005 from the District Central Co-operative Bank.⁵⁰ However, the amount was not received by any of the institutions.

The DGHC was unsuccessful in producing any concrete results for the welfare of the people. There is disapproval against the despotic way of functioning of the political leadership. The welfare of the minority groups such as Bhutias, Lepchas and plainsmen did not met. The economic condition of the people of Darjeeling has not improved; bad roads and water shortage remain a continuing problem. Unemployment, extensive corruption, oppression and deprivation became the part of day today life of Darjeeling people.⁵¹ Youth has suffered unemployment, education system has not improved so directly or indirectly youth were involved in it. Within two years of its functioning DGHC's failure to cater the developmental needs of the Darjeeling people had become prominent. The new kind of politico-administrative experiment soon was charged with the allegation of political high handedness, autocratic leadership, nepotism, corruption, misuse of funds, and utter negligence towards eradicating the problems of everyday life. In a little while anti-DGHC and anti-Ghising platforms have mushroomed and started acting, along with the already existing oppositional forces, to augment public opinion to rescind the ill-operated development institution called DGHC.⁵²

4.3. The Youth Participation in the Movement from 1988-2007

The movement went on the warpath once again in 1988. The destruction of government properties, killing and counter-killing of individuals belonging to GNLF and Communist Party of India CPI (M) were continued in and around Kalimpong sub-division and in the tea gardens. State repression kept on increasing with the deployment of more CRPF and other military and paramilitary forces. *Bandh* were declared several times in protest against the state repression. The Hill Employees' Association launched an indefinite strike on 21st December, 1987. Later, it was withdrawn on the 17th day of strikes.⁵³ The Gorkha National Women Organization (GNWO) unit of Kalimpong had also given a twenty four hour *bandh* call on 2nd January, 1988 in protest against the indiscriminate arrests in Kalimpong sub-division.⁵⁴ The GNLF (including Gorkha National Youth Front (GNYF), Gorkha Volunteer Cell (GVC) declared a forty day call in the three hill subdivisions and the Dooars region from 10th February 1988 in protest against the genocide, terrorism, and mass killing, arson and indiscriminate arrests by the State Government. However, the party hardliner C.K. Pradhan, in defiance of the Party Chief had declared the extension of the *bandh* in Kalimpong for another twenty days.⁵⁵ By the end of the year 2000, Subhas Ghising has made it public that a tripartite meeting would be held in the first week of February 2001 to review the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council DGHC Accord of 1988 and to consider GNLF's demand to include the Darjeeling hill areas within the Sixth Scheduled of the Constitution of India. Again for these issue GNLF's wings including GNYF and GVC became very active and did many meeting, gathering and call for procession and rally, strike, posturing their main demand written within the charts and so and so forth.⁵⁶

4.4. Re-emergence of 'Gorkhaland' Demand

The disaffection with the functioning of the DGHC was crystallized into the re-emergence of the Gorkhaland demand. Bimal Gurung and the *Gorkha Jan Mukti Morcha* (GJMM) led the new phase of the movement. However, with the establishment of DGHC, his adversaries still remained unsatisfied. The different political parties started mobilizing against the formation of DGHC and against GNLF. The most of the youth and public became very much aware of the current situation and turned their support to those whoever led them towards their destination.⁵⁷ There was campaign in 2007 for Prashant Tamang, a promising young Gorkha singer from Darjeeling, who was competing for the Indian Idol crown. The campaign was done on the short message service (sms). It brought a new Indian Gorkha identity as question mark for many. In October 2007, GJMM was formed and it leads the voices of the separate Gorkhaland.

Endnotes

¹The criteria based on which new states were created has changed throughout Indian history while in the beginning linguistic and cultural homogeneity were decisive factors, later on ethnic, economic and environmental factors were taken into consideration.

²The Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution provides rights to autonomous self-governance for tribal areas of Northeast India under the authority of the respective state government.

³Wenner, Miriam. "Challenging the State by Reproducing its Principles: The demand for 'Gorkhaland' between Regional Autonomy and the National Belonging." *Asian Ethnology: Performing Identity Politics and Culture in Northeast India and Beyond* 72, no.2, 2013: 200.

⁴Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the origin and spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006

⁵Lama, Basant B. *The Story of Darjeeling*. Kurseong: Nilima Yonzon Lama Publications, 2008:219.

⁶Basant Lama is an author of book, named *The Story of Darjeeling*.

⁷Lama, 2008, *Op.cit.*,

⁸Sarkar, Swatahsiddha. *Gorkhaland Movement; Ethnic Conflict and State Response*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt.Ltd, 2013:79.

⁹“New Phase of Gorkhaland Movement.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 22, no.51.(December19,1987): 2183.

¹⁰Jyoti Basu was the former Chief Minister of West Bengal.

¹¹Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling- Dooars People and Place under Bengal’s Neo-Colonial Rule*. Darjeeling: Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008:120.

¹²Narain, Iqbal and Nilima Dutta. “India in 1986: The Continuing Struggle.” *Asian Survey* 27, no. 2.(February,1987):181-193.

¹³Lama, 2008, *Op.cit.*,284.

¹⁴“Darjeeling A Compromise Formula.”*Economic and Political Weekly*.(October 10, 1987): 1718.

¹⁵Datta, Prabhat. “The Gorkhaland Agitation in West Bengal.”*The Indian Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2.(April-June, 1991):232.

¹⁶Lama, M. “Unquiet Hill.”*Statesman*.(April, 20, 1988).

¹⁷ Lama 2008, *Op.cit.*,284.

¹⁸*Ibid.*,

¹⁹*Statesman* is a daily newspaper.

²⁰*Statesman*.(May 26, 1986).

²¹*Telegraph* is a daily newspaper.

²²Subba, T.B. *Ethnicity, State and Development: A case study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications,1992:131.

²³*Statesman*.(May 11, 1986).

²⁴Rangali-Rangliot is an administrative division in Darjeeling Sadar Subdivision of Darjeeling District in the Indian State of West Bengal. Rangoli Rangliot police station serves the block. The headquarters of this block is at Takdak.

²⁵*Lathi* charge means a Policeman use to bit someone with his stick.

²⁶T.B.Subba is an author of *Ethnicity, State and Development: A case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*.

²⁷Subba.,1992, *Op.cit.*,132.

²⁸*Ibid.*,138.

²⁹“Darjeeling Dangerous Course.”*Economic and Political Weekly*.(March 26, 1988): 613.

³⁰*Ibid.*,140.

³¹Shukla, B.N. *Gorkha Express* (Hindi weekly). 1988.

³²The name is derived or term as Dooars the region is the gateway to the whole of North –east India, Bhutan and hill Station of the Darjeeling-Sikkim region. It locates in Jalpaiguri.

³³Alipurduar is the 20th district in the state of West Bengal, India.

³⁴Subba,1992, *Op.cit.*,142

³⁵*Ibid.*,

³⁶In Hill Council means all round development of the Gorkhas and others people residing in the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling.

³⁷Sarkar,2013, *Op.cit.*,76.

³⁸*The Information Document on Gorkhaland Agitation*, Government of West Bengal, 1986.

³⁹*Statesman*.(11 July, 1988).

⁴⁰*Himalaya Today*.(September, 1988).

⁴¹Tamlong, D.T. *Darjeeling and North Bengal From An Administrator's Perspective*. Darjeeling : Mani Printing House Darjeeling, 2006 : 93.

⁴²*Ibid.*,

⁴³Sarkar, D.K. and Dhruvdyoti Bhawmick. *Empowering Darjeeling Hills: An Experience with Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council*. Delhi: Indian Publishers Distributors,2000:100.

⁴⁴Tamlong, 2006, *Op.cit.*,

⁴⁵Datta, 1991, *Op.cit.*,239.

⁴⁶Sarkar, and Dhruvdyoti ,2000, *Op.cit.*,

⁴⁷*Ibid.*,

⁴⁸*Ibid.*,

⁴⁹Samanta, Amiya K. *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation,2000: 178.

⁵⁰*Telegraph*.(5 June, 2006).

⁵¹Sarkar and Dhruvdyoti, 2000, *Op.cit.*,173.

⁵²Sarkar, 2013, *Opcit.*,84.

⁵³*Telegraph*.(7 January 1988).

⁵⁴*Ananda Bazaar Patrika*.(21 March, 1988).

⁵⁵Sarkar, 2013, *Op.cit.*,76-77.

⁵⁶Kumar Kar, Chiranjib. *Darjeeling Himalaya in Flames*. Darjeeling: Jetsun Publishing House, 1999: 30- 31.

⁵⁷The information was given by Dawa Lepcha, one of the respondents and member of GJMM from Pedong. The interview was done on 03rd Feburary2016.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

In Human History, nobody is able to keep away from problems and certain situation so far. Similarly, the youth of Darjeeling too faced certain problems that cannot be studied in isolation. Gorkhaland Movement has been a long political struggle in which youth participation made possible to run the movement more frequently. The demand for Gorkhaland is a natural product of democratic process in India. It signals the triumphant march of Indian democracy. It is a democratic demand. It is an expression of the aspiration of the community that wishes to facilitate the development and growth through fuller and more meaningful participation of the people in the democratic process. In this present work, youth has seen as a special category in the society in regarding their emotions, behaviour, mentalities and spontaneity. The United Nations and its allied agencies defined youth demographically as those within the age range 15 to 24 years. The government of India uses a broader categorization of youth as those within 15 to 34 years, due to the varied situation that exists in the country. Furthermore, the National Youth Policy of 2003 covered all the youth in the country in the age group of 12 to 35 years. This study has not applied any of this above definition of youth. The justification for the choice is firstly, youth participation in various political movements may fall above the age of 35 or more but still they consider themselves as “Youth”. At the same time, it might deny social, cultural and political realities. In the context of AIDS or violent conflicts, orphaned youth even below the age of 14, might have responsibilities in taking care of entire families. Otherwise, those who belong to adulthood or one in which people above 35 years of age remain in a state of dependency. Therefore, they are categorized as “children”.

The problem of youth cannot be studied in isolation. It is always influenced by the prevailing social, political and economic situation. Unemployment, poverty, hunger and destitution have alienated the youth from the national mainstream. However, they are claiming as Indian Citizen. It is influenced the youth to support the demand of Separate Statehood. The major reason for the participation of Youth in the Gorkhaland Movement because Indian Nepalis face certain predicaments. They fear of evocation and their political status in the region as foreigners. These instances breed the fear and insecurity among Indian Nepalis and are constantly demanding for the separate political autonomy, which is separate from Bengal. One of the most important historical backgrounds with regarding the participation of various sections of people, especially youth in the Gorkhaland Movement was the identity crises.

The demand for Gorkhaland could be traced back to 1907. The first mass movement was calling for a separate Gorkhaland state, which led by Subhas Ghising, who named as Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) on 5th April 1980. The Youth played an important role during this process of struggle for separate demand. The GNLF firmly believes that a separate State of Gorkhaland within the Indian Union is the only solution of the problems of the long suffering Gorkhas of Darjeeling District and Dooars area. Under GNLF different organizations were formed, which were Gorkha National Youth Front (GNYF), Gorkha National Student Front (GNSF), Gorkha National Women Organization (GNWO), Gorkha Volunteer Cell (GVC). The Youth was the main pillar for the Gorkhaland agitation; Youth and students from different background came together and worked for the movement. They organized programmes and conduct meetings and they used poster as the tool to aware the people and made them alert for the demand of separate state. There were various

activities like rally, procession and candle light procession, strikes and awareness programmed were done by various sections of Youth.

Subhas Ghising influenced every single stage of people. Youth were very enthusiastic and energetic during the agitation movement. People from different background came together and for the first time had been able to show their grievances in a uniform manner. The GNLF's wings i.e. GNYF, GNSF, GNWO and GVC the member of these groups, many of them were arrested and *lathi* charged during the procession by Police Officer. Youth has got the platform to show their leadership quality and many of them became a prominent leader. GVC and GNSF were given special training from the ex- servicemen, in order to maintain everything ready even if necessary to violent against the government.

The GNSF took several political programmes and the member of this Front, tried to build the connection with the student and made them aware of it. The most of the GNLF member had been charged under the section 144 Cr.P.C and many were injured and killed in the process. The GNWO was not also lacking behind. They were also very aware of it. They involved themselves in political activities like campaigning, protest, rallies and in indefinite strike etc. The women also participated in the movement of 1986s and became the victims of many incidents like inter party clashes, clash with army personnel and Police Force. Some of them became prominent leaders and good speakers. After analyzing the women's participation in Gorkhaland movement, most of them remained aloof from the movement. The main reason was the violent mode of protest and principles which prevented women from involvement in totality.

The movement of 1986s was a violent one where many of them had sacrificed their life for the sake of Gorkhaland. The Government of West Bengal tried hard to suppress this movement by sending several troops and arresting many agitator and ready to open fire on the supporter. The movement turned into destructive one where many people (including police force) sacrifice their life and private property and Government property i.e. buildings, cars, Government buildings, offices many property were damaged. The movement went on the warpath once again in 1988. The suffering of the local people reached the peak during the forty days *bandh* from February 1988 onwards. The destruction of government properties, killing and counter-killing of individuals were continued in and around Kalimpong subdivision and in the tea gardens.

Ultimately, an alternative solution were brought after the negotiation with Jyoti Basu on June 29, 1988, a brief meeting at Delhi, where Basu condescended to incorporate a few more Nepali majority villages adjacent to the three hill subdivisions of Darjeeling and to consider the name of the Hill Council as the Gorkha Hill Council. On 23rd August 1988, Ghising signed an agreement with the Government of India on citizenship of Nepalis in Darjeeling over, which he had created considerably confusion. According to the agreement, the State Government should transfer the regional functioning of many nineteen departments to the Council. However, such transfer of departments was so inordinately delayed or even stalled that it was certainly not bureaucratic sluggishness. Besides ample number of officers were not posted to run the affairs of the lower level posts, although the Agreement fixed such enrolment. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) failed to produce concrete results for the people at large. For youth there was no improvement in employment, education field. The most of the youth and public became very much aware of the

current situation and turned their support to those whoever led them towards their destination. The movement was raised with same agenda from time to time by different political parties. However, the motive behind the movement was same. So by then many youth divert their ways to achieve the goal under the leadership of Bimal Gurung and his newly established party, Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) from 2007. The Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha within a short period swelled and turned into mass based party that became rally a challenged to the West Bengal.

Memorandum of the Hillmen's Association

08.11.1917

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal

The humble memorial of representatives of the Darjeeling District.

Dated 8th November, 1917

Respectfully Sheweth,

That we the undersigned Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese representing the opinion of the Darjeeling District gratefully respond to the invitation issued by the Government to the people of India to make representatives to be laid before the Secretary of State for India during his coming visit.

What prompts us to approach Government is not any feeling of discontent or dissatisfaction with the present system of Government. On the contrary we are perfectly contented. We have hitherto abstained from all political agitation and we have treated the movement for Home Rule with neglect and even disfavour. But now that the British Government has definitely stated that Home Rule is the ultimate goal towards which it desired that India should gradually proceed, we feel it our duty to safeguard our future position by presenting Government with a statement of our views on point which seems to us of vital importance.

At present the Darjeeling District is one of the many districts of the Bengal Presidency with the centre of Government in Calcutta. This intimate connection with the plains of Bengal, however, is but of comparatively recent origin and it only exists because of the common relationship of lands under the same British rule. There is

moreover no real affinity between the peoples of this Himalayay and Sub- Himalayan region and those of the plains of Bengal, and our plea is that it may now be established as a settled principle in any arrangements for the realisation of the Home Rule for the people of the plains of Bengal that **this district should be excluded from them and that the evolution of our political life should be towards a distinct local government of our own on such lines as may be approved by the British Government.**

We live in an absolutely different world from the rest of the people of Bengal. Geographically no greater contrast is possible than that between the Mountainous Darjeeling District and the plains of Bengal. Radically there is an equal dissimilarity for the great mass of our population is Mongolian and akin to the peoples beyond the Himalayas rather than to those of India. Historically we have until recent years lived a life entirely a part. The Darjeeling District except the Kalimpong Sub- Division was gifted by or annexed from the kingdom of Sikkim last century: the Kalimpong Sub- Division and the Dooars were Bhutanese till about fifty years ago and the Nepalese have immigrated from Nepal in recent years, Religiously we are, as regards the Lepchas and the race of Tibetan origin as well as number of Nepali castes, quite distinct from the people of the plains and even the religious customs of the Nepalese who are classed as Hindus very largely from those of the Hindus of Bengal. Linguistically we have no alliance with the rest of Bengal. Even the lingua franca of our course and schools is Hindi and not Bengali, while the great mass of the workers on the Tea gardens of the Dooars and the Tarai are immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and Nepal which fact in addition to the geographical and historical arguments makes it natural and fitting that the Tea

District of the Dooars should be linked up with the Darjeeling District rather than Bengal.

A further argument is favour of as separate Eastern Himalayan unit of Government is based on health considerations. The plains are entirely unsuited to hill people who are unwilling to go to the plains to live. This makes it essential for the future welfare of the district that it should be as far as possible self contained. In the matter of Education, to give one important illustrations, we look forward to having our own colleges and important institutions for professional training. At present those are in the plains and this has acted as a great barrier to the higher education of our peoples. But although higher education is backward, primary education is more generally than in any other district of Bengal and we have therefore to hand the true basis for a natural and satisfactory educational advance.

Our humble petition therefore, is that in laying down plans for the future, the Government should aim at the creation of separate unit comprising the present Darjeeling District with the portion of Jalpaiguri District which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865.

The creation of this separate unit may be objected to on the ground that it would be very small as compared with other probable unit of Government in India. The population of the Darjeeling District is now only 300,000 that of the Jalpaiguri District are larger. But fifty years ago the population was not a tithe of what it is now and the phenomenal increase is likely to be maintained as the district are capable of large development. The possibilities through the use of hydro-electric power alone are immense. Moreover the District has an importance disproportionate to its area in that it is vital frontier district. Our people are the natural guardians of the frontier and we

would welcome the privilege of keeping ourselves ever ready to fulfil this function. A small but significant incident, illustrative (in this connection) of the drawback from our relations with the organisation suited to the plains, is found in the recent call for recruits for Indian Defence. Very few felt able to respond because of large periods of training at centres in the Hills, we are convinced that, if the Government wished it, the practically all the able bodied men of our hill communities could be enlisted in a Force to defend the Frontier.

It is possible ,indeed, that the Government of Bengal might consider it wise to create a still North Eastern Frontier Province to include in addition to this District the Assam Dooars and Hill territories which lie to the East of Bhutan and whose peoples have affinities with our people.

We shall be grateful if the Government of Bengal will arrange to give us the privileges of sending a deputation of our member to present these views personally to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India during his coming visit.

1.sd/-S.W. Laden la

2.sd/-Khadga Bahadur chhetri

3.sd/-Dr. Yensing Sitling

4.sd/-Prem Singh Kumai

5.sd/- Meghbir Singh

6.sd/-Lachman Singh

7.sd/-Nar Prasad Kumai

8.sd/-Deonidhi Upadhayaya & others.

Memoranda of the Hillmen's Association

24.10.1930

The Right Honourable Sir Samuel Horae, P.C,G.B.E, C.M.G.

Secretary of State of India, London.

The humble Memorial of the Gurkhas settled and domiciled in British India.

Most Respectfully Sheweth:-

1. That the Gurkhas domiciled in British India consisting of Military pensioners, Government Servants, Traders, Farmers, and Plantation Labourers are about 3 million, most of whom are settled at Darjeeling (in Bengal), Shillong (in Assam) Dehra –Dun (in United Provinces) and in Burma and the rest are scattered all over British India.
2. That the Gurkhas although in minority in the Provinces of British India are not a negligible element and in view of their services to Government in Military, Civil and other departments of Government they (Gorkhas) have played no mean part in the preservation of the solidarity of the British Empire.
3. The Gurkhas although domiciled in British India still cherish the customs and traditions of their ancestors and are quite a distinctive social unit and are jealously preserving up till now their won social solidarity in spite of the fact that they are in such a minority in British India.

4. That with the advent of the new constitution, which is being framed the Gurkhas are apprehensive that their claims may be ignored and that eventually they may have to be merged with the rest of India, for causes beyond their control.

5. That so far the Gurkhas have been able to evolve on their own lines of civilization under the protection of the British Government but unless some special reservations are made for the Gurkhas in the new constitution it would be extremely difficult for them to preserve their social solidarity with the consequent loss to the British Government for once the Gurkhas are forced by circumstances beyond their control to make a common cause with the Indian the British will undoubtedly lose one of their best supporters and comrades in arm.

6. That it is with a view to avoid this contingency something must be done for the preservation of the social solidarity of Gurkhas under the new constitution and an attempt was made in 1919 by Hillmen's Association of Darjeeling to do this. They suggested to Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, that a North-Eastern Frontier Province should be created consisting of a district of Darjeeling, the Dooars and some part of Assam, where the Gurkhas predominate, and it was then strongly urged that this would be an additional protection to British India from the military point of view as they commanded all the passes in the Himalayas from the eastern border of Nepal Burma. But somehow the proposal did not materialize and the district of Darjeeling only was excluded from the operation of the Reforms.

7. That another proposal was then subsequently submitted by the Gurkhas League at Dehra-Dun suggesting various matters of importance for the Gurkhas, but so far nothing has been done.

8. That as the new constitution for India is under consideration of the Parliament the Gurkhas think it opportune to place again their views and to start with, they suggest that **the district of Darjeeling, where the Gurkhas population predominates, should be excluded from Bengal and be treated as an independent administrative unit** with the Deputy Commissioner as an Administrator vested with much more powers than that of a District Magistrate assisted by small Executive Council (like the Provincial Governor's Executive Council), representative of all interests, in the administration of the Area. The Judiciary, the Police and all other departments of Government should also be directly under him so that they (departments of Government) may be independent of the control of the Provincial Government, but should be directly under the imperial Government. In the Judiciary the Deputy Commissioner as administrator of the Area should be vested with the other powers of an appellate Court vested with the powers of a District and Sessions Judge. The Sub-Divisional Officers should combine the functions of a District Magistrate and that of a Sub-Divisional Magistrate so far as practicable. All appeals from the decision of the Deputy Commissioner should be to the Hon'ble High Court at Fort William in Calcutta. **The service too for this Area should be independent of the Province of Bengal and separate from it and should be recruited from local people.** Of course, there may be occasions when the services from the Bengal Provincial Services may have to be borrowed but this should be under special circumstances and for a short period.

The financial aspect of this scheme presents some difficulty and on careful analysis it will be found that the expenditure under PWD especially for roads and bridges will present some difficulty as the revenue from the Area may not adequate to meet it. In this **Government is maintaining the frontier roads and bridges in Sikkim which**

is outside British India for Military purposes and the roads at Darjeeling are in continuation of these roads in Sikkim and for the same consideration (from Military stand point) they should be a charge on the Imperial budget.

This administrative unit of Darjeeling should be placed directly under the Government of India, the Governor of Bengal acting as the Agent for the Governor-General as in the case of Excluded Areas recommended by the Simon Commission. Darjeeling should continue to be the Summer Seat of the Governor of Bengal as in case of Simla for the Governor of the Punjab and the United Provinces. This is a rough outline only and details can be easily worked out. Darjeeling should also get a seat in the Imperial Legislatures whether Federal or otherwise as recommended for Excluded Areas by the Simon Commission.

9. All Legislation passed by the central legislation should not be applicable to the administered area, without the same being certified by the Administrator and the Council that it should be extended to Darjeeling.

10. That for the rest of British India where there are appreciable number of Gurkha population they should have special representation (as provided for minority communities) in the respective Provinces where they are. These are the minimum requirements for the preservation of the Gurkhas as a nation within British India and Gurkhas most emphatically urge that in view of their past service and sacrifice for Empire this request should be granted by Parliament and thus earn the eternal gratitude of the Comrade in Arm.

Sd/- **H.P.PRADHAN (RAI SAHIB)** President, Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong

Sd/-**Lt. GOBARDHAN GURUNG**, President, Gurkha Officer's Association

Sd/-**P.M. SUNDAR**, Secretary, Kurseong Gurkha Library

Sd/-**N.B. PRADHAN**, Secretary, Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong

Sd/-**P.P.PRADHAN**, Secretary, Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling

Dated 25th October 1930

Memoranda of the Hillmen's Association

06.08.1934

The Right Honorable Sir Samuel Hoare, P.C., G. B. E, C.M.G.,

Secretary of State for India, London,

The Right Honorable Sir John Anderson, P.C., G. B. E, G.C.I.E.,

The humble Memorial of Hillmen's Association of the District of Darjeeling in the Province of Bengal.

Most Respectfully Sheweth:

1. That your memorials represent the Hill people of the district of Darjeeling in the Province of Bengal consisting of the Gurkhas, Bhutias and Lepchas, who form the majority to the population of the district and are its original inhabitants.

2. That during the latter part of the nineteenth century this district was carved out by annexations from the neighbouring States of Sikkim and Bhutan and since the advent of British rule in the district the hill people have enjoyed the sweet harvest of Peace and prosperity.

3. That owing to the loose affinity of the people of this district to the neighbouring independent States of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim the hill people of this district still cherish the same traditions and are guided by the same social and religious practices as prevail in the home of their origin.

4. That it was for this reason and being a frontier district it has hitherto remained as an Excluded Area directly under the Governor of Bengal and no legislation passed by the Indian Legislatures, Central or Provincial, is applicable to that this district unless

certified by the Governor of Bengal so that this district has always enjoyed the Privilege of a fostering care of the British Crown whose representative in the province is its Governor. As a result so far all culturable land, excepting the tea garden areas, has remained an exclusive reserve for the hill people, who have also enjoyed preferential treatment in the Government services as well in the district to a great extent and the hill people by their unquestionable loyalty and devotion to the British Crown have amply justified the trust reposed on them.

5. That your memorialists beg to draw your attention to the memorial dated the 25th October 1930 in which your memorialists urged that in the Reforms Scheme it should be with proper safeguards for the protection of the interests of the hill people, and in submitting this memorial again your memorialists beg to emphasise the same and respectfully urge that the matter may not be overlooked especially when there was no one at the Round Table Conference and subsequent Select Committees in London to voice the cause of this little band of loyal and devoted people living in the mountain fastnesses on the spurs of the Himalayas.

6. That all minority communities in India have received due consideration of their respective claims and they are perhaps finding their due place in the Statute Book but your memorialists are not aware if the same consideration has also extended to the hill people, who, although in the majority in the district, are a small minority in the Province and your memorialists pray that the privileges and reservations made for the minority communities in the constitutions should also be extended to the hill people in the Province of Bengal.

7. That with a view to safeguard the interests of the hill people in the district and mainly for the purpose of maintaining status quo in the Revenue Administration

(Land Revenue) of the district and especially in view of the fact that a representative from the hill people at the Provincial and Central Legislature, will be in a hopeless minority it is essential that no legislative enactment passed by any such legislatures be applicable to this district without being certified by Governor of the Province and this wholesome provision in the Statute Book should not be disturbed.

8. That your memorialists have reasons to fear that adequate funds for carrying on the administration in the district may not be voted by the new Legislatures and the local services in the hills may also be swamped by the people from the plains for want of adequate representation of the hill people in Legislatures and administration in the District may therefore suffer. Being a frontier District it requires special treatment and for political reason your memorialists urge that the Governor of the Province should have adequate educational facilities, for reserving Government contract and Excise settlement for the hill people and in the appointment in the hills. Adequate provision may therefore be kindly made in the Status Book regarding this matter also. Those are in brief the minimum safeguards your memorialists think absolutely necessary for the protection of the interests of the hill people.

9. In the event of the permanent safe-guards being not granted, your memorialists emphatically urge that the Districts of Darjeeling should be totally excluded from Bengal by creation of an independent Administrative unit with an Administrator at the head of the area assisted by Executive Council representative of all interests in the Area and the Area should be placed directly under the Central Government the Governor of Bengal acting as Agent to the Governor General. No legislation passed by the Central Government should apply to the area unless certified by Administrator in consultation with his Executive Council. As a financial aspect of the proposal, the area being not self-

supporting, your memorialists submit that in view of the political and military importance of the area the communications in the area should be an Imperial charge for the same reason as the Central Government is maintain the Highway Roads to Tibet in Sikkim, which is outside British India. The Communications in the area are actually an integral part of the High way to Sikkim and Tibet and as such should be an Imperial charge. The services of the Area in all its Administrative Departments such as Executive, Judiciary, Police, Forests, and Education etc. should also be locally recruited and should be independent of the Bengal Provincial Service. This is however an outline: the details will be worked out when required. The town of Darjeeling may still continue as the Summer Capital of Bengal as in the case of the Punjab Government who have their Summer Capital at Simla. Delhi is another instance of a small Administrative unit in British India.

10. Your memorialists therefore humbly and respectfully pray that adequate provisions be made in the Statue Book for the protection of the interests of the hill people by way of safeguards suggested in this memorial or in the alternative the prayer in para 9 above. And for which act of Kindness your memorialists ever pray.

Sd/-SONAM WANGEL LADEN LA, President,

Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling

Sd/-GOBARDHAN GURUNG, Vice-President,

Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling

Sd/-MADAN THAPA, Secretary,

Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling

Dated Darjeeling, The 6th August, 1934

Memorandum of G.N.L.F.

23.12.1983

To,

His Majesty the King Birendra Bir-Bikram Sahadev.
Narayan Hiti King Palace
Kathmandu, Nepal.

Bening Mejestv,

Even thirty six years after Bharat independence the settled ethnic race of Gorkhas of more then six millions are living as degraded human being in every parts of the country of India and the parts of their own ceded land of sugaulee treaty by surrendering their national spirit, national identity, historical pride and their homeland and destiny, and further, they became the naked victims of foreign national issue deportation issue, and undesirable inhuman acts of deliberate imposition of systematic domination of other Indian races, and such cruel prassures of racial segregated atmosphere and directly denil of justice on liberty, equality, fraternity and opportunity, the Gorkha National Liberation Front had to be formed to meet the above cruel challenges of series of apartheid and genocide crimes done by the states and central Govt. of India since Bharat independence and further to ventilate the same view points of the said untold tragedies of the Gorkhas to the international forum this organisation was compelled to appeal to the real historical court of Your Majesty in the context of dire consequences of the past treaties and agreements of the then British Government and Nepal that the able originally inhabiting Gorkhas become in serious false position when their historic land and territories were mercilessly ceded to the land of British Empire by the Treaty Sugaulee on 2nd Decamber 1815; and thereafter, a large number of the frustrated Gorkhas spontanously left their humiliated country with wounded hearts and mental agony due to the serious repercurssion of the said damaging treaty of Sugaulee and the cruel atmosphere of international political turmoils of the country of Nepal and further they joined the british troops as soldiers and labourers in coal fileds and tea gardens without any official sanctions of the Nepal Government; and this type of mass exodus continued from the year of 1816 to 1884 from land of vivisected country of Nepal to the various parts of the Indian soil and the parts of their own ceded land of Sugaulee treaty and parts of Rajabhatkhuwa treaty of 11 November 1885;

and thereafter; from the year 1885 the Gorkhas were officially allowed to join in the British troops by the written agreement of the then British Government and Nepal, and thus the real history of 10th Gorkha battalion was started from the year of 1890 in the soil of foreign country and thereafter, the aforesaid Gorkhas of three categories were thoroughly censused in the year of 1891 and made them Nepal subjects or nationals under the direct suzerainty of His Majesty the King of Nepal by the concluded reciprocal treaty of 21st December 1923 of the then British Government and Nepal, and further, just after the end of II World War, one of the main responsible signatory of the past treaties and agreements the Britishers themselves gone back to their own country of England having decided only the fate and fortune of Hindus and Muslims of the India origin by creating two separate independent countries of Bharat and Pakistan; and the said Gorkhas and their ceded land and territory were left at cross-roads of cyclic stage of self destructions from the date of 15th August 1947,... without revoking or suspending the past treaties and agreements of the then British Government and Nepal or without deciding or confirming the future status of the said ethnic Gorkhas and their cided by the legal act of Plebiscite or the act of handing over either to the Government of Nepal or India, and this type of unjustifiable act of the then quitting British Government utterly disregarded the general moral obligations of the past treaties and agreements of the then British Government, and Nepal, and under such complexities and deep rooted illusion they have unknowingly considered themselves as the true citizens or inhabitants of independent union of India and India as their mother land or country since Bharat independence.

Just after three years of Bharat independence the Indo-Nepal treaty of 31 July 1950 and British Nepal treaty of 3th October 1950 also did virtually nothing to repair the damaged fate of the said Gorkhas and vis-a-vis their ceded land and territories and revived exactly the same demaging terms and conditions of the land of the said past treaties and agreements of the then British Government and Nepal, and such an inhuman act of these two merciless treaties has directly violated the very principle of right of self-determination proclaimed by the President Woodrow Wilson in his 14 points programme on 8th January 1918 as adopted by the Paris Conference on 25th January 1919 on the face of international peace treaty and at the same time violated the very principle and essence of Universal Declaration of Human Right, adopted by the General Assembly of United Nations on 10th December 1948, and this permanently sealed the fate of the whole settled Gorkhas in present independent India by sustaining the same old dehumanizing cruel method

of out-dated colonism, feudalism and barbarism and fraudism - that the Gorkhas were propetually subjected to fight the wars of other countries by losing everything of their own status of National Identity, political safe-guard and their historical home-land and destiny.

As such seriously keeping in view of the above mentioned unpardonable historical crimes against humanity or still unresolved question of the very political existence or future status of the said Gorkhas in the Indian Union the above three responsible signatories countries of Nepal, Bharat and British have been urged to abrogate the existing Indo-Nepal and British-Nepal treaties of 1950 and further adopt a fresh new treaties for a permanent political settlement of the said victimized Gorkhas as per mentioned inthe provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and also confirm accordingly the future status of their ceded land and territories; and for this serious burning ethnic issue of the said Gorkhas, the Gorkha National Liberation Front submits this Memorandum to the true and dynamic leadership of Your Mejesty to take up a bold step for historical decision and Your Mejesty's solomnic judgement.

Now the verdict lies with Your Mejesty.

For and on behalf of
Gorkha National Liberation Front
Sd/- Subhash Ghising
President
Gorkha National Liberation Front
Gorkha Land Bharat

Dated 23rd December 1983.

Important Notes :

English translation copy forwarded to the honourable President/Prime Ministers/His Mejesty the King/Her Mejesty the Queen of different countries of the world (including Bharat, Nepal and Great Britain) for seeking rightful OPINION AND THEIR HELPING HAND to raise this above burning and ethnic issue of the Gorkhas to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations and before Inter-national Court of Justice and European Commission of Human Rights.

Copy to :-

Through His Excellency; the Ambassadors



Memorandum of Pranta Parishad

09.09.1981

Smt. Indira Gandhi
Prime Minister of India
Parliament House
New Delhi

Dated the 9th Sept. 1981

Dear Madam,

We submit this Memorandum to you for your due consideration of our demand for the formation of the State of Darjeeling comprising of the Nepali speaking region of North Bengal.

The Government of India is aware that the Hill People - the Gorkhas, Bhutias and Lepchas have since 1907 jointly demanding the administrative separation of this region from Bengal.

Historically, it is an unquestionable fact that this region was by the exigency of political annexations by the Britishers haphazardly tacked on to the then Bengal. That hooking up together of two very dissimilar people and territories was the beginning of the ruination of the Hill people. And continuance of the unjustifiable arrangement has reduced this region to the position of a sub-servient colony. This has been the fate of the people who became Indian citizens when their land became a part of British India back in 1816.

Assurances were given to us by the Governor-General Late Raja C. Gopalachari and several central West Bengal leaders that steps would be taken to solve the problem in the proper manner.

The report of the States Re-Organisation Commission of 1955 was a great disappointment to the Hill people in that the Commission hardly took any cognizance of this engulfing regional problem. The West Bengal Government placed fantastically wrong 'facts' before the SRC and succeeded in utterly misleading the Commission.

The post SRC political scenario in this region has radically changed. Now the Congress, the CPI (M) and the Gorkha League are agreed that an administrative separation of this region from West Bengal is the only satisfactory solution honourable both to the Hill

people and the Government of West Bengal. WBPCCC adopted a resolution in 1968 recommending 'Autonomous Administrative Set-up' for the Hill region of West Bengal. The CPI (M) has been ever since 1959 advocating the grant of 'Regional Autonomy'. The Gorkha League has been demanding the grant of state-hood for this region. All of the important political parties functioning in the region are unanimous that the Nepali speaking region in question should be administratively separated from West Bengal. The solution proposed severally by them, of course, differ in the degrees of autonomy to be granted.

The Darjeeling Pranta Parishad is of the opinion that nothing short of full fledged statehood for Darjeeling region will meet the aspirations of the Hill people, and no other administrative schemes will ultimately be found to be workable.

The proposed state of Darjeeling (population: Eighteen Lakhs) will be evidently more viable unit than any of the post SRC North Eastern States.

The Hill peoples' share in the governance of the state which they are made to inhabit has been limited to the participation be mere three Hill MLAs in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly of 294 members and the participation has proved all along to be singularly inconsequential. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly has not enacted a single piece of legislation for the safeguard of our special interests of the Hill people. All our attempts to secure legislative safeguards of our interests have been systematically thwarted.

Hence the Darjeeling Pranta Parishad no longer believes in sending representatives to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from this region.

Madam, we plead with you to please initiate early measures to give the Hill people a state of their own.

With regards,

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- **Indra Bahadur Rai**,

President,

Darjeeling Pranta Parishad

Tripatite Agreement 22.08.1988

The demands of the GNLF having been considered by the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal and consequent upon the tripartite meeting between Shri Buta Singh, Union Home Minister, Shri Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal and Shri Subhash Ghising, President, GNLF at New Delhi on 25th July, 1988, it is hereby agreed between Government of India, Government of West Bengal and GNLF as below :

1. SEPARATE STATE OF GORKHALAND

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

- (i) The name of the Council will be "DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL."
- (ii) The Council will cover the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling district, namely, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, plus the Mouzas of Lohagarh T.G., Lohagarh Forest, Rangmohan, Barachenga, Panighatta, Choto Adalpur, Paharu, Sukna Forest, Sukna Part-I, Pantapati Forest-I, Mahanadi Forest, Champasari Forest and Salbari Chhart Part-II within Siliguri sub-division.
- (iii) The State Government agrees to lease to the Council after it is formed, or acquire for it the use of such land as may be required and necessary for administrative and developmental purposes, anywhere in the State and in particular in or around 'Darjeeling More' in Siliguri sub-division.
- (iv) The executive powers of the Council will cover the following subjects subject to the provisions of the Central and State laws:-
 - (1) the allotment, occupation or use, or setting apart, of land other than any land which is a reserved forest, for the purpose of agriculture or grazing, or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes, or for any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the inhabitants of any village, locality or town;
 - (2) the management of any forest, not being a reserved forest;

- (3) the use of any canal or watercourse for the purpose of agriculture;
 - (4) agriculture;
 - (5) public health and sanitation, hospital and dispensaries;
 - (6) tourism;
 - (7) vocational training;
 - (8) public works - development and planning;
 - (9) construction and maintenance of all roads except National highways and State highways;
 - (10) transport and development of transport;
 - (11) management of burials and burial grounds, cremation and cremation grounds;
 - (12) preservation, protection and improvement of livestock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practice;
 - (13) pounds and the prevention of cattle trespass;
 - (14) water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankment, water storage;
 - (15) fisheries;
 - (16) management of markets and fairs not being already managed by Municipal authorities, Panchayat Samiti or Gram Panchayats;
 - (17) education-primary, secondary and higher secondary;
 - (18) works, lands and buildings vested in or in the lawful possession of the Council;
 - (19) small scale and cottage industries.
- 1 (v) The Council shall exercise general powers of supervision over Panchayat Samities, Gram Panchayats and Municipalities falling within the area of the Council's jurisdiction.
 - 1 (vi) The General Council will have a total of 42 members out of which 28 will be elected and the rest nominated by the State Government.
 - 1 (vii) There will be an Executive Council and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the General Council will be ex-officio members of the Executive Council with the Chairman of the General Council functioning as the Chief Executive Councillor. The Chief Executive Councillor will nominate 5 members to the Executive Council from out of the elected members of the Council and the State Government will nominate 2 members to the Executive Council from out of the non-official nominated members of the General Council.
 - 1 (viii) The Chairman of the General Council cum Chief Executive Councillor will have the ex-officio status and privileges of a Minister in the Council of Ministers in the State.
 - 1 (ix) The Bill for setting up the Hill Council will be introduced and

passed in a special session of the State Legislature which has been summoned. The election to the Hill Council will be held by the 15th December, 1988.

2. RESTORATION OF NORMALCY:

2 (i) Review of pending criminal cases:

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

2 (ii) Action against Government servants:

The State Government agrees to withdraw all cases of disciplinary action taken against employees in the context of the agitation. There will be no victimisation of Government servants.

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

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

Sd/-Subash Gishing

President GNLf

On behalf of GNLf

Sd/- R.N. Sen Gupta

Chief Secretary

On behalf of the Govt. of West Bengal

Sd/- C.G. Somiah

Union Home Secretary

On behalf of the Central Government

Sd/-Jyoti Basu

Chief Minister

Government of West Bengal

In the presence of :

Sd/- Buta Singh

Union Home Minister

Place : Calcutta

Date : 22.8.88

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