

**DYNAMICS OF GORKHA IDENTITY IN THE SELECTED
FICTIONS OF INDRA BAHADUR RAI AND MANOHAR THAPA**

Shrijana Rai

Submitted

In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of Master of
Philosophy in English of Mizoram University, Aizawl.

2018

DECLARATION

Mizoram University

Department of English

July, 2018

I, Shrijana Rai, hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this dissertation did not form the basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the dissertation has not been submitted by me for research degree in any other University/ Institute.

This is being submitted to Mizoram University for the degree of Master of Philosophy in English

(Candidate)

(Head)

(Supervisor)



MIZORAM UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Post Box No : 190 Gram : MZU Aizawl - 796004

Dr Thongam Dhanajit Singh
Asst. Professor

Phone No. 0389 - 2330631
Mobile : 9862740230

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled *Dynamics of Gorkha Identity in the Selected Fictions of Indra Bahadur Rai and Manohar Thapa* submitted to Mizoram University by **Shrijana Rai** in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in English is purely an original research work accomplished by the scholar under my direct supervision and neither the dissertation nor any part of it has so far been submitted to any educational institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I am, therefore, glad to recommend in all fairness that this dissertation be sent to the examiner(s) for an expeditious evaluation for the degree of Master of Philosophy in English.

Aizawl
7th July, 2018

(Dr Thongam Dhanajit Singh)
Supervisor

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I thank my ancestors and Gods for their constant blessings and guidance during the course of my research.

My sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Thongam Dhanajit Singh for the continuous support, patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis.

I am also truly grateful to the Department of English with its most knowledgeable professors who were constantly available to guide me. I thank Mizoram University for giving me the opportunity to carry out this research.

My utmost gratitude to my family for staying by my side through sleepless nights and supporting me till the end of my research.

I am grateful to my friends Prerna Mukhia and Tibrata Sharma who helped me collect materials for my research.

Last but not least, I thank my country and the people of West Bengal who shared their political views and history with open minds.

(SHRIJANA RAI)

CONTENTS

Declaration

Certificate

Acknowledgement

List of Abbreviations

CHAPTER I 1- 18

The Authors and their Milieu

CHAPTER II 19- 41

Redefining the Gorkha Identity in India

CHAPTER III 42- 69

Alienation of Gorkhas in India

CHAPTER IV 70- 90

Quest for Homeland

CHAPTER V 91- 101

Conclusion

Bibliography 102- 107

Appendices

Bio- Data

Abbreviations Used in the Dissertation

AIGL	All India Gorkha League
CPI	Communist Party of India
DGHC	Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council
GJM	Gorkha Janmukti Morcha
GNLF	Gorkha National Liberation Front
GTA	Gorkhaland Territorial Administration
INA	Indian National Army
I.B. Rai	Indra Bahadur Rai
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
TV	Television
WBBSE	West Bengal Board of Secondary Education

CHAPTER I

The Authors and their Milieu

Gorkhas¹ are an ethnic race living in India as Indian citizens. They speak Nepali language and have close cultural and historical relationship with with the Nepalis of Nepal. The term ‘Gorkha’ is said to be derived from the word ‘Goraknath’, the Hindu deity. However in recent times most agree to the fact that the name Gorkha came from a principality called ‘Gorkha’ located in Nepal. The history of the Gorkhas can be traced to the establishment of a kingdom by the Shah dynasty in the Chaubisi Rajya of the present Nepal with ‘Gorkha’ as its capital. The Shahs occupied most of the areas of North India which had to be given to the British after the Anglo- Nepal War(1814- 1815). The Sugauli Treaty(1815) marks the entry of a bulk of Gorkhas into the then British India territory that established the settlement of the race in India.

Gorkhas are a community characterized by diverse culture, language and religion. The community is broadly divided into the “Aryan” i.e. Bahuns, Chhetri, Kami, Damai, Sarki, etc-- and the “Mongoloid” i.e. Rai, Tamang, Subba, Sunwar etc. Culturally the Gorkhas are linked together by festivals like Dassain, Tiwar and Indian festivals like Holi. The Aryans having a Hindu background celebrate most of the Hindu festivals. Many mongoloid groups in the Gorkha community are Shamanistic (a religion that involves ancient spiritual and natural practices) with the belief of Ban- Jhankri(forest priest) who was believed to be the first Shaman. The Mongoloid Gorkhas consisting of Rai, Limboo etc have their own priests called ‘Fedenba’ and ‘Bijuwa’ respectively. Tamangs and Gurungs believe in Buddhism and animism (the belief in a supernatural

power that organizes and animates the material universe). However the coming of the British in India led to the expansion of Christianity in the community. The community has similar dress codes consisting of ‘Chawbandi- Cholo’(a kind of saree) for women and ‘Dawra-Sural’(loose shirt and trousers) for men along with Dhaka Topi (Cap). The “Kukuri”(knife) as a weapon symbolizes the community as warrior race used even today for basic utility and the Gorkha Rifles of Indian Army.

During the colonial period the Gorkhas found job opportunities in the East India Company’s army and the tea gardens of Darjeeling. A bulk of Gorkhas settled mostly in the hilly regions of Darjeeling and Sikkim with little population towards the plains of Assam. Darjeeling laid a solid ground for the Gorkha settlers to work as laborers in the tea gardens and in the household of the British officials. Darjeeling, therefore, provides a space for the cultural and political development of the Gorkha community. It is in Darjeeling that the demand for a separate state of ‘Gorkhaland’² for the Gorkhas took shape under Gorkha National Liberation Front led by Subhash Ghisingh. The agitation was settled with the signing of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council(DGHC) Agreement between the Central Government of India, the West Bengal Government and the Gorkha National Liberation Front(GNLF) in Kolkata in 1988. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was again abolished in 2012 with the signing of the tripartite agreement on 18th July 2011 between the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha(GJM) and the West Bengal and Central governments which led to the establishment of Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA). The GTA replaced the DGHC after the GTA body was formed in August, 2012 by a West Bengal State Act.

The Gorkhas in India, according to Khemraj Sharma, are divided into two groups, the Raithanee and the Sukumbasis, on the basis of their history of settlement. The Raithanee are the original settlers who had to change nationalities after the Anglo- Nepal War(1814-1815) and the Sukumbasis are the recent settlers who came after the Sugauli Treaty of 1815. Further, the Indo- Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty (1950) after the Indian independence loosened the boundaries between India and Nepal that allowed many Nepali citizens to come and work in India. The treaty also recognized the Gorkhas who settled in India before 1950 as Indian citizens. Many Gorkhas who were granted citizenship continued to serve the independent nation of India in the Gorkha Rifles of the Indian army.

Throughout the 200 years of their history in India, the Gorkhas have been facing countless incidents of racial treatment and alienation. Such issues can be seen in the light of the demand of an Indian identity politically realized in the form of the demand of statehood for Gorkhaland within India. They believe that the state of Gorkhaland in India will provide them an Indian identity with political and cultural security. C.K Shrestha in his book *Gorkhas' Quest for an Indian Identity* states that:

A Gorkha state in India is absolutely necessary to establish the Indian National Identity of more than 12.5 million Gorkhas spread all over India. Without having a state in India our national identity is always misconceived and misconstrued. Because of this aberration in perception, Gorkhas in India are constantly put under the scanner and humiliated as outsiders, immigrants, infiltrators and even foreigners. This humiliation is nothing less than carrying a millstone around the neck which obviously reduces the pace of our overall progress. (Shrestha 19)

Statehood serves a security in the safeguard of political views, economy and culture. The misconstrued view of Gorkhas as foreigners from Nepal has led them to believe that a state would serve the purpose of national acceptance in India politically, socially, culturally and economically.

Identity is an ever changing mode of social acknowledgment “Identities we must remind ourselves are always hybridized. Identities often keep changing boundaries making culture the prime site of contestation of the multiple layers of identities” (Golay 87). The identity of a being and his development lies in the social acceptance of the larger group he belongs to. The race’s lack of social and national identity in India binds them into amalgamating into other races of India. The Gorkhas are a race of mixed linguistic, cultural and religious background that binds them together with the Nepali language, originally known as the ‘Khaskura khasa’. Having an independent cultural and linguistic identity set for them since long, amalgamation into the West Bengal is frequently considered as denial of their identity. This issue has been put forward by many Gorkhas who claim the separation from West Bengal as justified. Anjan Dutta in his article “The Wounded Soldier” writes on the subjugation of the Gorkhas by the British by calling them as “natural born warriors” (Dutta 61) for the cause of the British in their foreign wars and also after the Indian independence. He quotes what Field Marshall Manekshaw said: “If a man says he is not afraid to die, he is either lying or a Gorkha” (qtd. in Dutta 61) This statement of Manekshaw, according to Dutta, is dehumanizing. He writes : “From this quotation, thanks to some Gorkha students of JNU Delhi, it is clearly evident that the history of the Gorkhas has always been a history of dehumanization. Dehumanization that inevitably reaches the crisis of Identity” (Dutta 61). The demand

for Indian identity for the Gorkhas is left unheard because of less population and lesser acknowledgement of the issue from the Central and the State Governments. The state Government's ideals rest in the fact of 'One nation, One race' or the global citizen theory in the vast multi- racial country of India. The theory or ideal however cannot exist as Rajiv Malhotra in his book *Being Different* cites:

When all collective identities are discharged and all boundaries challenged- whether under the rubric of postmodern critique or as a result of a vague and undefined sense that 'all is one' and we are all fundamentally the same'- the result is not a world free from dominance but one in which the strongest of identities along with the versions of history and value prevails (Malhotra 14)

The fight for Gorkhaland sets a stage to address these issues of identity, history and language of the Gorkhas. The Gorkhas having advanced in literary fields aims to address its identity issues through the literary works and different educational spheres such as rewriting of history. The writers aim to shed new lights to the Indian population addressing the life of Gorkhas in India without Indian identity.

Identity in literature of the Gorkha writers is a prominent discourse in recent times. Literature genre has been a means for the writers to put forward their grievances before the world. The literary works of Gorkhas until recently was written only in the Nepali vernacular to give awareness of the social crises of Gorkhas. The coming of English Education in the schools has now given space for literary texts in English by Gorkha writers. Not only this, the life of the Gorkhas is indeed mentioned in the literary works of non Gorkha writers such as that of Kiran Desai. In her '*The Inheritance of Loss*' which showcases the demand of Gorkhaland in the riot torn Himalayan foothills of

Darjeeling and Kalimpong, the plight of the Gorkhas is voiced out with a speech by a man speaking from a platform during the agitation witnessed by the protagonist Gyan:

“In 1947, brothers and sisters, the British left granting India her freedom, granting the Muslims Pakistan, granting special provisions for the scheduled castes and tribes, leaving everything taken care of, brothers and sisters----

“Except us. EXCEPT US. The Nepalis of India. At that time, in April of 1947, the Communist Party of India demanded a Gorkhasthan, but the request was ignored...We are laborers in tea plantations, coolies dragging heavy loads, soldiers. And are we not allowed to become doctors and government workers, owners of the tea plantations? *No!* we are kept at the level of servants...But we are Gorkhas. We are soldiers. Our character has never been in doubt. And have we been rewarded?? Have we been given compensation?? Are we given respect??

“*No!* They spit on us”. (Desai 165)

The issue of the Gorkhaland agitation hit the Indian population through Desai’s novel which changed the view, if not much, a little on the Gorkha’s plight and problems in West Bengal. However, the Gorkha identity here is again being reduced to soldiers and vicious military groups. This identity is further diminished in the works of the famous writer Satyajit Ray in his detective novel *Feluda* Volume 1, where in the first chapter titled “Danger in Darjeeling” all the well-to-do characters mentioned belong to the Bengali community. Interestingly the detective Feluda in the novel asks his client: “How long have you had that Nepali servant?” (Ray 8). The use of the word ‘Nepali’ as an identifying marker for the servant is symbolic of the Bengali view of the Gorkhas. The

native of Darjeeling are portrayed as servants under the Nepali nationality tag while Bengali race is seen as the superior race in this novel. The portrayal of Gorkhas in the works such as this cause the Gorkha population produce literary works of their own. This is to deconstruct the stereotypical view of the Gorkha identity created by the majority community in West Bengal.

Gayatri Spivak in her essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” says that the West who gains sovereignty over the subject knowledge of the dominated subaltern East also represents the dominated East in their writing of the history of the East. By ‘subaltern’ Spivak means the oppressed subjects. She goes on to add that “In the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak” (Spivak 287). According to her representing the marginal and oppressed groups i.e. the Subaltern is further rendering them voiceless. This, she points out, is because for the Subaltern to be represented, they should be represented by the privileged group. Gorkha’s history is a sensitive one where they believe historical books do not give justice to the truth behind the race. As a race the Gorkhas belonged to the labour class of society and did not produce any written source documenting the lives they lived. Therefore they are subjected to face the identity produced by the dominant race in India who cannot give justice to the subaltern identity and its problems. In this regards, Bidhan Golay writes:

There is a need to reconstitute the Gorkhas as a historical character, rehabilitate their consciousness and agency in history. This can be done by engaging with the canonical texts, reading them against their grain and unsettling the discourse. This will eventually liberate the Gorkha identity from the hegemony of discourse and the totalizing tendencies of Western history. (87)

As Spivak suggests, the real crisis of the subaltern can only be voiced by themselves and not by the dominating race. In this light the Gorkha population has produced voluminous literary works that voice out their social dilemma. Issues such as ‘Identity’ and the ‘demand for Statehood’ are the major concerns discussed in the literary works of the Gorkhas. The history of Gorkhas in India plays a major role in shaping its literary themes. Tracing the historical development of Gorkhas in India, one cannot stray far from the nation of Nepal for its common language. However a thematic variation occurs in literature beyond the border. The Gorkha writers of India are constantly battered with the question of home and security of Identity in their literary though these are not the major issues in the literary works of the Nepalis of Nepal.

This present study focuses on two authors-- Indra Bahadur Rai and Manohar Thapa-- to put forward the dynamics of identities of the Gorkhas in their literary texts that showcase the grievances of rootlessness, the identity crisis and the demand for a separate state for gorkhas to create a political space in the post independent India. It will also attempt to read the works of the two authors in the light of the historical circumstances out of which these works are produced.

Indra Bahadur Rai(1927- 2017) is regarded as one of the leading architects of Modern Nepali literature. His writings occupy a pivotal place in contemporary Nepali literature which has shaped the understanding of the Indian Nepali consciousness. Rai has made a great impact on Nepali literature with his creative and critical writing styles. He is known for his short stories and novels. He is also a distinguished essayist and a critic. Rai was awarded the Sahitya Akademi award in Nepali literature in 1976 for his book *Nepali Upanyaska Adharharu* (The Bases of Nepali Novels) which is a critical study of the

theoretical bases of Nepali novels. He is also known for experimenting with different literary genres in Nepali literature. As Micheal Hutt says in his *Himalayan Voice: An introduction to Modern Nepali Literature*, “Rai is one of the most original and influential Nepali writers to have appeared in recent years” (Hutt 260).

Rai started his literary career with the publication of a collection of short stories titled *Bipana Katipaya* (1960) which is written in a realist style. The second collection *Kathasta* (1971), was experimental in form and drew from the tradition of modern abstract art. Known for his short stories, he also writes novels with his significant work *Aju Ramita Cha* (*There is a Carnival Today*) in 1964 translated into English by Manjushree Thapa. The novel’s story takes place in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal where Rai has given a vivid presentation of the socio-political lives of the Gorkha people of Darjeeling. His collection of short fiction *Kathaputaliko Man* (*The Puppet’s Mind*) (1989) is accompanied with his views of his new literary movement ‘Leela Lekhan’. Indra Bahadur Rai though born in Darjeeling before the Indian independence is well versed in the teachings of Western Philosophical works of Derrida, Lacan, Baudrillard, etc. In the work *Gorkha Imagined, Indra Bahadur Rai in Translation*, Prem Poddar writes:

Indra Bahadur Rai’s prose is notoriously dense, packed with idiosyncratic expressions and jarring turn of phrases. When a simple word can do I.B will extract the most obscure synonym. In short I.B’s project is to inject Nepali literature with the ‘intellectual’ incomprehensibility of his mentors such as Derrida, Lacan and Baudrillard and put Nepali literature out of reach of ordinary readers. (18)

It can be said without doubt that Rai's interest in the Nepali language and linguistics was a formidable help in establishing the All Nepali Language Recognition Committee, through which he fought for the recognition of the Nepali language in India.

Rai's constant dive into the literary theories brought out a revolution in the Nepali literature by giving birth to the so called 'Tesro Aayam'(Third dimension). After the publication of his earlier works, he gradually changed his writing style from two-dimensional writing and took up the three dimensional writings which stemmed up from disillusionment from the realist writing styles. His 'Tesro Aayam Movement' emerged in Nepali literature in the early 1960's. Rai, Ishwar Ballav and Bairagi Kaila, in an attempt to capture the three- dimensional nature of subjects started writing in this style. Among his famous works that philosophises the three dimensional theory, we find in line his "Lekhanru Ra Jhya" along with his short story "Maina ko Ama Hami Jastai" translated to English as "Maina's Mother is Just like Us". In due course of time 'Tesro Aayam' developed into the 'Leela Lekhan', a phrase that stems up from the Hindu understanding of 'leela' as 'all of reality', Prem Poddar defines Rai's Leela Lekhan as: " It is a kind of interpretation where the vantage point (however changing)of the observer/ translator allows a freer reading than the original may seem to demand" (Poddar 17). Rai's Leela Lekhan is based on the view that subjectivity dominates the human landscape. As Dr Ghanshyam Nepal and Dr Jas Yonjan puts into words Rai's Leela Lekhan: "(One) can see the all pervading operation of Leela in all aspects of human activities. The concept of Leela defines human beings moved about by the semi- forces- social, economic, political, psychological, historical, religious, national and what not- operating upon our needs to

live and survive”(as ct in Sahitya Akademi 3- 4). A striking example of the Leela Lekhan came out in Rai’s *KataPutaliko Man* (The Puppets Mind) in 1989.

Rai’s literary works have helped the modern Nepali Literature and language flourish to new extremities. However writing in Nepali has meant that such works are only accessible to the Nepali readers or those familiar to the language only. Thus many literary works in Nepali have been translated in recent times. *Gorkha Imagined: Indra Bahadur Rai in Translation* consisting of eight translated short stories and two essays by Rai addresses and captures the daily nuances of the lives of Gorkhas from the second half of the 20th century onwards. This collection presents the full range of Rai’s works and in doing so demonstrates why he is such an influential figure in contemporary Nepali literature. The use of realism in his work brings out the social anxiety of an ordinary Gorkha who lives in the hills. His three stories “Gosh Babu”, “The Ordinariness of a Day”, and “The Storm Raged All Night Long” put out such trivia of the ordinary Gorkha man. The narrator in “The Ordinariness of a Day”, summarizes on behalf of many lives in the hills. Rai’s search for identity in his works extends from the Indian border to the whole Indian sub-continent where dislocation and constant struggle with Nature for the ordinary man is evident. With his stories the migration of the semi-nomadic and the historical transition of the Gorkha people is put forward. The characters in his stories, whether it is to follow a family members military posting (‘Jaar’), a traveler who rests at a spot at a bungalow (‘Kheer’), or (“Jaymaya Alone Arrived at Likhapani”) are constantly in search for a nation , which can be called home with the struggle for survival. Rai’s search for identity does not relate to a search for international acceptance. his work is rather based on an identity that distinguishes him as a part of a scattered

Indian minority. In his essay “Indian Nepali Nationalism and Nepali Poetry” the author Rai writes on how understanding identity and language plays a role in nation building. He does not stray from the Indian nationality but combines the Nepali heritage with Indian patriotism. His love for his heritage is carried out in the next essay, “Hills and Streams” in which he expresses his feelings towards his heritage in a poetic style using the narrative style of ‘Leela Lekhan’. The essay tackles the displacement of the migrant Gorkhas towards the plains away from their own homeland ie. the hills:

He lives in a hotel, he does not have his own home. Now he finds it insipid and hollow compared with the house of his own race, which stands wide and tall before him. (Rai “Hills and Streams” 190)

The identity that Rai forges is set on the hills of Darjeeling which focuses on those ethnic groups that live inside the hills away from the plains. The search for equal identity that Rai mentions deals with the two native groups Gorkhas and the Bengali’s of Bengal which can be seen in “Gosh Babu”. As a gorkha writer from Darjeeling, Rai remains true to his nativeness, cultural and linguistic identity within the Indian nation and not Nepal’s own Nepali Identity.

The research will focus of three of Rai’s short stories from the collection *Gorkhas Imagined: Indra Bahadur Rai in Translation*. The stories are “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us”, “The Storm Ragged All Night Long” and “ Khir”. “Maina’s Mother is Just like Us” is a short story that recounts the incident of Maina’s mother who sells vegetables in the chaotic town of Darjeeling during the Gorkhaland movement. Against the backdrop, we see people questioning her why she comes there. The question saddles her the burden of her own identity. “The Storm Raged all Night Long” is a story of a family living in the

hills of Darjeeling faced with a night of heavy storm. The protagonist, a woman, is anxious about the state of her house in the storm. Though they were offered a place to stay in the town with a job in police for her husband, she refused and settled in the village. But the storm in the night changes her views and she finally decides to seek a place in the town. However an incident in the town changes her views and she finally returns home to rebuild her broken shack in the village. Read allegorically, the village represents 'Gorkhaland', the imagined homeland of the Gorkhas while the town represents postcolonial India. The third short story to be studied is "Khira" where I.B Rai traces the human nature through the preparation of Khira. It is through this story that Rai has shown how the people, or in this case Gorkhas have readily accepted their fate as they eat the tasteless khira that represents their lives, a life without identity.

The literary history of the Gorkhas had a major turning point with the introduction of Nepali writing in English with writers like C.K Shrestha, Chetan Raj Shrestha, Manjushree Thapa, Manohar Thapa, Prajwal Parajuly etc. The coming of these new writers brought forward the socio- political aspects of Gorkha society into the globalised literary field. Among the most recent authors of Nepali literature Manohar Thapa takes the role of a conscious youth with his novel *The Unaccepted*

The Unaccepted by Manohar Thapa was first published in 2016 and is his first work in the English. Thapa a fairly new author hails from the Kalimpong, a newly formed district of West Bengal. He completed his Masters in Economics from Vishva-Bharati, Santiniketan. *The Unaccepted* recounts the story of a boy from Darjeeling who leaves his home for Delhi for further studies. Set in Delhi, in the midst of love and hate, he faces different views from people for his mongoloid looks- some welcoming and some

alienating. The character Manish Moktan faces racial subjection in the very he land he is born and brought up

I am not carrying the burden of everyone, who is being alienated in their own lands, throughout the world but I am just trying to say that I am experiencing the feeling, the pain which starts to cloud our minds when we encounter such thing for the first time...I may look a little different and may belong to a minority but it doesn't imply that I am alien. My mind crashed. (Thapa 34- 35)

The subjection he faces torments him to the point where he is bound to ask his girlfriend: "Don't you think I look different?"(Thapa 77). Thapa in his novel questions all forms of political identity and racial identity issues a Gorkha faces in India presenting the psychological perspective of Gorkhas to the readers. Manohar Thapa brings out the racial discrimination of the mainland India towards the North –Eastern tribes of India with the death of his Manipuri friend David. The identity issues go beyond the Gorkha racial sphere but towards all the mongoloid races in India that cannot be accepted by the so called mainstream India, who see them as foreigners and foreign citizens. The novel is not psychoanalytical like I.B Rai's short stories that bring out realism in an abstract and dramatic form; rather Thapa demonstrates his grievances in a more direct and physical form that hits the readers on the sociological and political reality of the Gorkhas.

The two writers with the help of their fictional narratives, aim to give us new insights on being a Gorkha and the forms of Identity crisis Gorkhas face in India. The stories are vividly narrated through an insider's perspective on the dynamics of identity of the Gorkhas before and after India's independence and during the globalisation.

Furthermore, the texts will help trace the importance of statehood for the Gorkhas and the complexity of the demand of state 'Gorkhaland' in India.

Notes

¹The Gorkhas are also called Gorkhalis and in many cases Nepalis or Nepalese. The use of the term Nepalis or Nepalese is inappropriate as they are not the citizens of Nepal. However the language they speak is Nepali.

² Gorkhaland is the desired state of the Gorkhas. It comprises Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong and the Gorkha dominated areas of Dooars and Terrai region of Siliguri Division of West Bengal.

Works Cited

- Desai, Kiran. *The Inheritance of Loss*, Penguin. 2005. Print.
- Dutta, Anjan. "The Wounded Soldier", *Gorkhas' Quest for Indian Identity*. Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, India, 2013. Print.
- Golay, Bidan. Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History. *Indian Nepalis Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009. Pp168- 174, Print.
- Hutt, Micheal James. (eds. and trans) *Himalyan Voices: An Introduction to Modern Nepali Literature*. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993. Print.
- Malhotra, Rajiv. *Being Different*. Harper Collins, 2011. Print.
- Poddar, Prem. "Afterlife of the original: Gorkhaness (or Indian Nepaleseness) and I.B. Rai in Translation" *Gorkhas Imagined*: Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 11- 37, Print.
- Rai, I.B. "The Ordinariness of a Day." Trans. Anmole Prasad. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 101- 110, Print.
- " Hills and Streams." Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 181- 190, Print.
- "Indian Nepali Nationalism and Nepali Poetry". *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 171- 180, Print.

Ray, Satyajit. "Danger in Darjeeling" *The Complete Adventures of Feluda. Volume I.* Penguin Books India, 2000. Print.

Sahitya Akademi. "Indra Bahadur Rai: meet the author".2004. Accessed on 21 March 2017. Web.

http://sahityaakademi.gov.in/sahityaakademi/library/meettheauthor/indra_bahadur_rai.pdf

Shrestha, C.K. "*Gorkhas' Quest for Indian Identity*".Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, India, Systematic Designers and Printers Pvt. Ltd, 2013. Print.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture.* Ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberge. Illinois: University of Illinois Press,1988. 271 – 313. E- Book. www.press.uillinois.edu. Accessed on 10 March 2017. Web.

Sunar, Pradip et.al. *The Gorkhas of Mizoram Vol.-1.* Aizawl: Mizoram Gorkha Students' Union, 2000. Print.

Thapa, Manohar. *The Unaccepted.* Gangtok: Inspired Publications, 2016. Print.

CHAPTER II

Redefining the Gorkha Identity in India

The etymological origin of the term 'Gorkha' is differently given by various people. Some think the term Gorkha has been derived from the term 'Goraknath', the Hindu deity and hence the followers are named as Gorkhas. Still some other believe that the term Gorkha is derived from the word 'Gouraksha' meaning the protector of the cattle. Hence they are called Gorkha, who protect cattle to the extent of worshipping it as 'Gaumata', (mother cow). Even today, Cattle is a familiar sight in most of the Gorkha homes in India. Gorkha is also name of a place in Nepal where this community once lived. However the history of Gorkhas' settlement in India is mainly associated with the consequences of colonialism, poverty and unemployment. K.R. Sharma in his *The Darjeeling Gorkhas: A Study on Identity Dilemma* writes:

Gorkhas immigration history is a history that started in 15th century. The original Gorkhas in India immigrated to western Nepal, Gharwal, Sikkim, Darjeeling and North Eastern Himalayas including Assam to save their cow Dharma from the treacherous attacks of Muslim rulers....The push factor for the immigration to Indian Himalayas from the Nepal Himalayas was poverty, cast rigidities and aspirations for class enrichment. (Sharma 2)

These multi-lingual hill people once lived in and around the Gorkha district of present Nepal. This place was in the past a tribal principality which was later conquered by Drabya Shah (1559-1570) who founded the Gorkha Kingdom under Shah dynasty. The

Shahs were Indians from Rajasthan who fled north during Muslim invasion in India to protect their religion and culture. The rise of the Shah dynasty found in the chronicles “trace the ancestry of the ruling house of Gorkha to Bhupati Ranaji Rao of Chitor”. (Shaha 23).

Later the Gorkhas lived in the ‘Chaubisi Rajya’, a collection of twenty four small states under Nar Bhupal Shah with Gorkha as its capital. After his death, his son Prithivi Narayan Shah expanded the Kingdom to Katmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, which were the three Newari principalities under the Malla Dynasty. The area surrounding Katmandu and other close states were together called the Nepal valley named by a sage called Nemi. After the annexation of these Newari capitals by Pritivi Narayan Shah, the Gorkha kingdom was renamed Nepal in 1768 and became a powerful force for the emergence of Nepali nationalism. Eventually the Gorkhas of Nepal came to be known as Nepalis. The emergence of the Nepali nation brought changes in the socio economic and political system of the once diverse Gorkha principalities along with the change of the name of language into Nepali in 1933 from Khaskura Khasa, the language of the native Gorkhas of Nepal. Later on even the term Gorkha in the National anthem of Nepal was also changed to Nepali in 1951.

Prithivi Narayan Shah’s son Bahadur Shah further expanded the Kingdom all along the Himalayan foothills from Kumaon and Gharwal in the West to the north of India up to Nainital and Sikkim in the East. However Nepal was forced to return many territories after the crushing defeat in the Anglo-Nepal War (1814-1816). It was during this time Darjeeling, Sikkim and many other adjoining territories were annexed to the colonial India by British from Nepal along with the people who had to change

nationalities after the war as Indian Gorkhas. The Sugauli Treaty signed between Nepal and the British in 1815 marks the entry of Gorkhas into India. Gorkhas presence in pre-colonial India had already been established with the recruitment of Gorkha soldiers in the Mughal army and Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Army in Lahore of Pakistani Punjab. The 'Lahurays' were the Gorkha soldiers recruited in the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, Punjab. 'Munglanay' were those Gorkhas who migrated to Munglan- the land of Mughals in search of jobs particularly in armies and other forces. K.R. Sharma mentions that the British after 1835 employed most of the Gorkhas as cheap laborers to clear the dense forest of Darjeeling. However the population of Darjeeling was divided into two groups the 'Sukumbasis' or recent settlers and the 'Raithanee' the permanent residents (Sharma 12). The Gorkhas of Darjeeling, Sikkim, Kalimpong were displaced politically along with their land into the mainland of India as per the terms of Treaty of Sugauli 1816 and Treaty of Sinchula 1865 and were called as 'Raithanee', while those who came seeking for a better job were called 'Sukumbasis'(Sharma 12) The Raithanee's were appointed as the recruiters of Man power like the Sukumbasis into the tea plantations. General Ochterlony played a crucial role in the early recruitment of the Gorkhas into the Company's army which is carried out under the order of Lord Moira on 24th April 1815 to raise three Gorkha Battalions (Shaha 1). However the Gorkhas have been going through a struggle for identity particularly after the signing of the Indo- Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty (1950) which liberalized the movement across the Indo- Nepal border.

The Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 laid down that only those of Nepali nationals settled in various parts of India prior to the date of signing of the treaty would be granted Indian citizenship. They call themselves 'Bharatiya Nepali' or Indian

'Nepali' who are practically under the same umbrella of Indian Gorkhas. This treaty has liberalized the movement of people between the two nations and hence the cultural and ethnic identity mingled to the extent that the Indian Gorkhas are considered as Nepalis from Nepal. For this problem Subash Ghisingh the late president of the Gorkha National Liberation Front(GNLF), put the blame on Article VII of the said treaty and called for its abrogation. Moreover, after the independence of India, when the state reorganization act came in 1956 many states were formed on the basis of language. However many minority linguistic communities were largely ignored where the Indian Gorkhas stand as an example

Many Gorkhas have time and again put forward their grievances about the stereotypical belief that Gorkhas are fit to be represented as a *chowkidar*, security guard, house servant or in the Army. The marginalization of Gorkha tea plantation workers in West Bengal stands a fertile ground for study of the marginalization of Indian Gorkha community right from the colonial days down to the post-independent India. The British utilized the Gorkhas in the wars of expansion and defense of imperial interest all over the world. The Gorkhas have put forward their lives at risk for the independence of India from the British rule. A noteworthy example from history of Indian Independence movement can be the case of Capt. Dal Bahadur Thapa and Maj. Durga Malla who were captured by the British and sentenced to Death: "They died on the gallows in Delhi District Jail. In this way, Maj. Durga Malla became the first INA man to die on gallows" (Pradip Sunar et.al 53-54). The marginalization starts when several of the Gorkhas who fought for India do not get a mentionable status in the history of Indian Independence struggle. This stands out sorer in the post-Independent phase of India. The advent of

Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization policy in India(1991) has brought about many changes in India. For the Gorkha population in India who depend upon Tea plantation as their mode of earning no development schemes were substantial to promote the living standard of the planters where the sociologist Khemraj Sharma points out that:

In spite of having two hundred years of history of tea industry in Darjeeling the Government of West Bengal could not enact and implement the provisions of Minimum Wages Act, 1936. (Sharma 95)

Land and ethnic identity are closely linked. Territory or in this case demand for Gorkhaland state marks the power struggle of the Gorkhas to overthrow the stereotypical notion of Gorkhas being considered as Nepali citizens. The marginalization of the Gorkhas extends beyond the economic conditions to the political situations where the identity issues faced by this race in India have led to the demand of a separate state called Gorkhaland. The area of Darjeeling that holds the major population of Gorkhas becomes a site for the demand for an 'Identity' in the state of West Bengal where the Bengali population is seen as the dominating race as Sharma writes: "The globalized era has completely allowed the Bengalis to marginalize the weaker section of the society, community and Backward poor very beautifully" (Sharma 95). Thus the Indian Gorkhas have found their ethnic and political identity at stake. Today the literary and research based works of many Gorkha writers have identity crisis and marginalization as a major issue.

Identity can be defined as a way, "to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion,

language, an culture” (Francis Deng 1). It is the very basic ideology of an individual that shapes the subject’s identity. In the essay, “On Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards Investigation”, the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser theorizes the process of identification through such ideologies. This form of identity changes along with ideologies with factors of hegemony and hybridization. Stuart Hall writes:

“Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, Instead of identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.” (111)

Nationality and Ethnic Identity are the major issues faced by the Gorkhas in India. The formation of the identity of Gorkhas in India took shape during the colonial years. Their present identity is derived from colonial historiography where they are frequently identified as a “martial race”:

The ‘Gurkha’ identity as a ‘martial race’ is largely the ‘discovery’ of the ethnographical knowledge of the colonial state. The discovery marks off the colonial state’s shift in its emphasis from the brutal modes of conquest to cultural technologies of rule--- the production of colonial knowledge. (Dirks 88)

The history of the Gorkhas is a debatable discourse where no fixed course of history is set on the existence of the race in India as Indians. While many chronicle the development of the race after the coming of the British, the race has its traces of

settlement in India before the coming of the British. However the Western presentation on the origin of the Gorkhas have taken up the forefront which has caused the development of identity crisis of the Gorkhas in India. Their existence has undergone many complex physiological and political dilemma producing more native texts to trace their history and development in India. The identity of the Gorkhas is divided into two complex historical set up: the first being the origin of the race in Nepal and the second the location of the race in India before and after the colonization. The historiography of the Gorkhas needs to undergo a redefining stage with the coming of a more complex social change and hybridity in the mainland India. Before we can define the identity of the Gorkha in India as a foreign citizen we have to rethink the history of India as a whole where:

Before 1947 what we call India today was a landmass of nearly 600 independent princely states and a number of presidencies and provinces under the British regime. And as this landmass was loosely and erroneously termed as India by the Historians the text book history till today depicts that the East India Company came to India in the beginning of the 17th century. Nothing can be farther from truth then this. It is a totally misleading and false depiction of the National History. The fact is India as a country never existed at that point of time. The British company had actually landed not in India but on the shores of Indian sub-continent which happened to be a vast geographical area only, definitely not a country. (Shrestha 6)

Thus the concept of a Federal Democratic India did not cultivate itself before the British Raj but sometime before independence. The Gorkhas in this case existed in the Indian

sub- continent and not the unified India, which dates back to pre-India and pre-Nepal. The need to rewrite the history of the Gorkhas in India is because of the identity crisis that has set on the race after the post- independent India. The aim of this chapter is to locate the existing cultural boundary of the race that gives it a separate identity to them away from Nepal and to map out their identity within India in terms history, politics, culture, etc.

Gorkha identity is a complex one that has gone through evolution in the globalised post independent and postcolonial India. The community has got various identities at different time and places. Such identities for the Gorkhas are constructed in a complex matrix of culture, political and social hybridity that has taken place in India: “Identities we must remind ourselves are always hybridized. Identities often keep changing boundaries making culture the prime site of contestation of the multiple layers of identities”(Golay 87). The Gorkhas residing in India from time immemorial are still put on the margins of the imagined nation literarily and figuratively but “This marginality is not merely a location but a byword for the oppressed and disposed” (Golay page 75). The marginality of the Gorkhas in India within its cultural and political framework has led to the discourse on the race’s existence in India. The issue of marginality relates to the complex history of the race and their settlement in India. The factors that cause such marginality can be traced to the migration into the Indian sub-continent, the complexity of language and culture in relations to Nepal and the origin of the race.

The evolution of a race is always associated with culture. The causes of this evolution of the Gorkha race are due to political displacement and economic migration, technological advancement brought by globalisation. The displacement of the Gorkhas

into the mainland India created a diverse cultural line from that of their contemporaries in Nepal. The Gorkhas then living in India gradually hybridized with the Indian mainland culture that shared its origins within the same religious framework. The cultural hybridization occurred at greater degree in the postcolonial India due to which the Indian Gorkhas strayed way from the Nepali cultural life. Gorkha identity cannot be defined in direct isolation of any single factor. It is a complex matrix of cultural and religious hybridity and the continuous evolution of the race in time.

The Gorkhas in India for the past two hundred years have undergone series of changes in socio-cultural lifestyle. The religious hybridization was destined in a post colonial space of India with the introduction of Christianity and the other Hindu native cults along with their old belief systems. The acceptance of Durga Puja with the practice of immersing the idol of the Goddess stands as an example of the race's religious hybridization in Bengal. Similarly, the Kumari culture that exists in Nepal till date lost its existence in the Gorkha cultural practice in India. The hybridization with the assimilation of Indian culture impacted the language of the Gorkhas of India. While the Nepali language holds strong to its originality with accents and speech in Nepal, the Gorkhas of India carry a different tone and accent through the years as recorded in day to day conversations. The Nepali language in Nepal is considered as a National language along with the existence of different indigenous dialects of the sub-ethnic races. The value of the language changes on the other side of the border where the Nepali language holds the unifying quality for Gorkhas who failed to retain their indigenous dialect. The consequences of such hybridization has led to the cultural and political conflict between the two political diverse contemporaries i.e. the Gorkhas and the Nepalis of Nepal, where

a feeling of contempt is noticeable with words like “Munglaney”, “Lahuray” and “Dhoti Gatheey” indentifying the Gorkhas as Indians by Nepal.

The Gorkhas owes its ancestry to the kingdom of Nepal at a point of time. However the two hundred years of geographical and political boundaries have brought a marked difference in the national psychology of the Gorkhas of India who remain loyal to the Indian nation. The reflection of Indian nationality is found in poetical works of Nepali writers like Adi Kavi Bhanubhakta. Indra Bahadur Rai in his essay “Indian Nepali Nationalism & Nepali Poetry” quotes Adi kavi Bhanubhakta, the pioneer of Nepali literary culture: “Ati durlabh janos bharat bhumiko janma janale (Trans: Blessed is the man who is born in Bharat) (Rai 174). The signing of the Sugauli Treaty that allowed free access to India by Nepali citizens and vice versa has complicated the identity of the Gorkhas in India.

Though there were a large number of Gorkhas in India before 1815 in Darjeeling and Sikkim, it was only after the coming of the British colony that a racial identity was created with the recruitment of Gorkhas in the British East India Company as Gorkha Battalions (Nasire or Nusooree battalion, Sirmoor rifles and Kumaun battalion) and Tea-Estate laborers in Darjeeling and the adjoining areas of Kalimpong and Dooars region. The Gorkhas were used by the British East India company to constrict the Indian freedom movement. It was based on the idea that the Gorkhas would serve with loyalty towards the British rule considering they were not familiar or culturally inclined to the mainland Indians. As McMunn emphasizes this fact when he says that “the bulk of Gurkha tribes were in no sympathy with the races of India, and in the army would far rather associate with the European soldiers than with the other Indian troops” (MacMunn 195). In relation

to this the rest of the population in India identified the Indian Gorkhas as traitors forgetting the situation and compulsion imposed on them. This loyalty to the British however did not limit itself to the Gorkhas alone as the British army consisted of not only the Gorkhas but also the other Indians in the British army. The Revolt of 1857 holds its failure not because of the Gorkhas in the British army but because of the disunity among the Indians:

While sepoy of the Bengal army were revolting, some soldiers in Panjab and south India fought on the side of the British to crush these rebellions. Similarly, there were no accompanying rebellions in most of eastern and southern India. The Sikhs also did not support the rebels. All these groups had their reasons to do so. The possibility of the revival of Mughal authority created a fear among the Sikhs who had faced so much oppression at the hands of the Mughals. Similarly, the Rajput chieftains in Rajasthan and Nizam in Hyderabad were so much harassed by the Marathas that they dreaded the revival of Maratha power. Besides this, there were some element of the peasantry that had profited from the British rule. They supported the British during the revolt. The Zamindars of Bengal Presidency were the creation of the British; and had all the reasons to support them. The same applied to the big merchant of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras who did not go over to the rebels but supported the British” (“The Revolt of 1857”: <http://www.larrymcelhiney.com> 13).

The British Raj kept the Gorkhas at bay of the Indian political ruling system and were used basically as soldiers and laborers with no prospects of development. The Nepali proverb “Kam Chalo Bahro Afal Tero Tharo”(trans: you will be there as long as

you are useful and you will be thrown out when you are useless)(Sharma and Das 104) indicating the use-and-throw policy of the British over the Gorkhas. However the political awareness had already existed among the people of the Darjeeling hills ever since the Hillsmen Association of Darjeeling submitted a memorandum to the British authority asking for a separate administrative status in 1907. This step is the hallmark of the Gorkhas that shared a sense of belongingness in India. The colonial martial tag laid on the Gorkhas deems them to be loyal, sincere and courageous. This martial race has been praised time and again for the bravery in the Gorkha regiment.

On the contrary Gorkhas' basic need of identity and aspirations are camouflaged in their frame of bravery alone. This frame of the Gorkhas when deconstructed, mirror new identities that is deserved through evolution. The Gorkhas in one hand proudly accept their status a brave race but on the other hand wish to evolve as a race distinct in other spheres like the other races in India. The ever changing globalised world has brought new identities to people and races. These implications on the Gorkhas have shown tremendous achievements in various fields. In the world of sports the Gorkha football players are Sunil Chhetri, the recipient of Arjuna Award in 2011, Shyam Thapa and Chandan Singh Rawat. D.S Thapa and Shiv Thapa deserve mention in Indian boxing where the latter is the youngest Indian Boxer to qualify for the Olympic. Bharat Chhetri, led the 16- member Indian hockey squad as captain in the 2012 Olympic Games in London. Jittu Rai received the Arjuna Award in Pistol shooting in 2015. In the literary world Indra Bahadur Rai is considered as the pioneer of Nepali Literary progress. He is known for his 'Tesro Aayam'(Third dimension) and 'Leela lekhan' the abstract narration theory that changed the face of realism in Nepali literature. Rai was awarded the Sahitya

Akademi award in Nepali literature in 1976 for his book *Nepali Upanyaska Adharharu* (*The Bases of Nepali Novels*)(Sahitya Akademi), which is a critical study of the theoretical bases of Nepali novels. Initially the literary scope of the Gorkhas could not extend beyond the Gorkha community in India due to the barrier of language. Today the barrier has been broken by the modern Gorkha writers in English Language like Prajwal Parajuly, the author of *The Gorkhas Daughter* and *Land where I Flee*; Manohar Thapa with his *The Unaccepted*, Chetan Raj Shresta who wrote *The Kings Ransom*, Manjushree Thapa, the prominent author of *Forget Katmandu* and the translator of I.B Rai's *Aju Ramita Cha* (*There is a Carnival Today*) bringing Rai's work to the forefront of Nepali writing in English. The scope of education for the Gorkhas is broadened in the social and political dynamics with research personnel like Dr.Khemraj Sharma, Dr. Tanka Bhadur Subba, Dr. Mahendra P Lama and many others who have produced volumes of works based on Gorkhas of India. In the Military feats the Gorkhas have proved to be martial heroes. The statue of martyr, Major Durga Malla the INA freedom fighter stands in the Indian Parliament House complex. Ironically his community gathered there demanding Gorkhaland Statehood in 2017. The Military history of India records Captain Ram Sing Thakuri, the INA freedom fighter, as the composer of many patriotic songs like *Kadam Kadam Badaye Ja* and *Subh Sukh Chain*. He also tuned the national anthem of India. The military records the mention of names like Mr Shakti Gurung the first lieutenant general of India, the Param Vir Chakra awardee Lieutenant Colonel Dhan Singh Thapa and Brigadier Sher Jung Thapa who was honored as the hero of Skardu and awarded the Maha Vir Chakra for saving Leh- Ladakh in the Indo- Pakistan war of 1947. Looking at their past history the Indian Gorkhas aspire to live in India like the other races with their demand of a state 'Gorkhaland' within India. However such demands were put to rest by

the government with bullets fired at unarmed citizens resulting in death during the Gorkhaland agitation of 1985 and 2017.

In 1909 on the eve of the Indian Council Act, the leaders of the hill people of Darjeeling pressed to the colonial government to maintain the scheduled district status. Thereafter All India Gorkha League (AIGL) was established in 1923 where D.S Gurung was made the president who sent the memorandum to Viceroy Wavell on February 1st 1944, stating the uncertain future of the Gorkhas who have not been recognized as a community in India. Later in 1949 R.N Sinha and Randhir Subba (AIGL) demanded the formation of Uttarkhand Pradesh. The demand that the Indian domiciled Gorkhas should be recognized as a community in India has appeared at different times in different shapes due to various discriminations they have faced. The identity of the Gorkhas as foreigners has been cited in public thoughtlessly by great leaders like Rajiv Gandhi (1984- 1989), at the height of Gorkhaland movement by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF): “If the Nepalese of Darjeeling wanted Indian citizenship, there was no harm if they write to their king”(R Dhamala, 173). In 1986, around 7000- 10,000 Nepalese were expelled from Meghalaya (Bomjan 110) undermining the Indo- Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950. No political party took up this issue. Ghisingh said that the Gorkhas in Darjeeling would face the same threat to their security if their identity is not clearly marked as Indian. The implication is that they would never have true security until and unless they have their own state. In the process April 13 1986 was observed as ‘Black Flag Day’. The year 1986, became the watershed in the growth of the Gorkha Movement. It was the beginning of the struggle for the Gorkhas for a homeland of their own, where they could establish their clear ethnic identity as the citizens of India. Thus a state with

the name 'Gorkhaland' comprising Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong and the Dooars region of North Bengal was proposed.

The Gorkhaland movement was both a regional and ethnic movement, where the two aspects reinforced each other and influenced balance of power in the hills of Darjeeling District. Calling for the abrogation of Article VII of the 1950 Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty was one of the tactics of Ghisingh to mobilize the followers in Darjeeling. This demand has been carried out through two mass movements under the Gorkha National Liberation Front (1986- 1988) and Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (2007-2017). The movement has been limited to the North of West Bengal as Gorkhas have been in concentration around these areas. Though the struggle for the land is limited to a certain geographical location, the sentiments are carried far. The concept of Gorkha statehood relates to its safeguard of Ethnic Identity which has a close link to Political Identity and power of Governance. Micheal Foucault pointed out that power is "something which circulates and is employed and exercised through net-like organization and individuals are always in position of simultaneously understanding and exercising this power" (Foucault 347). Therefore these ethnic organizations have motives to get control over political office in order to get political authority.

In his work D.S Bomjan recounts the incident of the Indian Idol 2007 a program launched by Sony TV channel for the search of the best singer. Thirteen contestants were chosen out which two contestants proceeded to the Gala Round. The two contestants namely Amit Paul from Meghalaya and Prashant Tamang of West Bengal remained at fray. The voting system was left to the public and was sent to their respective hometowns for people votes. Amit Paul was kindly received by the Chief Minister of Meghalaya

D.D Lapang and was conferred the title of Grand Ambassador for peace of Meghalaya on the other hand Prashant Tamang was not granted any government support from West Bengal. The Prashant Tamang supporters had thought and expected the Government of West Bengal would take up measures as he belonged to the Kolkata Police and the State Minister himself being the Minister-in-charge of the Police Department. However the Government remained silent and the print and electronic media directly and indirectly raised support for Amit Paul as he belonged to the Bengali race and had close links in Kolkata and Siliguri. Bomjan states that “It was also reported in the local dailies published from Siliguri the desire and wish expressed in favor of Amit Paul for his victory by the Sabhadhipati of Siliguri Mahakuma Parishad and the responsible Minister Ashok Bhattacharjee who was also from Siliguri”(Bomjan 171). The mother and sister of Prashant Tamang, realizing the futility of seeking help from the Government of West Bengal, along with the then Chairman of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Subash Ghisingh sought aid from the Chief Minister of Sikkim Pawan Kumar Chamling Rai which obtained positive result. This however was not the end as many supporters of the winner Prashant Tamang were ostracized and beaten up but the merriment continued even with comments like “Nepaliko Indian Idol bana diya ab hamara Ghar, Mahalla ka Chowkidari Kaun Karega(trans: Nepali has been made an Indian Idol now who will guard our house and establishment)” (Bomjan 172) from Nitin a Radio Jockey of Superhits 93.5 RED FM which came as a shock to the whole Gorkha community. Though many strikes were launched in Darjeeling in 2007 demanding an apology from the Radio authority it remained unfulfilled as a communal clash ensued rendering it fruitless. Thus the Gorkhas of Darjeeling and other states remain neglected, humiliated, and provoked time and again.

Many Gorkhas have time and again put forward their grievances about the stereotypical belief that Gorkhas are only fit to be chowkidar, security guard, house servant or in the Army. Many movies and Indian advertisements have portrayed the Gorkhas as these stereotypical characters with a common racial name identifying all Gorkhas i.e. 'Bahadur'. While the Gorkhas have kept mum for a long time on being stereotyped, recently the coming of a new educated Gorkha generation has started challenging this stereotyping. The media frequently presents a stereotypical image of the Gorkhas which can be seen in the Coca-Cola advertisement by the actor Amir Khan as a Gorkha man with an accent uttering "Sabji" (sir), Flipkart advertisement, etc. Many a time Gorkhas have been racially slurred on their martial tag with words like "Khukuri Terrorist", "Bahadur", "Jawan" even to a Gorkha individual who has no link to the Gorkha Regiment. The coming of social media has brought into light the racial discrimination towards the Gorkhas in a way where it can be seen that the Gorkhas' demand for Statehood is inevitable. To ascertain the problem of racial slur on Gorkhas, Sayeda Ambia Zahan quotes a twitter post of Bipin Lama, a Gorkha youth studying in Kolkata: "Racial Slur[on Gorkha] is a common phenomenon in West Bengal, sometimes 'Khukuri terrorist' and 'outsider' too. But for the Gorkhas, it's a regular feature. They think what we can do in life is only to sell milk" (Zahan). The extremity of such discrimination has led to many movements in Darjeeling and neighboring areas where the Gorkhas reside in majority. On the question of identity while many Northeastern communities can identify themselves with their home states, the Gorkhas are deprived of that honour. After the independence of India when the State Reorganization Act came in 1956, many states were formed on the basis of language. However many minority linguistic communities were largely ignored. Among the many minor linguistic

communities, the Gorkhas were also one. Thus they found their political identity at stake. The demand for Statehood is not only for power but it is an overall demand for Indian identity.

The Gorkhas have come a long way from the existing Nepali culture of Nepal. The problem of identity arises when a nation fails not only to provide support for defining the identities of a race but also interferes in its formation. The Gorkha identity has been treading a difficult path in which it has tried to strike a fine balance between its cultural identity and the demand of citizenship in India. Bidhan Golay puts it as: “The problem of the Gorkha Identity arises from everyday experiences and the necessity to carve out a political space for its cultural identity in India” (Golay 86). The movement of the Gorkhas has been constantly carried out since 1907 with the first demand of ‘Indian national identity’ in 1960 with the language recognition movement. The demand for statehood of Gorkhaland covering Darjeeling and neighbouring areas by the Gorkhas has not been accepted by the State and the central government for years on the basis that Darjeeling does not belong to the Gorkhas and it was a part of West Bengal belonging to the Bengali races. This however has been countered back by the Gorkhas who state that Darjeeling was never a part of Bengal and it was a part of Sikkim. D.S Bomjan writes that the Darjeeling Hills was acquired by the British from Sikkim through the “Deed of Grant” signed on 1st February 1835 by the Sikkim Rajah in a temporary lease. As stated by O’Mallay in his book *Darjeeling* citing the report of Llyod dated on 18th June 1829, “the old Goorka station called Dorjeling was immediately struck with its being well adapted for the purpose of a sanitarium”(O’Mallay 20). Some Gorkha administrative parts of Sikkim where Gorkhas reside till today were annexed to British India after this

‘Deed of Grant’: “In 1835 Darjeeling was acquired as a grant from the Raja of Sikkim, Stable relations evolved with Sikkim in 1816 and with Bhutan in 1865”(Sen 12). So many Gorkha residents of the pre-independent India came into the unified British India with their land. Darjeeling then became a hill station for the British officials to avoid the harsh weather of India. The East India Company opened up tea estates to monopolize the tea industry in Asia. The lack of labourers in these tea estates made the British bring laborers from the neighboring hills that were once part of the princely state of Nepal before unification. Thus the Gorkha population of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Doors region expanded over the last 175 years. In 1874, the British enacted the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874. This law categorized Darjeeling as a ‘Scheduled’ or a ‘Listed District’. Darjeeling was then designated as a ‘Backward Tract’ inhabited by tribals ie the Gorkhas who were culturally and racially different from the plain people of West Bengal. Sikkim once again claimed for the return of Darjeeling in 1948 which was not granted by the Central and State governments. The state plays an important role in the formation of identity in a multi-racial society.

Louis Althusser states that the state controls people in two ways ie. by means of the “Repressive State Apparatus” that consists of police, army and prisons, etc. which can act violently and the “Ideological State Apparatus” that consists of Education, Mass media, Religion, Law, Family, Society, etc. During the Gorkhaland movement the state has enormously used both the apparatuses. The extensive use of the repressive state apparatus has caused the loss of many lives. It is reported that security forces have resorted to firing lead bullets rather than rubber bullets to unarmed citizens during the times of protest. When the Trinamool Congress in West Bengal came to power in 2011,

the Hills where Gorkhas settle have been divided into many sub- ethnic groups by setting up 'Development Boards' and splitting it into two districts ie. Darjeeling and Kalimpong which is seen as a strategy to weaken the Gorkhaland movement. The role of the ideological state apparatuses in giving a negative aspect of the Gorkhaland movement has been immense. National TV channels emphasized on the discomfort of tourists stranded in the Hills during the movement instead of educating the cause for such an uprising in Darjeeling. The social media swarmed with negative comments from other parts of India denying the existence of Gorkhas of India as Indian citizens. The demand for Gorkhaland is a complex issue. The complexity is that the Gorkhas demand for statehood is their demand for identity in a place where they always feel dominated by the Bengalis. Gorkhaland for the Gorkhas promises to give a sense of belonging not only to the people of Darjeeling and the Doors region but also to an overall population of Gorkhas in India as well as abroad. On the other hand the state of Bengal believes in safeguarding its territory in the fear of history repeating itself after the first partition of Bengal in 1905 by the British. This led to the present crisis.

The agitation of 2017 was marked as the longest agitation in Darjeeling. The Gorkhas all over India marched out with banners for the demand of the state and equality with various messages on social media. This agitation marked the age of a globalised revolution as Gorkhas all over the world demanded Gorkhaland and the safeguard of their identity within the Indian nation. This agitation also marks the unification of all Gorkhas even those that do not belong to the hills of Darjeeling. The statehood of Gorkhaland will give an identity to the Gorkha race being located to a certain nation or in this case India.

The Gorkhaland Agitation is caused by the feeling of economic deprivation and threat to identity of the Gorkhas. Most Gorkhas felt that the movement occurred directly due to the Bengali language imposition on the Gorkhas. In spite of Nepali language being declared as one of the official languages of West Bengal in 1961, there is no documentation of official records in Nepali language in the State. This made the Gorkhas feel that their language is orphaned under the government of West Bengal. Through the years there have been countless agitations in Darjeeling and other parts where Gorkhas reside. The constant inter party conflict of the autonomous district has hindered the social life of the Gorkhas, who have been rendered helpless by their own leaders. Gorkha youths at this time and age with the coming of experience and facilities of media and transportation leave their homes and explore the other cities of India. The question of identity and doubts arise the moment he leaves his home grounds. Many Gorkhas have been associated with the Chinese, Korean and Japanese race due to the overbearing Mongoloid features which is not only limited to Gorkhas but many also to the northeastern states of India. To the Gorkhas in Darjeeling under the West Bengal, the struggle ensues to the extent of everyday living. The struggle still continues to form an identity and a sense of belongingness of the Gorkhas in India with the demand of Gorkhaland statehood.

Work Cited

- Althusser, L. “ On Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation”. Trans.and Ed. Ben Brewster. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Monthly Review Press, 2001. 127-183. JSTOR. Web. 2 March 2017
- Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling- Dooars People and Place under Bengals Neo-Colonial Rule*. Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008. Print.
- Dhamala, Ranju R. “Identity Formation and Identity Maintenance: Nepalis in India” *Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009.168- 174, Print.
- Foucault, Michael. “Subject and Power”. *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. Vintage Publishers, 1994. Print.
- Golay, Bidan. “Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History”. *Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009.168- 174, Print.
- Hall, Stuart. “Cultural Identity and Diaspora”. *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* Ed. Padmini Mongia. Oxford University Press, 1997. 110- 121. Print
- MacMunn, G.F. ‘The Martial Races of India’. *Archive*. Sampson Low, Marston & Co Ltd, 1933. Accessed on 27June 2018.Web.
http://archive.org/stream/martialracesofin030605mbp/martialracesofin030605mbp_djvu.txt.
- O’Malley, LSS. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*. Logos Press, 1907. Print.
- Rai, I.B. “Indian Nepali Nationalism & Nepali Poetry”. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation* Ed, Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. 171- 180, Print.
- Sen, Jahar. *Darjeeling: A Favoured Retreat*. Indus Publishing Company, 1989. Print.

Sharma, K.R et al. *Marginalization of Gorkhas in India: A Community in Quest of Indian Identity*. Abhijeet Publications, 2011. Print.

Sharma, K.R. *The Darjeeling Gorkhas: A study on Identity Dilemma*. Abhijeet Publications, 2017. Print.

Shaha, Rishikesh. “*Modern Nepal: A Political History 1769- 1955*”, Vol-1 1769- 1885. Manohar Publishers & Distributers, 1996. Print.

Shrestha, C.K. “*Gorkhas’ Quest for Indian Identity*”.Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, India, Systematic Designers and Printers Pvt. Ltd, 2013. Print.

Sunar, Pradip et.al. *The Gorkhas of Mizoram*. Vol.-1. Mizoram Gorkha Students’ Union, 2000. Print.

“The Revolt of 1857”. www.larrymcelhiney.com/Sepoy/Revolt_of_1857.pdf.

Accessed on 25 Feb 2018. Web.

Zahan, Sayeda Ambia. “Darjeeling Unrest: Looked down upon by Bengalis, Gorkhas feel alienated on their own land”. Firstpost19 Jul. 2017. Accessed on 25 Feb. 2018.

Web. www.firstpost.com/india/darjeeling-unrest-looked-down-upon-by-bengalis-gorkhas-feel-alienated-in-their-own-land-3830767.html.

CHAPTER III

Alienation of Gorkhas in India

The Gorkha race residing in Darjeeling hills, Terai and Dooars area of Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal is comparatively different from the Bengalis of plain area of West Bengal by culture, language and physical features as well as food habit. This difference created a sense of alienation of the Gorkhas within the state of West Bengal. Apart from this, Gorkha community leaders frequently argue that the Gorkhas living in the hills of Darjeeling suffer from the economic deprivation for a long time. Makhija in this regard writes: “The demands for a separate ‘Gorkhaland’ that protects the Indian identity of this Nepali- speaking[Gorkhas] population have been immanent for several decades. The people belonging to these areas hardly have any connection with the Bengali community and are different in ethnicity, culture, and language”.(Makhija)

Historical events have also played a great role in the formation of Gorkha identity in the postcolonial India. Gorkhas form a notable population in several parts of India. The primary reason for the spread of Gorkha population in India is the Anglo-Nepal War (1814- 1815) and the subsequent signing of Sugauli Treaty(1815). As per this treaty a large portion of the Gorkha[Nepali] territory including Darjeeling was annexed to the then British India. Moreover British brought Gorkha people in mass as plantation workers in tea plantation as cheap laborers and let them settle in Assam and the present state of West Bengal. Gorkhas were recruited in the British Army in the Indian subcontinent as loyal forces. The British also brought Gorkhas to work in coal mines in Northeast India i.e Meghalaya. Before British there was no concrete boundary

demarcation in India and by nature human migration always existed between the Hilly population of Nepal and India and vice versa. Due to these various reasons Gorkhas have made their presence viable in India. The population of Gorkhas range from thinly populated areas of central India to concentrated population of the Darjeeling hills, Terai regions and Dooars region of Jalpaiguri district where the Gorkhas have safeguarded their language, culture, etc.

Literature plays an important role in delivering the issues, ethos and predicament of an individual or a society in its fictional framework. Alienation in this sense forms the subject of discourse in many psychological, sociological, literary and philosophical studies. Gorkha writers have been trying to focus on such psychological predicaments of the Gorkhas in their literary works by narrating their state of marginality, identity questions and nationality issues. Such literature tries to bring forward to the readers the predicaments of the Gorkhas. Althusser points out that art provides a critical view of ideologies that perpetuate the exploitive nature on which societies are based. Althusser writes:

I believe that a peculiarity of art is to make us see (*nous donner a voir*), ‘make us perceive’, ‘make us feel’ something that alludes to reality...What art makes us see, and therefore gives to us in the form of seeing, perceiving and feeling (which is not the form of knowledge) is the ideology from which it is born, in which it bathes, from which it detaches itself as art, and which it alludes. (Althusser 204)

Hence, the literary works of the Gorkhas provides information on how the Gorkhas look at their own predicament and how they perceive the state or the government. Thus works of Gorkha writers give an insider's view of the Gorkhas' identity crisis.

As seen in the history of Gorkhas in India, the race has gone through two hundred years of settlement in the Indian nation. The Gorkhas have struggled for recognition of their indian identity since long. The post- independent India marks a struggle for the Gorkhas to fight off the marginality they are facing. Marginality in this case occurs in different forms on the basis of language, territory and culture. The lack of participation in identity formation within a group (Indian Nation) and their exclusion from the social structure ultimately leads to marginalization of the Gorkhas in India:

People [Gorkha] enter into the belt of marginalization because of their confrontation between two cultures or their position of being in- between. They possess the right to choose the dominant culture leaving behind their own. But entering a new social structure and identifying oneself with it means to enter a new bounded entity which ultimately results in the death of the ascribed identity.(Das 3)

The marginalization of the Gorkhas in India has been put forward by writers where the very first issues arise from their demand for a 'home' in India even after being granted citizenship after the Independence. The race exhibits all the traits of being 'unaccepted' and uprooted from the land they belong and a strong wish to belong. Alienation occurs as the very outcome of this rootlessness. Alienation of Gorkhas in terms of nationality and race is thus rooted in the marginalization of the community after India's independence.

This chapter aims to analyse the different forms of alienation of Gorkhas in India through the works of Indra Bahadur Rai's three short stories and Manohar Thapa's novel *The Unaccepted*.

Alienation is not a new aspect in the Gorkha literary works. This aspect of alienation is also associated with the Gorkhas' demand for recognition of Indian identity. The literary works of the Gorkha writers according to Indra Bahadur Rai first appeared from the hands of those serving as soldiers in the army: "... while in Nepal literary writing was begun by elite Brahmans who wrote in praise of their king, in India the beginning of Indian Nepali[Gorkha] literature was made by common soldiers and labourers who were mostly from Mongoloid ethnic groups, and who wrote of their actual experiences of battles and lives lived in India"(Rai "Indian Nepali Nationalism & Nepali Poetry"179). The writings of these authors mostly deal with the patriotism towards Bharat (India). The theme further descended into feeling alienation with the poetic works of the famous poet Agam Sing Giri who "dealt with the keynote of Nepalese life in India-- the search for self- identity. Nepalis are a martial but marginalized race; they have all along been fighting other men's battles; it is not at all pleasant to be branded as 'mercenaries of war' "(Rai "Indian Nepali Nationalism & Nepali Poetry"179). The poet Giri in his poem "War and Warrior" (1970) forbids the Nepali mothers from making their sons fight wars in an alien land that does not give them an identity:

forbid him to sharpen his Khukuri
to fight others men's battles,
to add shine to others' existence;
history will only brand him a murderer....

(qtd in Rai “Indian Nepali Nationalism & Nepali Poetry”179)

Similarly the issue of existential crisis is portrayed in the works of other Gorkha writers who rely on their fictions and poetical works to bring out the effects of alienation on their race. Here, insecurity of one’s identity is the natural cause of the feeling of alienation.

Gorkhas Imagined, a collection of short stories of Indra Bahadur Rai, portrays the daily lives of Gorkha living in Darjeeling who face an existential predicament. His short stories portray the psychological dilemma of his characters within a state that they feel alienated. In doing so, Rai gives a vivid account of the agitation for Gorkhaland. This chapter focuses on three short stories of Rai’s collection which are “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us”, “The Storm Raged all Night Long” and “Khir.” All three stories of Rai deals with Gorkhas’ demand foran Indian identity. Rai’s stories do not hold direct relations with the present social structure of the Gorkhas but rather evaluates the psychological dilemma of the individuals living in Darjeeling right after India’s independence.

The story “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us” is translated into English by Michael Hutt. He has translated each sentence keeping alive the “Gorkhaness” in the text. The story narrates the everyday life of a poor woman Maina’s mother. The very identification of the lady as Maina’s mother denies her from having a self identity in her society. Her existence is located in the lowest hierarchy of the social ladder. The other story “The Storm Raged all Night Long” translated into English by Michael Hutt also portrays its characters like Kaley’s mother who does not carry her own identity. All characters in Rai’s stories do not have names to symbolize their identities. The identification through

name is one of the basic identification of a human being which is not seen in Rai's characters. The loss of identity in the case of Maina's mother in "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us" reflects the state of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling. The Gorkhas political history in West Bengal is a major discourse based on their marginalization in the politics of Bengal. Maina's mother strives to survive in the economic deprived town of Darjeeling. She tries to sell her greens in the small market where no development takes place. The town holds many unfulfilled promises by the state. The other unidentified characters talk on development of the town with the opening of a new bazaar and a copper mine. Rai's work on the Tesro Ayaam or the Third dimension narrative technique plays an important role in describing the chaos of the town. The narrative technique breaks down the different social plot in the story. While one plot describes the plight of Maina's mother the other plots in the background describe the sorry economic state of the town and the third plot describes the psychological thoughts of the citizens who wish to leave the town in the midst of the demand for state hood.

The story presents the chaos where Maina's mother is the victim in the colonial town of Darjeeling. The lack of development in the town creates disparity among the citizens where some decide to leave the state in search of new jobs and places.

"No point living in Darjeeling now," a man is saying. "Everyone here is looking for work"... "Over the hills to Assam. We should move to the northeast." (Rai "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us" 76)

This is the very start of alienation that occurs with the people when they cannot feel homely in their own land. Here the state does not come in to provide any sense of economic security to them. This is the clear case of political and economic alienation:

The state does not care about Individual's existence, in a society without communication between people and that individual in his relation to such a state does not experience a feeling of solidarity, he is only able to relate himself to it as an isolated monad, an individual (Blumenburg 15)

The story presents a picture of the demand of statehood within the political frame of the town. However the economic situation of the town does not give a chance for a political discourse. The economic condition in the town of Rai's story alienates the people from each other where they seek livelihood elsewhere. Maina's mother who is economically unstable cannot voice herself to bring out solidarity within her people. Her mind is constantly traumatized by the echo of the question: "Why then did you come here?". The story presents the plight of the economically unstable who cannot participate in any political decisions. Maina's mother tries to retaliate by saying "We came here looking for a place where we could see the Himalayas clearly. Now we don't want to go anywhere else " (Rai "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us" 80). But her voice is drowned with the question of her own identity that follows her everywhere. In this aspect Marx says that to get rid of political alienation we must get rid of the basic alienation which is economic alienation. Rai's characters all go through the economic deprivation that denies them a room for political development. The current state of Gorkhas in Darjeeling that holds the majority population as tea estate laborers faces the same problem of marginalization in the state:

In fact, with the mighty political power, the Government of West Bengal wants to marginalize the workers along with the entire Gorkhas of Darjeeling hills, Dooars and Terai areas of West Bengal. Marginalization as a holistic approach of West Bengal has been also accepted by the Government of India. (Sharma 98)

The product of the labour of labour class is controlled by the state though the people are alienated from the state itself. The state here plays an important role in setting the ideological mindset of the population it rules. The same can be seen in the character of Kaley's Father in "The Storm Raged all Night Long" where the characters belong to the lowest economic strata of the society. Kaley's father who represents the working class of the society, struggles to live in the village with his family amongst all natural disasters. The storm that raged all night destroys the thatched roof of the house. Kaley's father symbolizes the bulk of the Gorkha society who believes in seeking fortune elsewhere.

It was you who insisted that I should build the house here!" the husband was suddenly angry. "Otherwise, we were enjoying living in a proper building in the middle of town, working for some police. We didn't have to worry about storms or landslide there. (Rai "The Storm Raged all Night Long" 114-115).

The town is considered a safer place where the state lays its attention and focus in. Kaley's father blames his wife for socially alienating themselves from the town that can provide a safer life. The father believes that the state and its organization can help them with a job in the police force granting them a higher position in the society. However Kaley's mother's decision to settle in the village symbolizes the longing one has for their roots. She accepts the faith Nature brings on her family :

“Go away, sleep secure,” said Kaley’s mother, “The rains are always like this in July, what can we do? It has been like this for years. If we’re killed by a landslide, we’re killed by a landslide. What can you do if your time has come?”. (Rai “The Storm Raged all Night Long” 115)

Kaley’s mother who reluctantly decides to search a home for her family in the town is further disillusioned by the plight of the town because of the storm. The town presents an equal catastrophic situation with the death of Nini’s mother by the storm. In the same situation Kaley’s mother notices that her work as a milkmaid does not grant her liberty to find an identity in the town. She feels disdain when the ‘half-cast’ women lower than her orders her to bring extra shers of milk for her son’s birthday. When she denies it due to the circumstances at home and the weather, she is chided: “And you expect us to drink our tea without milk all day? What are you talking about? Bring us the milk, whatever the weather!” (Rai “The Storm Raged all Night Long” 123). The labour of Kaley’s mother in the capitalist society of the town alienates her from the product she owns. She does not possess the right to control her own product as she wills. Marx calls this as ‘Alienation of the worker from their product of his labour’. She is a prime example of the capitalist labor class who is regarded as a tool of production. The human nature of the character is lost in this mode of production.

In Rai’s stories we come across two forms of alienation which Taviss puts it out as “social alienation” and “self alienation”. By this she means social alienation takes place when there is “the sense of estrangement brought out by the sudden discovery that the social system is either oppressive or incomplete with their desire and ideas.” (Taviss 46- 47) And self alienation means “the loss of contact of the individual selves with any

inclinations or desires that are not in agreement with the prevailing social patterns, as a result of which the individuals are forced to manipulate in accordance with the social demands or feel incapable of controlling their actions”(Taviss 46- 47). In this context we can see that the character Kaley’s mother in “The Storm Raged all Night Long”, goes through social alienation with her return to the village. While Maina’s mother self alienates herself and accepts the decisions made by the society she belongs to. She remains a silent spectator throughout the story. In both the stories the character cannot fight against the state and its ideals. The structure of the town in both the stories presents a familiar sight of neglect. The state or in this case West Bengal does not provide any development for the labor class in the stories. The alienation reaches such a stage that common Gorkha people do not feel a part of the state they belong to. Judith Butler in such cases argues:

If the state is what ‘binds’, it is also clearly what can does unbind. And if the state binds in the name of nation forcibly, if not powerfully, then it also unbinds, releases, expels, banishes. If it does the latter, it is not always through emancipator means, i.e. through ‘letting go’ or ‘setting free’; it expelles through the exercise of power that depends upon barriers and prisons and, so, in the mode of certain containment we are deposited in a dense situation of military power in which juridical functions become the prerogative of the military. (Butler 5)

The very act of the state in this manner can be seen during the Gorkhaland agitations of 2017 in which the state resorts to large scale use of Para- military forces. The act of the sate in denying a role as citizens of the state to the Gorkhas results in their alienation.

The marginalization of the state to the native races is not a new phenomenon. The independent India limited the geographical area of Bengal separating it from Bihar and Assam making it the present West Bengal. Under the state's dominance there are three races, Bengali, Rajbangshi the Gorkhas and Bengali, the majority community. The Rajbangshi have similarity with the Bengali culture and language. It is not without history that the Rajbangshi are assimilated with the Bengali race of Bengal. The Rajbangshis lost the right to safeguard their language as the state declares that the Rajbangshis didn't have an individual language but a dialect belonging to the Bengali language: "Rajbanshi community of North Bengal speaks a very different linguistic variety which is regarded as a dialect of Bangla by the governmental authorities. And thus the children of this community are compelled to use Bangla in their classroom"(Piplai 9).

Similarly the Gorkhas with their different racial feature and language fear that they may also meet the same fate of the Rajbanshis. The distinct language, the Himalayan culture and the animistic Hinduism mixed with Lamaist Buddhism made them different from the plains. These are the primary attributes that alienate Gorkhas from the main races of India. The nation or state aims to assimilate every race or citizen into the binding force of its laws through the domination of "Repressive state apparatus". This feeling of losing the cultural and political space is the real cause of the alienation: "Alienation emerges as natural consequences of existential predicament" (Saleem 68).

The state and its ideals are presented in Rai's third story "Khir." The story is translated into English by Anmole Prasad. The story narrates a semi autobiographical incident of the author who rests at a dak-bungalow¹ on his way home. The story

encapsulates the desires of the characters who gather to prepare a sweet rice dish called Khir. Each character gives their own point of view on how to prepare a better dish:

“If one has to eat khir at all, one needs two sers [around one litre] of milk to a quarter ser of rice.” A voice that evoked the image of a pair of sharp cavernous eyes, was proclaiming forcibly. “For this much rice we need ten sers milk. How many sers have you put in?”

“What else? Just four sers.”

“Pah! Eating khir made of four lousy sers of milk, and in a place like Tista at that!” said that first voice. (Rai “Khir”139)

The debate between all the characters describes the poverty of the labour class that cannot dream of a proper dish made of pure milk and good quality rice. They are aware of the ingredients being out of their reach:

“Aluwa itself is beyond reach here,” said the smug voice of a man. “And how they fool you by passing off Rangooney aluwa as paharey rice.”(Rai “Khir”139)

The Aluwa rice found in the plains cannot be bought by the labour class of the hills. They realize they are being cheated on as well. However they can only lament or be silent. The state does not grant equal rights as a communist state to the hills they look after. As a communist state that grants equality to all labour class is seen failing its duty towards the labour class of the hills. The state interpellates the ideologies of the working class to accept their fate rendering them to a voiceless working class in a capitalist society. At the end of the story everyone blames the firewood they collect for the tasteless Khir they eat.

They come to the realization that surviving with the tasteless Khir in a state that does not grant people their ideals and wishes is more important than contemplating on the taste.

How can you go on and on about eating! For how many days one has been- or has not been – eating khir, [until one of them replies]... “The sugar’s sweetness has but reduced it to milk- and – rice.” When this was pronounced in thick tones, all of them broke into sudden laughter. (Rai “Khir” 143)

The end of the story relates to the way people accept their status in a society. Their identity is masked with their desires to survive. The narrator is aware that people have certain ideals which is dogged by many ‘pitfalls’ and ‘errors’. The story contextualizes the situation of the Gorkhas in West Bengal. The labour class especially does not have an option except for acceptance of their fate to survive in a state that alienates them from the rest of the society. In this case the characters that change their opinion on survival when they come to know that the narrator who is a person of their own race eves drop on their conversation also alienates themselves from him. They are aware that the narrator who belongs to a socially higher class would take their conversation as an alibi against themselves. The alienation within the same race occurs within the labour class and the middle class or in the author’s case the educated class.

Rai’s three stories locates alienation of the Gorkhas at the lower level of society. He follows a Marxist tradition of alienation. The character Maina’s mother in this case is not economically well off to voice her desires and ideals. Kaley’s mother also finds it better to socially alienate herself as a labour class woman. The town represents an area where her identity as a working woman and a human is lost. The village, though she faces

natural disasters, safeguards her only identity as a working woman who can provide a living for her family. The third story “Khir” is a representation of how the Gorkhas in the labour class alienate themselves in forming a social group to challenge the state.

Indra Bahadur Rai focuses much of his stories within the state of West Bengal. He presents a realistic picture of the rustic life clouded in doubts of survival. The problems are more or less related to the struggle of the Gorkha labour class right after the independence of India where majority of the population consisted of tea plantation workers and the coolie class. The stories do not move out of the community of the Gorkhas. I.B Rai has put stress on the need to be united within the Gorkha community as a single unit which can be seen in his story “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us”. The situation of Maina’s mother as Rai describes in his story is similar to every Gorkhas in Darjeeling. The title “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us” in itself points to the whole Gorkha society who faces similar situations. In this sense Rai takes it upon himself to voice out the concerns of the Gorkha society and brings it out to the public for retrospection.

The need for a writer of the Gorkha community to voice out such concern is in relation to the history of the race that has been missinterpreted. The voiceless “subaltern” i.e the womenfolk and the labour class according to Gayatri Spivak in “Can the Subaltern Speak?” does not have a voice which I.B Rai tries to bring out in his stories. She argues that the voice of the “subaltern” cannot be voiced by the western philosophers or in this case the historians of India while deciding the location and status of the Gorkha in India. Rai in this very sense tries to bring out the problems of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling. What he fails to do is to attempt to bring out justice for the Gorkhas in his

work. He has psychologically analyzed the ordinary Gorkha society but has failed to bring out the identity crisis in a wider scope of the Indian nation. This can however be ignored as Rai has not failed to voice out the subaltern concerns. The translation of Rai's work into English has broadened the scope of knowledge on the Gorkhas.

The novel *The Unaccepted* by Manohar Thapa on the other hand is set to directly bring out the distorted identity of Gorkhas in India. His work covers the very postcolonial identity crisis of the Gorkhas in India. The story covers the racial identity of the Gorkhas in India. It recounts the hardships faced by students of the hills who are racially discriminated for their looks. The author directly narrates how people with Mongoloid looks are subjected to racial slurs, alienation and violence. The death of the character David from Manipur has certain similarities to the death of Nido Tania², an Arunachali boy who died on 29th January 2014.

The racial slur and violent attacks on Mr Nido is not an uncommon phenomenon. The racial slurs on the Gorkhas by the mainland Indians is on the basis of language, looks and martial identity fixed by the British. C. K Shrestha in his book *Gorkhas' Quest for Indian Identity* describes his own experience in 2007 in Cuttack, Orissa during the event of a "National One Act Play Competition" where he said "I felt as if my community had been affectionately embraced by the country and I was overwhelmed with its warmth"(Shrestha 22). He narrates further that his happiness was short lived as he was questioned by a Member of Parliament: "Shresthaji, now when are you going back to Nepal"(Shrestha 23). Such misconception about the national identity of Gorkhas in India is very common among the Indians. The sentiment here can be said of hurt rather than

anger and this can be located in the works of Manohar Thapa whose character Manish Moktan goes through identity crisis after he leaves his town of Darjeeling.

The novel *The Unaccepted* presents a picture on the Gorkhas in a wider circle of the Indian nation. The story follows the life of a boy who leaves his home town Darjeeling to join a coaching class in Delhi after his Higher Secondary Examinations. The protagonist belongs to the Gorkha race having mongoloid looks. As soon as he steps into the mainland of India he is faced with different views from people. His facial structure generates a series of alienating experiences for him. The capital of India where there is a mix of interracial community he is stuck in between people who love him and discriminate him. The experience he faces shapes his view on the people of Delhi. The torments that he faces along with his North Eastern friend, David shakes his very feeling of patriotism.

The story presents a background in an interracial community with the character falling in love with a Marwari girl, Nitisha who accepts his differences among the community where majority belongs to her race. The love between the protagonist Manish and Nitisha form an interracial bond that the author signals of solidarity between the two different races of India. The Nitisha plays an important role in comparing ideologies of people in Delhi.

The search for identity by Manish Moktan is symbolic of the search for identity by all Gorkhas in India. Manish first had his fight for his identity as he reaches Kolkata to meet his uncle Dhan mama who lived in a police quarter. A section of Gorkhas being an integral part of West Bengal take it upon themselves to learn the Bengali language as a

second language which can be seen when Nishant his friend uses the word “dada”³ instead of “bhaiya” to address the bus conductor. However in the reciprocal basis we find the scene of the bus humiliating towards the Gorkhas that belong to the same state. The protagonist Manish argues with a man sitting next to him on the bus as he is questioned on his nationality:

‘Korian?’ the guy next to me asked wryly with some funny accent. He had been staring at me for almost 10 minutes since the bus left Dharamtala, before he spoke to me.

I could understand he wanted to say ‘Korean’ but his fully made-up accent sounded more like ‘Korian’.

‘I am from Darjeeling,’ I replied in an angry Hindi tone staring at him directly on his face.

‘Oh! Assam.’ His expectant stare was still fixed on me as if I was going to kiss him for saying Assam. I looked away ignoring him.(Thapa 23)

The conversation in this story recounts total ignorance towards the other races and district of West Bengal that belong to a distinctively different race. The Bengalis of West Bengal has in many cases completely forgotten the Hills of Darjeeling which Bomjan points out during the Prashant Tamang Indian idol days narrated in chapter II. However Manohar Thapa puts up a direct attack towards the mainland Indian population and their ignorance. His novel deals with several issues of identity that is reflected in the mind of Manish. The character seeks to understand the treatment he meets as he leaves the hills. The shock he gets at the bus in Kolkata is the start of his search for identity: “The type of feeling I got

for the first time in Kolkata was mixed. It was both, welcoming and alienating” (Thapa 25)

The feeling of alienation in the novel progresses into the protagonist’s search for identity or in this case his search for a space of existence in a multi racial society. The novel addresses Sartre’s concept of alienation which is the foundation of his book *Being and Nothingness*. Sartre’s idea of alienation is existentialistic in nature:

In the shock that seizes me when I apprehended the Other’s look... I experience a subtle alienation of all my possibilities, which are not associated with the objects of the world far from me in the midst of the world. (Sartre 264- 65)

Manish can see that to create an identity of his own within the multiracial Indian society is an impossible task. Thus his being is suddenly reduced to nothingness. His wish to be recognized as an Indian fails to the extent where he questions the idea of Indianness itself:

All the questions which I have been answering in the last few days, all those alienating questions, crowded my mind. I could see my own reflection in the darkened window-pane at the corner of the stairs. I looked at my own image and wondered. I am almost 5 ft 7inches tall, even my complexion doesn’t resemble the West nor I had my hair colored pink or red to look different from the rest. Only the thick moustache and the beard are missing from my face. Does it genuinely claim that I am not Indian? (Thapa 33-34)

The Northeastern states of India and parts of West Bengal that holds the majority of mongoloid races see their appearance as an alienating element in other parts of India

where the dominating race carries the Aryan features. Mongoloid people of India are frequently misunderstood as people from bordering countries like China, Myanmar and Nepal. This misunderstanding creates a racial conflict in India. Thus India with a diverse culture holds many cases of students beaten to death or discriminated by institutions or the local residents of the Mainland India. As a Gorkha who bears a racial feature slightly different from the Aryan looks, Manish is forced to rethink on his position and existence as a minority among the society of the dominating majority:

People of the world, all look different from the other, everyone knows that, but still there is so much intolerance between them. Diversity should be celebrated but instead people go to wars over this fundamental concept. While we belong to the same world, why are some of us the unaccepted?

I may look a little different and may belong to a minority but it doesn't imply I am an alien. My mind crashed. (Thapa 35)

Manohar Thapa, through Manish, locates the fear of being the 'unaccepted' among all the 'accepted' by creating the a binary between the two. He tries to bring out the fear and the pain Manish, as an individual who belongs to a minority community:

I am not carrying the burden of everyone, who is being alienated in their own lands, throughout the world but I am just trying to say that I am experiencing the feeling, the pain which starts to cloud our minds when we encounter such a thing for the first time. (Thapa 34)

His alienation gradually grows into a complex trauma as he begins to question his own identity. The story is set in Delhi, the political centre of India, that claims to fulfill the

long cherished dreams like secularism, unity in diversity, etc. However in reality it turns out as a place of communal hatred and racial slurs for Manish.

The protagonist's love affair with Nitisha, a Marwari girl gives a solace to him in a place he is subjected to racial treatment. Nitisha, who represents the majority Indian population accepting him a suitable candidate for love, gives Manish a feeling of happiness and belonging. However with the progress of the story, Thapa has laid more disturbing vivid pictures of racial discrimination that carves out a space for the feeling of alienation and identity crisis in a larger scale. The event in the City Mall triggers the protagonist's self awareness of being unwanted and unaccepted as he bumps into a group of guys and asks forgiveness but is called 'Chinese' behind his back. Suddenly his national identity is lost. He starts analyzing the loss of his and his community's national identity: "Why do I have to prove myself that I am an Indian?... I had started feeling my dad had sacrificed his life for those people, who don't even want to accept me." (Thapa 74). The feeling of rejection as an Indian begins to take shape in him alienating his whole community in India:

"If you all don't want to accept us then you don't have the right to reject us". This kind of feeling inside me had grown into a thorn which pricked me every moment, everyday.

The journey from cushioned school life in Darjeeling to just the initial steps of the college life outside, opened a new dimension in which I was not lost but alienated. The cozy school life could not teach me what reality actually is, I was supposed to experience it. So it was more like a brutal accident than a worthy experience,

killing my patriotism and suffocating me in my own place...If someone is not ready to accept our uncouthly difference, then they should not take credit of our success.(Thapa 80)

The inexperience of the character also hints at the state's role in shaping the ideology of the people. The education system of the state is what Althusser calls one of the most important Ideological State Apparatuses. Althusser proposes that in a developed capitalist society the dominant ISA is the education system. This is responsible for the ways the subjects of a state thinks or behaves in a particular way so as to benefit the dominant political class:

Althusser means that from an age about of about four to that of about sixteen, every child in contemporary capitalist society is instructed for several hours a day, in the dominant discourses, techniques and costumes of that society. They are taught the ruling ideologies directly, in the form of morals, religion and philosophy. They are also taught a variety of technical disciplines, including literary criticism. (Ferreter 86)

The nature of the people who racially treated Manish are a product of the Ideological State Apparatuses in practice. The true history of Gorkhas had never formed part of the school syllabi in West Bengal and other parts of India. The emergence of the 2017 'Gorkhaland' agitation is also a result of imposing the Bengali language as a compulsory school subject in the Gorkha inhabited areas. Instead of popularizing the local language the state emphasizes on the language of the majority. The result is that Gorkhas' identity

is made alien to the rest of the country. Therefore Manish questions the education that he was provided with in the schools he attended.

The novel brings out the manifold problem of identity crisis with violence taking shape for the demand for a new revolution against the state. The protagonist who seeks to identify himself as a part of the Indian sub-culture does not see the point of violence in the demand of statehood. He does not want to join the statehood demand with his uncle who like every Gorkha in the hill believes that the demand for an identity can be resolved with Gorkhaland statehood. The author however with the introduction of David, the Manipuri friend of the protagonist Manish, brings out the identity crisis of a race that has a state to identify themselves with:

‘I am from Imphal, the Capital of Manipur, India,’ he said without bothering much whether I asked him or not.

‘I know,’ I said looking towards Anne, as trying to convince her that I still remember our early conversation.

‘*Jaantey toh sabhi hai, lekhin maantey nahi.*’ He said looking at me with narrowed eyes.

I understood what he was trying to say ‘Everyone knows but no one tries to believe it’. (Thapa 120)

The identity crisis of David symbolizes the Indian stereotypical notion on racial subjectivity. The protagonist finds a kindred link with David among the crowds of Delhi. They form a strong bond of friendship made out of such alienation. The ethnic violence

towards David and the protagonist hits a final blow as the protagonist abandons Delhi, Nitisha and his future in a place where humanity exists only for the mainland population. The character goes from a transition from self alienation in which “the individuals are forced to manipulate in accordance with the social demands or feel incapable of controlling their actions” to social alienation where there is “ a sense of estrangement brought out by the sudden discovery that the social system is either oppressive or incomplete with their desires and ideals”(Taviss 46- 47). The protagonist moves to his hometown where he cuts connections with all his friends in Delhi, until he gets the news of the death of his friend David that was not disclosed by his family. He senses the same form of alienation in the very land he is born into: “All the fake joy was smashed by the alienating and suffocating feeling I had once felt, away from my hometown”(Thapa 174). The sense of alienation Manish faces denies him an existence he wishes to seek as he alienates himself.

The end of the story takes a drastic turn in the life of Manish where he decides to face his problems then alienate himself. The character who represents the bulk of the minority i.e Gorkhas seeks to protest against the dominant ideology of the majority community. This is what Luke Ferreter says regarding the birth of the counter ideologies that:

although a society’s ideology consists primarily of the ideology of its dominant classes it also produces ideologies, which express their protest against this domination” (Ferreter 80).

Thus, Manish at last joins politics with his uncle.

‘You can start by joining the students’ union. Make your voice known to you own kin first, then you can make others hear it.’ Mama said without much energy as he had told this a couple of times before

No one can understand what struck me after I heard about David. Even Mani mama had no idea what my answer to his question would be. I had set my mind that I had to change myself and I had to stand up for my rights (Thapa 178)

The author tries to impress on the readers the racial alienation and subjugation of the minority races of India. The process of alienation of the character Manish is subsequently the alienation felt by all Gorkhas in India who seek for recognition of their Indian identity.

The two authors Indra Bahadur Rai and Manohar Thapa in their works explore the predicament of the Gorkha race in India. In doing so, the authors have brought out the extremity of the sufferings of the Gorkha mentally and physically. The characters of both the authors go through a journey of seeking an identity. While the characters of Rai’s short stories in “Maina’s Mother is just like”, “The Storm Raged all Night Long”, and “Khir” are aware of their marginalization, they remain helpless due to economic condition. However Thapa’s character who represents the educated Gorkha mass of the postmodern society of India is ideologically aware of his Identity crisis and is able to stand up and fight for his rights. In the works of both the authors, the Gorkhas are represented as a minority within the state of West Bengal and the country as a whole. The three short stories and the novel analysed in the research show how economic condition and land affect the process of identity formation. The Gorkhas demand for identity in a

political sphere can be traced to the community's development in the capitalist society. The demand for Gorkhaland statehood thus arises after a long history of domination, subjugation and discrimination of the race in India.

Notes

¹Dak- Bungalow is a rest house found in the hills for guest who travel on feet.

²Nido Tania, a college student hailing from Arunachal Pardesh was attacked on racial ground in a South Delhi Market that led to his death on 29th January 2014. The case was registered as murder and raised questions on the safety of Northeast students in India, especially metro cities.

³Dada means elder brother. A word used in most dialects of Bengali language.

Works Cited

- Althusser, Louis. "On Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation". Trans. Ben Brewster *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Monthly Review Press, 2001. Pp 127-183. JSTOR. Web.
- Blumenburg, Warner. *Karl Marx: An Illustrated Biography*. Trans. Douglas Scott. Union, 1972. Print.
- Butler, Judith & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Who Sings the Nation State?: Language, Politics and Belonging*. Seagull Books, 2010. Print.
- Das, Amiya Kumar. "Margin, Marginality and Marginalization- Concept and Meaning". *Media and Margins*. MHRD: Government of India. Patshala. Quadrant- I (e-Text), 2017. epgp.inflibnet.ac.in. Accessed on 30 June 2018. Web.
- Ferreter, Luke. *Louis Althusser*, Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Makhija, Ashima. "Darjeeling Crisis: An uprising for an identity". *Qrius*, 2017. qrius.com. Accessed on 25 Jan 2018. Web.
- Piplai, Dripta. Where Children Lose Their Language: The endangered Linguistic Identity of the Rajbanshi Children of North Bengal. *National Child Rights Research Fellowships*, 2007. www.cry.org. Accessed on 10 January 2018. Web.
- Rai, I.B. "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us." Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahadur rai in translation*. E . Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 73-84. Print.

- . "The Storm Raged All Night Long." Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahadur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 111-128. Print.
- . "Khir." Trans. Anmole Prasad. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahadur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 135-144. Print.
- . "Indian Nepali Nationalism and Nepali Poetry". *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahadur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 171- 180. Print.
- Saleem, Abdul. Theme of Alienation in Modern Literature. *European Journal of English Language and Literature Studies*. vol.2, no.3, 2014, Pp 67-76. European Centre for Research Training and Development UK www.eajournals.org. Accessed on 28 Feb 2018. Web.
- Sartre, Jean Paul. "*Being and Nothingness*". Trans. Hazel Barnes. Random House, 1963. Print.
- Sharma, K.R et al. *Marginalization of Gorkhas in India: A Community in Quest of Indian Identity*. Abhijeet Publications, 2011. Print.
- Shresta, C.K. *Gorkhas' Quest for Identity*. Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, 2013. Print.
- Taviss, Irene. "Changes in the Form of Alienation: The 1900s vs. The 1950s." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 34. No. 1 (Feb. 1969) JSTOR. pp 46-57. Web.
- Thapa. Manohar. *The Unaccepted*. Inspired Publications, 2016. Print.

CHAPTER IV

Quest for Homeland

The demand for a separate state for Gorkhas is directly connected to the rise of regionalism and sub-regionalism in India. Regionalism “means the desire of the people who live in a particular region of a country to have more political and economic independence” [while sub-regionalism] “means the aggressive desire of the people who live in a smaller area within the region/ state of the country, it means love or interest of particular sub-region within the region in preference to the state which the sub-region was part of the state as well as country” (Ramulu 219). The political history of the Gorkhas in India can be seen in the light this regionalism and sub- regionalism. Sub-regionalism arose due to the failure of the Government of a particular state to treat the minority communities in an equal basis with other majority communities. Mishra argues “sub- regionalist problems arise only where there is a combination of two or more factors as geographical isolation. The crux of sub regionalism basically lies in economic inequality and underdevelopment of the region within the regions of India” (Mishra 9). The demand of statehood for Gorkhaland also arises primarily because of economic inequality:

Being born as Gorkhas in a country called India was not by our won choice. We, the Gorkhas of India, not only amalgamated our ancestral land to the landmass which is now India, but in the process our destiny was also linked to this great nation forever. And those matters were not in our hands. But to live in India as a patriotic community with the pride of being an equal and respected member of the

greatest democracy in the world is definitely by our own choice. All Gorkhas in return have always respected this common destiny. We have fought hard with other compatriots to establish this democracy which we believed would guarantee *equal* rights, *equal* status and *equal* opportunities to all. The demand of the Gorkhas for a Gorkha state in India is all about establishing and maintaining this very sense of *equality*.¹

The Gorkha as a race is spread all over the Indian subcontinent. However the majority living in the Darjeeling Hills is the main area of this study where the agitation for a separate state occurs. The proposed state of Gorkhaland consists of hills and plains. The hills constitute three sub divisions ie Darjeeling Sadar, Kurseong and Kalimpong while the plain areas consist of the Siliguri subdivision. The Gorkhaland agitation was built around the ethnic identity of the Gorkhas in West Bengal. The people of the hills as suggested by Sawathasiddha Sarkar in the work *Gorkhaland Movement: Ethnic conflict and State Response* claims that the demand of the Gorkhaland state lies in different factors like language, citizenship issues, tribal status, sixth schedule status, abrogation of Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty etc. Sarkar further states that the Gorkhas have democratically supported in the decision making of the country but have strayed away from the West Bengal state and its power because of ethnic diversity. Sarkar lays the blame on the British for creating such diversity:

The people of Darjeeling hills from the very beginning were thus trained in the logic of difference but hardly realized the hidden colonial design of the exploitation camouflaged as differential administrative arrangements. In a certain sense, the British had left Darjeeling by successfully invoking the idea into the

minds of the hill people that Darjeeling has been a segregated tract from the mainstream of Bengal. (Sarkar 7- 8)

This statement implies that the Gorkhas' demand for a separate state is an ethnic conflict initiated and enlarged by the British colonial administration that has separated the state into two ethnic divisions.

The state however plays a dual role in maintaining such diversity into the Gorkha mindset. Power conflicts in the state of West Bengal is not a new issue with the emergence of the Rajbanshi agitation of 2000 for the demand of a separate state for them. The demand arose because of the recognition of Kamtapuri language as a 'dialect' by the government asserting the need to project Bengali as a common language for the tribe. Similarly the Gorkhaland Agitation of 2017 arose due to the introduction of the Bengali language as a compulsory subject in the schools under West Bengal Board of Secondary Education (WBBSE). The agitation went down in history as a people's movement with mass rally, indefinite strikes and deaths. The agitation was reviewed in the media as a negative sight deeming it as mass insurgency. The state responds with house raids of the protestors, shoot on sight order to the central and state forces and denial of peaceful rallies. The state failed to maintain a human conduct with the shootings of unarmed citizens during the rallies. Such conduct by the state in the hills of Darjeeling is a common sight since the agitation of 1986.

Later, the agitation of 2013 arose again with the feeling of the Gorkhas being unaccepted by the state during the Sony TV's 'Indian Idol Season' of 2007. Prashant Tamang's win in the Indian Idol-2007 through voting systems with the aid of Sikkim created a mass conflict in the political system of Darjeeling hill overthrowing Subhash

Ghisingh of Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) by Bimal Gurung of the Gorkha Jannamukti Morcha (GJM). The declaration of the formation of Telengana state emboldened the Gorkhas for the demand of a separate state. Ghisingh's Sixth Schedule Movement was disbanded on account of the lingering conflict of the Gorkhas and the state of West Bengal. This is fuelled by the Bengalis who voted against Prashant Tamang. Bomjan writes:

It was also reported in the local dailies published from Siliguri the desire and wish expressed in favor of Amit Paul for his victory by the Sabhadhipati of Siliguri Mahakuma Parishad and the responsible Minister Ashok Bhattacharjee who was also from Siliguri. (Bomjan 171)

The feeling of racial alienation was experienced by the Gorkhas when the minister as representative of the state supported Amit Paul, the Bengali contestant. This showcases the racial conflict between the Gorkhas and the Bengalis of the state of West Bengal.

The quest for a separate state of gorkhas is based on a complex matrix of geographical, political, ethnic and economic condition. The chapter lays its focus on Manohar Thapa's *The Unaccepted* and Indra Bahadur Rai's short stories "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us" and "The Storm Raged all Night Long" while tracing the significance of the economic and political instability of the Gorkhas. The selected fictions provide an insight into the lives of Gorkhas struggling to protect an ethnic identity within India at large and West Bengal in particular. Michael Hutt in his paper "Where is Home for an Indian Nepali Writer?" writes:

The political leaders of the ethno- linguistic community to which these writers belong have been engaged in a campaign for a recognized Nepali homeland within India for some 100 years (if one takes the first demand for a separate administrative set- up for Darjeeling as a starting point) but the literature the community has produced reflects a more skeptical stance on the part of Indian Nepali intellectuals (Hutt 28)

The skepticism of Gorkha writers and intellectuals on the demand of Gorkhaland is due to the fear of communal violence that may arise. However the Gorkha writers today have come off that fear and write on the relevance for the demand of a separate state. Hutt also claims that Nepali texts provide valuable insights on the Gorkha community with first hand information. The limits of the Nepali writers however lie in the language boundary where the non-Nepali speaking readers cannot access the knowledge provided in such texts. The community hence has a set boundary with the works of writers outside the emporium of the race who have more potential audiences in the creative writing in English. Hutt therefore tries to shed some light into the works of Nepali- writers with the translated works of Indra Bahadur Rai. Manohar Thapa, however, in his *The Unaccepted* brings out the Gorkha community as an unaccepted race in India and strives for a separate state.

The Unaccepted by Manohar Thapa recounts the life of Manish Moktan, a Gorkha from the town of Darjeeling. The novel deals with the issue of racial subjugation of the Gorkhas in India. The ethnic conflict of the Gorkhas is reflected in the novel through the different stages of the protagonist's life in the mainland India.

The novel opens with the character Manish Moktan who is seen boarding a train to Kolkata to meet his uncle. The protagonist faces his first encounter of being the 'Unaccepted' in Kolkata. He becomes a victim of racial alienation as he is questioned by the man sitting next to him on the bus on his nationality. He starts to provide information of himself to the man declaring that he belonged to Darjeeling, a part of West Bengal, India. However the man replies, "'Oh! Assam.' His expectant stare was fixed on me as if I was going to kiss him for saying Assam"(Thapa 23). The character at the very beginning of his journey away from the hills is deprived of an Indian identity. His experience with the ignorance of the people in the plains of Kolkata crushes his identity as an Indian.

I am proud of my country, India, but still am alienated in my own land.

Is it ignorance of the people I am facing or is it genuinely unknown to them?

These few days out from Darjeeling killed my actual freedom and my rights. The journey didn't snatch away my identity, but rather trampled it. I can identify myself but still some are not willing to accept it. (Thapa 33)

The sense of identity loss for the protagonist relates to demographic location of his entire community. He cannot associate himself as a citizen of India where his existence and the existence of his home is unheard of and unaccepted. The sense of loss is clear as he laments:

"Just 400 kilometers away from our home and our home does not exist on the map"

The fear to face the world, the fear to be misunderstood, the fear to be unheard and unnoticed or noticed more than we desire, the fear which gets old and stronger inside us every passing day. (Thapa 34)

Manish is the victim of racial segregation, first for being a minority race and second for being unable to relate himself to certain geographical location. He faces mental dilemma that makes him wonder on brotherhood, universalism and patriotism. Thus he begins his very first journey towards alienation. This very sense of alienation creates a feeling of being unaccepted in a large social group. The feeling of being unknown to and so unaccepted is what constitutes his identity crisis. Pravesh Jung Golay writes:

That is to say that the crisis arises when:

- (1) An individual in his situatedness finds himself alienated; that is when he discovers that he does not belong to the categories or classes available in his *situatedness*, or
- (2) When he finds hazy and weak 'classes' or 'categories' to anchor his sense of *being-with* or *belongingness* to and thereby cannot make sense of his own being. This is when an individual is forced to confront an identity crisis. (Golay 55)

Thus Manish goes through this identity crisis as he finds himself being alienated among other Indians. The other character David who hailed from Manipur also goes through the same process of alienation with the racial treatment he faces in Delhi. The alienation both the character faces is however based more on the physical features rather than on race divided by cultural distinctions. Both the characters face humiliating situations due to

their mongoloid physical features. The character Manish undergoes through series of realization of the different types of identity crisis of a Gorkha in India. While Manish faces racial segregation in Delhi due to his mongoloid features, the situation back home in Kalimpong is an advent towards the demand for a home in India as a part of the varied race in India. The political turmoil in Darjeeling creates a scene of the demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland. While he is fixed on realizing his identity, the situation in Darjeeling opens up the joint effort for a different cause of safeguarding a race different in culture and ethnicity in India. The author notes that:

Darjeeling District is a part of West Bengal, but due to certain differences and unsatisfied views with the Government of West Bengal, Darjeeling District is demanding for separation from West Bengal state. The separate state will be called 'Gorkhaland'. The struggle for a separate state is to bring back the lost identity of the Gorkhas in India. It was said that, a state name 'Gorkhaland' would prove the nation, that Gorkhas exist in India and not just in Nepal (Thapa104)

The demand of a state for the Gorkhas has been identified as a turbulent affair between the citizens and the government. The state government in this matter is seen as a negative force in determining the future of a state for the Gorkhas. The state plays an important role in shaping the ideologies of its citizens. Judith Butler states that :

If the state is what 'binds', it is also clearly what can does unbind. And if the state binds in the name of nation forcibly, if not powerfully, then it also unbinds, releases, expels, banishes. If it does the latter, it is not always through emancipator means, i.e. through 'letting go' or 'setting free'; it expels through the exercise of power that depends upon barriers and prisons and, so, in the mode of

certain containment we are deposited in a dense situation of military power in which juridical functions become the prerogative of the military” (Butler 5)

The state of West Bengal uses its ideological apparatuses to project the integrity of the state and anything or anybody that opposes it is dealt with by using repressive forces as stated by Butler. The demand of a state for the Gorkhas in this case creates a demarcation of land for the state of West Bengal which rely on the tea and tourism business in the hills. Thus the demand for Gorkhaland statehood is contradictory to the interest of the state of West Bengal.

The history of the Gorkhaland Movement has shown the use of both ideological and repressive state apparatuses by the state to nullify the demand. The exercise of power by the state is shown in the forms like Police keeping monitor of the situations and taking rapid actions. As Butler suggests the state lets go of its citizen by exercising the power through military and judiciary actions. Thus the formation of an aberrant identity of Gorkhas becomes more definitive. This new identity marked by violence produces a new ideology of the Gorkhas countering the larger narratives of the Bengalis:

Althusser points out that although a society’s ideology consists primarily of the ideology of its dominant classes also produce ideologies, which express their protest against this domination. (Ferreter 80)

Insurgency in this case marks a protest against the ideologies produced by the state and its power: “Insurgency becomes a process of articulation or rather the narration of one’s own authenticity” (Junior 41). Manohar Thapa has traced the development of an insurgent area in his work which sets the background for the demand. The author has

created a vivid image of the town with fumes rising in the air, closed shutters, deserted roads and shops, burnt tires, burnt state buses. He describes it as “The black smoke had settled low over the motor stand depicting it as a post war zone and we, the survivors” (Thapa 105). Even though the atmosphere is seen as bleak and dark, the agitation is a reflection of the people’s need and desires: “But the smell lingering in the air, was the beauty of the agitation in the hills” (Thapa 107). The aspect of the protest as a necessary form of demand can be identified with the words of Mani Mama to Manish on being asked:

‘How do you feel about Gorkhaland?’ Mani Mama said out of the blue.

‘I... I don’t know. Is all this violence necessary?’ I asked mama clearing the dust gathered in my throat.

‘It’s a protest against all those who never treat us like our own. It is for our land, our identity.’ (Thapa 109)

The novel is set mostly in Delhi where the protagonist Manish faces his identity conflict. The scene back home in the hills of Darjeeling and Kalimpong is where the political demand for the state of Gorkhaland takes place. While the demand for a state is not heavily focused as the plot of the story, it plays a part in organizing a solution for the identity crisis the protagonist goes through. Though Manish is skeptical on the violence needed for the demand for statehood, he is seen accepting it and goes back home to the hills after the violent attack on him and his friend David at the Mall back in Delhi. While he feels alienated at his own home and the college life he is surrounded with, he confronts it after the death of his friend David. The death of David gives him a purpose to

fight for himself or in this case to give himself a peace of mind. The end of the novel suggests this through the conversation he has with his uncle Mani Mama:

‘David is no more. My friend from Delhi confirmed it today. I have to do something. Why are our voices unheard?’. I asked mama fumbling over my words.

‘You can start by joining the Students’ Union. Make your voice known to your own kin first, then you can make others hear it,’ mama said without much energy as he had told me a couple of times before.

No one can understand what struck me after I heard about David. Even Mani mama had no idea what my answer to his question would be. I had set my mind that I had to change myself and I had to stand up for my rights. (Thapa 178)

The reflection of the movement for statehood through the novel *The Unaccepted* does not shed a clear picture of the reasons of the demand. Instead it focuses on the identity issues as a minority race in India rather than in West Bengal. However the demand for a state for the Gorkhas in the novel is based on realizing an identity for the protagonist Manish who seeks equal recognition as other major communities of India. Thus the author has deftly related the movement for Gorkhaland with the identity crises that the Gorkhas experience in India. While he is traumatized in Delhi, he faces its outcome back home in the Darjeeling Hills that is set ablaze with the agitation for a new state.

The open ended story line of *The Unaccepted* however leaves the reader with the knowledge that statehood is not granted. The narration of the story by the protagonist as a

Lama, a Buddhist priest who has renounced all forms of desire suggests the unfulfilled desire. The protagonist sheds his identity and takes up Lamaism that rids him of every worldly aspect. The demand for state remains an unachieved dream for the protagonist who has failed to fight for his rights.

Indra Bahadur Rai's works provide a critical insight into the Darjeeling Gorkha society. He traces the social dilemma of the Gorkhas in his short stories "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us", "The Storm Ragged all Night Long" and "Khir" against the backdrop of the Gorkhaland agitation. The stories all reflect the poor economic condition of the Gorkhas in West Bengal. Rai in his stories invoke a pre-capitalist society within a capitalist town. His characters all represent the lower strata of society who struggle to fit into the capitalist town of Darjeeling. The capitalist society is portrayed as being harsh, unfriendly and alienating for the poor people of Darjeeling who are unable to locate themselves within the town they called their home. The demand for a home in this case reflects the desire of Rai's characters to fight against the capitalist society and its norms. This is to say that home for the Gorkhas ie Gorkhaland is not merely about identity but also about economic security.

"Maina's Mother is Just Like Us" is one of Rai's most famous stories. It focuses on a woman referred to only as 'Maina's mother' without giving a clear cut identity about his community. The character belongs to the lower class of the society and she is seen selling vegetables in the Darjeeling market. The story progresses at various stages of her life that is "arranged unchronologically, in an unconventional, poetic text that articulates the pathos and uncertainty of a single, simple life lived by an old uncomprehending Nepali[Gorkha] woman against the backdrop of Darjeeling" (Hutt 36).

We come across the character of Maina's Mother in the market when a customer enquires about the price of greens she sells, but decides against buying them stating that 'they've turned yellow'. Against the backdrop of an agitation the narrator points out the rage of the customer as he psychologically laments on the past: "Injustice cries out, surrounding the man's self interest with rage. He still remembers living in the forest where it was possible to get them for nothing" (Rai 75). As the story proceeds, anonymous voices voice out that the city of Darjeeling has gradually been crowded leaving lesser job opportunities. Unanimously they all agree to leave their home and settle elsewhere where living would be easy. One speaker voices out how they made Darjeeling their home after leaving Nepal. This scene shifts back to Maina's Mother who is being scolded by the women for whom she works for not selling more of her products. She is unable to maintain her basic necessities of living. The voices of the crowd that bring the news of development and destruction of the town signal the townsfolk to move to Assam. As mentioned by Sonya Gill "According to Samaddar, the nationality question [of Gorkha] in India is linked to the uneven development of Capitalism" (Gill 412). The townsfolk in Rai's story go through a series of decisions that lays its blame to the Capitalist society of Darjeeling Hills.

The scene focuses again on Maina's mother who is being crushed by the weight of the rocks which symbolizes her crushing hopes and aspirations. She is seen as timid and frightened by the changing scenario. But she still feels the place homely because of the sight of the Himalayas:

Suddenly she felt inspired to say --- we came here looking for a place where we could see the Himalaya clearly. Now we don't want to go anywhere else. All of us

should have a house where we can open the window each morning and look at the Himalaya. Here man is unhealthy; he quickly tires of most things; his thirst is quickly quenched. But with one thing we are never fed up, and that is the Himalaya. (Rai 80)

The sight of the Himalaya is the image of home for Maina's mother. Even though she is aware of the difficulties situated in the Hills of Darjeeling, she is reluctant to go to the plains of Assam. Though she tries to voice out her ideas she remains quiet. Her voicelessness is characteristic of the weaker section of society which Gayatri Spivak calls the 'Subaltern'. The subaltern class in any form of society (India) is voiceless against the capitalist bourgeoisie. The idea of home that resides in the image of the Himalaya is destroyed by the bourgeoisie in the name of development. In this regards Gill says:

The existence of an integrated economy and a centralized state in India, reflected the unity of the bourgeoisie. The working class remained divided on a variety of economic demands and social identities, such as ecology, culture, region, and caste. (Gill 412)

Rai's characters undergo through economic exploitation which does not give them a chance to establish the identity of Indian national.

Maina's mother represents the true image of a village woman who is sensitive to the sight of every healthy plant and is aware of their needs. Rai's narration describes each and every movement of Maina's mother who keenly watches the Nature as she questions her own identity. Hutt says that "Rai invokes a sense of pathos with the line from a famous Nepali song: "Why then did you come here? Why then did you come here?"(Hutt

37). The question of identity that saddles her remains unanswered. The insecurity that Maina's mother experiences in the town of Darjeeling surfaces as the loudspeakers blaze up and strangers surround her questioning her identity, her native place, etc:

“Why did you come here ?” asked an invisible person. A man walked by in front of her; he turned and asked her the same question. All the people standing in the street queued up to ask her; all the people inside the buildings opened their windows and asked her the question in high shrieking voices, staring at her from sharp eyes, taking aim with gaping mouths. She hid her face with her dirty shawl and peered out through the chinks of her window; an old fear. The whole bazaar came toward her. A thousand faces surrounded her, asking, “Why did you come here?”(Rai, 83- 84).

This is an apt portrayal of the daily experiences of Gorkhas in Darjeeling out of which the demand for Gorkhaland was born. Maina's mother represents the generations of Gorkhas stripped off political power. She plays no active role in her community's fight for existence at her own home. Her sense of insecurity is left unattended by the state.

Rai has managed to bring out the socio economic deprivation of the Gorkhas. The stories of Rai however do not directly delineate the demand for statehood in Darjeeling but rather it brings out the causes of political and social insecurities. However Rai encapsulates the need of home for building ones existential identity. Maina's mother or Kaley's mother in “The Storm Raged all Night Long” live in the economically deprived hill quietly. While home for Rai does not necessarily advance towards statehood, it

represents the Darjeeling hills as a place of the Gorkha people. This 'hill' is the natural home of the Gorkhas culturally, historically and emotionally built through ages.

Rai lays down the concept of national identity of the Gorkha race in India through Maina's mother who still remains unable to answer her existential predicament. In the similar case Manohar Thapa lays down the identity crisis of the protagonist Manish Moktan based on nationality. Both the characters undergo existential crisis, however in different forms. While Thapa's character opts to stand out for his rights with the demand of Statehood, Rai's characters cannot claim their basic rights being the economically weaker section in society. In both cases the state plays an important role in bringing the existential crisis of the Gorkha. The state is responsible for creating the alienation of the Gorkhas by imposing various policies that gradually destroys the identity.

The movement for statehood in the hills of West Bengal especially Darjeeling lays its direct relation to the safeguarding of equal identity that should be maintained by the state. The state of West Bengal after the independence movement of India, time and again tried to instill the feeling of solidarity and oneness which according to Javeed Alam is a failure:

In West Bengal, on the other hand, Amra Bengali has failed to make any impact, each situation has been determined by a wide range of factors, including the history of the democratic movements of these regions. But in this history itself, as also the present day situation as such, the differential nature of the development of the economy of a region has contributed towards the emergence of a relatively

distinct sociology of political response, with its necessary connotation for the national question. (Alam 138)

The state's slogan of oneness is thus determined by many factors where economy plays an important role. In the case of Indra Bahadur Rai's Maina's mother, we see a silent response towards the state. But Manohar Thapa sheds light towards the globalization of the Gorkha race who seeks to redefine their identity in a democratic country. The agitation of 2017 for a separate Gorkhaland state is a struggle caused by the feeling of dominance by the majority community: '*Amra Bengali*' (My Bengali/Bengal) sentiments which the government tries to instill into the Gorkhas with the introduction of the Bengali language as a compulsory subject in Schools is thus suddenly thwarted. The feeling of solidarity that the state wishes to produce with the implementation of one state theory that emerged during the time of independence to fight against the imperialist British rule cannot be applied unless it is aimed in a sociological progress. West Bengal being a state of the Marxist liberal minds however failed to maintain this single nationality as Gail Omvedt states:

Marxism does not take nationalism or the establishment of nation-states as valid in and of itself, but evaluates these in terms of their role in a process aimed at human liberation--- a socialist revolution and the establishment of a communist society. (Omvedt 81)

The Gorkhaland agitation of 1986, 2013 and 2017 was a product of the failure of the state in maintaining the social humanitarian revolution in its political framework. The works of Indra Bahadur Rai and Manohar Thapa gives a vivid picture on the marginalization of the Gorkha race in a democratic country at large and in West Bengal in particular.

The very sense of producing literary text supports the nationalistic trends of a minority race in India. G. Haragopal states that:

A discussion on the trends in language and literature would provide an insight into the consciousness and identity of the people. In the absence of concrete empirical evidence, one way to analyse the nationality question or the urge for regional autonomy is to discern the response of the creative artists, poets and writers to the changing historical conditions. In fact language and literature are the vital tools through which people express their emotion and urges. (Haragopal 373)

In this context the works of both the writers help provide an overview of the socio-political and economic state of the Gorkha race in India. The works of both the authors provide a diverse historical and socio political perspective of the Gorkhas while 'the quest for homeland' is presented as the major thematic current

Notes

¹ This quotation is from Shrestha K. *Gorkhas' Quest for Identity*. Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, 2013. Print. The book is introduced with this passage giving the spirit behind the demand for Gorkhaland statehood.

Works Cited

- Alam, Javeed. "Dialectics of Capital Transformation and National Crystallization- The Past and Present of National Questions in India". *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 118- 173. Print.
- Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling- Dooars People and Place under Bengals Neo-Colonial Rule*. Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008. Print.
- Butler, Judith & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Who Sings the Nation State?: Language, Politics and Belonging*. Seagull Books, 2010. Print.
- Ferreter, Luke. *Louis Althusser*. Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Gill, Sonya. "Summary of Discussion in the Seminar". ". *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 410- 462. Print.
- Golay, Pravesh Jung. "Ethnic Identity Crisis, History and Cultural Anthropology: Some Reflections". *Indian Nepalis Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009. Pp 49- 62. Print.
- Haragopal, G. "Dimensions of Regionalism: Nationality Questions in Andhra". *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 360- 392. Print.
- Hutt, Michael. "Where is Home for an Indian Nepali Writer?". *Indian Nepalis Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009. Pp 28- 48. Print.

- Junior, C. Lalthangliana. *Narrativizing Insurgency: A Study of Selected Fictions on Insurgencies in Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland*. Unpublished dissertation. Mizoram University, 2017. Print.
- Mishra, R.N. *Regionalism and State Politics in India*. Ashis Publishing House, 1984. Print.
- Omvedt, Gail. “Marxist Theory and Nationalism”. *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 81- 95. Print.
- Rai, I.B. “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us.” Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation*. Ed.Prem Poddar et al.Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp73-84. Print.
- Ramalu, M. “Conceptual Framework of Sub Regionalism and Statehood Demands in Indian Context”. *Indian Journal of Multidisciplinary Advanced research Trends*. Vol. III, Issue.1(3), June 2016. ijmart.in. Accessed on 11 March 2018. Web.
- Sarkar, Swathasiddha. “*Gorkhaland Movement: Ethnic conflict and State Response*”. Concept Publishing Company, 2013. Print.
- Shrestha, C.K. *Gorkhas’ Quest for Identity*. Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, 2013. Print
- Thapa. Manohar. *The Unaccepted*. Inspired Publications, 2016. Print.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The origin of the term 'Gorkha' is associated with Goraknath, a Hindu deity, as per available oral sources. The Gorkhas are also said to be the 'Gauraksha', the caretakers of cattle, from which the term 'Gorkha' is believed to have derived. The race which was divided into small tribes were unified as a community under the rule of Drabya Shah (1559- 1570). The Gorkhas originally lived in the "Chaubisi Rajya", a collection of twenty four small provinces now in Nepal. Later Prthivi Narayan Shah expanded the kingdom to Katmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur which were the three Newar provinces. The area surrounding Katmandu and the other close states was also called the Nepal valley named by a sage called Nemi. The Shah dynasty under Bahadur Shah also further expanded their kingdom towards the Himalayan foothills from Kumaon and Gharwal in the west to the north of India up to Nainital and Sikkim in the east. However the Gorkhas, now known as Nepalis in Nepal, were forced to return a large portion of their territory to the British after their crushing defeat in the Anglo- Nepal War (1814-1815). The Anglo- Nepal War of 1814 ended with the signing of the Sugauli Treaty of 1815. The treaty allowed free excess of mobilization of the Nepali population into the army of British East India Company and the tea estates of Darjeeling as labourers.

The identity issue of the Gorkhas in India is associated with various factors such as history, demography, culture and language. The historiography on Gorkha race in India also began only after the British signed them up as forces in the British army. However the race consisting of many smaller ethnic tribes divided as mongoloids and

Aryan laid their foundations when the Shah dynasty expanded their kingdom into the once princely states of India. The Gorkha population in India is again divided into 'Raithanee' and 'Sukumbasis' on the basis of the time of their settlement. The 'Sukumbasis' are the recent settlers and the 'Raithanee' the permanent residents who settled before the Sugauli Treaty (Sharma 12). The Raithanees were appointed as the recruiters of Man power ie. the 'Sukumbasis'.

The Gorkhas were granted Indian citizenship right after the independence of India in 1947. The Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty (1950) established a close friendship between the two neighbours that loosened the boundaries for trade, citizens in search for jobs and economy between the two nations. The treaty allowed many Nepali citizens to freely enter India and establish a livelihood for themselves. However, it threatened the Gorkhas in India who saw themselves as a race that held a different history in India than the Nepalis of Nepal. The conflict arose in the similarity of culture, religion and language. The dilemma of national identity was brought into the forefront when the Gorkhas were associated as foreigners from Nepal. The quest of the Indian Gorkhas for an independent identity from the Nepalis of Nepal and the protection of their own ethnic identity have given rise to the demand for 'Gorkhaland,' a separate state for Gorkhas under the Constitution of India's Article III. This issue was raised by the GNLFF led by Subhash Ghisingh. He demanded 'Gorkhaland' State in 1980 in the Darjeeling District of West Bengal. He led the campaign statehood demanding the use of 'Gorkha' and not 'Nepali'. The proposed state of Gorkhaland comprises Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong and the Dooars region of West Bengal. This demand has been carried out through two mass movements under the Gorkha National Liberation Front (1986- 1988) and Gorkha

Janmukti Morcha (2007- till date). The movement has been limited to North of West Bengal as Gorkhas have been in majority around these areas.

Gorkhas' identity crisis is also associated with the identity the British left them with. As a martial race, the Gorkhas are considered to be the bravest and loyal fighters. However the identification of Gorkhas as the loyal guards of the British has created an 'anti-India' identity for the Gorkhas in India. The British referred to recruits from Nepal in the army as "Gurkhas", a misreading of the word Gorkha. The British recruited the Gorkhas on the idea that the Gorkhas would serve with loyalty towards the British Sahib considering they were not familiar or culturally inclined to the Indians. As MacMunn emphasizes this fact when he says that "the bulk of Gurkha tribes are in no great sympathy with the races of India, and in the Army would far rather associate with the European soldiers than with other Indian troops" (MacMunn 195). Martial race was thus intended to recruit the backward minorities who would be dependent on the British for their sustenance. Ganeshlal Subba, a prominent political activist had said that the Gorkhas had been made pawns by the British Government to control the Indian freedom movement. Even though the British had wanted to keep the people of the Darjeeing Hills away from politics, political awareness was slowly growing amongst them. The Gorkhas have been an active participant in the freedom movement of India. The history of Indian Independence notes the war between the INA and the British where " Capt. Dal Bahadur Thapa and Maj. Durga Malla who were captured by the British and sentenced to Death. They died on the gallows in Delhi District Jail. In this way, Maj. Durga Malla became the first INA man to die on gallows" (Pradip Sunar et.al 53- 54). According to Anjan Dutta the defining of the race as "natural born warriors" by the British suggests that "the

history of the Gorkhas has always been a history of dehumanization. Dehumanization that inevitably reaches the crisis of Identity” (Dutta 61). The race hence sought out the demand for a separate land to curb the struggle for identity and recreate new identities for themselves. After the Independence of India when the State Reorganization Act came in 1956, many states were formed on the basis of language. However many minority linguistic communities were largely ignored. Among the many minor linguistic communities, the Gorkhas were also one. Thus they found their ethnic and political identity at stake.

The Gorkhas in India needs a political space where their identity can be safeguarded. The proposed state for the Gorkhas would serve the purpose as land provides the basic form of identity. C.K Shrestha writes:

In India, a State not only provides identity but also stands for Political Safeguard and Socio- Cultural Patronage. As Bihar stands in support of all Biharis in India, and Bengal for all Bengalis, whichever State they belong to, the State of Gorkhaland will also stand in support for all Gorkhas and this support is most essential for the all round development of Gorkhas in India.(Shrestha 20)

The direct cause of the demand for Gorkhaland however is due to the Gorkha identity being “misinterpreted” and “misconceived”. The misinterpreted identity of the race can be noticed in day to day life as seen in the case of Prashant Tamang case narrated in Chapter II and the subsequent comment of a Radio Jockey of Superhits 93.5 RED FM : “Nepaliko Indian Idol bana diya ab hamara Ghar, Mahalla ka Chowkidari Kaun Karega” [Nepali has been made an Indian Idol now who will guard our house and establishment] (qtd in Bomjan 172). Furthermore, instances of racial mockery can be noticed in

advertisements of Flipkart and Coca cola where the race has been portrayed by actors as servants, guards and guides and soldiers misconceiving the whole race fixed with such jobs.

The demand for Gorkhaland started from the beginning of the 20th Century. In 1907 itself, the hillsmen placed a memorandum before the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) asking for a separate administrative status. Right from this time, the demand that was most prominent was the separation from Bengal. It was during this time, when the Communist parties and the All India Gorkha League (AIGL) were making various demands, that the Hillmen's Association became active again under the leadership of Rup Narayan Sinha. He proposed the formation of the district into a Chief Commissioner's Province. However the Congress party, AIGL and CPI were averse to the proposal. Later in 1949, R.N.Sinha and Randhir Subba of AIGL demanded the formation of Uttarakhand Pradesh, consisting of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Coochbehar and Sikkim. The Gorkha League had always harped on the theme of a separate political status for the hill people, starting with the demand that the Indian domiciled Gorkhas should be recognised as an Indian community.

This issue as such has occupied an important space in the literary works of the writers of this community. The two authors in their works showcase the marginalization that they face as a race and an individual in the land they belong. They are stuck in a liminal space where they find no sense of belonging in their own home. They do not have any land to relate to their identity. The aspect of such identity issues are explored in the writings of Indra Bahadur Rai's short stories "Maina's Mother is Just like Us", "The Storm Raged all Night Long" and "Khira" and Manohar Thapa's novel *The Unaccepted*.

Indra Bahadur Rai in his short stories “Maina’s Mother is Just Like Us”, “The Storm Raged all Night Long” and “Khir” has brought out the economic condition of the the Gorkhas in the hills of Darjeeling. He has in his stories portrayed the economic deprivation and search of identity. All his characters are nameless or identified through other names. We can see this through names like Maina’s mother, Kaley’s mother and the characters in the story “Khir” who are identified with their job or the sound of their voices by a nameless narrator. This is an allusion to the misconception of Gorkha identity in India. All the characters in Rai’s stories belong to the lower class society of Darjeeling who struggle each day to sustain their livelihood. The stories of I.B Rai bring out the economic crisis of the Gorkhas who face displacement from land, unemployment and the daily struggles in a land forgotten by the government. In this research Rai’s stories have been discussed to analyze the economic alienation of the Gorkhas in Darjeeling hills and the search for a home and to identify themselves in their own land. The events in Rai’s stories take place in a much older time when India was re-establishing the economy of states after independence. The Gorkhas are seen neglected economically and politically.

Manohar Thapa on the other hand with his novel *The Unaccepted* brings out the identity crisis of an individual man, a Gorkha in modern India. Thapa’s character Manish who hails from Darjeeling undergoes through an identity crisis as he leaves his home to study in Delhi. Thapa’s novel is set in 21st century when a Gorkha has the opportunity to expand his identity outside the realm of the identity set to him others. However he is still bound by the identity as a foreigner inside his own country. The search for identity by

Manish is not economic but a political and self cultural identity. The quest for homeland in the novel is projected as a solution for the identity crisis he faces.

Though both the writers express the question of identity crisis in different forms of social stratification, where I.B Rai's character is seen belonging to the lower class and the Manohar Thapa's character Manish is from a middle class family with good family background in politics, they all go through social alienation. The third chapter in this research titled "Alienation of the Gorkhas in India" analyses the alienation of the Gorkhas in India portrayed in the selected texts. The Gorkhas social alienation is two sided where the people feel alienated by the state and the rest of the nation and further alienate themselves. The state of being alienated from the rest of the mainland India economically and politically creates the identity crisis for Gorkhas. While the characters in Rai's short stories are made to accept their fate as they are ideologically repressed from taking action and are hence voiceless, the character of Thapa's novel goes against the Repressive and Ideological state apparatus. Thapa's character Manish takes the decision to join the student's union back home that would give him a chance to voice out his concerns.

The identity crisis both the authors portray varies in the sense that Rai's character Maina's mother and Kaley's mother cannot voice out their problems whether it is answering the question "why did you come here?"(Rai 83) or talking back to the low cast women of the town respectively. Both the characters are seen helpless against the bourgeoisie society of the town. Economy here plays an important role in defining the individual or community identity. Economic stability is required for political stability. This economic stability is absent in the lives of the characters of Rai's stories. While they

are aware of their identity crisis, they are shut quiet by their poverty. While in “Khir” the characters are made to accept what little they have been given though they are aware that the plains have better opportunity and livelihood. Though they all dream of having the perfect Khir, they accept their poverty and move on without a fight by accepting the tasteless khir. The economic instability of the Gorkhas here is a major cause of their voicelessness during the demand of statehood. Darjeeling here is seen as a neglected land by the state and central governments where people all live in extreme poverty. Hence migration and displacement occur leading to their identity crisis. This can be proved by Rai’s essay “Hills and Streams” where Rai writes on displacement of land and culture by the Gorkha youths who leave their home in search of jobs. Khemraj Sharma notes that major population of the Gorkhas right after the independence worked as labourers in the tea state with little wage under the managers who worked from Kolkata. The alienation of Darjeeling in matters of economy and politics is the very reason of the Gorkhas’ demand for statehood.

Identity on the other hand as an issue has come forward as a major discourse in recent times due to the awareness brought by education and social media. Globalization has brought different social media and knowledge along with it. It also reconfigures the identity dynamics of different communities. Manohar Thapa’s *The Unaccepted* deals with identity crisis as a social dilemma. The novel opens up different dimensions of racism in India. While, according to I.B. Rai, economic status is fundamental in the creation of Gorkha identity, Manohar Thapa does not economically analyze the situation of the Gorkhas in India. In his novel the character Manish represents the Gorkha youths who are racially treated and their struggle to be accepted as an Indian national away from

their homes. Thus the novel focuses more on nationality issues rather than economic and political marginalization. However the quest for homeland towards the end of the novel symbolizes the desires of every Gorkha to be accepted as Indian citizen not merely legally but also socially and culturally. The separation from West Bengal finds its way towards the end of the story through his uncle Mani Mama who tells him to join a party. The author has embedded into his novel the very picture of the 2013 agitation of the Gorkha Janamukti Morcha. The chaos in the street of Kalimpong with burnt tyres symbolizes a riot torn area of the Darjeeling hills for the demand of Gorkhaland statehood. Here, violence is projected as a means of political protest to secure an identity for one's self.

The demand for "Gorkhaland", a separate state for the Gorkhas marks a turning point in the history. In 2017, the introduction of Bengali language as a compulsory subject in the schools was rejected by the Gorkhas marking the assertiveness of their struggle for identity. The state plays an important role in shaping the identity of its citizens through ideological and repressive apparatuses. The attempt to introduce Bengali language as compulsory subject is to ideologically dominate over the Gorkhas leading to the subversion of their identity. An agitation in this sense is a fight against this dominance. While education gives new knowledge and ideas, it also favors the politically powerful. The knowledge thus produced renders individuals into subjects incapable understanding their own condition. It is on this basis that the Gorkhas rejected the introduction of Bengali as compulsory subject in school. They feel that development of Nepali language will give them recognition of their identity.

Thus the selected texts bring out the state of predicament of the Gorkhas in India. The two authors have presented the issue of Gorkha identity crisis in India at different time periods. While Rai's short stories give a vivid account of the problem in the early years of India after independence, Thapa's novel gives the dynamics of the same issue in the twenty-first century. In the case of Indra Bahadur Rai's stories, characters are silent and weak in the face of their identity crisis while while Manohar Thapa's character Manish who belongs to the educated twenty first century generation stands against the racial treatment and struggles for recognition of Gorkha's Indian identity . Rai's characters are economically unstable while Thapa's character Manish is an educated and well-to-do young man. Thus the selected fictions give an account of the Gorkha identity problem at different time intervals and the response of the different classes of Gorkha population to it.

Work Cited

- Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling- Dooars People and Place under Bengals Neo-Colonial Rule*. Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008. Print.
- McMunn, G.F. 'The Martial Races of India'. *Archive*. Sampson Low, Marston & Co Ltd, 1933. http://archive.org/stream/martialracesofin030605mbp/martialracesofin030605mbp_djvu.txt. Accessed on 27 June 2018. Web.
- Rai, I.B. "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us." Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. 73-84. Print.
- Sharma, K.R. *The Darjeeling Gorkhas: A study on Identity Dilemma*. Abhijeet Publications, 2017. Print.
- Shresta, C.K. *Gorkhas' Quest for Identity*. Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch, 2013. Print.
- Sunar, Pradip et.al. *The Gorkhas of Mizoram Vol.-1*. Mizoram Gorkha Students' Union, 2000. Print.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Rai, I.B. "Maina's Mother is Just Like Us." Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: Indra Bahdur Rai in Translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 73-84. Print.

---. "The Storm Raged All Night Long." Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: Indra Bahdur Rai in Translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 111-128. Print.

---. "Khiri." Trans. Anmole Prasad. *Gorkhas Imagined: Indra Bahdur Rai in Translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp 135-144. Print.

Thapa, Manohar. *The Unaccepted*. Gangtok: Inspired Publications, 2016. Print.

Secondary Sources

Alam, Javeed. "Dialectics of Capital Transformation and National Crystallization- The Past and Present of National Questions in India". *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 118- 173. Print.

Althusser, L. "On Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation". Trans. and Ed. Ben Brewster. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Monthly Review Press, 2001. 127-183. JSTOR. Web. 2 March 2017

Bomjan, D.S. *Darjeeling- Dooars People and Place under Bengals Neo-Colonial Rule*. Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, 2008. Print.

- Blumenburg, Warner. *Karl Marx: An Illustrated Biography*. Trans. Douglas Scott. Union, 1972. Print.
- Bista D.B. *People of Nepal*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1980. Print.
- Butler, Judith & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Who Sings the Nation State?: Language, Politics and Belonging*. Seagull Books, 2010. Print.
- Das, Amiya Kumar. "Margin, Marginality and Marginalization- Concept and Meaning". *Media and Margins*. MHRD: Government of India. Patshala. Quadrant- I (e-Text).2017. epgp.inflibnet.ac.in. 30 June 2018. Web.
- Desai, Kiran. *The Inheritance of Loss*, Penguin, 2005. Print.
- Dhamala, Ranju R. "Identity Formation and Identity Maintenance: Nepalis in India" *Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009.168- 174, Print.
- Dutta, Anjan. "The Wounded Soldier", *Gorkhas' Quest for Indian Identity*. Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch,India, 2013. Print.
- Ferreter, Luke. *Louis Althusser*, Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Foucault, Michael. "Subject and Power". *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. Vintage Publishers, 1994. Print.
- Gill, Sonya. "Summary of Discussion in the Seminar", *Nationality Questions in India. Training for Development Scholarship Society*, 1987. Pp 410- 462. Print.

- Giri, Pramod. "Darjeeling Unrest: Three killed in GJM protest, Mamta blames terrorist links." *Hindustan Times*, June 18, 2017.
- Golay, Bidan. "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History". *Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009.168- 174, Print.
- Golay, Pravesh Jung. "Ethnic Identity Crisis, History and Cultural Anthropology: Some Reflections". *Indian Nepalis Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009. Pp 49- 62. Print.
- Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora". *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Ed: Padmini Mongia. Oxford University Press, 1997. 110- 121. Print.
- Haragopal, G. "Dimensions of Regionalism: Nationality Questions in Andhra". *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 360- 392. Print.
- Hutt, Micheal James. (eds. and trans) *Himalyan Voices: An Introduction to Modern Nepali Literature*. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993. Print.
- Hutt, Michael. "Where is Home for an Indian Nepali Writer?". *Indian Nepalis Issues and Perspectives*. Ed: T.B Subba et al. Concept Publishing Company, 2009. Pp 28- 48. Print.
- Junior, C. Lalthangliana. *Narrativizing Insurgency: A Study of Selected Fictions on Insurgencies in Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland*. Unpublished dissertation. Mizoram University, 2017. Print.
- MacMunn, G.F. 'The Martial Races of India'. *Archive*. Sampson Low, Marston & Co Ltd,1933.http://archive.org/stream/martialracesofin030605mbp/martialracesofin030605mbp_djvu.txt. Accessed on 27 June 2018. Web.

- Makhija, Ashima. "Darjeeling Crisis: An uprising for an identity". *Qrius*. 2017. qrius.com. Accessed on 25 Jan 2018. Web.
- Mishra, R.N. *Regionalism and State Politics in India*. Ashis Publishing House, 1984. Print.
- Malhotra, Rajiv. *Being Different*. Harper Collins, 2011. Print.
- Nepali, G.S. *The Nevars: An Ethno- Sociological Study of a Himalayan Community*. United Asia, 1965. Print.
- O'Malley, LSS. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*. Logos Press, 1907. Print.
- Omvedt, Gail. "Marxist Theory and Nationalism". *Nationality Questions in India*. Training for Development Scholarship Society, 1987. Pp 81- 95. Print.
- Piplai, Dripta. Where Children Loose Their Language: The endangered Linguistic Identity of the Rajbanshi Children of North Bengal. *National Child Rights Research Fellowships*, 2007. www.cry.org . Accessed on 10 January 2018. Web.
- Poddar, Prem. "Afterlife of the original: Gorkhaness (or Indian Nepaleseness) and I.B. Rai in Translation" *Gorkhas Imagined*: Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009.Pp 11- 37, Print.
- Rai, I.B. "The Ordinariness of a Day." Trans. Anmole Prasad. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation*: Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp101- 110, Print.

- “ Hills and Streams.” Trans. Michael Hutt. *Gorkhas Imagined: indra bahdur rai in translation* Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009.Pp 181- 190, Print.
- “Indian Nepali Nationalism and Nepali Poetry”. *Gorkhas Imagined :indra bahdur rai in translation*. Ed. Prem Poddar et al. Mukti Prakashan, 2009. Pp171- 180. Print.
- Ramalu, M. “Conceptual Framework of Sub Regionalism and Statehood Demands in Indian Context”. *Indian Journal of Multidisciplinary Advanced research Trends*. Vol. III, Issue.1(3), June 2016. ijmart.in. Accessed on 11 March 2018. Web
- Ray, Satyajit. “Danger in Darjeeling” *The Complete Adventures of Feluda. Volume I*. Penguin Books India, 2000. Print.
- Saleem, Abdul. Theme of Alienation in Modern Literature. *European Journal of English Language and Literature Studies*. vol.2, no.3, 2014, Pp 67-76. European Centre for Research Training and Development UK www.eajournals.org. Accessed on 28 Feb 2018. Web.
- Sahitya Akademi*. “Indra Bahadur Rai: meet the author”, 2004. Accessed on 21 March 2017.Web.http://sahityaakademi.gov.in/sahityaakademi/library/meettheauthor/indra_bahadur_rai.pdf
- Sarkar, Swathasiddha.“*Gorkhaland Movement: Ethnic conflict and State Response*”. Concept Publishing Company. 2013. Print.
- Sartre, Jean Paul. “*Being and Nothingness*”. Trans. Hazel Barnes. Random House,1963. Print.
- Sen, Jahar. *Darjeeling: A Favoured Retreat*. Indus Publishing Company, 1989. Print.

- Sharma, K.R et al. *Marginalization of Gorkhas in India: A Community in Quest of Indian Identity*. Abhijeet Publications, 2011. Print.
- Sharma, K.R. *The Darjeeling Gorkhas: A study on Identity Dilemma*. Abhijeet Publications, 2017. Print.
- Shaha, Rishikesh. “*Modern Nepal: A Political History 1769- 1955*”, Vol-1 1769- 1885. Manohar Publishers & Distributers, 1996. Print.
- Shrestha, C.K. “*Gorkhas’ Quest for Indian Identity*”.Gorkha Bharati Vichar Manch,India, Systematic Designers and Printers Pvt. Ltd, 2013. Print.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberge. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.1988. 271 – 313. E- Book. www.press.uillinois.edu. Accessed on 10 March 2017. Web.
- Sunar, Pradip et.al. *The Gorkhas of Mizoram Vol.-1*. Aizawl: Mizoram Gorkha Students’ Union. 2000. Print.
- Taviss, Irene. “Changes in the Form of Alienation: The 1900s vs. The 1950s.” *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 34. No. 1(Feb. 1969) JSTOR. Pp 46-57. Web.
- “The Revolt of 1857”. www.larrymcelhiney.com/Sepoy/Revolt_of_1857.pdf. 25 Feb 2018. Web.
- Zahan, Sayeda Ambia. “Darjeeling Unrest: Looked down upon by Bengalis, Gorkhas feel alienated on their own land”. Firstpost19 Jul. 2017. Accessedon25Feb.2018.Web.

www.firstpost.com/india/darjeeling-unrest-looked-down-upon-by-bengalis-gorkhas-feel-alienated-in-their-own-land-3830767.html.

Wright, Daniel. *History of Nepal*. University Press, 1877. Print.

APPENDICES

NAME OF CANDIDATE : Shrijana Rai

DEGREE : M. Phil

DEPARTMENT : English

TITLE OF DISSERTATION : Dynamics of Gorkha Identity in
the Selected Fictions of Indra
Bahadur Rai and Manohar Thapa.

DATE OF PAYMENT OF ADMISSION : 26.07.2016
(Commencement of First Semester)

COMMENCEMENT OF SECOND SEMESTER/ DISSERTATION : 27. 04. 2017

APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL –

1. BOS	: 26.04.2017
2. SCHOOL BOARD	: 26. 05.2017
3. REGISTRATION NO & DATE	:MZU/M.Phil./363 of 26.05.2017
4. DUE DATE OF SUBMISSION	: 31. 07. 2017
5. EXTENSION IF ANY	: February, 2018- July, 2018

HEAD

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BIO DATA

Name: Shrijana Rai
Father's Name: Bharat Rai
Address: Banglakawn, Lalkai Building, Kolasib,
Mizoram.
Phone No: 8787772897

Educational Qualifications:

Class	Board/University	Year of Passing	Division/ Grade	Percentage
X	MBSE	2008	I	63%
XII	MBSE	2010	I	60%
B.A	University of North Bengal	2014	II	48%
M.A	Mizoram University	2016	I	60%
M.Phil	Mizoram University	Course work Completed in 2016	I 7.00 SGPA Grade points awarded.10pt scale grading system 7.00 corresponds to 60- 69.0 %	Corresponds to 65%in Terms of Percentage conversion

M.Phil Regn No and Date: MZU/ M.Phil./363 of 26.05.2017

Other relevant information:

- i) Currently working on M.Phil dissertation entitled “Dynamics of Gorkha Identity in the Selected Fictions of Indra Bahadur Rai and Manohar Thapa” under the supervision of Dr. Thongam Dhanajit Singh, Department of English, Mizoram University.
- ii) Attended and participated in an international seminar entitled, “Why Ecocriticism?”, organized by The Department of English, Sikkim Government College, under Sikkim University, Tadong, Gangtok. and Foundation for the Study of Literature and Environment(FSLE-India), New Delhi , on 21st – 23rd November 2017.
- iii) Attended an international seminar entitled, “Indigeneity: Expression and Experience” organized by the Department of English, Mizoram University under UGC- DRS- SAP I, on 25th – 26th February 2016.
- iv) Attended a national symposium entitled, “Child Lore and Identity”, organized by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi and the Department of English, Mizoram University, on 4th November, 2016.
- v) Visited the following out- of- state libraries for the purpose of research:
 - a. Deshbandu (Govt) District Library, Darjeeling, West Bengal.
 - b. Central Library, Gangtok, Sikkim.
 - c. North Bengal State Library, North Bengal, West Bengal.
- vi) Awarded the UGC- MZU Fellowship for the tenure of eighteen months from the date of admission on 26th August 2017