

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

The district administration in Darjeeling had been working effectively since the time of Independence till the 1980s, when the entire administration (of the hill areas) was disrupted and paralyzed by the violent Gorkhaland Agitation spearheaded by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) – a regional political party in Darjeeling – in the mid 1980s. The agitation also spread to the Dooars area in the Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. The period 1982 to 1988 saw the people of Darjeeling in agitation for the formation of a separate state. The agitation came to an end with the signing of an agreement between the GNLF, the State Government (of West Bengal) and the Central Government (Government of India) in 1988. This agreement led to the creation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the hill people.

In August 1999, a High Power Committee was set up by the State Government to review implementation of the provisions contained in the Memorandum of Settlement between the Union Government, the State Government and the GNLF and also to examine the provisions contained in the DGHC Act, 1988 and to offer considered views on steps needed to strengthen the role of the DGHC in coordinating development activities in the hill areas and fostering comprehensive development program. One recommendation that the High Power Committee made was that the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) would henceforth be known as Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council (DGAHC).¹

But a few years after the word ‘autonomous’ was inserted into the DGHC, Mr. Subash Ghising (Chairman and Chief Executive Councillor of DGHC, Administrator of DGHC) issued instructions to have it dropped. In the DGHC Amendment Bill of 14th March 2005 the word ‘autonomous’ was omitted from the Council’s name. So DGHC (Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council) became DGAHC (Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council) for a few years and again it reverted to being called DGHC.²

Mr. Subash Ghising (Chairman/Chief Executive Councillor/Administrator) had been demanding constitutional status for the DGHC as, according to him the earlier Settlements could not fulfill the aspirations of the people of Darjeeling. A series of tripartite meetings were again held between Government of India, Government of West Bengal and Mr. Ghising to review the implementation of Darjeeling Accord and further issues arising from it. As a result of these meetings a Memorandum of Settlement was signed on 6th December 2005 whereby it was agreed in principle to create a self-governing body for the Darjeeling hill areas in the State of West Bengal. The objectives of this agreement were to replace the existing Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council by an autonomous self governing Council to be known as Gorkha Hill Council Darjeeling under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India following due consultative, Legislative and constitutional processes by the State and Central Governments so as to fulfill economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of land-rights, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the hill people; and to speed up the infrastructure development in the hill areas.³

The Government of West Bengal would repeal at appropriate time the existing 'Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act 1988' to pave the way for creation of a new autonomous Council under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. This new Council was renamed Gorkha Hill Council, Darjeeling. Government of India would initiate necessary consultative, legislative and constitutional steps to amend Article 244 of the Constitution appropriately, to include administration of the hill areas of State of West Bengal in the Sixth Schedule.⁴

Objectives of the Study

Ever since DGHC came into existence some powers and functions of the district administration of Darjeeling were transferred to the DGHC and these two institutions, that is, District Administration and DGHC have been working side by side, although the former's jurisdiction extends over greater geographical area than that of the latter. The jurisdiction of Darjeeling district administration covers an area of 3149 square kilometers and the jurisdiction of the Hill Council covers an area of 2476 square kilometers. For

administrative purpose the district is divided into four sub-divisions viz., Darjeeling Sadar, Kalimpong, Kurseong and Siliguri. The first three sub-divisions fall under the hill tract and the last one viz. Siliguri is situated in the plains. So the jurisdiction of district administration covers all these sub-divisions whereas DGHC covers only the three revenue (hill) sub-divisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and 13 mouzas of Siliguri revenue sub-division. For Siliguri an innovative institution within the panchayat system, viz. Mahakuma Parishad has been brought into existence.

Given the background, the present study makes a comparative study between district administration in Darjeeling and the DGHC. The specific questions that have been probed relate to: What are the respective functions they perform? Does district administration deal only with the regulatory functions and DGHC look after only developmental functions? Are there areas of overlapping of functions between Darjeeling district administration and DGHC? Are there areas of conflict and tension between the two? Are there areas of competition? Or are there areas of co-operation and interdependence? Or is the relationship between the two cordial? Attempt is made to establish a relationship between district administration and DGHC – Is there a superior-subordinate relationship or is the relationship co-equal or is it parallel?

The study seeks to identify, analyze and explain the intricacies, stresses and the resultant conflicts in the relationship between the District Administration and DGHC and their latent and manifest impact on the overall performances of these two governmental organizations/agencies.

An empirical study (i) of the powers and functions of District Administration and DGHC and (ii) of the Development Programs and their beneficiaries in Darjeeling is made, to find areas of jurisdiction and interaction between district administration and DGHC in their everyday working. For the study of the Development Programs and their beneficiaries, the year 1999 to 2006 was selected because it was the third term of DGHC in office as an elected body. It went on to become its last term in Office as well, for from 2005 onwards elections to DGHC was stalled and DGHC was to be replaced by Gorkha Hill Council Darjeeling under Sixth Schedule.

Further, exploration has been made to find out if DGHC fits into the description of 'District Government'. A probe has been attempted to find if DGHC is only a Zilla

Parishad with extended powers or a glorified Panchayat with additional powers? A comparison between DGHC and District Councils under Sixth Schedule has also been attempted. A study of the shortcomings of the District Councils under Sixth Schedule and remedies suggested for its improvement has been undertaken. The purpose behind this being to show to the new Gorkha Hill Council Darjeeling the loopholes and flaws of Sixth Schedule, so that it can learn from the earlier mistakes of the other Councils, incorporate the remedies suggested and become a more successful Council in its purpose as well as fulfill the long-time aspirations of self-government/self-rule for the hill people of Darjeeling.

The political leaders, the administrators of District Administration and DGHC and other elites of Darjeeling hill were interviewed within the year 2003 to 2006, to obtain their views regarding the working of District Administration and DGHC and the relationship between the two.

The findings of this study have been envisaged to provide some valuable information that will help policy-makers, planners, implementers, teachers, researchers and the ordinary people (specially living in Darjeeling) whose everyday lives are touched by the smooth functioning of these two institutions – District Administration and DGHC working side by side. The findings will be helpful in understanding the administrative system; its relationship with the Council (DGHC) and the way it operates. It is also expected that the data of this study will serve as bases for follow-up studies in this field by the further researcher.

Universe of the Study

- (i) District Administration in Darjeeling**
- (ii) Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC)**

(i) District Administration in Darjeeling

In the state of West Bengal in India, Darjeeling is the northernmost and the smallest district. It is located between 26-27°10" North latitude and 68 53' 00" East longitude. The total area is about 1200 square miles. Though small in size, it touches two international boundaries, Bhutan and Nepal.⁵ The district is divided into four sub-

divisions viz. Darjeeling (Sadar), Kalimpong, Kurseong and Siliguri. The first three sub-divisions fall under the hill tract, and the last one viz. Siliguri shows a tremendous physiographic contrast as it is situated in the plains.⁶ Darjeeling Sadar is the district headquarters. Siliguri sub-division is the largest of the four sub-divisions and Kurseong is the smallest.⁷ Located in the mountainous region of the Himalayas, Darjeeling is at a height of 6900 feet above sea level. On account of its natural beauty this place has attracted thousands of people from different parts of the world and is one of the main tourist spots of India.⁸

During the British days Darjeeling used to be the Summer Capital of the Province of Bengal. The entire administrative machinery used to be shifted from the scorching heat of the plains to this cool and beautiful place during the summer months. Even now, the Governor of Bengal spends about a month during the summer season and another month during the autumn season with his entourage in Darjeeling.⁹

After formation of the Hill Council in the year 1988 some departments were transferred to DGHC (completely delinking development activities in the hills and the plain regions of the district). In the 3 Hill sub-divisions, development works under Transferred Departments are done through DGHC and the development works under Non-Transferred Departments are being done by respective departments under over all control of the District Magistrate. In the Siliguri sub-division, Siliguri Mahakuma Parishad performs all the development works normally entrusted to a district Zilla Parishad.¹⁰

There are four municipalities in the hill areas viz. Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong and Mirik. Siliguri sub-division in the plains has one Municipal Corporation, namely, Siliguri Municipal Corporation.¹¹

Since Siliguri sub-division does not come under the jurisdiction of DGHC, Siliguri Mahakuma Parishad and Siliguri Municipal Corporation are completely excluded from the universe of study of 'District Administration in Darjeeling and the DGHC', although references to them are made in the course of the study.

(ii) Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC)

The DGHC was the result of the violent Gorkhaland Movement (Agitation) of the 1980s in the hills of Darjeeling. The movement ended with the signing of the Memorandum of Settlement on the Gorkhaland Agitation at New Delhi in 1988, which was the outcome of the tripartite meeting between the Union Government, State Government and the Gorkha National Liberation Front.

The DGHC Act 1988 was enacted in the thirty-ninth year of the Republic of India, by the Legislature of West Bengal. The Act provided for the establishment of an autonomous Council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the people residing in the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling.¹²

The DGHC area comprises of three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong and is situated in the northern part of the State of West Bengal. The DGHC area is bordered by Sikkim in the north, Bhutan in the north-east, Nepal in the west and Siliguri sub-division and Jalpaiguri district in the south. The geographical area of the DGHC is 2476 square kilometer of which the area of 2433 square kilometer is rural and the rest 43 square kilometer is urban. The DGHC area is comprised of 350 Mouzas. Some of the forest Mouzas are either uninhabited or very sparsely populated. This includes 7 Mouzas under Siliguri Police Station and 6 Mouzas under Naxalbari Police Station. There are 11 Police Stations (including Siliguri and Naxalbari) under DGHC area. For the purpose of the formation of General Council, the entire area is divided into 28 Council Constituencies. There are 8 Community Development Blocks.¹³

A major portion of the rural population, particularly that of Darjeeling Sadar and Kurseong sub-division live in tea gardens, Cinchona plantations and forest areas, which occupies nearly 66% of the total available area of the region. The DGHC area is a non-industrial and economically backward zone. Business and service is the livelihood of the people residing in towns. Almost 77% of the population live in rural areas and are engaged in agriculture and allied activities. There are 106 tea gardens and 3 Cinchona plantations. Tourism has proved beneficial to about 7% of the rural populace. Except a few progressive farmers the majority of the populace engaged in agriculture and allied activities are living below poverty line. (Low productivity of agricultural crops is the characteristic of the DGHC region, the reasons being excessive rains, soil acidity, socio-

economic background of the rural populace, unscientific approach towards cultivating system and poor irrigation facilities.)¹⁴

Conceptual Framework.

The present study defines the key concepts as under:-

- 1) District. For the purpose of administrative convenience, a country is divided into numerous administrative units such as states, districts, sub-divisions etc. Therefore, district is an administrative unit in the hierarchy of administration, which consists of a number of territorial areas – villages, towns and cities. A district is generally named after the largest town or city of the territorial area of the concerned district.¹⁵ Darjeeling district is a hill district where the pattern of living differs from those of the districts which are situated in the plains.
- 2) District Administration. District Administration is the management of public affairs within a territory marked off for the purpose. It constitutes a convenient unit, not too small and not too large, and it seems to be a convenient mode of organization. The district administration is the total functioning of government in a district, that total and complex organization of the management of public affairs at work, dynamic and not static, in the territory of a geographically demarcated district.¹⁶ The state government has to exercise its sovereign functions in fields like maintenance of law and order, provision of the basic needs of the people like water supply, sanitation, public distribution of essential supplies etc. All these functions have to be done at the grass roots level and the district is the unit of administration through which the government operates to perform all the sovereign and development functions. Hence, the district administration is the grass roots organization of the government of crucial importance in the exercise of governmental functions.¹⁷ Potter defines district administration as the “total action of government in an area specified as a district by a State Government”. The district administration conforms to the total purpose and apparatus of government in the district. The purpose is threefold: the maintenance of law and order, the revenue administration, and the development

activities for the economic and social advancement of the people of the district.¹⁸ The district administration acts as the eyes, ears and arms of state government.

3) District Magistrate. The officer-in-charge of the district administration is called the District Officer who is the kingpin and head of district administration in India. The District Officer is also known as the District Collector, District Magistrate and also as the Deputy Commissioner in some states.¹⁹ At the outset it should be noted that the office of collector is known by two designations which indicate the nature of the original functions of the office when it originated in British times. The two main functions were revenue collection and maintenance of law and order, which were the main functions of the district administration in British times.²⁰ Hence in certain areas of the country the office is called 'Collector' (Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat) and in certain areas it is called 'District Magistrate' (West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh) hence emphasizing the dual nature of the functions of the district head. In other states such as Assam, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnátaka and Punjab he is known as the Deputy Commissioner.

4) Panchayat. Literally, a council of five, it refers to a village council or court of elders, entrusted with executive and judicial powers for the governance of community affairs. This institution, which flourished in many parts of India in the past, is now being revived as the basic administrative unit of government.²¹

5) Panchayat Raj. Panchayat Raj institution is the result of democratic decentralization. Democratic decentralization implies extension of democracy at the grassroots level in view of the fact that people's participation signifies the constitution of a democratic government not merely at the top but also at the foundation level of the political system. It signifies marked devolution of power from the higher to the lower levels in a way that the units of local government exercise their power with the participation of the people of that area with occasional control and supervision of the (provincial) state and central governments.²² Panchayat Raj institution is included in Part IV of the Indian Constitution as Article 40 (i.e. Directive Principles of State Policy) which states that 'the state shall take steps to organize Village Panchayat and endow them with such powers and authority as maybe necessary to enable them to function as units of self government'. The Panchayat Raj system in West Bengal has a three-tier institutional structure (following

the Balwantray Mehta Report's recommendation 1957) consisting of (1) Village Panchayat [at Gram or Village level] (2) Panchayat Samiti [at Block level] (3) Zilla Parishad [at District level].

6) Zilla Parishad. At the highest level of the Panchayat structure i.e. at the district level there are Zilla Parishads, with the responsibility for formulation of district plan and execution of schemes. The Zilla Parishad constitutes the apex of the three-tier Panchayat structure. They provide the organizational leadership for building up the Panchayat movement in the state. They are the final supervising, coordinating and integrating authority for the developmental activities of the two lower levels, and that they have the crucial duty to advise the state government of all such matters. Their range of powers are virtually unlimited covering all rural development as they exercise such other powers, perform such functions or discharge such other duties as the State government may by order direct.

The Zilla Parishad has become the main catalyst in determining the effectiveness to bring about progressive socio-economic and political goals within the needed leadership quality and competence. It was revealed the Zilla Parishad has become the nodal unit through which multidimensional development programs were implemented successfully.²³

7) Below Poverty Line (BPL). BPL is defined in terms of per capita consumption expenditure per month in rural areas. The households below the cut-off level of per capita consumption expenditure are classified as 'Below Poverty Line' households. As per the latest estimates (1999-2000) of the Planning Commission,²⁴ in the state of West Bengal it is Rs.350.68 per capita per month in rural areas and Rs.409.22 in urban areas²⁵. A person with government service cannot be considered a BPL. A BPL person must not possess a house built of bricks or wood or have a house with G.C.I. Sheet Ceiling, but in Darjeeling hills due to the cold climate and heavy rainfall – these are exceptions²⁶.

8) The DGHC Act 1988. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) Act 1988 was enacted in the thirty-ninth year of the Republic of India, by the Legislature of West Bengal. The Act provides for the establishment of an autonomous Council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the Gorkhas and other sections of the people residing in the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling.²⁷

- 9) General Council. The DGHC Act 1988 provides that there shall be a General Council comprising of the hill areas in the district of Darjeeling.²⁸
- 10) Councillors. The members of the General Council are called Councillors. There are forty-two member of the General Council of whom two-thirds (twenty-eight) are elected, on the basis of adult suffrage, from territorial constituencies (there are 28 constituencies covering the hill areas, each constituency being territorial and single member constituency) and one-third (fourteen) is nominated. Of the nominated Councillors, the state government nominates eleven and the Chairman of the General Council nominates three.²⁹
- 11) The Chairman and the Chief Executive Councillor. The elected Councillors, elect from among themselves one Councillor to be the Chairman who also becomes the Chief Executive Councillor (CEC). The Chairman or the CEC has tremendous powers within the Council. He has general responsibility for the financial and executive administration. He exercises administrative supervision and control over all officers and employees of the General Council.³⁰
- 12) Principal Secretary to the Council. The state government in consultation with the Chief Executive Councillor appoints Principal Secretary. The Principal Secretary shall act under the direction of the CEC, and shall be responsible for the maintenance of the records of the Council. He shall be the principal executive officer of the General Council and all other officers of the General Council shall be subordinate to him.³¹ Besides the normal works of the Office, the Principal Secretary has to represent DGHC in meetings, conferences and seminars at the State, National or International level.³²
- 13) Regulatory and Developmental Functions. The functions of the state can be brought under two categories. (1) Regulatory. Protective or Police functions are the most essential functions of the state. Some of the Regulatory functions are as follows: (i) Upholding Sovereignty. The primary function of the state is to uphold its own sovereignty. The state should protect the individual's life and property, and save him from internal disorder and external aggression. (ii) Making Laws. The state is to make laws for upholding sovereignty and enforcing obedience. It has to maintain law and order, and create conditions of perfect security. (iii) Collecting Taxes: An important function of the state is collecting taxes and keeping the people in subjection. (iv) Dispensing Justice. The state

also administers impartial justice through competent and independent judiciary. (v) Upholding Institutions. The state upholds institutions like the family and makes laws pertaining to ownership of property, marriage, divorce, inheritance and other matters. (vi) Organizing Transport and Communication. The state organizes adequate means of transport and communication. (vii) Regulating Markets. The state regulates markets. (viii) Maintaining Foreign Relations. The state maintains diplomatic relations with foreign countries. (2) The next category of function of the state is the Developmental or Welfare functions. In the modern world the state has to go far beyond the regulatory functions. No modern state regards itself as a mere tax-gathering organization. There is great emphasis on the need to promote social welfare of the people. The Developmental functions of the state are as follows: (i) Creating Conditions for Development of Personality. The state creates favorable conditions, which would enable the individual to develop his personality to the highest possible level. (ii) Protection of Health. The state should take preventive and curative steps to protect the health of the people. Only strong and healthy people can build a strong and great nation. (iii) Spreading Education. The state owes a duty to the people to provide adequate facilities for education. Education must be put within the reach of all. (iv) Improving Economic Conditions. The state should improve the economic conditions of the people and bridge down the gap between the rich and the poor.³³

- 14) Decentralization. The concept is broad and covers many different phenomena, and hence lacks precise meaning and consensus. In general terms, it refers to the transfer of authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions from the national level to the sub-national levels. However, this definition is confined only to the 'territorial' as opposed to the 'functional domain'. Thus Mawhood views decentralization as a structure of government where bodies are created at the local level separated by law from the national centre in which local representatives are given formal power to decide on a range of public matters. Smith considers the phenomenon of decentralization a political issue which moves around the distribution of power between administrative and political hierarchy and also between different interest groups, classes and power structures. According to Rondinelli and Cheema, decentralization is the transfer of planning, decision-making, or administrative authority from the central government to its field

organizations, local administrative units, semi-autonomous and parastatal organizations, local governments or non-government organizations.³⁴

The classical democratic theorists like de Toqueville, Mill, Laski and Wilson implicate that decentralization is beneficial to the political health of the nation. Taking clues from them emerged another school of thought with the writings of Maddick, Rondinelli and Cheema, Mawhood, Conyers, Uphoff and Esman, along with the United Nations who stress the importance of decentralization for social, political and administrative change in the developing countries.³⁵

However in recent years decentralization has been subjected to scathing criticism by a number of scholars. Conceptually rooted to the works of Marx and Gramsci, the writings of Fesler, Samoff, Hyden, Smith Rakodi, Slater and Heaphey demonstrate with empirical evidence that decentralization had rarely facilitated development. These scholars argue, inter alia, that decentralization actually serves as an instrument to maintain or even strengthen the position of those who hold power. Caiden and Wildavski share the same views as they observe that decentralization makes the projects more vulnerable to pressure from local elites and when responsibility is dispersed, these elites benefit. Mallard goes to the extent of holding that decentralization often 'create new political elites with no forms of political accountability'. Similarly, though Griffin advocates decentralization, he holds the view that through decentralization, power at the local level is more concentrated, more elitist and applied more ruthlessly against the poor than that at the centre. In fine, it is held that instead of leading to equitable development as the developmentalists argue, decentralization acts as a 'means for capitalist accumulation'.³⁶

15) Development. Literature on development shows lack of agreement as to what precisely constitutes 'development'. To Riggs, it is an elusive concept; to Heady the term has invidious implications, while Gunnell thinks that the problem of defining development is not merely a semantic one; the lack of agreement about the concept is the result of deeper theoretical problem in social science. Similarly, Uphoff and Ilchman feel that development is probably one of the most depreciated terms in social science literature, having been used more than it has been understood. Brandt Commission has perhaps rightly stated that 'Development never will be, and never can be defined to universal satisfaction'. Consequently, we find in the discussion of development either an

immediate redefinition in terms of another concept such as 'progress', 'civilization', 'modernisation', 'industrialization', 'increase in gross national product per capita', 'self-sustained growth', 'nation-building', 'structural differentiation', 'institutionalization', 'social mobilization', 'participation', 'social change' and the like, or a shift to a consideration of the requisite conditions, causes, goals or impacts of development. All these indicate the dynamic nature of the concept of development that makes it a process rather than an end – one that changes with the march of human civilization.³⁷

However, scholars from Asia, Africa and Latin America have observed that the western model of development is basically narrow and largely economic in orientation, and hence there is need for new thinking on development that needs to be wider and all encompassing socio-economic one – the one where emphasis needs to be shifted from industrialization to agriculture, from urbanization to rural development, from market-determined priorities to politically determined basic needs, from GNP per capita to individual welfare and from top-down planning to participative planning. The widely agreed aspect of development has now been what is called 'sustainable development' following the Report of the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development. The basic thrust of sustainable development is that it centres around equity and justice; it is participatory in nature; it accepts nature as resource for development of mankind; it is eco-friendly; and it is comprehensive and holistic. Thus, the primary objective of sustainable development is reducing absolute poverty through lasting and secure livelihoods that minimize resource depletion, environmental degradation, cultural disruption, social instabilities and crisis of governability.³⁸

- 16) District Government. Nirmal Mukherji pleaded for devolution of political powers to directly elected District Governments in the country. Mukarji's proposal on District Government may be stated in terms of the following attributes: (i) District Government should form a third tier of India's federal polity, with proper constitutional backing (ii) Its powers should be constitutionally specified and, in the domain so marked out, it should have functional autonomy (iii) Its representative character should be ensured by a system of direct elections, to be held at regular intervals, under the overall supervision of the Election Commission and super-session should be constitutionally barred (iv) Finances to match functions should be assured, through state finance commissions or other means (v)

A new planning regime required – planning to be decentralized to the districts (vi) District government should replace the Collector pattern, the district bureaucracy coming squarely under its control.³⁹

17) Autonomous District Councils under Sixth Schedule. The Sixth Schedule provides compact mechanism for self-government, safeguarding the traditional customs, rights and practices of the tribal people and preserving their distinct culture and identity. It gave them an instrument to bring about a limited change within a static framework.⁴⁰ The Autonomous District Councils were created in the hill areas of Northeast India in response to the demands of the tribal people for autonomy out of their apprehensions about the preservation of their ethnic identity and their rights over the land, natural resources, customary laws, traditions etc. They were conceived to ensure the right of self-rule of the tribal people, to manage their affairs according to their own genius, to enable them to preserve their ethnic identity and to face the forces of assimilation squarely from their more advanced neighbors in the plains.⁴¹ The concept of the Autonomous District Council has served as the basic model for meeting the demands for autonomy launched by ethnic minorities elsewhere in the country. The main objective of District Councils is the development of the area without compromising their culture, tradition and custom.⁴²

Theoretical Framework

Dichotomy of functions between district administration and DGHC is likely to lead to competition and conflict (stresses and tensions) and overlapping and departmentalism in inter-organizational relations.

Pluralist Political Theory (competition and conflict) and Modern Democratic Theory (coordination).

Mohit-Bhattacharya⁴³ in his book 'Public Administration and Planning' presents the theoretical support. Pluralist Political Theory holds that in a federal system with many levels of government (as in the USA), institutional pluralism is a characteristic feature of government. As administrative agencies proliferate in this system, competition and conflicts are more natural.

American system of government favored administrative proliferation and consequent competitions due to a cultural predilection for variety and innovation. Like competition in the economic sphere, administrative competition between agencies has been accepted as the national style of governance.

Society, according to the pluralist stand, is a honeycomb of interests and groups that are constantly engaged in competition and conflicts. The administrative system has to accommodate the various demands of the social groups. Creation of a multiplicity of administrative agencies, therefore, reflects a rational response to societal demands.

Contrasting to the Pluralist Political theory is the Traditional Democratic Theory. In a unitary system, as in Great Britain, administrative fragmentation is much less accentuated. Great Britain has virtually a two-level government – center and a strong local self-government. Proliferation of special agencies has not taken place in that country mainly due to the strength and political power of elective local government.

The tradition in Great Britain has been to minimize competition and conflict in the administrative sphere. The watchword is coordination which, Peter Self points out, is rooted in historical acceptance of the unity of the crown and in the general administrative attitude toward harmonization of all public action.

According to democratic theory, the multifarious demands of social groups get sorted out in the political process itself where the different parties and their leaders play arbitral roles and synthesize the demands. The political process produces “a coherent and consistent program to be implemented by the administrative system”. Thus the synthesizing capacity of the political process acts as a bulwark against administrative fragmentation and competition.

Pluralist political theory supports fragmentation and competition while traditional democratic theory favors synthesis and cohesion in administrative arrangements. These two ideals of administrative arrangement seem bipolar in theory but in practice most administrative situations contain a mixture of both, and the same is true for India. Indian administrative tradition, flowing out of the bureaucratic state apparatus of the British regime, has been to suspect delegation and decentralization and to support centralized control and integration. This has resulted in a lot of spurious decentralization and administrative proliferation.⁴⁴

With the establishment of DGHC dual administration represented by District Administration on the one hand and DGHC on the other had come about. Non-transferred departments were looked after by the District Administration and the transferred departments by DGHC.

Following the system of diarchy under the Government of India Act 1919⁴⁵ conclusion seems ineluctable that the extant DGHC is likely to lack. The question that looms large is whether we failed DGHC or DGHC failed us. An analysis in this regard may lead to plausible answer. Veering around Anil Chaturvedi's thesis – The Dynamics of Discord, the following may be put forward: (a) interdepartmental dynamics and (b) inter-organizational relationships.

(a) Interdepartmental dynamic.

Chaturvedi shows the 'Tradition of Ambivalence' in the role and authority of the district magistrate which permeates the inter-departmental dynamics in the districts and dominates the interaction between them. The primacy of the district magistrate as the principal representative of the government in the district has remained constant. On the other hand, the nature of the relationship and the authority of the district magistrate vis-à-vis the other important departments of the government in the district has remained unresolved. Herein lies the continuous ambivalence. Historically, the two sides in the debate consist of supporters of Cornwallis School and Munro School.

Lord Cornwallis altered the combination of executive and judicial functions in one and the same functionary for he looked with disfavor on the combination of such powers in one officer because it was against his conception of constitutional government. Accordingly, the Collector was divested of his magisterial and judicial functions which along with police and general administration were assigned to a Judge-Magistrate. Henceforth the Collector was only a collector of land revenue and the District Judge and Magistrate became the head of the district. In contrast to the Cornwallis system, Munro School of thought about District Administration believed in the Mughal tradition of concentration of power in the hands of District Officer. It regarded itself as an inheritor rather than an innovator. Munro School was opposed to upsetting the ancient custom and constitution of the country under which the official responsible for collection of revenue also exercised extensive judicial authority. Thomas Munro was of the view that "in India

whoever regulates the assessment of the land really holds in his hand the mainspring of the country". Under the Munro system, the District Collector became the real and effective head of the district and was responsible for the general administration and the welfare of the people in his charge. "The idea seems to have been to bring within the purview of one responsible official the sum total of state authority, state activity, and governmental responsibility".⁴⁶

Cornwallis School, with its emphasis on the principle of 'checks and balances' ensures that too much concentration of authority in one person is avoided. The Munro School, on the other hand, prefers to continue the Mughal tradition of the district officer as the ruler of the district and, therefore, ensures that he has complete powers over all functions in the district. In time, however, the Cornwallis School has come to prevail.⁴⁷

The increased involvement of the Government in the development of an economic infrastructure ultimately led to the creation of specialized technical departments. As these departments grew they began to report to their own technical chiefs with a consequent loosening of the district magistrate's control over their operations in each district.⁴⁸

Given the continuing centrality of the district as the unit of governance and development, the absence of a unifying influence began to be felt as more and more functions became autonomous. It was in such a context that the Royal Commission upon Decentralization (1907-1909) re-asserted the importance of the role of the district magistrate and recommended that he should be entitled to call for any information he thought fit from them (officers from specialized depts.) and to have such information given to him spontaneously in matters of importance, while any views he might express should receive the fullest consideration. Thus the district magistrate despite his weakened position vis-à-vis the other departments exercised influence on the operations of the other departments in his area of jurisdiction.⁴⁹

In the aftermath of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the tendency of the system was to leave the district magistrate with the duties of enforcing law and order through his control of the magistracy and police, of collecting land revenue and of managing public demands. With respect to all other functions his role became minimal. However, once again a commission (Indian Statutory Commission, 1930) was formed, which defined the role of the district officer as 'the embodiment of the effective

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authority, and the resource to whom the countryside turns in time of difficulty or crisis'. With respect to the district heads of the technical departments and the police, this Commission recommended that 'except in matters of pure routine, the collectors must be informed of almost every activity of these departments'.⁵⁰

In post-independence era the responsibility to coordinate community development efforts was also conferred on the district magistrate and, therefore, he became the principal development-and-welfare officer in the district. However, pressures on this aspect of the role also emerged with the introduction of 'panchayat raj'. Under this scheme transfer of the district magistrate's functions regarding community development to panchayati raj bodies was sought, and he was expected to guide, educate and advise them: be the captain of the team of officers of all development departments; and co-ordinate and cooperate with developmental works.⁵¹

(b) Inter-Organizational Relationships

Stakeholder

In the study of organizations and their relationships the network approach is reflected in the concept of the stakeholder. Network is the larger social system seen as comprising of organizations joined to one another through various interconnections which are either direct or indirect, single or multiple. In the course of its existence each organization affects a host of other organization and, consequently, they begin to have a stake in its actions. Over a period of time these organizations begin to place demands on the focal organization, desiring it to act in their particular favor. Because of the pressures exerted on the organization by multifarious stakeholders, a crucial problem for the organization is to balance the multiple demands placed on it. As these demands are not in the same direction but exert pulls in contrary directions, a fine balancing act is necessary on the part of the organization.⁵²

Organization-boundary

A significant concept on which the stakeholder approach rests is that of the organization boundary. The boundary is the point where its authority ends. The boundaries of an organization, therefore, are indicative of its power and autonomy. The broader the organization's boundaries, the greater its influence and, consequently, the

greater its power in the network. If it has to survive in the long run, an organization has to ensure that it is consistently aware of the needs of the stakeholders, their relative influence and power, and how they are disposed towards it. An organization's boundary personnel, particularly their function, hierarchical level, and orientation to the stakeholders, provides valuable clues to the approach that the organization takes towards its stakeholders. It is in managing the requirements of autonomy and survival that organizations periodically enter into more intense relationships with some of the organizations in their network and form action sets. Action sets are groups of organizations that work together for specific periods of time for limited goals.⁵³

Exchange and Mandation

Relationships between organizations can assume various forms depending upon the reasons for entering into a relationship, the number of actors involved, and the manner in which the transactions are undertaken. The reasons why organizations enter into relationships with each other could be either because they wish to enter voluntarily into exchange transactions (Levine and White, 1961; Cook, 1977), or because they are compelled to interact. Exchange relationships are primarily voluntary in that two organizations enter into an exchange because each has something to offer the other. Mutual benefit and self-interest, not altruism, constitute the basic purpose behind every voluntary action.⁵⁴

Choice

Ideally, the exchange relationship, in order to be voluntary, must provide a choice to the interacting organizations whereby each organization has the option to enter or not to enter into the relationship. However, in several cases such a choice may not be available and one or more of the transacting organizations may have to enter into relationships which they may feel are far from satisfactory. All organizations experience pressures, to varying degrees, to enter into transactions with other organizations, even when they might not voluntarily wish to. This occurs when another more powerful organization, or group of organizations, mandates that interaction must occur. A fundamental difference between voluntary and mandated transactions lies in the fact that voluntary transactions are maintained by normative pressures, whereas mandated transactions are imposed by coercive pressures.⁵⁵

Equity

A resulted outcome of the foregoing dynamics between organizations is the perception of equity in transactions. Equity is perceived when there is a reciprocal flow of resources to the transacting parties. However, the assessment of equity is basically subjective, governed as it is by the fact that each transacting party will generally attach a different value to the same resource based on its own priorities and needs. Invariably, given differing perceptions of value, a sense of equity is more likely to emerge when two or more equally powerful organizations voluntarily arrive at the value of resources to be exchanged in a transaction. When transactions are mandated or when an unequal power distribution amongst the transacting organizations creates a dominance-dependence relationship, a sense of inequity prevails. Consequently, greater benefits flow to the dominant party than to the dependent party.⁵⁶

Power Dependence

An aspect of inter-organizational relationships has been the issue of power – the source of power and the balance of power. The concept of power-dependence recognizes that ‘The power of an organization in an exchange relation is increased as the scope of the resources mediated by the organization increases’.⁵⁷

Resource-Dependence Approach

Basically, the power-dependence approach is embedded in the exchange perspective and recognizes that the control over resources (money, materials, ideas, knowledge, skills and information) is one of the primary sources of power. When resources are obtained from other organizations, the potential for a power-dependent relationship exists, especially if the required resource is critical for the organization. This is termed as the resource-dependence approach. This approach is based upon Yuchtman and Seashore’s (1967) system-resource approach to organizational effectiveness which argues that obtaining resources is the most crucial activity for the continuing survival of an organization. If an organization cannot guarantee its systemic inputs, it will find it impossible to survive.⁵⁸

Domain-Consensus Approach

The other approach to power dynamics amongst organizations focuses on domain-consensus. Here the emphasis is on influence being exercised through market

domination. Essentially, the domain-consensus approach expressly focuses on strategies adopted by organizations to stabilize their positions in their markets or constituencies. The fight by organizations for a piece of the turf and acknowledging the right of others to a piece for themselves governs domain-consensus. Most inter-organizational conflicts center around the issue of domain, particularly when the domain becomes overcrowded. In such a situation much of the energy of an organization tends to be directed towards the elimination of rivals and the retention of pre-eminence in that domain. Benson (1978) points out, agencies use several means for denying resources to those agencies they consider rivals. One strategy is to invade the target agency's domain by conducting programs which fall clearly within the rival's domain. Another strategy is to undertake activities which can effectively disrupt the activities of a rival agency, thereby reducing the effectiveness of the rival's results. These reduce the rival's capacities to obtain funds and authority.⁵⁹

Basically, public agencies suffer domain-management problems both because they are not permitted overt competition strategies and because their very mandates often create several overlaps in their domains. When the services offered by two or more organizations are similar, then it is logical that the need for resources will also be similar. Consequently, when domains overlap, a keen competitive pressure exists for the acquisition of resources. Reid (1969) has argued that organizations with similar services are likely to possess comparable resource needs and are more apt to employ the same available resources. Further, as Molnar and Rogers(1979) indicate, organization that provide similar outputs to the environment may regard each other as threatening or constraining their own individual efforts to offer comprehensive response to a problem or need. Another area which creates conflict for public service organizations is shared clients, that is, those common constituencies or client groups which receive organizational outputs. An interesting problem that arises in such circumstances is that the client groups begin to demand similar levels of performance from different organizations.⁶⁰

Regulation-Compliance Approach

A third source of power is regulatory power. Basically, regulatory power emerges from the hierarchical arrangement of the system and recognizes that an organization or

group of organizations is 'hierarchically superior' to other organizations, wields power over them, and can regulate their interactions. Organizations such as trade associations, professional associations, and the Government, exert power in this manner. The aim of such regulation is to mediate transactions between various organizations. Unlike the situation in resource-dependence and domain-consensus wherein relationships occur primarily between existing organizations and are bilateral or multilateral in nature, in regulation-compliance special organizations may be specifically created to take unilateral decisions affecting the relationships of established organizations. The existence of regulation bring in a value framework to govern the relationships in a network. This framework specifies what is legal or illegal, acceptable or nonacceptable, appropriate or inappropriate.⁶¹

Not all regulation is of a legal nature. Often the organizations in a network may regulate their relationships base upon unwritten traditions and norms. While such norm may not serve the immediately self-interest of all the participants, it serves the functions of long-term welfare by establishing general norms that limit predatory competitive behavior.⁶²

Essentially, therefore, in any environment regulation is attempted by several agencies. In most cases the most dominant actor is the State, which statutorily enforces regulation on behalf of one organization or the other. Not only does this have an impact on the resource acquisition and domain-defining activities of the involved organizations, but it also introduces certain resource and domain-related dynamics between the regulating agencies themselves. In an overly regulated economy it would not be uncommon to find various regulatory agencies involved in conflicts regarding their own domains and, in the process, either over regulating or under regulating the defined network. In such a scenario it is also very probable that those organizations being regulated could either support those agencies which are favorable to them or hedge their bets by supporting all, depending on how their own power equations might be affected.⁶³

Power-Field Approach

Power-Field Approach sees inter-organizational relation as a power of interplay between sets of organizations, guided by self-interest and characterized by conflict, competition and cooperation. Each organization in a network interact with several other

organizations, which either provide it with resources or compete with it for a domain, or are engaged in regulating its interactions with other organizations. Graphically, the focal organization can be seen as existing in a force field with the forces emanating from three sources, namely, resource, domain and regulation. The organization experiences these influences and learns to cope with them either instinctively or intelligently.⁶⁴

The power-field approach rests on the fact that inter-organizational relationships are a process of entering into a dynamic balance with the environment. Consequently, if the power-field is balanced, the internal dynamics of the organization tend to be balanced. More often the power-fields are distorted, wherein one of the bases of power may be much more dominant than the others. In such a case the attention of the organization is also directed more towards that dominant base and most of the energy of the organization is directed towards coping with that base. Because of this, its boundary functions with respect to the other bases remain relatively underdeveloped.⁶⁵

The power-field approach, therefore, provides a framework for understanding the reasons why relationships exist between specific organizations in an action-set. Underlying each relationship are the basic dynamics of power, influence and domination and, consequently, questions of conflict and cooperation. Power may emerge from control over resources needed by other, or an ability to change the boundaries of domains, or an ability to obtain necessary regulation in one's own favor. In a dynamic situation, all the three bases of influence are likely to be operating and changing in any action-set or network.⁶⁶

The power-field approach helps us to understand and also to project the inter-organizational dynamics an organization experiences or is likely to experience in various power-fields. It attempts to link various conceptualizations of the environment; the concept of the stakeholder and the organization-set; the various bases for interaction between organizations, such as resource, domain and regulation; and recognizes the fact that inter-organizational relationships are embedded in power-based transactions that are not static but dynamic and balancing.⁶⁷

Interdependence

An important aspect of these relationships, which determines the nature of interaction between organizations, is the extent to which each accepts the underlying

interdependence between them. It is only when all the organizations involved in a particular transaction subscribe to the view that each is mutually dependent on the other for its own performance and that their collective performance holds greater value than their individual performances, will conditions obtain which are amenable to cooperative action. The absence of this prerequisite will generate conflict instead of cooperation amongst the actors.⁶⁸

Coordination

Hall et al's (1977) study is perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to formulate some hypotheses vis-à-vis interactions between organizations, particularly from the point of view of coordination of their activities. Hall et al, define coordination as the extent to which an organization attempts to ensure that its activities take into account those of other organizations. Coordination may result either through voluntary agreement between the parties whose activities are being coordinated or through the efforts of a third party that directs the concerned organizations' actions. When coordination is voluntary, it is based on perceptions of mutuality and a willingness on the part of the parties to enter into a pattern of relationships that will enhance each other's efforts. In the case of mandated interactions, such dynamism is more often absent. Instead, certain set systems and procedures are likely to be prescribed, which define the method of interaction between the concerned organizations. In such a case coordination is unlikely to result unless the systems and procedures are redefined or else voluntarism is injected into the relationship. Among the other findings from Hall et al study were that inter-organizational coordination is strongly related to the importance of interactions, assessment of good performance on the part of other agencies, the extent to which personnel and other departments are perceived as competent, and the frequency of interaction.⁶⁹

Coordination is more likely to result when members of various agencies have developed some credibility amongst each other. In the absence of such credibility, perceptions are clouded with suspicion and mistrust and build resistance to the acceptance of both the actions and motives of those held in low esteem. There is an inherent power imbalance in a mandated relationship which leads to a reluctance to interact. In such a case each minor disturbance or constraint is seen as significant enough to justify the avoidance of the mandated interactions. Further high levels of coordination

are also strongly associated with a high quality of communication. This is logical because coordination depends on communication, and the better the quality of communication, the greater the likelihood of improved coordination. Another finding was that high levels of coordination are present when all the organizations involved in the interactions are perceived to have power. This is an important relationship inasmuch as feelings of powerlessness create feeling of insecurity which, in turn, gives rise to defensive conduct that reduces the ability to take risks. When risks are avoided in a relationship, it is unlikely that that relationship will develop and endure.⁷⁰

Conflict

Coordination and conflict could be a consequence of frequent interaction. An important attribute of coordination is that the need for coordination also presages the existence of conflict. Conflict is present in any relationship. The nature and degree of such conflict often determine the quality of a relationship. In turn, the relationships themselves influence the nature and degree of conflict. When the relationships are based on voluntarism and mutuality, often much of the conflict depends on the extent to which there is consensus regarding the domains of the organizations concerned. In the complete absence of domain-consensus, a high degree of conflict is likely to result; reduction of this conflict becomes a prerequisite for cooperation and coordination.⁷¹

The more heightened the sense of interdependence, and the stronger the perceived need for collaboration between the organizations in an action-set, the greater the emphasis on building contracts at several hierarchical levels. There would also be a greater emphasis on rewarding the initiative exercised to build such contacts. When cooperation exists, it enhances feeling of achievement and shared power. Unresolved conflict only enhances feeling of mistrust, a sense of powerlessness, and strong elements of transferring blame. When interdependence is viewed as a constraint, then more energy will be directed towards gaining control over the other organization, thereby reducing the need to enter into collaborative arrangements.⁷²

Cooperation represents a willingness to operate together, while it defines the quality of coordination, it does not necessarily determine it. High willingness to cooperate may not necessarily lead to extensive cooperation, but if coordination is attempted, the quality of coordination may be superior when feelings of cooperation

exist. As coordination represents the creation of systems to effect an ordering of activities, it can occur, with considerable effort, even if cooperation is not present. Only when cooperation is present, will attempt be made to coordinate both goals and systems and thereby create the rationale for joint programs.⁷³

Overview of Literature

The literatures, which are pertinent to the objectives of the study, have been reviewed. The following constitutes the literature and work done in the area of study:

(1) District Administration and District Officer in India

Anil Chaturvedi, *District Administration. The Dynamics of Discord*. Sage Publications. New Delhi. 1988.

Given the structure of its economy and the socio political choices it has made, India is becoming increasingly organized. Consequently, the country's growth and development are more than ever before, dependent on the behavior of its strategic organizations. Public agencies now play an extremely important role in India both in the areas of governance and regulation and in the country's social and economic development. Thus, a study of the relationship between these agencies is essential not only to assess their effectiveness and ability to coordinate their efforts but also to address a question of fundamental importance should such agencies be created in the form in which they are or should a different logic govern their design.

In this pioneering study, Chaturvedi examines the extent to which government departments and agencies at the district level accept the need for cooperative endeavour, the patterns of the interaction between them and the extent to which external pressures lead to improved interaction. He has based his analysis on semi-structured interviews with 217 government officials spread over four district in Uttar Pradesh. The author analyses the perceptions of these officials to assess the causes and extent of conflict between the concerned departments and the impact of these perceptions on the ability of government departments to effect coordination between themselves.

This study breaks fresh ground by using a rigorous theoretical framework to analyze administrative processes at the district level. It raises significant issues concerning how and why interdependencies are, or are not, created. In addition, the author highlights the problems that emanate from established procedures and concludes that the problems of coordination, although based on structural and systemic deficiencies, are mainly perpetuated through rivalries between the personnel involved.

S.S. Khera, *District Administration in India*. National Publishing House. New Delhi. 1992.

The book attempts to describe the administrative complex that goes to make up the district administration, both as to the component parts as well as the administration as an organic, dynamic whole. It emphasizes the unity of the whole administration under our laws and regulations and within the general pattern of the country's governance. Law and order is a central concern in the treatment of district administration in this study. An attempt is made to identify and illustrate some fundamental principles involved in law and order.

The author stresses the place of the common man in all the processes of administration. He declares his deep and abiding faith in the sovereignty of the people, and the supremacy of the Constitution; as well as in the principles of good government and administration as the only way to stable, peaceful and prosperous way of life for the nation as a whole.

The book is intended not so much to provide a handbook of practice for administrators, as to provoke interest and concern in the fundamentals of district administration. It is more in the nature of a tentative effort to seek out and to state some of the principles that may govern good administration; to derive from past experience and within the discipline of established fundamental principles some indicators of direction and hypotheses for further thought, experiment and research; and thus to contribute a little perhaps towards the advancement of the proper science and practice of administration.

In the evolution of the district administration in India the author mentions the new system of government introduced by the British as part of the reforms of 1919 which created a new situation, and led to a new phase in the arrangements for governance in the district, and in the functioning of the district administration. The official apparatus in the district retained the structure for most matters. District administration under the diarchy was called upon to function in a way somewhat different from before. In spite of the division of political and administrative powers and responsibilities under diarchy, the total presence of government as a whole continued in fact to be contained within the old apparatus of the district administration. During this period of extraordinary difficulty under the system of diarchy, the district administration continued as a coherent and fairly well-coordinated apparatus of government in the field.

The author shows the paradox of the twin features of change and of continuity in the district and its administration. Great changes took place since independence in social and economic administration in the district. Panchayati Raj was the new vehicle of local self-government and of development in the district, with its main orientation towards the economic development and social well-being of the people of the district. Under the pre-Independence system of district administration there was a cut-off of the village level, in the association of the people with the administration. In the post-Independence system of district administration there was an increasing sense of the need of the people's participation in the administrative process, in the economic and social administration of the district. In respect of economic and social administration, a clear historical change was seen as compared with the state of things before Independence. The author points out that the general character of the district administration in relation to law and order, land records, land management and revenue were one of continuity. In the organizational structure as also in the methodology of the district administration in respect of these functions were much the same as they were before independence.

The author's twin features of continuity and change applied to DGHC area would reflect that the feature of continuity was present in the district administration of DGHC areas but the feature of change was transferred to the DGHC.

H. Singh, and M. Singh, *Public Administration in India, Theory and Practice*. Sterling Publishers Private Limited. New Delhi 1995.

The updated text addresses itself to the most important aspects of Public Administration in India. It traces its evolution and development of administrative structures to carry out the country's social, political and economic policies. The challenges it has had to encounter are analyzed and the reforms introduced to overcome them discussed. The ministries of Home Affairs, Finance, Defence and External Affairs, police administration in India, district rural development agency, administrative set up for the development of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and women, management of public enterprises, generalist versus specialists controversy, redressal of citizen's grievances are among the other subjects examined in detail. The book will help those who want to enhance their knowledge and understanding of the administrative system of India.

R. Arora, and R. Goyal, *Indian Public Administration. (Institutions and Issues)*. Wishwa Prakashan. New Delhi. 1995.

The present volume is a treatise on the environment, structure, functioning, behaviour impact and problems of the Indian Administration. The book has been organized into nine independent parts. Part one discusses the evolution of Indian administration-Kautilya, Mughal and British influence on Indian administration. Part two explains the Indian constitutional setting like value premises and parliamentary democracy. Part three highlights the constitutional responsibilities of President, Prime Minister and functions of Council of Ministers and Cabinet Secretariat. Part four is devoted to state administration involving Governor, Chief Minister, Council of Ministers, Chief Secretary and functions of Secretariat. In Part five District Administration has been discussed in details with a focus on the role of the collector, urban local bodies and panchayati raj. Part six elaborates the structure of civil services, public service commissions of union and state and the civil service training. Aspects of development administration have been discussed in Part seven which covers the planning system, administration of public sector and rural development programs. It also covers control

over finance through parliament and Comptroller and Auditor General of India in Part eight. Its last part describes the Generalist vs. Specialists administrative reforms in India.

Vishnoo Bhagwan, and Vidhya Bhushan, *Indian Administration*. S.Chand and Company Ltd. (New Delhi), 1996.

Entirely new and recent topics 'Performance Budget', 'Panchayat Raj', 'Community Project Administration', 'Municipal Government in India' have been added making the book all the more exhaustive and up-to-date, in the light of latest explorations in the subject, which is a fast developing discipline. Thus an effort has been to sharpen the intellect and galvanize the administrative caliber of future administrators.

D. Sundar Ram (Edited), *Dynamics of District Administration A New Perspective*, Kanishka Publishers Distributors, New Delhi 1996.

The advent of Panchayati Raj in India marked the first step in providing a new perspective on District Administration with its emphasis on development administration. Till recently several state governments by providing various models in implementing of Panchayati Raj in the process of decentralization of planning at the district level, added a new dimension to the District Administration.

The nineteen original essays, by senior Administrators, Political Scientists, Academics and Scholars, included this volume, provide an overview of the changing role of the District Collector at micro-level. One essay mentions that the Collector will continue to be the main authority for regulatory work and retains an important role in development activities. It is therefore clear that 48 years after independence, the "Collector" remains the kingpin of district administration, the eyes and ears of government. Another essay assesses the changing role of the District Collector. The District Collector is the most popular officer in the district. The Collector is regarded by the people as a trouble-shooter, grievance-redresser and problem-solve. The acid test for his success is the mobilization of public support and co-operation not only for successful implementation of government programs but also for projection of government image. The Collector's job is a Herculean task. The Collector has to serve several masters at the same-time and keep all of them in good humour. It is a challenge as well as an

opportunity to prove his mettle. Another essay outlines the Development Administration and role of the Collector at the District level. The Panchayati Raj program is undermining more and more the position of the District Collector as the pivot and co-ordinator of District Administration in most of the states in India. On the one hand the responsibility of the Collector as District Development Officer has increased, making it difficult for him to effectively administer the development program of the district along with the law and order and revenue functions. On the other hand his effective administrative power over development administration has diminished. In short, the Collector today has responsibilities without effective powers.

One essay highlights the basic structure of the district administration in India has remained the same, notwithstanding the many vicissitudes and transformations that the Indian polity has gone through. This has created a dichotomy between permanent administrative apparatus in the district and the various popular and democratic institutions that came into being as necessary concomitants, after independence, to decentralization of government. The writer fears that unless a timely solution is found, this dichotomy may soon turn into a crisis of confrontation between the two sides. Another essay observes that the present district administration designed in the 4th century B.C., to promote imperial interests has ideally served the imperial powers both indigenous and foreign. The writer wants the district administration to undergo such changes as may be necessary for stabilizing and strengthening the newly implanted democracy in the country.

The central purpose of this book is to examine the changing post-independence perspectives on reforms in administration, planning and welfare which pinge on District Administration. Examine the administrative and planning lacunae in the implementation of democratic decentralization at the grass-root level, the contributors emphasize the need to maintain "proper balance" between the administration and political wings of the system at the district and local level with a more positive thrust towards participatory democracy.

Chaturvedi and Jain, 'District Administration', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, New Delhi, 1980.

District administration, with its strains and stresses during the last twenty-five years covered by the IJPA, is by itself a fascinating subject and, surprisingly, as the selected articles will show, it has something perennial about it. In this age of development administration, the districts do face a change in the ecology of administration; those in charge of the district, in turn, face a challenge in their new role as change agents. This is a far cry from the original British administration pattern where the maintenance of law and order naturally weighed more than any other aspect of administration. Though this vital segment has its own significance in the development era as well. Anyway, between these two facets, covering more than a century, the continuity in the texture of district administration is well perceptible and this is brought out by the writers. The selected articles, in a way, give a panoramic view of the transformation from mere law and order to development administration and also outline the fresh problems that face us in the district. For, it is at the level of the district that the administrative attention in the solution of the problems is focused and it is at the district level again that the relationship of administration and citizen assumes significance. While many old problems persist, new issues are also arising, such as district planning, public participation, redressal of grievances, changes in institutional structures, administrative coordination, evolution of panchayati raj structures, compulsions of a welfare state, district versus regional development, etc.

Eames and Saran, 'District Officer in India. Agent for change?' *IJPA*. Vol.XXXV No.2, April June 1989.

Despite the change in government that took place in India after independence, the structure of district administration has remained relatively unchanged and almost intact. But significant shifts have taken place in the role of the district officer from colonial times to the present. Much of the power formerly associated with this position has declined, whereas a major addition to the role has been the responsibility for economic and social development.

There are two assumptions with regard to the role of the district officer. One projects the district officer as a catalyst of change in carrying out developmental activity. An alternate assumption is that the district officer, who is a carryover from the colonial

administration, cannot be an agent of change in independent India. This perspective places major emphasis on decentralization and the inculcation of democratic values.

B. Randhir Jain, 'The role of bureaucracy in policy development and implementation in India' in *International Social Science Journal*. XIII No.1, February 1990.

In India the role of the bureaucracy is not only dominant in the implementation of public policies, but is also pervasive in respect of policy formulation. Since British times, bureaucracy has no doubt played a very decisive and important role in the administrative system but after independence the role expectations and actual performance of the Indian bureaucracy changed considerably. In the context of the goals of a welfare state and development administration, bureaucracy has certainly emerged as one of the key elements in the politico-administrative process. But in recent times the role of the Indian bureaucracy in relation to developmental function has been greatly reduced by the 73rd Amendment Act 1992.

Akhileshwar Prasad Singh, "The Changing Role of Collector and District Magistrate", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. LV No. 2 April-June, 1994.

On the changing role of District Collector the writer draws the following conclusions: Firstly, the institution of the District Collector has a long and glorified history behind it. From time to time there have been several changes, additions and subtractions in the role, duties and responsibilities of the District Collectors in accordance with the changes in the politico-administrative scenario of the country. On the whole, there has been an increase in his responsibilities, if not his authority. Secondly, with the introduction of Panchayati Raj in a large number of states, several development functions have been entrusted to the local bodies and the Collector's role is reduced to one of guidance and advice. The Collector is formally tagged on to the structure of Panchayati Raj institutions, particularly with the Zilla Parishad

(2) History and Administration of Darjeeling

L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling*. The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot 1907, Logo Press. New Delhi 110023.

Darjeeling conjures up the image of snow-clad Himalayan peaks. The geography, fauna and flora, inhabitants, their way of life, habits, customs, rites, rituals and festivals form a mosaic of great interest. It provides a handy and authentic reference work on the border district of India. Interestingly the book provides us the information of Darjeeling administration during the early 1900, when Darjeeling was a non-regulation district and there was Deputy Commissioner as head of local administration. From then to now Deputy Commissioner has been replaced by the District Magistrate and great changes have taken place in the administration of Darjeeling.

Fred Pinn, *The Road of Destiny, Darjeeling Letters 1839*. Calcutta Oxford University Press 1986.

The letters describe the slow and laborious beginnings of Darjeeling and are taken from two distinctly different, and in a way, complementary sources: the highly confidential consultations of the Supreme Council of India at Calcutta, very much confined to the Council Chamber at Government House, and the public correspondence sent to the main newspapers of the period. All the consultations and the resulting communications were recorded in the 'Letter Books'. Much of the material is so personal and confidential that it has never seen the light of day since it was first written down. The only stumbling block in the transcription of the letters were the varying standards of handwriting and intelligence of the 'writers'.

The letters though concerned with Darjeeling, are also a mine of information on social, economic and ethnographic conditions of that periods: salaries and wages, the cost of food, the eating habits of Indians and Europeans, roads and transport, relationships and attitudes – all are evident and provide food for the minds of many kinds, especially the statisticians.

Bhai Nahar Singh and Bhai Kirpal Singh, *History of All India Gurkha League 1943-1949*, Nirma Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1987.

The book forms part of a series of publications on the subject "Political Parties and Organizations in India from 1937 to 1957". This book comprises of original documents in chronological order which shows the formation, purpose and growth of the All India Gurkha League between 1943 and 1949. The documents comprises of Letters, Notes, Reports, Memorandums, Extracts, Mass Meeting Proceedings, Proceeding of Conferences, Resolutions passed, Summary of discussions, Telegram and Remarks.

L.P. Gupta, *Tribal Development Administration, A Study in Darjeeling-District of West Bengal*. Classical Publishing Company. New Delhi. 1988.

This book deals with development administration for the underdeveloped tribals. This becomes particularly important when a series of developmental policies, programs and projects implemented by the administration, fail to yield the desired results; and create unwanted tensions among such isolated, ignored and exploited section of the society. The book makes an attempt to look empirically into the administration of various programs, projects and shemes meant for the development of tribes. The different policies and strategies evolved from time to time since colonial era, have been analyzed. It provides a glimpse of grass-root reality in the district of Darjeeling – a place famous world over for its tea, timber and tourism, and a place occasionally rocking the national scenario in India by its political unrest for linguistic and identity recognition; and movement for regional autonomy and separate statehood.

K.C.Bhanja, *History of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalaya*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, Reprinted 1993.

Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalaya, with their sublime snowy ranges and the fabulous Kanchanjanga, have no parallel in their physical charm and the mountaineering challenges it offer. Explorer and writer K.C.Bhanja has depicted the land and the people, the legends and expeditions, the religious and rituals of the region in authentic colors. He has delved deep into the mystique of the Himalayas, bringing out yet unknown historical facts and figures, including the expeditions by brave men who came here for the love of adventure and opened the virgin territory for others to see and enjoy like Wilson, who assailed Everest alone, Csoma, the Hungarian traveler and scholar of Tibetan language

whose remains were interred in Darjeeling cemetery where a monument still marks his grave, Smythe and Norton who hold record in Everest climb.

The mountains and lakes, streams and rivers, glaciers and avalanches, fauna and flora, monasteries and lamas, yaks and yatis (snow-man) come alive in his description. This book includes a lengthy account of Tibet, the forbidden land, and the numerous mysteries it contains including the holy peak and lake, Kailas and Mansarovar. Long forgotten details of the most interesting themes on Dalai Lama's flight to Mongolia and China and the military expedition to Lhasa as given in this work will be reckoned as a speciality. The first-hand account gathered by the author makes the narrative authentic as well as fascinating. It is an information-packed handbook.

Dr. Sonam B. Wangyal, *Sikkim and Darjeeling, Division and Deception*, KMT Press Pvt. Ltd., Phuentsholing, Bhutan, 2002.

This book is a story of how the British by employing deception, cunning, trickery, lies and bullying tactics annexed south Sikkim to their vast Empire and for quite sometime called the annexed portion British Sikkim while the left over of the kingdom was referred to as independent Sikkim. To the new British Sikkim was added Kalimpong and subsequently the District of Darjeeling constituted. This book deals with events that led to grant of Darjeeling and the eventual annexation of an even larger areas. It seeks to demystify the legend that the Chogyal (ruler) of Sikkim cheerfully gave away Darjeeling and that the British liaison with Sikkim were fair and frank. This book concerns with the fate of the annexed areas that is the Darjeeling district's hill areas, which bears similarity with the terrain and people of Sikkim.

The British made sure that in the years to come history would not look unkindly at them, so events were staged, historical writings were doctored, the native heroes who opposed them made rouges and those loyal to the British but in the process those who betrayed their own king, people and country were rewarded. The educated British, ever convinced of the infallible righteousness of their government, wrote books and journals defending and sanctifying every act of the British expansion.

The present day three sub-divisions of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Siliguri belonged to Sikkim till Nepal annexed them. The East India Company, following the

Anglo-Gorkha War, possessed the sub-divisions for a short period and then returned them to Sikkim, in full sovereignty, only to reclaim them militarily in 1861. Kalimpong, a sub-division today on the other side of the Teesta River, also belonged to Sikkim and subsequent to a conflict the territory came under the authority of Bhutan. The British conveniently stretched its conquest to include Kalimpong and eventually the four sub-divisions made up the District and have remained so till today. Darjeeling therefore was subjected to a kind of ownership jugglery with Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan, Great Britain and Independent India having wielded political authority over it at different times. It is apparent that the people of Darjeeling have been masters of none and slaves of all, having served different masters at different periods of time, and suffered maltreatment at the hands of successive masters, such a past is not a healthy precedent for there are many in the hills who feel that the district is not only akin to an orphan but also a child of dubious paternity.

If the process of annexation of Darjeeling from Sikkim to British India was muddled with intrigue, deceit and betrayal then the eventual story of the territory Sikkim so painfully lost is no better. If the British refused to understand the pains of Sikkim then the aches of Darjeeling district have also not been understood by the governments that ruled the district. The district was merged with Bengal, and thereby with India, many years ago and as history and coincidence would have it Sikkim also merged with India. The only major difference is that today Sikkim enjoys a certain degree of prosperity and peace while Darjeeling struggles against odds that are not its own doing, a suffering aggravated by deceptions from without and from within.

The political story of the Darjeeling hills is not particularly a happy one. The popular demand for the sequestration of Darjeeling from the state of West Bengal into a state by whatever name – the current favorite being Gorkhaland is a disheartening story of betrayal of a community by its masters. Once India became independent Bengali counterparts replaced the British officers. However, unlike the British officers who, no matter how arrogant or prejudiced they might have been, put their duty ahead of most matters but the new rulers finding themselves at the helm of affairs, with no one to check or counter them, sought to be served rather than serve. It is also a story of a struggle that refuses to be written off despite the endless letdowns and glaring leadership errors. In

recent times when the light of a new state for the hill people shone at its brilliant best, the people had gone through a long phase of violent struggle and untold sufferings and just when the expectations were soaring (referring to the Gorkhaland agitation), Subash Ghising the charismatic champion of a Gorkha state, struck a stroke of infidelity by dropping the demand for a state and settling for an 'autonomous' DGHC and a confused community celebrated jubilantly knowing not why. It is difficult to believe that the aspirations of so many people nursed through almost a hundred years can be erased through a concession like the DGHC that Gorkhaland can be swept aside with the broom called DGHC.

Denials of self-government/self-rule for the people of Darjeeling had come with unyielding continuity from the British, the Indian Government and the West Bengal Government and eventually from within (when the demand for Gorkhaland was dropped in favor of the DGHC). For six years the people had battled for a state, 250 people had lost their lives fighting in favor of the Gorkhaland cause, a good number had died opposing it, thousands were rendered homeless, properties and heritage sites were torched, and hundreds imprisoned and tortured and in the end a Hill Council was agreed upon.

In summary the hill people of Darjeeling district have been victims of deception, intended and accidental, including inconceivable errors and betrayal for about a hundred years. But regardless of the duplicities, the movement for self-governed state has survived. Every form of excuse, inducement, threat and even armed police action have not been able to lessen the yearning for a creation of a state. In the meanwhile the hills of Darjeeling district eagerly await the coming of the messiah while it also genuinely fears the possibility of another betrayal.

It should have dawned on the politicians in the plains that even with a gentler and a more generous treatment there would still be some section of the people who would still pray for the day when the district would be free of the knot that ties Darjeeling to West Bengal. After all, no matter what statistics regarding development in the hills be thrown at the public, no matter how many Chief Ministers 'don the Nepali 'topi', and it matters little even if all the three hill representatives in the Legislature be made Ministers, the indelible sore of the hills being ruled from the plains would remain. And this is exactly

why the hills have to be handled with soft-gloved hands. The answer was, and is, a massive infusion of understanding lest the hill's sore get inflamed beyond the scope of therapy. A good many hill people feel that West Bengal cannot even sympathize let alone emphasize with the sentiments of the hills, the interests of the hill people and the people from the plains don't necessarily harmonize and most of all for each and every aspirations of the hill people to fructify it still requires the concurrence of Calcutta. It is precisely because of these reasons that the government required and requires even more so today to win over these discontented elements and the government has to walk that extra mile to show that Darjeeling is special. Instead of wooing the hill men with practical goodies, political parties and successive governments in West Bengal have resorted to political arm twisting, bribery in the form of an occasional Minister from the hills, deceptions with almost toothless and totally ineffective assemblages like Hill Development bodies, false promises of autonomous status etc.

Earlier the Sikkim people would look up to Darjeeling and converge on Darjeeling for schools and colleges. Now the trend is gradually reversing. The professional colleges that were not possible at Darjeeling are flourishing in Sikkim, the industries that West Bengal never gave to Darjeeling thrive in Sikkim, the schools, hospitals, waterworks, roads, electricity and other civic amenities that are barely functional in Darjeeling are found in good shape in Sikkim. Barely two decades ago Sikkim looked up at Darjeeling and now Darjeeling looks up at Sikkim. The decline of Darjeeling is not the handiwork of the people of Darjeeling and neither does the instruments of a change for the better lie with the people of Darjeeling. In short West Bengal has to wake up to its responsibilities. The power to reverse or perpetuate a separatist trend also lies entirely with the Government of West Bengal. Darjeeling can only react to a situation and it will be wise of West Bengal not to create a situation of aggravation but of reconciliation. The author says if West Bengal gives Darjeeling will return the favor adequately.

Sanjay Biswas and Barun Roy, *Fallen Cicada Unwritten History of Darjeeling Hills*, Systematic Computerized Offset Printers, Darjeeling, 2003.

Events, facts, stories, anecdotes of Darjeeling Hills in brief are fitted in this book in a Time Capsule, beginning with the coming of the Buddhist monks from Sikkim to Darjeeling in 1641 and the subsequent events that followed – Darjeeling as a gift by the Sikkim Pati (Maharaja) to the British rulers, setting up of Darjeeling township – tea plantation, hydro electricity, opening up of vehicle and train roads to link Darjeeling with the plains and the beginning of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, which now is so popular and known as the Toy Train. The first Nepali weekly paper ‘Gorkha Khabar Kagat’ published from Kalimpong by Padre Ganga Prasad Pradhan in 1901. The visit of great personalities to Darjeeling from India and foreign countries are mentioned, like Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, Mark Twain, Mahatma Gandhi, Rishi Aurobindo Ghosh who studied at Darjeeling, Jagdish Chandra Bose, a world renowned scientist who worked and stayed in Darjeeling, Kavi Guru Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Netaji Subas Chandra Bose, the great leader of Independence Movement, Chittaranjan Das, Mother Teresa, Mahapundit Rahul Sanskritayan, Sister Nevidita, Koros Alexander to name a few. Imminent local personalities are also mentioned like Dal Bahadur Giri, an ardent patriot who worked and died for the cause of Independence, and Damber Singh Gurung, the only Nepali member in the Constituent Assembly of India. Besides photographs, drawings, pictures are also featured in this book.

R. Moktan, *Sikkim: Darjeeling, Compendium of Documents*, Himadri Printers, Gangtok, Sikkim, 2004.

This book consists of collection and compilation of documents published in a book form, having relevance to Sikkim and Darjeeling. The book is divided into four parts, part one deal with Treaty, Convention, Agreement; part two deal with Memorandum, Resolution, Settlement; part three deal with Notification, Act, Speech, Letter and part four deal with Articles.

D.T. Tamlong, *Darjeeling and North Bengal from An Administrator's Perspective*, Mani Printing House, Darjeeling, 2006.

The book is a memoir of the author that records his experience as an administrator in the district (s) of Darjeeling, Coochbehar and Jalpaiguri (in the state of West Bengal).

It is an insider's account of the ways and means by which administration operates at the district level. The author provides useful insights from each of his postings in different capacities – as Officer in Charge, Additional District Magistrate, Sub-Divisional-Officer, Project Officer District Rural Development Agency, Principal Secretary (Chief Executive Officer) of DGHC. Based on his personal experience the author discloses several useful inside information on the trends and patterns of administration and the nature of events and their background which would otherwise not have seen the light of the day. The book is a useful addition to the limited literature available on the hill district administration and is useful reading to understand the intricacies of administration at the local level.

Edited by P.J. Victor, Prabhat Pradhan, Devika Lama, Aniruddha Das, *Discursive Hills, Studies in History, Polity and Economy*, St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, 2007.

This volume contains the collection of papers, which were presented in the University Grants Commission sponsored National Seminar entitled "The History and Development of the Hill Stations in India". The objective was to bring out the history and the process of social, political, economic, historical and scientific developments that took place in the hill stations of India. The process of historical development of the hill stations influenced the historical development of India as a whole, it can also be said that the development of the hill stations helped the Indian economy to grow, at the same time the scientific developments that could only take place in the hill stations, helped the historical process of development of the hills to make progress.

The papers in this volume deal with: The origin and development of Darjeeling hills from the treaty of Sagauli; The field of cultural symbiosis and its impact on the hill women of Darjeeling Hills; The growth of Kurseong as a hill station during the colonial period; The colonial construction of the hills and its people and the process of embracing them into the fold of colonialism; The unique study of Hastalekh and analysis of the reminiscences; A deep insight into the influence of the hills in the writings of Rabindranath Tagore; The Gorkha culture with special emphasis on its festivals; The early and administrative history of Darjeeling; The importance of culture as a cementing factor among the different communities, Democratization in Darjeeling; The critical issue of ethnicity and identity of the Nepalis in Darjeeling; A critical micro study on the

participation of the scheduled caste women in decision-making in Darjeeling municipality; Application of multiculturalism and liberal theory in the foothills of the Himalayas; Trend of population growth, density of population, sex-ratio, rural-urban composition, ethnic composition and participation in working force with dependency burden in north-east India; Concern over the introduction of market economy to the sphere of non-market goods including environment; Analysis of Sikkim's economy and the result of the expansionary impact of government expenditure within the state that failed to create an economy, which is self sustaining and self regenerating in nature; Prospects of eco-tourism in Darjeeling Hills; Production of tea remained stagnant while the cost of production increased many folds; History of tourism in Darjeeling and its development as an industry in itself, Importance of information support for the development of the rural areas in the Darjeeling Hills, Discussion of the history of landslide which occurred in Darjeeling district and other types of disasters; Importance of self-help-groups in the economic development and empowerment of the rural women in Kamrup district of Assam; The issue of transformation of traditional food technology and the development of modern food biotechnology; Importance of Cinchona plantation and its contribution to hill economy, The pioneering contribution of Sir J.D.Hooker, a celebrated Botanist who lived in the 19th century, to the vegetation of the Sikkim Himalayas and the Darjeeling Hills.

G.S.Yonzon, "Needed: A Master Plan for Darjeeling", *The Statesman*, 22 June 2001.

The rise in population and poverty and the demand for more agricultural land, water, firewood and other forest products are slowly pushing the region to the edge. The crop productivity has dropped considerably in the farming sector and the hill people – once self-reliant in food – now depend on the supply of food-grains and all other essential commodities from outside. The planning, management and sustainable development of both the urban and rural economy commensurate with the population growth is a task that should attract the attention of the authorities in power – the West Bengal government and the DGHC. Because of the unabated rise in population and poverty and the lack of mass education and research in the management and the development of natural as well as human resources, on the other, valuable natural resources of the region are fast depleting.

Despite the Darjeeling Himalayas being very rich in natural resources, poverty is a factor in most urban and rural homes.

Despite the fact that as many as nine five-year plans for development were launched, the hill region still reels under the backwardness as characterized by the absence of basic infrastructure for development, although there is high growth potential. The basic needs range from conservation of primary resources such as land, water, air, flora and fauna and eco-systems to judicious utilization and management of resources including eco-restoration activities, population control, managing energy demands and supply, skilled manpower development, poverty alleviation programs, employment generation for hundreds of unemployed youths and relevant science and technology education on a war footing.

With large sums of investment made through successive five-year plans, the aim should be to develop a self-reliant and self-sustaining economy within a given timeframe. The time is ripe for development experts and intellectuals to come together and lend a hand in laying the foundation of a development orientated socio-cultural environment. What is most urgently needed for the Darjeeling hill people is a long range master plan for development and an authority to execute it. Meanwhile, it is essential that a regular series of public debates, discussions and educative sessions continue on vital issues and problems in which the social and political leadership should play a promotive role.

Gone are the days when a handful of ruling people, often less intelligent but more arrogant than those they governed held sway. But a large majority of those who suffer are still unaware of the power democracy affords them. A band of public educators would have a role to play here.

Development connotes a series of changes by which an individual, a society, a region, or a country passes from a lower to a higher state of being. These changes may be physical, mental, intellectual, moral and spiritual on the one hand and educational and economic on the other. Development is therefore, a multi-dimensional subject and requires an inter-disciplinary approach. Viewed in this context, development stands at zero level in parts of the country, including the Darjeeling hills. The concept of systematic planning and development – social, economic, educational, ecological, environmental, industrial – is still a far cry from the busy minds of our leadership, while

the local experts and intellectuals who want to actively participate in the planning and development process and thus contribute their valuable services to their society are wholly debarred and excluded from participation.

In the absence of town planning, Darjeeling, Queen of the Hill Stations as it used to be known in the past, is now a growing mountain slum gradually becoming unfit for living, not to forget its waning as a tourist spot.

Weather changes due to global warming and general environmental degradation has further affected productivity both in terms of quality and quantity. The perennial Teesta and Rungeet draining the whole of the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalaya have an irrefutable capacity to transform the hill region into the Darjeeling of our dreams in three important ways: as a source of unlimited hydel-power, to meet all our energy needs both domestic and industrial; as a source of unlimited supply of water for drinking and irrigation; and as a source of water for urban and rural hygiene and sanitation.

There is thus an urgent need for systematic and empirical investigations and an analysis of the problems of the hill areas and in the process of development and change in them. Such studies need to be conducted both at the micro (village, block and district) and macro (regional) levels and the insights gained at each level can go a long way in acquiring a proper perspective for the understanding of the prospects and problems of development in these areas.

(3) Gorkhaland Agitation/Movement and DGHC

Amber Pradhan, *Darjeeling Zillako Rajnaitik Andolan* (Darjeeling District's Political Agitation), Shri Madhav Mudranalay, Varanasi, 1985.

The author traces the political demands of Darjeeling district from 1907 to the early 80s. These demands taking various forms – of separate administrative status, hill autonomy, district autonomy, regional autonomy, separation from West Bengal, increase in the pace of development while maintaining the status quo, etc were taken up at one time or another by various (Associations earlier and later by) Political Parties like CPI, Gorkha League, Congress, CPI(M) and GNLFF.

The demand for Gorkhaland, that is a separate State outside West Bengal was first made in 1980 by Gorkaha League Zilla Committee, then by Pranta Parishad and finally taken up by GNLFF who were eventually successful in launching an agitation based on this demand of Gorkhaland. The author talks of autonomy and how the 3 tribes in Meghalaya – Khasi, Garo and Jaintia were successful in establishing a separate State of their own out of Assam. Demand for a separate state on the basis of Language, Culture and backwardness was not confined only to North East India but such demand also occurred in South India as is witnessed in the Telengana Movement in the State of Andhra Pradesh. After 15 years of agitation the Central Government granted Article 371D (in the Constitution) in the year 1973 to the people of Telengana by which they were able to get certain benefits/safeguards regarding employment, education and development.

The author concludes by pointing out that a solution for Darjeeling District's political agitation lays in the Constitution of India. And for that the State Government must act – its first step can be to redefine the district of Darjeeling where the Nepali speaking majority area of Western Dooars and Siliguri can be merged with Darjeeling Hills to create one new district. Creation of a new district (a power which is within the jurisdiction of the State Government), the author says will be the first strong foundation for future build-ups to satisfy the political demands of the people of Darjeeling.

Rajendra Baid, *Gorkhaland Sangharsh (Agitation)*, Janpath Samachar, Janpath Bhawan, Siliguri, West Bengal, 1988.

The author wants this book to be treated as a Historical Document, which seeks to highlight Gorkhaland Agitation and its history with the help of the original documents in Hindi and English – comprising of Letters, Memorandums, Newspaper Clippings, Press Releases, Statements Articles, etc – based on events of 1986 to 1988 (Gorkhaland Agitation) and also of events showing the history of the Gorkhaland Agitation.

M.J.Akbar, *Riot after Riot, Reports on Caste and Communal Violence in India*, Penguin Books India (P) Ltd, 1988.

The theme of this book is violence in the land of Gandhi. The book deal with incidents of mass violence that received wide publicity at the time they occurred. The author visited riot torn cities, towns and villages to discover what lay behind the outbreaks of communal and caste violence that have taken place in India after partition. The author finds that the basic cause for the communal frenzy is the same – that is poverty, economic deprivation and a history which has been perverted and misused by religious zealots. The root cause of spreading endemic violence is economic, religious, linguistic and ethnic differences provide the excuse and motivation to indulge in it.

In one of the essays the author shows that the Gorkhas' demand for a separate State of their own – Gorkhaland lies rooted in a controversial past. Schemes of autonomy for the Gorkha region have been on the anvil for several decades now. And, ironically, these schemes later got the vociferous support of the Communist Party of India. The idea of autonomy, of separation from the Bengali, had traveled some distance from Rattanlal Brahmin, sliding through one ism after another. In the forties the voice of Brahmin echoed in the hills that the Gorkha must have his autonomy. In the early fifties, a booklet in Nepali began doing the rounds demanding 'Gorkhasthan'. The newest child of an old movement (Subhas Ghising in the eighties) send another shudder through an arching nation. In another essay the author gives a profile of Subhas Ghising as the man who spearheads the Gorkha separatist movement, a retired soldier and a novelist of limited gifts, the failed artiste giving vent to his frustrated aggression through politics. The author warns that Punjab was ruined because political parties could never quite draw the line between their interests and the national interest. And if the future can be protected from the mistakes of the past, will it be truly safe.

Editor: Shivraj Sharma, *Gorkhaland Darpan: Purwardha*, Gorkha Pustak Sadan, Darjeeling, 1989.

This book contains Articles, Letters, Interviews, Reports, Pamphlets, Memorandums, Telegram, Political Diary, Historical Materials, Wall Poster Clippings, etc, in Nepali, Hindi and English. The book is based on Gorkhaland Movement and justifies the Gorkha's land, the Gorkha race and the Gorkha language.

S.C. Kashyap (Editor), *Political Events Annual. 1987. National and International Affairs.* Lok Sabha Secretariat. New Delhi. 1st Edition 1989.

This features an annotated chronology of national events. It records in an objective manner the important events of 1988 as they were contemporaneously reported, in the Press and other news media. It attempts to fulfill the basic need for a ready reference on the subject.

Tanka Bahadur Subba, *Ethnicity, State and Development, A Case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling.* Vikas Publishing House. PVT LTD New Delhi, 1992.

The hills of Darjeeling were the focus of the media attention for almost three years from May 1986. The reason: violence and counter-violence that rocked them in the wake of the Gorkhaland Movement for a separate statehood within the Indian Union. The Gorkha National Liberation Front, which spearheaded the Movement, had the most heightened emotional support of the Gorkhas/Nepalis though the Marxist among them opposed this Movement with no less valour. The chief of this Front, Subhas Ghising, suddenly became a messiah of the Gorkhas, sidelining other organizations and leaders in the hills fighting for the same or similar cause. His distractors were many and often powerful, the most important being the State Government itself, but he managed to emerge victorious each time he faced a hurdle until the end when he had to forgo the very cause for which so much was sacrificed.

The entire episode has seldom been studied objectively and seriously by any scholar or social scientist. No one has really looked into its background and seen how the past has gradually transformed into the present. Neither the past nor the present of a people long suffering from a genuine crisis of national identity has been properly and sympathetically considered so far. Nor again does the process of marginalization of peoples whose votes matter less seem to have arrested the attention of non-anthropologists. Instead some of them have been found to have joined hands with the State Government in its effort to denigrate this movement. Even fratricidal clashes and killings were not condemned.

It was such an overall situation that made violence and counter-violence inevitable in an otherwise peaceful region. The defiance of authority was punished by the State in a rather unbecoming manner, letting it thereby spill to the fields of cultural harmony and ethnic unity. The number of lives lost or properties damaged maybe forgotten soon but the emotional scar left by this Movement may take years to heal. This book is a chronicle of this episode in its possible entirety. It devotes a couple of chapters of the history of the Gorkhas/Nepalis, the region, and the ethnic movements there but centering around some of the major controversies that are still unsolved it narrates almost day to day happenings not only till the Accord was signed but even after that. It assesses the role of various political parties and the relevance of the theories on ethnic movements in general and the Gorkhaland Movement in particular. It brings out the impact of this Movement on various spheres like economy, ethnic relations, interstate and international relations, education, and cultural activities. It also shows to what extent did the journalists conform to or deviate from the ethics of journalism. And finally it addresses itself to the larger national issues and how best could the local ethnic aspirations be accommodated without hampering the national interest. A plea to look into the possibility of going for ethno-development has also been made in the concluding chapter.

Nagendra Gorkha, *Gorkhaland Andolan*, Haraiyeko Aafno Anuhar Ra Pailaharu, Atihas Ak Dhukdhuki (meaning: Lost faces and footsteps, History's Heartbeat), Volume I and II, Information and Culture Department, DGHC, Mani Printing House, Darjeeling, 1992 and 1993.

These two volumes (containing writings in Nepali, English and Hindi) dealing with activities of Gorkhaland agitation of the 1980s contain:-

Telegrams, Letters, Memorandums, Bulletins, Speeches, Songs, Interviews, Press Releases/Statements, Pamphlets, Wall Posters, Poster, Cartoons, Photographs, Notices, Proceedings of Meetings, Newspaper and Magazine Clippings from *The Week*, *Sunday*, *Frontline*, *Statesmen*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Telegraph*, *Nav Bharat Times*, *Hindustan Times*, *Janpath Samachar*, *Himalchuli*, *Himgiri* (Gangtok), *Bihar*, *Himali Bela* (Gangtok), *Gangtok* (Gangtok), *Ama* (Siliguri).

Other Newspapers that came up during the agitation dealing with the agitation were *Gorkhaland Bulletin*, *Gorkha Chino*, *Mang Bulletin*, *Darjeeling Samachar*, *Teesta Rangeet* (Gangtok), *Mirik Dooth* (Mirik), *Himali Bela* (Gangtok), *Purba Sandesh* (Gangtok), *Kaumi Tarjuman* (Lucknow), *Gorkha Express* (Lucknow), *Unmukti*, *Radio Gorkhaland*, *Gorkhaland Ko Sanbalan*, *Serofero* (Kurseong), *Yodha* (Mirik), *Pahara* (Mirik), *Abbo*, *Swatantra Manch*. Volume I contains a short biography of Subash Ghising along with extracts of his literary works. This volume describes how Ghising was inspired to fight for Gorkhaland. Ghising was in the army and in one of the army operation in Nagaland the Naga rebels had asked him "We are fighting for our land and people who are you Gorkha soldiers fighting for?" This made Ghising think of an Indian identity for the destitute Gorkhas of India who were usually branded as foreigners as they were not distinguished from the Nepali Gorkha (of Nepal). For this reason the Indian Gorkhas suffered injustice and insecurity. Ghising took up the issue of identity and citizenship for the Indian Gorkhas and demanded a separate homeland of their own within India but outside Bengal. This resulted in Gorkhaland agitation.

Suman Raj Timsina, *Nepali Community in India*, Manak Publications Pvt. Ltd. Delhi, 1992.

There are very few books available on Indian Nepalis and very limited research work has been done so far on this topic. The author has made an attempt to formulate his own views on Indian Nepalis. This book enquires and analyses in detail about the settlement of Nepalis in India. The socio-cultural and political analysis of Nepalis has been done in this book. The book also analyses the factors of emergence of identity consciousness among the Nepalis. The author has drawn enough information to analyse the Gorkhaland Movement in this context.

Most of the Nepalis in India, except in Sikkim, feel highly insecure – socially, economically and politically. This is why they constitute a larger proportion of population and also hold important positions in politics in Sikkim. Whereas in contrast, the Nepalis in Darjeeling and other states feel politically deprived. Nepalis have their representation in local bodies and legislatures. Even then they feel that they are the victims of discrimination by the local people and the government. Certainly this fear has

led them to the path of ethnic conflict. The Nepalis of Darjeeling were always much more conscious than the Nepalis of other places in India. Thus, the Gorkhland movement is not the first to demand a separate state or autonomy, but earlier also Nepalis were raising their voice against the state government and were demanding their separation from West Bengal. They received support not only from the Nepalis in India but also from other hill people. About the Gorkhland Movement the author writes about the emergence of the GNLF and their demands, the socio-economic factors of the movement and the nature of the movement.

Dr. H.B. Magar, *Is Gorkhland a Reality or Simply Mirage?* Deeptara Offset Printing Press. Kathmandu (Nepal) 1994.

The book is basically an analysis of striving on the emergence of Indian Gorkhas' political entity seeking a separate state of Gorkhland within the constitutional framework of India. The Gorkhas today constitute a reckonable political group in the Northern West Bengal. They make a lively political presence, just because of the manner they fought their way to this admittedly wanted level of their in the Indian structure. Observers have often expressed doubt about India's capacity to work democracy out, for this multi-regional, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious India does not have the socio-economic requisites to face upto the varied demands coming off its multi-structural formations. There are innumerable ethnic groups spread through country's long northern frontiers whose respective levels of socio-political consciousness could not be properly measured up when the constitution for the country was being drafted. Even among such groups, the Gorkhas were the least known. But it seemed to matter to this race of soldiers whose rising closely followed up the same of their north-eastern frontier equivalents for ethnic autonomy in the national political process.

Spread all over India, the Darjeeling hill regions in the Northern Bengal had been practically the habitat of the Gorkhas of India. Doubtless they had a distinctive ethnic and civic identity. The Gorkhas had to fight all the way to reckon-ability in the alignment of the political forces in India. Like the frontier people of the north-eastern regions, the Gorkhas too, had distinctive group features, but while the former had been autonomous ethnic groups in their respective seclusions, the Gorkhas had long traditions of functional

interaction with the people of the plains but had become stereotype as colonial relics who could have no claims to the citizenship rights under Indian democracy. Even in the wake of the vital impact of the Chinese aggression on India's long Himalayan frontiers when the north-eastern ethnic people came in for political treatment from the more administrative as earlier, the Gorkhas were not raised for even their nuisance value. Thus, while India's national leadership went about cajoling and alluring the former into the national mainstream, the Gorkhas were still treated as the subjects of administration in the first place, and as a matter of bi-lateral relations between India and Nepal, in the next.

The Gorkhas could not visualize any prospect for their further ethnic evolution, they were getting ready to force their way to their legitimate place in the national set-up of India. This was the kind of an evolutionary complex which is critical in the life of the community. It is a state of travail which eventually bears the requisite leadership. The Gorkhas were soon blessed with one in the person of Subhas Ghising. Not a man of many accomplishments though, he had the idea to make a dynamic cause of the Gorkha discontent. He worked patiently to make an issue of the Gorkha ethnic cause and piloted with utter efficiency to steer it to fruition in its logical form the premises worked out in this book were formulated with an eye to locate this ethnic community in the state of credibility and observe its way to getting into its logical shape.

The news of the Gorkha unrest reached out to the average Indian citizens. The issue about the Gorkhas as an Indian folk of asset was that they had been an unknown lot, but once the quality of their demand had been projected, the Indian democracy moved in to bring in the Gorkhas within its developmental fold. The Gorkhas are only in the embryonic stage of their political development. They are far from being in the throes of the dialectics of political development. Ghising has the credit for bringing the Gorkhas forward as a political ethnic group from the limbo to which they had remained consigned ever since India became independent. Some future leadership may emerge to give a better structural shape to the present DGHC toward the achievement of a full-fledge statehood.

M.P. Lama, (compiled) *Gorkhaland Movement Quest for an Identity*. (Published by Department of Information & Cultural Affairs DGHC 1996).

The demand for Gorkhaland as a constituent state within the union of India has been one of the oldest demands in the history of modern India. Though this demand has over the years taken various political turns and twists, it particularly and actually acquired the shape of a mass movement only towards the end of the 1970s when Sri Subash Ghising for the first time gave a clarion call of the Gorkhas in India to come under one banner and demanded a separate state known as Gorkhaland. It was, to be exact, on 22 April 1979 from the 'ramparts' of the famous Geetange Daara in Chowk Bazar in Darjeeling. Soon after, the Gorkha National Liberation Front was set up as a political party which for the first time comprehensively raised the ever burning issue of the identity of the Indian Gorkhas at the national level.

As Ghising spread his tentacles, he soon became a household name in India. For the first time, the entire nation realized the existence of the Gorkhas as a distinct Indian ethnic entity on the laps of the Eastern Himalayas. As we stepped into the last decade of the Twentieth Century, Ghising was declared as the 'Tiger of the Hills'. The historic accord was signed on 22 August 1988 which finally led to the setting up of DGHC. Then the rest is history. But a history that will remain incomplete till the state of Gorkhaland is attained.

Bir Bikram Gurung, *Gorkha League Dekhi Gorkhaland Samma - Atihasik Tippani* (From Gorkha League to Gorkhaland – A Historical Perspective), Jai Bharat Printing Press, Varanasi, 1996.

This book about Darjeeling from the end of 19th Century to the Gorkhaland Agitation (1980s), written in Nepali, is a book of great value. The author makes a historical and political analysis and also adds in his own independent thinking. This book describes the political and social organizations in Darjeeling and how those inclined towards political and social activities took the society to great heights or brought it down to deep depths by their deeds. The book deals with the social and literary activities of Darjeeling people, their linguistic efforts, their political awareness, the activities of different political parties, their educational journey, their fight for rights – all these aspects have been dealt with and presented in an attractive manner.

D.S. Bomzon; *Gorkhaland Andolan, Ek Postmortem Report*. Bikas Jan Sahitya Kendra, Darjeeling. January, 1999.

This book, written in Nepali, is an inner story of Gorkhaland Movement and focuses on the events of the years 1986 to 1988, when Gorkhaland Movement was at its peak. The author presents the political situation and political events of India in general and Darjeeling Hills in particular which cumulated into Gorkhaland Movement. If Gorkhaland Movement was a stage, the main actors were the Central Government, State Government, GNLF led by Mr. Subhas Ghising, the Marxist who opposed the Movement, the Paramilitary forces and in the process it was the common people of Darjeeling Hills who suffered greatly the impact of this violent Movement.

Chiranjib Kumar Kar, *Darjeeling Himalaya in Flames*, Jetsun Publishing House, Varanasi – Calcutta – Darjeeling, 1999.

The States Reorganisation Act in the mid-fifties divided India on the basis of linguistic provinces, but it by no means created homogenous and unified states, not did it come near to satisfying most group and individuals in India. States Reorganisation had been accompanied by an intense inter-state rivalry on issues as language policy and sub-regional movement. The Telengana movement in Andhra Pradesh, the Akali Dal movement in Punjab, the Assam movement in Assam and the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling District are some of the instances. In this work the author deals with the last one and lays the importance of the study on the Gorkhaland movement being inextricably bound up with language issue.

The author notes that Ethnicity and absence of homogeneity may cause tensions within a State. Darjeeling is an example in this respect. Here we get people whose racial characteristics are distinct and they cannot be compared with the person living in the plains. Residents of the area speak a language of their own while their local condition and aspirations are widely divergent from the vast majority of people living in West Bengal.

After the independence of India, the politics in the Hill region was carried under the banner of All India Gorkha League. In the 1960s and '70s the All India Gorkha

League made two demands which were supported by all other political parties and other social service organizations. These two demands were (1) Autonomous District Council within West Bengal where Gorkhas were to be given a hand or say in the administration of their own affairs and (2) Language – that Nepali language be recognized under the Eight Schedule of the Constitution.

Later in the '80s Mr. Ghising (the GNLF supreme) demanded that Gorkhali and not Nepali be included in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution. In 1992 the GNLF members unilaterally declared Bhanubhakta a foreign poet and its supporters destroyed the bust of the poet in Darjeeling a day before his birth anniversary, Bhanubhakta who united a multi-lingual and multi-Ethnic Nepal into a single nation through his writing in the last century is regarded as a National Poet by Nepalese living both in India and Nepal. The GNLF supreme Sri Subhas Ghising issued a dictat that Bhanubhakta had become a disputed poet as he was born in a foreign land (Nepal), whereas Agam Singh Giri was deeply committed to the cause of Homeland.

The author concluded that the Gorkhaland agitation was the classic instance of ethno-nationalism which if given credence by the Government could have led to militant nationalism which could sap the vitality of the body politic of the nation.

Ethnologically states which were not homogeneous could not live happily and with brotherly affection for many centuries. But the cravings for power in particular region could give rise to sub-national feeling when the majority ethnic groups in particular region, but otherwise a minority in a province in the federal set-up could raise demands for special treatment when they felt that their language, culture and their identity was lost in the nation-building process.

Amiya K. Samanta, *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*. A.P.H. Publishing Corporation. 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj. New Delhi – 110 002, 2000.

Nation, nationality and ethnicity are expression with different connotations. A nation has many prerequisites but none is indispensable. Ethnicity has multiple attributes like regions, sect, caste, religion, language, color, culture, descent, race etc. These, in different combinations, often even singly, may determine an ethnic group.

Exploitation, oppression and discrimination, either experienced or perceived, often lead to conflict between the state, ethnic groups and nationalities. This book on Gorkhaland Movement gives an account of the growth of a sense of ethnic exclusiveness among a community known as Indian Nepali or Gorkha who had migrated to India from Nepal over a period of more than one hundred and fifty years, being encouraged by the British for protecting their colonial and commercial interests. They were designated as a 'martial race', a colonial construct, for facilitating their recruitment in the armed force and for keeping a hostile population, owing allegiance to Tibet, under control. Their migration safeguarded the British capital invested in the tea plantations in the region from Darjeeling to Dibrugarh. Separate administrative arrangements in Darjeeling also nursed a sense of exclusiveness among the Gorkhas.

During the nationalist movement hardly any effort was made to mobilize the people living in the periphery of the empire against the British. In the post-independence period they were mobilized only for petty partisan interests. The account of Gorkhaland Movement narrated here reveals that sectarian considerations have been the guiding principle of our political parties rather than any constructive effort to integrate them to the nation building process.

This book is the result of author's close and dispassionate observation of the events and intimate knowledge of the dramatis personae. A number of hitherto unpublished letters and documents have been reproduced to substantiate the contentions of the author.

Dr. D.K. Sarkar, and Dr. D.J. Bhoumick, *Empowering Darjeeling Hills. An Experience with Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council*. Indian Publishers Distributors. Delhi 2000.

The DGHC, the first of its kind in India has been created at the sub-state level after replacing the erstwhile Darjeeling Zilla Parishad, Hill Development Council and Darjeeling District Planning and Coordination Council. The DGHC was designed as an alternative between State and the existing structures of Local Government. In its nature, form and institutional locus-standi, the DGHC does not fit into Panchayat or Municipality structural arrangement or Constitutionally provided Autonomous District or Region.

Throughout the Book attempt had been made to find out answers to the fundamental question whether the present politico-administrative arrangement in the name of DGHC is adequate enough to grapple with the problems of Darjeeling Hills. While weaving politics and administration together in a frame-work the study on DGHC not merely probes into varied aspects of politics in Darjeeling hills but also examines administrative structure designed for its autonomy in multi ethnic state of India.

The framework of study for GNLf movement is a construct based on Politico-Administrative policies giving rise to a sense of deprivation and separateness among Gorkhas. GNLf movement derived its inspirations from Assam Gana Parishad movement, deportation of Nepalese and the like. Latent tension due to calculated indifference to Nepalese interest was there, it awaited ignition only. The Post Independence scenario in Darjeeling Hills with emphasis on the chequered movement of GNLf dwells on the situation paving the way for negotiated settlement by way of tripartite agreement among Government of India, State Government and GNLf. This led to the setting up of DGHC in 1988.

The structure of DGHC is studied in detail and a comparative study of Autonomous structure illustrated by DGHC and Tripura Area Autonomous District Council under Fifth and Sixth Schedules by the Constitution respectively has been undertaken to bring out original inadequacy to accommodate politico-administrative needs of tribal people.

The personnel administration of DGHC is examined with a view to understanding operationalisation of regional autonomy as provided under DGHC Act 1988. It had been stated that the demand for expansion of DGHC machinery is not advisable. Personnel Administrative structure of DGHC comprises of employees of different categories (i) Personnel working in DGHC offices recruited directly by DGHC (ii) Employees working in DGHC transferred from erstwhile Darjeeling Zilla Parishad (iii) Personnel of different service cadres and existing staff of the different State Government Departments transferred to DGHC (iv) Officers of IAS Cadre and West Bengal Civil Service Cadre and other Service Cadres working in DGHC on deputation basis. Such a mixed kind of Personnel Administrative structure contributes to unorganized ineffective system of personnel Administration in DGHC. The activities of DGHC are largely labor-intensive

by nature hence the success of such regional level body to a great extent rests upon the productivity of DGHC employees.

An analytical study of DGHC finance is provided where sources of DGHC finance are critically examined.

The operationalization of DGHC has also been made the central focus where first electoral policies, administrative and political issues are covered, second deals with GNLFF leadership and third traces political development in Darjeeling Hills following close to P.M. Mr. Devegouda's declaration advocating small states including Uttarkhand in Indian Federation.

The concluding sections evaluate GNLFF movement, the logic of small state is examined illustrated by Jharkhand State and stress on redesigning Federal set-up is laid in the perspective of consensus built around constitutionalised local government structure for the purpose of diffusing ethnic tension from Kashmir to North East and good governance in India.

At the first instance, DGHC seems to emerge as a new federative device to satisfy the political aspiration of the people in the context of strident ethnic assertion, sense of marginalisation and flaring criticisms against the political managers running the statecraft. But a general consensus to use DGHC as a panacea to combat regionalism was short-lived. In course of working of DGHC its structural weaknesses, the functional limitations, operational disabilities and inept political leadership became self-evident and euphoria died down. DGHC has failed to energize the tribal society which was its chief aim.

What has become evident is that neither DGHC nor District Administration provides a holistic administrative structure bringing regulatory and development spheres under an umbrella. Against these it has been shown that State, Centre and DGHC leadership, singly or collectively, did not discharge its/their immense responsibility to make this politico-administrative adroit a success. Economic plight of the people did not improve as a result of various Central and State sponsored programs.

With the given amount of administrative ingenuity and political will the constitutionalised local government can be dovetailed to fulfill the hopes and aspirations of the tribal society, distraught and deprived, anywhere from Kashmir to North East and

that 'statehood' demand even if conceded can never serve the purpose of Darjeeling hills. While discussing the logic of small state (like Jharkhand and North East States) none of them are economically or otherwise viable (culturally and administratively). Instead the authors suggest District level structure of local government as provided under 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment for good neighborhood government for the area of Darjeeling Hills. To what extent provisions can be worked out to design the structure is dependent on mandarins of State and Central Government. Alongside redesigning of the present DGHC organizational structure, the question of empowerment and autonomy of DGHC has to be settled by the honest political will of the decision makers at the state level. Empowerment and extension of autonomy through devolution must be realized on the basis of the entitlement of the teeming millions of Darjeeling Hills i.e. entitlement from below rather than endowment from above.

Mohammad Yasin and Srinanda Dasgupta, *Indian Politics Protests and Movements*, Anmol Publications Pvt. LTD. New Delhi, 2003.

Due to the social, cultural, ethnic, religious, economic and political contradictions that are found deep rooted in the Indian system, protests of different forms and scales emanate. The protest movements of different types and nature sometimes recede within absorbable time and scale without much challenge to the unity, integrity and existence of the system. But some protests, in course of time assume much higher scale and operational area posing substantial threat to the existence and functioning of the political system. This book explores the various aspects and dimensions of protest movements in India along with finding out the impact of these protest movements on the society, economy and polity of India. The book is an attempt to evaluate the two broad perspectives on the perception of protest movements in India – as potential instruments for bringing about desired change in the society and as antithetical to the smooth governance of the polity. Regarding the Gorkhaland Movement the authors comment that it was due to the different strategy that Ghising used that helped him gain from the movement which his predecessors could not. Thus, it was the change of leadership in the Gorkha National Liberation Front and the consequent violent strategy that changed the complex of the movement and placed it on solid foundation to be reckoned with.

Sukura Thulung, *Gorkhaland Andolan*, Graphic Prints, New Delhi, 2005.

This book is a collection of a weekly Newspaper entitled 'Ama' (meaning mother) which was in circulation during the Gorkhaland Agitation. 'Ama' (Newspaper) had been in circulation not only in the Darjeeling hills but also in Sikkim, Dehradun, Calcutta, Assam, Dooars, Lucknow, Delhi and Nepal. The author was the editor of that newspaper – his intention was to bring out a newspaper that was in favor of the Gorkhaland Agitation. This book contains news items, articles, correspondence, etc of the agitation period written in Nepali, Hindi, English and Adivasi languages. The news items in the book deal with politics and views of political leaders of Darjeeling hills during the peak of Gorkhaland agitation (1986-'88).

Publisher: B.B. Tamang, *Gorkha Speaks*, Darjeeling, 1986.

This collection of articles also contain an interview with Mr. Subash Ghising written during Gorkhaland Agitation (and C.P.I's Memorial on Gorkhasthan of 1947) which projects the Gorkhaland Movement and justifies it from the Indian Gorkha's perspectives. The presentation here is that the Indian Gorkhas face a crisis of clear Indian identity where they have never been treated, deemed or accepted as Indian by their fellow Indians and therefore of being a part of the national mainstream and heritage. So effort is made to dispel to some extent the erroneous conceptions, misgivings and misunderstandings from the minds of the fellow countrymen.

Gorkhaland Agitation, The Issues, An Information Document, Government of West Bengal, 1986.

Gorkhaland Agitation, Facts and Issues, Information Document II, Government of West Bengal, January 1987.

These two documents An Information Document and Information Document II (the latter being a sequel to the former) carry the view of the government of West Bengal on the Gorkhaland Agitation/ Movement. These documents deal with the issues that have

arisen in connection with the agitation for a separate state of Gorkhaland and the view of the state government on concerned issues which are as follows:.

The state government projects the Gorkhaland agitation as being anti-national and secessionist in its objective; makes assessment of the negative impact of this agitation on the economic and social life in the hills; it shows the GNLFF's attitude towards the central government vis-à-vis the state government; it highlights the good work it (State Government) has done for the people of Darjeeling hills thereby justifying its negative stand on the Gorkhaland agitation and it tries to prove that economic backwardness was not the cause of discontentment that led to the agitation.

The Information Document points out that one of the earliest documents setting out the views of GNLFF was the memorandum submitted to the King of Nepal dated 23/12/1983, copies of which were circulated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the governments of U.S, U.K, USSR, France, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and China. The fact that the memorandum was addressed to a monarch of another sovereign state and that its copies were sent to the United Nations and heads of various states, point to the secessionist character of the movement. Some points raised in the document by the GNLFF but refuted by the state government were:

- That the areas comprising Darjeeling were ceded by the Nepal government to British India
- That apartheid and genocide crime were done by the state and central governments on the Gorkhas
- That after independence, the British had left the Gorkhas and their ceded land and territories at the cross-roads
- That it was unjustifiable on the part of the British Government not to organize 'plebiscite' to decide whether the area should be handed over to India or Nepal

By 10/8/1985, members of the youth wing of GNLFF took oath at Mahakaldara (Temple at Darjeeling) that they would fight until the realization of their demand for Gorkhaland. In processions naked Kukris were displayed – which symbolized the violent character of the agitation in the eyes of both its supporters and adversaries – commitment to their cause became inextricably mixed with commitments to religion and violent means to achieve their ends.

Public meetings, processions, bandh calls became the order of the day and those opposing the demand for Gorkhaland were attacked. There were instances of mob attacking the police party and police outpost which resulted in firing and killing of more people. The atmosphere was one of violence and terror where great deal of bloodshed and loss of live occurred.

Mr. Subash Ghising went on record saying that the Government of India only understood the language of force and that he had 30,000 ex-servicemen under his command who were experienced in war and were familiar with the terrain; and he threatened that if his demands were not conceded these ex-servicemen would be let loose. He added that the younger and more militant members of GNLF were itching for a 'do or die' type of struggle. He threatened to drive out the Government officials from the Hills and run the administration with the help of GNLF cadres. GNLF cadres attacked the police, BSF, CRPF personnel and senior officials of the administration.

The agitation was intolerant of dissent and other political views and forces and was bent on establishing its hegemony in the hills and to achieve its end it resorted to intimidation, kidnapping, large scale arson, destruction of property and ruthless and brutal murder of its political adversaries.

The government took the view that the agitation caused a great deal of damage to the local economy and its social life and it struck at the livelihood and well being of the common masses. The hill economy dependent on the three Ts – Tourism, Timber and Tea were adversely affected by the agitation. The thriving tourist industry was in shambles. This decline in tourist trade seriously affected the livelihood of a large number of traders, hoteliers, transport workers and those connected with tourist industry. The timber industry too suffered a severe knock due to disruption caused to the economy by the agitation. The organized attacks on the workers of a large number of tea gardens and intimidation of the management by GNLF led to a situation of lawlessness in those areas. Some tea gardens declared lockout. Tea industry being the backbone of the local economy, the paralysis of this industry brought untold sufferings to tea workers and to those directly or indirectly dependent on tea.

Regarding the attitude of the GNLF towards the State government, the GNLF labeled the State government as its enemy which was hostile to the creation of

Gorkhaland while portraying the Central government as its friend. (The then Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had announced that GNLFF was not anti-national and Mr. Arjun Singh, the Vice President of Congress (I) had said that this movement was not 'anti-national' since they were seeking statehood within India). This friendly view regarding the Central government coexisted with an aggressive policy towards CPI(M) and other left wing parties, whose cadres were subjected to murderous attacks, arson, wanton destruction of their property and large scale kidnapping and brutal murder (for they were opposed to the demand of Gorkhaland). Attempts were made to ruthlessly exterminate political opponents and adversaries.

The position of the Central government towards the agitation appeared to be that it was a purely law and order problem and entirely a matter for the State government to handle, while the State government pointed to the range of political issues – such as issue of Statehood, Indo-Nepal Treaty and the historical basis of the claim regarding 'ceded territories' – which could only be clinched at the national level and resolved through political means. Rather than GNLFF and the Central government being the two main adversaries, the conflict was seen as one between the State government and the GNLFF with the Central government sitting in the middle as the referee.

The apprehensions that the State government had were that could this separatist movement be a part of a grand design to weaken India? Could it be linked with the agitations for Khalistan, Independent Assam, Tribal Tripura, Mizoram, Jharkhand, Kamtapuri, Uttarkhand and similar other movements? Could one explain the emergence of separatist movements in Punjab and Darjeeling hills which produce some of the best soldiers of the country? Was it the work of a foreign hand whose objective it was to weaken the Indian army and destabilize the Indian sub-continent? The State government felt that West Bengal was as much a homeland for the Nepali-speaking people living here as it was for the other communities. They could not have a more secure homeland than West Bengal which prided itself in its glorious tradition of communal harmony.

The State government highlighted the work it had done for the people of Darjeeling hills as follows:

- In 1961, the state assembly of West Bengal recognized Nepali as the second language in the Darjeeling hill area, since then efforts were made to introduce Nepali as much as possible in administrative correspondence.
- In 1969 Nepali language was recognized as official language in three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling in West Bengal.
- Furthermore, Nepali language was accepted as a subject for teaching in under-graduate and post-graduate courses in the universities of Calcutta, North Bengal and Patna (Bihar).
- The construction of a hall in the name of the Nepali poet Bhanubhakt Achary and the giving of literary awards in his name.
- Government of West Bengal, the state assembly and members of parliament from West Bengal raised the issues relating to the recognition of Nepali language in eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution and regional autonomy within West Bengal. Laying the blame on the Central government the State government pointed out that had the National government been more responsive to those demands then the Gorkhaland agitation would have lost its sting.
- State government has recognized the cultural distinctiveness of the Nepali population in the hills and took measures to ensure that the separate cultural and social development of the Nepali population was not hindered by their minority status in the state.
- In terms of literacy, Darjeeling hills were considerably ahead of the rest of the state.
- Over the years Darjeeling hill areas were earmarked as priority areas for development and specialized attention given in programs on urban development.
- There was no evidence that this area was more backward or had been discriminated against in terms of allocation of resources. On the contrary, taking the whole of the state of West Bengal into account, despite the poverty in the hills, its position appeared to be better than the average in the rest of the state. In terms of per capita income its position was fourth among the 16 districts of the state. The proportion of unemployed was slightly higher than the state average.
- In terms of urbanization it ranked after Calcutta Metropolitan district and Burdwan.
- In terms of urbanization facilities – banking, medical institutions, holding of radio licenses – the figures were higher than the state average.

Although the state government has been able to project the vices of the Gorkhaland agitation at the same time highlight the favors (works) it has done for Darjeeling hills but the fact remains that there was an agitation in Darjeeling and the root cause of the agitation was the discontentment and dissatisfaction of the people, pent up through a long period of time.

Sumanta Banerji, 'Gorkhaland Agitation Cynical Politicking', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, October 4, 1986.

The national pastime of cynical politicking has found a new locale – Darjeeling. All the three forces playing the game the Centre, the West Bengal government (State) and the GNLFF are tapping their respective reservoirs of expediency to hoodwink the people. All the three forces are competing to rack up a record for duplicity, inconsistency and willful self-deception.

New Delhi has always been eager to brand any dissent in any corner of the country as 'anti-national'. In a unique departure from the habit, Rajiv Ganchi gave a clean chit to the GNLFF which has been agitation for a separate state of Gorkhaland within the Indian Union. The Congress (I) is again playing the same old game which Indira Gandhi started in Punjab. We find the familiar pattern of encouraging a disgruntled group to emerge as a trouble-some opposition in a state to embarrass a non-Congress ruling party. Allowing matters to drift to an irreversible point and then intervening to pose as the champion of law and order.

On the other hand, the Left Front government of West Bengal which had earlier approached the Centre for approval for some sort of regional autonomy for Nepali-speaking population of Darjeeling within West Bengal is today denouncing the demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland as secessionist and anti-national. The CPI(M) could have blamed the Centre for preventing the Left Front from granting the concession to the Nepalis of Darjeeling and made it clear to them that the question of granting statehood rested with the Centre. Since its birth in 1964, the CPI(M) had committed itself to the need for 'regional or full autonomy' in regions where 'tribals due to their number and geographical lay-out permit such a possibility'. However, Jyoti Basu was debating whether the Nepali-speaking people of Darjeeling could be considered 'tribals' or not. If

the Left Front had avoided the path of confrontation with the GNLFF it could have prevented an ethnic conflict which engulfed the hill region of West Bengal.

The GNLFF, capitalizing on the grievances of the Nepali-speaking population – some genuine, some exaggerated – was promising them a bonanza of jobs and abundance once they got a state of their own. Ghising's bag of bonanza offered a 40,000 strong Gorkha army where everyone would be officers, promise of promotion to every police constable, reward of Rs. 1 Lakh to every writer, jobs for the unemployed and positions of power for politicians in the new assembly of the proposed state. It was through such fallacies like Gorkhaland that people had to grope their way towards the future.

Dyutis Chakrabarty, "Gorkhaland Evolution of politics of segregation" Special Lecture, NoX, *Centre for Himalayan Studies*, North Bengal University, 1988.

This paper concentrates on gradual maturation of the demand raised by a substantial section of Nepali speaking people of Darjeeling district for the formation of a politico-administrative unit outside West Bengal. The paper is an attempt to highlight the interrelationship between regional or local movements claiming segregation in the form of administrative autonomy and state politics. It examines certain aspects of administrative policies in a historical setting and their impact, direct or indirect on the growth and perpetuation of a sense of deprivation and separateness.

The attention of the study is centered on : (1) A brief account of major landmarks and phase through which the segregationist attitude developed among the Nepali-speaking people of Darjeeling. The reasons shown behind segregation of Darjeeling from Bengal were historical, racial, linguistic, cultural discriminatory treatment, economic deprivation, etc. The demand for recognition of Nepali language, employment opportunities, separate administrative unit, all these issues were raised in one form or other long before the present agitation. (2) Connection between British administrative policy, especially the arrangement of scheduled district in the one hand, and the growth of exclusivist attitude in the minds of a section of local population in Darjeeling on the other. (3) Certain policies regarding language, principle of states' reorganization in independent India and their impact on the people of Darjeeling. In this connection, the political lines of party organizations, particularly those of Congress and the Communists

have been reviewed which represent the central and the state government viewpoints respectively. The Congress championed on grounds of national integrity and solidarity a federal formula with strong unitary bias. The Communist prescribed the recognition of India as a multi-lingual, multi-national entity. Initially they favored total right to self-determination for the nationalities in India. Afterwards they modified it with the concept of autonomy within the federation of India. The politics and movements of Darjeeling revolved around twin issues of language and autonomy – later citizenship and identity. GNLFF restrict its demand to 'political' aspects although uses other demands as supplementary. GNLFF and large majority in Darjeeling believe that land, employment, resources and everything will become an exclusive monopoly of Nepalese once Gorkhaland is formed. Segregation is demanded, in this sense, to ensure protectionism.

An account of gradual maturation and consequential proliferation of the segregationist demands indicate a link between governmental decisions and policies and the rise of such demands. British arrangement of 'scheduled district status for some areas and clarifications in support of the policy cultivated, consciously or unconsciously, a belief that the future of the Nepali-speaking people of Darjeeling district would remain safe only under a system of protection and special status. State- functioning since Independence has only aggravated this image. In respect of two important dimensions of Darjeeling agitation, i.e. recognition of Nepali and the demand for regional autonomy, governmental policies are largely responsible for the present situation. The non-inclusion of Nepali in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution has generated a sense of deprivation and discriminatory treatment, especially after the recognition of Sindhi as one of the languages under Eighth Schedule. The policy of constituting linguistic states has an impact of more far-reaching nature. The structure of linguistic provinces has released the aspirations of several linguistic groups for a state of their own. Idea of linguistic province has led to language-state identification. A separate state has become a basic right of language-groups especially when a linguistic population is concentrated in a particular region. Besides, creation of states like Mizoram or Sikkim with small territory and negligible population has its impact on other groups and areas also.

The role of state in the process of integration is undeniable. In India, the state has failed to transform anti-colonialism into a positive loyalty-structure, replacing the local-

community orientation. The state policies, or lack of it, have influenced the growth of segregation by denying a claim that is founded upon the declared policies of the state and by decisions which indirectly create a sense of deprivation from comparative perspective, for instance, linguistic provinces. The state while implementing decisions has failed to ensure equitable treatment, and this generates a perception of relative deprivation. Unless this unequal treatment of similarly positioned groups is amended, no degree of provincial or regional arbitration can solve the problem of Gorkhaland movement.

Sailen Sil, "All's not well in Darjeeling", *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 10 June 1990.

Beneath the serene surface of this queen of hill stations flows a seething river of discontent. Anger and discontent are again brewing in the hills. The hope that was kindled in the minds of the hill people following the accord has now vanished. Disillusioned, frustrated and having lost faith in the GNLFF, the youths are now preparing for another round of battle for statehood. People are bitter over the squabbles among its leaders and their craze for power. A sizable section of youths who took active part in agitation are disillusioned. Though everything appears to be normal on the surface and tourists are pouring in, life is tense with uncertainty haunting the inhabitants.

Rumblings of discontent are being heard everywhere. The DGHC has become a hotbed of corruption. People want a change in reality. The political scenario is in a flux with the growing dissension in the GNLFF. Favoritism, corruption, nepotism and other evils are plaguing the party. The DGHC, which rekindled the hope of prosperity, has been reduced into a personal zamindar of sort. Front ranking leaders, who led the agitation, are defecting from the party and planning to launch a new party. All of them are very much critical of the misuse of funds by DGHC.

Once undisputed Mr. Subash Ghising has lowered his image in public estimation. A messiah of the hill, Mr. Ghising is now believed to have distanced himself from the people. A rabble rouser with a talent for oratory who used to tour tea gardens, slums and remote peaks on foot espousing a cause, Mr. Ghising now breezes past the arterial roads in a milk white Ambassador, led by a pilot jeep with blowing sirens. Mr. Ghising's living style has invited criticism from many quarters. The West Bengal government is conscious of the situation, but is conspicuously silent. Yet, faced with a barrage of criticism and

dissidence in the party, Mr. Ghising seems 'puzzled'. But he continues to pose as a militant leader to the Central and State governments and maintains his image as "king of the hills". Sources inside the party say that he thinks himself a maker not a breaker of law and has been flouting government procedures on using funds for hill development works at will. His style of functioning was sharply criticized at a state Cabinet meeting.

Since the DGHC came into being over 1000 GNLFF activists have become contractors and they have been awarded work orders in violation of all norms. The development works are mainly confined to road repairing and construction of new roads. The decision in this regard is taken on the spot and contracts are awarded instantly. Councilors are also "unhappy" over the situation. They do not dare criticize Mr. Ghising openly, but are angry with Mr. Ghising for his unplanned expenditure and whimsical attitude.

In spite of all this neglect and utter indifference of the DGHC and bickering among Councillors, Darjeeling is showing signs of crawling back to normal. The streets, hotels and restaurants are coming back to life with tourist trickling in disrupted by the agitation for years. Tourists are returning with bitter experiences from their beloved hill resort. The agitation has robbed the queen of much of her beauty. Though the state government and the two-year-old DGHC are equally interested in flourishing tourism in the hills, there is little enterprise on their part to lure tourists. The State Tourist Bureau and the DGHC, on whom the onus rests, are more interested in passing the buck on each other than doing the needful.

Despair is still dominant in the hills. Those who have welcomed the accord and the formation of DGHC are in a "confused state". Others, who nurse the hope of a separate state, bide time. A majority of the dissidents within the GNLFF still want to be faceless. Youths are angry and frustrated over Mr. Ghising's "dictatorial attitude" and role of the DGHC in the development of the hills. But people of the hill still dream of a separate state.

Prabhat Datta, "The Gorkhaland Agitation in West Bengal", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 2, April-June 1991.

In this paper the writer seeks to examine the factors which led to the Gorkha unrest in the hill district of Darjeeling in West Bengal and to bring out the basic features of the Gorkha Hill Council which is regarded as the only measure for solving this kind of ethnic problems in India.

According to the writer the real enemies of the exploited Gorkhas are not the Left Front government led by CPI(M) but the big bourgeois and the landlords who rule the State. Indian ruling classes have multinational character where there is no single oppressing nationality. The writer suggests that in a pluri-cultural society with a so-called federal polity like India the ethnic movements at the state level might be manipulated by the central government to promote partisan interests if the ruling party at the state level is different from that of the centre. The adoption of the capitalist model of development has led to regional imbalance in India. The capitalist model of development cannot but result in regional imbalance there is no doubt that underdevelopment is writ large in Darjeeling hills. In fact, this applies to the north eastern part of the country, and is result of the policy of the national government. The authoritarian capitalist state and its institutions affect the backward ethnic communities and lead to the growth of the ethno-nationalism among the tribal communities. A close examination of the Gorkhaland agitation and similar other agitation reveals that the capitalist attempt to homogenize the life process of all people in a multi ethnic, multi cultural, multi linguistic society like India would evoke sharp reactions. It is necessary to build, develop and strengthen mechanisms and institutions which will take care of their unique features. This is necessary not only in the interest of the happy blossoming of the group concerned but also for the larger interest of the country as a whole.

About the functioning of the Hill Council, the most common complaint against it is nepotism, corruption and flouting of financial rules. DGHC has criticized the state government for the late release of funds, dilly-dallying about the transfer of powers and functions and inadequate staffing of the council. The writer is optimistic that the Hill Council experiment is a unique one to deal with the divisive forces. It has to be given some time for living upto the expectations.

Rajani Ranjan Jha and Bhavana Mishra, "Centre-State Relations, 1980-90: The Experience of West Bengal", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol LIV No.2, April June 1993.

This article examines the relationship between one of the longest surviving non-Congress State governments in India i.e., the Left Front Government of West Bengal and the Central Government during the period of 1980-1990. The various issues involved with the strained relationship between the West Bengal Government and the Central Government like the Governor's Role, the Gorkhaland controversy, Haldia Petro Chemicals Project, Bakreshwar Thermal Power Project, Economic and Financial Problems, Problems Relating to Food-grains and other essential commodities and other miscellaneous problems are taken up, but here, we are concerned with the Gorkhaland controversy.

There were sharp differences of opinion between the Central government and the State government on the nature of the response to the movement. Whereas the West Bengal Government regarded it as anti-national and secessionist, the central government regarded it as a law and order problem which the state government was trying to suppress by using the cadre of the CPM against the Gorkhas. When Jyoti Basu met the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in June, 1986 the latter regarded the movement as a national problem and assured all help and necessary co-operation to the West Bengal Government in dealing with the problem. However, the Central Government changed its views allegedly to suit its partisan interests from time to time. Addressing a rally in Darjeeling on November 30 1986, Rajiv Gandhi squarely blamed the West Bengal Government for the agitation in the hill areas. This change of stand on the part of the Central Government was termed by West Bengal Government as 'deliberate' to embarrass the Left Front Government and to recover lost political ground in the State. Rajiv Gandhi, and an important Central Cabinet Minister from West Bengal, Ghani Khan Chowdhury, started accusing the State Government of neglecting economic development of the region.

In the eyes of the Left Front Government the reactions of the Central Government were politically motivated. The West Bengal Government was resisting the creation of a separate state out of its territory. After a lot of conflict, charges and counter-charges the Union and State Governments cooperated in finding out mutually agreed solution to

Gorkhaland controversy. The solution of the problem emerged as a result of a tripartite agreement providing for the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. In the political circles, the mutual praise by Congress (I) and CPI(M) for each others' positive role in the settlement of the Darjeeling crisis was interpreted as an indication of the softening of the attitude of both the Congress (I) Government at the Centre and the Left Front Government in West Bengal towards each other.

Prabhat Datta, 'The Hill Council Experiment in West Bengal: A Case Study', *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.55, No.1, January-March 1994.

Pravat Datta writes that Gorkha Hill Council works as definite watershed in the history of a state's response to regional demands pulls and pressures. The Hill Council was used by GNLFF leaders as a source of power and patronage and as institutional device for further political gains; for the State Government the Hill Council signaled the end of costly confrontation; and for Union Government the Hill Council was a means of co-opting leaders of GNLFF as counterpoise to Left Front government in West Bengal.

However, the Hill Council ran into difficulties. It became a battle ground between GNLFF and the State Government regarding flow of funds and transfer of functions and government departments. Mr. Subhas Ghising himself termed the Council experiment as redundant, useless and meaningless (in mid 1992). The Hill Council was an administrative modality to accommodate the aspirations of the Hill people of Darjeeling, but it failed to live up to the high expectations of the local population. The writer attributes this failure (here he does not mean that the experiment has been a failure) to the leadership of DGHC, which tried to utilize this body for narrow partisan and personal ends. The writer suggest that improvement can be made by making the leadership serious, committed, responsive, imaginative and not driven by narrow political and personal calculations.

The people of Darjeeling hills must also be alert and aware of the working of the DGHC in a way that accommodates their aspirations.

Sudhir Sharma, "Na Gorkhaland, Na Greater Sikkim" (meaning Neither Gorkhaland nor greater Sikkim), *Himal Khabar Patrika*, Kathmandu Nepal, 2-31 October 2000.

The aim of the writer in this article is to show that neither Gorkhaland nor Greater Sikkim (that is the merger of Darjeeling into Sikkim) is possible. The writer points out that Sikkim and Darjeeling are geographically, historically, politically, ethnically, linguistically bound together. Majority of population of both the places are Nepalese and Nepali language is the lingua franca. Life style, tradition and culture are similar. Darjeeling once belonged to Sikkim, though the political polarization that took place with time led to the division of one place and its common inhabitants into Sikkim(ese) and Darjeeling(ays), people of both the places still maintain their sentimental and emotional bond of belongingness and commonness. There is mutual and reciprocal support in times of need.

To maintain the ethnic and cultural identity of the majority of the population (Nepalese) of these two places and to get pre-eminent place and a share in the economic and political mainstream of the great Indian Nation, the unification of Sikkim and Darjeeling is advocated. Since the possibility of Gorkhaland seems a far cry and since the eminence of Sikkim is declining, the idea of Greater Sikkim has been put forward as a solution or alternative of both the problems. Greater Sikkim is creation of a new and bigger state for all the Nepalese of India by merging Darjeeling with Sikkim.

The proposal of the idea of Greater Sikkim has long been regarded as the most suitable solution of the problem faced by people of Darjeeling and Sikkim which will fulfill their aspirations. People in favor of this proposal feel that Darjeeling has people with intelligence and Sikkim has money power, if these two things can work together there will be a real progress of Darjeeling and Sikkim. Its total area will increase by 10,245 Km. and the population of this proposed state will cross 18 Lakhs. If this can happen then it will be possible for all Indian Nepalese to make their own independent pre-eminence felt in the great economic and political mainstream of Indian Nation. Greater Sikkim will get more attention because there will be an increase in the number of representatives in the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha).

But Sikkim itself does not seem to be in favor of this proposal. Ex-Chief Minister Sanchaman Limboo feels only one small section of people is in favor of Greater Sikkim

which is impossible. A political discussion regarding Greater Sikkim is gathering momentum, but since no political party seems interested it has not been that effective. The present Chief Minister Pawan Chamling says Darjeeling is an area which has been donated and Sikkimese do not intend to ask something back which was already donated. The Sikkimese also fear that if they agree to merge Darjeeling with Sikkim their state might have to lose the special status which they had achieved. Though Sikkim had to sacrifice its Nationhood 25 years ago, they have yet not lost their "Sikkimeseness" since they could get their separate state with a special status. Sikkim was merged with India in 1975 and granted Statehood with special status according to Article 371 (1). Since Sikkim has China (Tibet) on its eastern and northern border and Nepal on its western border, its strategic position and sensitivity seems to be the reason behind its special status accorded by the Indian government along with ample financial aid. Moreover the lifestyle, tradition and culture of the people of Sikkim are more similar to that of Tibet and Nepal than that of India.

Darjeeling has the population twice greater than Sikkim so the Sikkimese are also doubtful about whether it is actually the merging of Darjeeling with Sikkim or other way round of Sikkim being merged with Darjeeling. Though the total area of Sikkim is bigger than Darjeeling its total population is much less than Darjeeling. Hence if there is the creation of Greater Sikkim then there will be an obvious domination of Sikkimese by the people of Darjeeling. In regard to social consciousness, education, intelligence, cleverness, and regarding everything else Darjeeling is much ahead of Sikkim. Darjeeling has experienced democracy for 5 decades while Sikkim achieved democracy 25 years back at the cost of losing their monarchy and sovereignty. Hence they also fear to lose the post of Chief Minister-ship at the hands of Darjeeling people. If the Nepalese of Sikkim who are in the majority have this feeling of fear then the minority community of Bhutia-Lepcha obviously will have reason to protest against the merger.

Leaders from Darjeeling are also not in favor of merging of Darjeeling with Sikkim. They rather dream of their rising fortune in Gorkhaland. The GNLFF does not want, at least at the moment, to abandon its rule which it is enjoying single handedly through Hill Council. Leaders in Darjeeling put forward the view that the Nepalese can

have two different states in India if they can achieve the separate state of Gorkhaland in Darjeeling instead of merging Darjeeling with Sikkim.

According to the proponents of Greater Sikkim the players in Delhi do not wish that the majority of Nepalese in Sikkim and Darjeeling (whom they regard as mercenaries) to achieve two (Nepali) separate states and to have two (Nepali) Chief Ministers. Delhi is not willing to grant separate statehood to Darjeeling. To grant the state of Gorkhaland means inviting various political problems besides encouraging those who are demanding another separate state of Kamtapur to Rajbanshi tribes in Bengal. So for Indian leaders in Delhi to merge Darjeeling with Sikkim is the best solution to the demand of separate state of Gorkhaland. But they would not be finding it appropriate to forcefully impose the merging of Darjeeling with Sikkim until and unless it gets green signal from Sikkim. But such kind of green signal from Sikkim anywhere in the near future does not seem to be possible. So at least for the moment the possibility of both Gorkhaland and Greater Sikkim seems to be a remote possibility.

D.J. Bhaumik, & D.K. Sarkar, "Whither DGHC. Political Fisticuffs and After", *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* Vol.5 Nos.3-4, July-December, 2001.

GNLFF's call for 'Revive Gorkhaland day' and its demand for status of Tribal region under the Sixth Schedule for areas falling under DGHC reflect the rising tempo of political discontent in the hills. The renewed call for statehood silences the critics and adversaries and exerts the State Government for further devolution of powers under DGHC. In the process Darjeeling hills have been empowered but the people still suffer from poverty, illiteracy and disease. The writers suggest that decentralized development through Panchayat would be the solution to the problem of abysmal poverty of rural masses.

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, "Identity, Movements and Peace: The Unquiet Hills in Darjeeling" in Ranabir Samaddar and Helmut Reifeld edited *Peace as Process, Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution in South Asia*, Manohar Publisher, New Delhi, 2001.

In this paper the writer has tried to understand the question of identity in terms of the history of Darjeeling and the evolution of a separate Gorkha/Nepali identity in this area. The essay seeks to explore the development of the identity crises and the ways in which the problem was sought to be solved by the people of Darjeeling.

Starting from 1907 a long constitutional agitation for self-government comprising submission of memoranda, resolutions by the state assemblies and propaganda to achieve the demands – all these resulted in failure. In the eighties Ghising led GNLF made an entirely new point by raising the issue of citizenship and identity of the Indian Gorkhas as separate from that of Nepali Gorkhas. A separate State of Gorkhaland was demanded within the Indian Union and the movement launched by GNLF turned violent. The repression unleashed by the State compounded the situation, leading to more violence and the hills were literally aflame for a few years. Darjeeling witnessed violence like it had not seen before. Three years of militancy and violence achieved what constitutional agitation could not in nearly a century, though at the end of the day Ghising had to be content with nothing more than the old demand of regional autonomy. Continuous efforts to defuse the situation and to find a solution through negotiations among the GNLF and the State and Central governments bore fruit when the DGHC accord was signed. Ghising abandoned his demand for a separate State, though such a demand was periodically renewed, particularly when a conflict arose over the implementation or interpretation of the accord of 1988. He had not totally disclaimed demand for a separate state. For the present at least, the confrontation has ended and brought peace back to Darjeeling. The unquiet hill are quiet again. The aspiration to have a separate administrative framework in Darjeeling may have been met by the DGHC. The Gorkha identity and its association with Darjeeling has been established by the Council. Conversely, such identity can have satisfaction only with the establishment of a new state. For demands of statehood, if conceded in one place, cannot be postponed in other places for all time to come. This peace may conceivably be disturbed again.

Subhas Ranjan Chakrabarty, "Silence under Freedom: The Strange Story of Democracy in the Darjeeling Hills", in *The Politics of Autonomy Indian Experiences*, Edited by Ranabir Samaddar, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 2005.

This chapter takes a close look at the working of the autonomy granted in the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in 1988. It follows the history of the district starting from 1835 when Darjeeling was transferred to the East India Company by the Raja of Sikkim to trace how this event led to the growth of the town and the district in the context of British commercial and strategic interests, the flow of migration into the area, and the evolution of the administrative structure of the district. The developments inevitably encouraged the emergence and articulation of a distinct identity among the peoples of Darjeeling, which in its turn led to demands for a separate and distinct structure for the district. The demands grew more vociferous and took an overtly political turn after 1947. The chapter concludes with the working of the autonomy over the last decade and a half.

Those who believe that the mechanism of autonomy must be given a fair trial want the Act to be redrafted. Autonomy needs to be clearly defined and the powers of the Council established in terms of Constitutional sanction. This includes the power to legislate and to raise internal resources. What is essential is an open and frank debate involving all the parties concerned. The debate and the experience of the earlier decades may lead to a better understanding of what autonomy really means. The Act may be changed, even a possible amendment of the Constitution, considered. But the main point to ponder is, whether the Council, as the embodiment of the autonomy, should be given a fair trial. There is thus an appreciation of what the DGHC has done, but that is outweighed by the critique of what it has not done. The main point of the critics is the lack of a dialogue among the various groups. Extreme views, subtly hinted at rather than articulated, indicate both disappointment and an atmosphere of fear. Such an atmosphere breed distrust in the system, leading to advocacy of more extreme alternatives. What strikes an observer is the silence. People talk privately, but not in public. People are seized of the major problems. But do they also ask the Councillors to address these problems? Have people discussed which problems could be solved by the Council, at least partly, given its limited resources? Which problems require the active cooperation of the state and union governments? What are the obstacles? How have the state and the union governments refused to cooperate, if they have? The debate, as we have noted earlier, is absent. It is this politics of silence that threatens to take the substance out of the autonomy debate.

The Council is seen to be the governing agency in the district with control over most of the departments except, of course, the police. The issues of development are not given the prominence they deserve. All the publications of the Council so far deal with the Gorkhāland movement, but no published record of the development achieved so far is available. There is no record of achievements in the crucial sectors. Lack of information and possibly a certain lack of transparency characterize the working of the Council. With no following up of the constitution of the DGHC, basic civil amenities in Darjeeling deteriorated and the hill areas became chronically underdeveloped.

Niraj Lama, "Mountain autocrat, still", *Himal South Asian* July 2006.

Darjeeling is located so close to the borders of China, Nepal and Bhutan, that policymakers in New Delhi have long wanted to quash any potential trouble – particularly a separatist movement. The view has subsequently become entrenched that this local strongman, Subash Ghisingh, is and needs to remain as a 'safe bet' for New Delhi and Calcutta. Without an amenable Ghising in Darjeeling, officials fear that separatist demands would resurface – and with the potential Chinese 'build up' at the borders, they cannot afford such a thing to happen.

Subash Ghisingh has been the satrap of the Darjeeling hills for two decades. Responsibility for the region's endemic problems sits squarely on his shoulders – and on Delhi and Calcutta powerbrokers that have helped him consolidate. Ghisingh was born into a tea workers' family in 1936. He joined the Indian Army when he was 17, although, for a soldier, he was unusually fond of painting and literature. Not surprisingly, he was discharged after five years. During a prolific writing career that he gave up in 1976, he wrote nearly 21 books, including mediocre novels and poetry. On turning from writing, he is said to have explained that "the kukhri is mightier than the pen".

Ghisingh was not the first to demand self-rule for Darjeeling's hill people. The issue was formally raised with the British government in 1907. Since then, local organizations and political parties would from time to time send deputations to various governments, demanding separation from Bengal. Ghisingh, however, was the first to break the tradition of peacefully submitting memoranda, all of which had been stockpiling in New Delhi's cupboards. The violent movement that he led for 28 months

in the mid 1980s at long last forced Darjeeling into the post-independence national consciousness of India. At the end of the agitation, Ghisingh accepted on behalf of Darjeeling an autonomous politico-administrative body, the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, with himself at its head. As often happens, the liberators became the oppressors, taking advantage of their raised stature among the locals, as well as the government's blind spot towards 'small areas'. The people greeted the formation of the Council with great jubilation, until very quickly they discovered that the autonomy had been given only in spirit, not in practice. Calcutta, from whose clutches Darjeeling yearned to be free, retained tight control. The question that has been asked again and again is, 'Was Ghisingh, at the time of signing, aware that DGHC was essentially a dud? Neither he nor his party, the GNLF, suffering from a military hangover, allow such questions to be raised.

On 6 December 2005, another tripartite agreement between Ghisingh, New Delhi and West Bengal was signed to include DGHC in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The latest tripartite agreement – described as the “full and final settlement” for the Darjeeling hill area – is seen as a major achievement for New Delhi and West Bengal, at a time when the opposition in the hills is once again trying to whip up passion for separate statehood. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that an amenable Ghisingh is indulged by state and national officials. Starting in 1988, when Ghisingh agreed to drop the demand for Gorkhaland, he has been given free rein to run the council. In Ghisingh, you have a populist who has become a wayward autocrat, but the people's frustration with him is no challenge for someone who is protected by the state and the Centre (a man who enjoys the blessings of both Delhi and Calcutta for so long). For Calcutta and New Delhi, as long as Ghisingh keeps the hills subdued, they are satisfied. The writer concludes by asking what price the people pay for this indulgence? For there is no telling what will happen when the illusion breaks.

**(4) Decentralization, Democracy, Development; District Government and
Autonomous District Council**

B.C:Smith, *Decentralization The Territorial Dimension of the State*, George Allen and Unwin (Publishers) Ltd. 40 Museum Street, London, U.K. 1985.

In this book an attempt was made to categorize the political and administrative forces leading to the adoption of decentralized methods of government in contemporary states. Comparison of different principles upon which territorial divisions were made in contemporary states and some additional ways in which areas can be defined according to criteria which were relevant to the functions of government were examined. How intergovernmental relations were to be approached was also the subject of the study. Since finance was crucial to autonomy and increasingly had become the medium through which intergovernmental power was exercised, the financial problems of area governments were presented. The variety of institutions through which area government was carried on and an attempt at categorization was made. The political and administrative roles of field personnel and the different organizational structure in which they were employed were examined. Decentralized institutions were found at all geographical levels. To see what kinds of institutions were involved and whether participation meant the real decentralization of power to neighborhood governments and grass-root organizations were looked into. The role of decentralization in developing countries where so much faith had been placed in it as a foundation for progress was examined. In developing countries the over-centralization of authority and responsibility in ministerial headquarters and capital cities were generally regarded as a formidable obstacle to development.

Katar Singh, *Rural Development Principles, Policies and Management*, Sage Publications. India Pvt Ltd New Delhi 1986.

The book provides an in-depth study of rural development that has taken place in the last few decades. The major focus of the book is about understanding the subject – its theory and practice. The book consists of three parts. Part I deals with meaning, objectives, measures, hypotheses and determinants of rural development. In particular, the pivotal role of man in development is emphasized. Part II concentrates on rural development policies, policy models, policy instruments and selected rural development program followed in India. Part III covers various organizational and managerial aspects

of rural development such as planning, organizing, financing, implementing, monitoring and evaluation. In this way the book covers three important aspects of the subject – principles, policies and management.

Gopal Lal Jain, *Rural Development*, Mangal Deep Publications, Jaipur (India) 1997.

In this book the author opines that in our country there are serious maladies like pervasive corruption, runaway inflation, widespread discontent and maladministration which have badly afflicted our rural development. Dreams and hopes aroused by the coming of political independence on 15 August 1947 have turned out to be nightmares and illusions. The rural public at large have almost lost confidence in the capacity of the system to improve their economic and social status. There is an instant demand for radical changes in the political, social and economical system by which rural people's lives can be improved. In this book an attempt has been made to view the present situation of rural public. This book provides a clear, simple, systematic and detailed study of rural development, its problems, and is a comprehensive treatise on the subject of rural development. The aim of this work is to present to the readers all aspects of Rural Development in one volume with adequate details to make the book one of practical utility.

M.R.Biju, *Politics of Democracy and Decentralisation in India*, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1997.

Kerala's development experiments and experiences are of profound significance which has attracted the attention and admiration throughout the globe. This handy Volume is a collection of twelve papers which deals with heterogenous topics ranging from Panchayati Raj, Municipal Administration, Financial Administration, Electoral Politics and Politics of Development. These papers will help throw light on the transformation of the State polity during the 1990s. Papers are broadly categorized under three major captions – Politics of Democracy, Decentralisation and Development. The focus of attention in the first five chapters is on the inestimable impact of the modern political forces – political parties, interest groups and pressure groups – on Kerala Polity. Special attention is paid to assess and evaluate the electoral process, voting behaviour,

participation of women and weaker sections in its dynamism. Chapters six to eleven depict on the origin, growth and performance of the Civic bodies – both rural and urban – on Kerala. This part is of paramount importance because of the adoption of the 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Acts by the Centre and its ratification by the State. The central theme of discussion in the concluding chapter is to evaluate the various developmental measures carried out by the state for the up-liftment of weaker sections of Kerala.

L.S. Gassah (Edited) *Autonomous District Council*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1997.

Scholars from outside and within the Northeastern region who have closely watched the working, role and functions of these Autonomous District Councils, and some members of these Councils, assembled in a Seminar held at Shillong on 18-19 March 1994 to discuss and examine the various issues pertaining to the Autonomous District Councils.

Scholars took up issues like Genesis of Autonomous District Councils, Powers and Functions of Autonomous District Councils, Autonomy and Development of Autonomous District Councils, Primary Education in Autonomous District Councils, Sixth Schedule and Tribal Development, District Council and Traditional Institutions, Traditional and Emerging Leadership, Critical Appraisal of Autonomous District Councils, State Government-District Council Relationship, Relevance of Sixth Schedule, Amendments of Sixth Schedule in the light of problems faced by Autonomous District Councils, etc.

Some scholars made contribution about Autonomous District Councils in Assam and some made particular study on Karbi Anglong District Council and North Cachar District Council in Assam. A separate study on Bodoland Territorial Council in Assam does not figure here because this Council was signed much later on February 10, 2003 by the Assam Government, the Center and the Chairman of Bodo Liberation Tigers (Mr. Hagrama Basumatary).

Some scholars focused their study on Autonomous District Councils in Meghalaya while others have particularly focused on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District

Councils in Meghalaya. Many scholars have made reference to the sorry state of Primary Education in District Councils of Meghalaya which became a total failure not only due to mismanagement but also due to paucity of funds, as a result the Primary Education had to be taken over and placed under the control of the State Government of Meghalaya.

Two scholars have written about Autonomous District Councils in Manipur although District Councils in Manipur do not come under the jurisdiction of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Two articles were based on the Mara Autonomous District Council in Mizoram and an article was devoted to the study of District Councils in Mizoram and another was written on the working of the Autonomous District Councils in Tripura.

In this book various scholars have put forward criticisms against the working and effective functioning of Autonomous District Councils which taken together are as follows:

- Lack of financial independence of Autonomous District Councils as they have to depend on State Governments for financial allocations/assistance and Central grants-in-aid that greatly reduces and restricts their performances.
- Failure of Autonomous District Councils to receive funds from the state in time.
- Undesirable practices adopted by Autonomous District Councils to raise funds.
- At the time of preparation of budget the District Councils not consulted by their respective State Governments.
- Financial irregularities committed by the District Councils, like mismanagement of public money and misuse of funds.
- No cordial and coordinate relationship between the State Government and District Councils.
- Autonomous District Councils voice grievances against the state governments in matters of provision of grants, according of approval of the legislative proposals, nomination of members, super-session of Autonomous District Councils etc.
- Governor exercises powers over Autonomous District Councils when he suspends any act/resolution of District Council which endangers the safety of the country, when he assumes all or some functions/powers of the Council, when he dissolves the Council on the recommendation of the inquiry commission.

- The District Council Courts lack legal experts or trained judicial officers who can carry on the trial of cases and disputes efficiently and expeditiously.
- Nepotism, favoritism and political patronage rampant in the recruitment in District Councils.
- Dual authority leads to confusion and administrative complexities.
- Deputy Commissioner wields considerable power inspite of the rhetoric of autonomy.
- Autonomy of Autonomous District Councils hedged in every possible way – they have extremely limited power of self-government. Compared to the Panchayati bodies Autonomous District Councils have few development and welfare functions and that of lower order.
- Infighting among the members of various political parties, member's failure to perform their roles, lack of leadership.
- Autonomous District Councils failure to deliver the goods. Political strings and pulls have governed the entire goal of real development. Power feuds have been the order of the day.
- Autonomous District Councils serve the pleasure and the interest of over ambitious politicians. As a result the masses become discontent. The benefits of the Sixth Schedule are enjoyed mainly by the neo-middle rich class (like traders, contractors, bureaucrats, educated etc) and the weaker section of the tribes are bereft of the benefits.
- Minority representation frequently abused for narrow party gains. Autonomous District Councils accused of insensitivity to social and cultural aspirations of the minorities.
- Rise of inter-tribal conflict.
- After the creation of full-fledged states the relevance of District Councils questioned.

To these limitations mentioned above the remedies suggested were as follows:

- State government and Autonomous District Councils to work hand in hand.
- Autonomous District Councils to be financially independent (they are to have direct funding and more autonomy).
- Annual plans and five-year plan prepared by district councils.
- More autonomy to levy and collect taxes and impose royalties on minerals, gas and petroleum.

- Autonomous District Councils raise their own armed police force comprising of local people to be able to deal effectively with the problem of insurgency.
- Autonomous District Councils be given the power to manage all kinds of forests. Motivate people living in these areas to participate in preserving the forest.
- Improve education among tribal population.
- Better Health care facilities for the tribals.
- Proper coordination and cooperation between State Government and District Councils.
- Nomination to District Council to be specific and small.
- Merging of the office of the Chairman and Chief Executive Member of District Council.
- Training the Members of District Council for their constitutional role.
- Chiefs and Headmen to play effective role in District Council.
- Central Government to examine the working of Schemes.
- Synthesize Sixth Schedule with 1992 Act (features of 1992 Act such as increased resource base, higher level of functions, greater security of tenure to be incorporated in Sixth Schedule)
- Benefits of Sixth Schedule to flow to the poor masses.

As one author concludes – what we need today is a detailed study, proper impartial assessment and serious review of the whole system so that the aims, purposes and objects of the District Council can be meaningful, and serve the interest and aspiration of the people so that the people may be able to look up with confidence and pride to the District Council, as real guardian of their customary laws, tribal institutions and cultural heritage.

Dr. C. Ashokvardhan (Edited), *Socio Economic Profile of Rural India*, Volume Two, North-East India, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2004.

This book is based on the village study reports of IAS trainees whose training is to sensitize them towards the plight of rural people and to equip them with an in-depth understanding of rural issues. This volume (III) on North-East India covers the states of Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland. The different areas in the region are endowed with natural resources like oil and gas, coal, silmanite, limestone, bamboo, good quality timber, hydro-power potential etc., the level of exploitation of these resources is

commonly very low. The North-East represents a highly rural society. More than 90 per cent of the population lives in villages and more than 80 per cent of the working force and population derives its living mainly from agriculture and allied activities, like animal husbandry, forestry and fishing. This book presents a socio-economic structure responding to change and to improvement. What is evident is a slow but steady transformation from a primitive and limping to a vibrant economy.

Arun Ghosh, "Decentralisation and District Government", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XXIV No. 4, January 28, 1989.

The author talks of the time when the then Congress prime minister (late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi) proposed to introduce a constitutional amendment delegating more powers and authority to the district level and possibly even further down. This announcement of the prime minister, the author says is of great import which has not attracted the attention it deserves. Hence the author emphasizes the need for a public debate on this issue. He warns that the ruling party (with more than two-thirds majority in both houses of parliament) should not ram through a constitutional amendment without a widespread debate on the diverse issue that arises. Although the prime minister's announcement regarding devolution of authority to district level and below is welcome, what may not be so welcome would be the hasty introduction of the required Constitutional amendment bill in parliament.

The author also does not want the government to repeat the mistake that the Constitution makers made in the late 40s. The present distribution of powers between the center and the states is highly irrational and tilted heavily in favor of the center. From historical perspective, the problem of excessive centralization in the country goes back to the fear in the minds of Constitution framers in the late forties that the political unity and integrity of India can be maintained only through unitary government. In 1947 the erstwhile sub-continent had just been partitioned into India and Pakistan, many of the princely states wanted independent statehood, the country had witnessed carnal massacre on an unprecedented scale along with massive transfer of population across the borders. At that time it was understandable that Constitution framers had voted for a strong center.

India accordingly became a Union of states and the Constitution accordingly gave overwhelming powers and authority to the center.

The history of the country indicates how the fears of constitution makers were exaggerated into making a cardinal error in regard to the governance of this country. Exponents of decentralization maintain that a remote central administration would be unable to deal effectively with the problem of poverty and backwardness in far-flung areas. The long and troubled history of Nagaland and Mizoram, the upsurge of feeling against central domination in all the southern states, the troubled history of Punjab, the unrest in Darjeeling and Jharkhand are manifestation of the deep desire of the multi-lingual, multi-cultural people of this country, of its ethnic minorities to retain their cultural heritage, to develop as equal partners within a growing and vibrant economy, the different people of this country are anxious to maintain their cultural identity even as they are drawn into the mainstream of the Indian development process. The objective is to allow the different socio-cultural groups in India to plan for their own welfare and growth in line with their cultural traditions, background, aptitudes, resources and aspirations, within the overall framework of a federal Indian polity.

Constitutional amendment in favor of decentralization must bear in mind two aspects. First, responsibility, power and control over finance must go hand in hand for power flows to where money is, and a constitutional amendment to confer certain functions and responsibilities to district and below must be accompanied by financial devolution enshrined in the constitution. Secondly, decentralization of powers, functions and finances must flow logically from the center to the state to begin with, and then flow down from the states to the districts and below in a truly federal spirit and style. Decentralization of authority should occur all the way down the hierarchy. Fundamental issues such as these need debate and discussion by all interested people and legislation on such matters should not be rushed. Manner, extent and content of the proposed decentralization should be put out in the form of a White Paper, so the proposals can be widely discussed before any legislation is drafted.

The message the author gives in this article that proposals be publicly discussed before drafting legislation could not be applied to DGHC Act of 1988 (at the time of the formation of DGHC) due to the existing political situation in Darjeeling at that time. The

Gorkhaland Agitation' required a speedy solution so there was no scope for public discussion before framing of the DGHC Act. But in 2005 when the demand for Sixth Schedule for DGHC areas had been put forward, it would have been desirable and beneficial to discuss and debate various issues among interested people before accepting the final version. But the second time too the public discussion on an important legislation was not done. Then in 2007 a seminar, series of discussions, along with writings in newspapers on the proposed new Council under Sixth Schedule was done in Darjeeling. But whether people's debate on the legislation of proposed Council will make any impact remains to be seen.

Nirmal Mukarji, "Decentralisation Below the State Level, Need for a New System of Government", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XXIV No.9, March 4, 1989.

In this article the author informs the readers that the Constitution makers provided for elected governments at the center and in the states. The union and state governments were accorded constitutional recognition and a federal relationship between the two came into existence. Strangely the inherited 'district officer' system was left untouched in the district.

British India had a unitary form of government where there was high degree of centralization. Independence did not bring about a revolutionary change in the system of governance. Having witnessed the partition of the country, a fearful constituent assembly opted for a strong center which gave over-riding powers to the union. The union began doing much of the state's work and the states in turn did the same in respect of the districts. In this way, centralization at the national level reinforced centralization in the states. Paradoxically, India's federal democracy became more centralized than British India's unitary bureaucracy.

However, decades of experience yielded the lesson that centralized governance and central planning has not worked particularly well so there is necessity to reverse the tilt away from centralization towards more decentralized governance including decentralized planning. Decentralization must go all the way down, stage by stage, from Union to the states and from states to sub-state levels. For decentralization below the

state level, there is need for a new system of governance. Democratic decentralisation as an idea has gained wide acceptance but the effective implementation of the idea requires major changes in the system of governance. Here the author suggests district government.

As people have become politically conscious, are aware that they count, and have demanded a say in running of their own affairs as well as for greater participation, the author feels the time is ripe to consider letting the people run their own affairs through elected district governments. District governments are to be the third tier of democratic governments to replace bureaucratic district officer rule and a new scheme of relations between union, states and districts. Decentralization must take the democratic route of political devolution to district governments. But the author warns that such governments are not to go the way of Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) which according to the author were unable to deliver success (genuine development).

The characteristics of District Government (which PRIs lacked for which they failed) put forward by the author are as follows:-

Must be recognized as political entities with political parties contesting elections; must look after the totality of district governance, with district bureaucracy coming squarely under them; must not be left to the mercies of state government and super-sessions to be barred; must be nested in the federal idea forming a third tier of the polity; must have a new financial regime as between the union, states and the districts; must have a new planning regime.

For decentralization below the state level to be a success the author suggests setting up of a District Government, but it remains to be seen how practically viable District Government will be in reality as a third tier of Indian federal polity.

Nirmal Mukherji, "The Third Stratum", *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. XXVIII No. 18, May 1, 1993.

As the title suggests the author in this article focuses on the 'Third Stratum' of government. The Constitution 73rd Amendment Act has constitutionalised panchayats as a third stratum of government at and below the district level. Hitherto the country had lived with a two-layered government system, the union and the states. The amended

Constitution requires the states to constitute panchayats as institutions of self-government. Consequently there will be three strata of government: the union, the states and the panchayats.

The fundamental question before the panchayats everywhere in the country has been whether they are there for development functions only or for the wider purpose of self-government. Article 40 of the Constitution visualizes self-government for village panchayats. The relatively limited notion of development came in with the Balwantray Mehta Report, 1957, which recommended democratic decentralization to a three-tier panchayat structure, but this would handle development work only restricting the functions of panchayats to less than self-government.

E.M.S Namboodiripad set the goal as follows: "What is required is that, while certain definite fields of administration like defence, foreign affairs, currency, communication etc, should rest with the center, all the rest should be transferred to the states and from there to the district and lower levels of elected administrative bodies". This was clearly a plea for going beyond development to self-government although the expression was not used.

So panchayats are to be (1) Constitutional bodies and (2) institutions of self-government. The author opines that the central objective of the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act must be seen as self-government, unabridged by the quite unnecessary references to economic development and social justice and the wholly avoidable Eleventh Schedule. The 74th Amendment for municipalities had added further confusion. These legislations divide the governing space below the state level into two parts, rural and urban so the idea of a single third stratum becomes difficult to grasp. The 74th Amendment seems to be a hasty afterthought – almost a carbon copy of the 73rd Amendment. It constitutionalizes an artificial dichotomy between rural and urban when all previous thinking has stressed the continuum between the two.

As far back as 1963 a Rural-Urban Relationship Committee observed that urbanization should be considered as a "continuous process of transition from rural to urban", that "a whole area should be treated as one unit for administrative purposes". Ashoke Mehta Report remarked that the "evolution from rural to urban way of life is a continuous process with sequences from a tiny hamlet to a sizeable city". Instead of an

urban-rural dichotomy it saw a rural-urban continuum which called for linking up the rural areas with the urban focal points. There is growing evidence of the transition from rural to urban in the shape of a large number of urbanized villages. With the growth of agriculture and increasing prosperity in the countryside more such centers are likely to come up as focal points of business, trade, marketing and servicing. The panchayats ('rural only' origin) must squarely shoulder this rapidly growing urban reality in their respective rural areas.

Eventually the two amendments will need to be amalgamated to provide for integrated self-government for the continuum. Each state must seriously think of integrative legislation to merge existing panchayat and municipal laws in order to build a coherent third stratum. A third stratum of self-government is the structural invention that is needed.

A point which the author has already repeated in some of his articles is that the union must first decentralize to the state so that they in turn may have enough to decentralize to lower formations. In the federal scheme, the union and the states were to share the burden of governing the country. But the states have been too enfeebled and reduced to begging the union for finances and battalions. The fear of dismissal under Article 356 haunts them and they have been rendered less than partners in the government of the country. Indian state should abandon the distortion of over-centralization which made a mockery of intentions of founding fathers and brought the polity and economy to the brink of disaster. In the changed circumstances the earlier principle of a 'federation with a strong centre' needs to give way to a 'federation with a strong center and strong states'. Only then will it be reasonable to expect the states to part with enough power to make the third stratum truly self-governing.

The literal meaning of self-government is autonomy or government without outside interference. But obviously the panchayat cannot enjoy full autonomy, set as they are within individual states. Nor can the states, placed as they are within Indian union. Thus self-government at a particular level means such partial autonomy as is appropriate for that level. The idea of autonomy suggests that the basis for appropriateness should be entitlement from below rather than endowment from above. Consequently, village panchayats (intermediate level and district level panchayats) should be entitled, by law, to

do what they can best do at their level. The panchayats should determine their entitlement rather than leaving the question entirely to the state (similarly states instead of parliament should decide their entitlement to autonomy). Modalities can be worked out.

Towards the end of the article the author talks of West Bengal's panchayats which he says are by far the most developed in the country. The reasons for the success of West Bengal panchayats he cites are as follows:- (i) They have endured long enough to be treated as essential components of the state system of governance, (ii) The concentration of land in a few hands have been broken due to land reform measures as a result the panchayat in West Bengal instead of empowering the already powerful placed power in the hands of middle category of society. The dedicated work of this group is responsible for the success of panchayats. (iii) They have served as nurseries for new entrants which created experienced leaders and an impressive upward mobility is seen. Many panchayat functionaries on the basis of their performance, moved upto higher levels. (iv) The most significant aspect is the vigor with which panchayat elections are fought which show the acceptance of panchayats by the people.

However, other states may not find themselves as happily situated. Some have virtually no panchayats; many have ineffectual apolitical panchayats; a few had experienced with political panchayats. But all are now required to move on to self-governing panchayats. The author concludes that it will be interesting to see how far they succeed in bringing a third stratum of government into existence.

Poromesh Acharya, "Panchayats and Left Politics in West Bengal", *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol XXVIII. No.22 May 29, 1993.

In this article P. Acharya shows that despite the apparent 'success' of panchayati raj in West Bengal under Left Front rule, the overall domination of the privileged classes over the rural power structure remains unchallenged. In the working of DGHC in Darjeeling too the benefits have gone more to the local elites than to the ordinary people.

K.P.Kannan, "Local Self Government and Decentralised Development", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol XXVIII, No.45, December 4, 1993.

In the seminar on Panchayat Raj at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvanthapuram, the focus was on the framework for local bodies as laid down in the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution and the lines of follow-up action required to be initiated at the level of the states for the local bodies to come into existence within the stipulated one year and start functioning as effective units of self-government as well as for local level development and planning.

Impediments to the successful implementation of Panchayat Raj were pointed out as follows:- (i) The structure of the bureaucracy characterized by vertical hierarchy and its lack of genuine commitment to the cause of devolution of powers. (ii) Profound reluctance on the part of the ministers, MPs and MLAs to part with powers they enjoy. (iii) The sectarian interests and views of political parties. (iv) A combination of bureaucracy and political leadership that threatened the success of decentralization. (v) Inadequate devolution of financial resources. (vi) Lack of effective and politically competent local leadership which was a prerequisite for successful local level planning. (vii) The people were yet to show enough enthusiasm with respect to attaining more political power in their hands.

The seminar viewed positively the question of election of the presidents of village panchayats (as well as the election of Presidents at intermediate and district levels) and the issues of reservation of scheduled castes and tribes (in proportion to their population) and for women (a minimum of one-third of total seats). However, the seminar was skeptical about the provision allowing the states discretion to introduce reservation for other backward groups, and ex-officio representation of MPs and MLAs in the Panchayati Raj institutions.

For the functioning of local bodies and the decentralization process to be a success two requirements were needed (i) Distribution of powers and functions and (ii) Restructuring bureaucracy.

(i) Distribution of powers. It was generally agreed that the devolution of functions and powers was the most critical part of the devolution process. What functions, responsibilities and powers a state government decides to devolve to the local bodies will determine the extent of decentralisation. The seminar was of the view that Panchayat Raj should encompass the entire field of administration rather than those relating to

development only. Civic functions should form part of the functions of local governments if they are to imbibe the spirit of 'self-government'.

Devolution of financial powers and resources was to be in tandem with development of functions and responsibilities. The mandatory setting up of a State Finance Commission was welcomed. When deficit occur at local level governments the local bodies should have the power to borrow subject to a limit, from the state government as well as financial institutions. Devolution of financial powers should go along with financial responsibility. Decentralized planning has to go along with not only devolution of adequate financial powers but also the necessary support system. The case for transferring certain taxing powers to local bodies was considered strong. After some time the state government would need to put with a portion of their own revenues from the center to enable the local bodies to perform their role effectively.

(ii) Restructuring bureaucracy. There was overt and covert resistance to devolution of powers and functions from politicians and bureaucrats. The existing hierarchical and vertical organization of government departments was seen as a major impediment in devolving powers and functions. Thus the bureaucratic system needs a thorough going reorganization or restructuring. This is not impossible if the political parties so desire.

Restructuring bureaucracy will facilitate effective decentralization of functions and administration. This was not easy given the constitutional constraints and the possible resistance from all layers of administration. Ultimately the local bodies would have to be given powers to recruit, employ and manage their personnel without depending on other agencies. The principle of 'localism' at the grass roots level should be incorporated in a positive way. This could ensure greater local level participation and act as catalyst in opening up avenues for women's participation. There was also a general consensus about the need to cut down the size of both central and state bureaucracies.

With regard to the vesting of executive powers there were some differences of opinion as some participants argued for the elected representatives to have executive power while others argued for executive powers to be vested with the bureaucracy and the elected representatives function as their political bosses. People's vigilance would be crucial for the proper functioning of local bodies.

M Naga Raju, "Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India Concept, Practice and Future", *The Administrator* Vol. 45 No.2, December 2002.

The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India is a framework of autonomy to provide for protection of the identity of indigenous tribes and to prevent possible exploitation of the tribals by more advanced social groups in the tribal areas. This is an ingenious and innovative methodology, devised by the constitutional makers, to ensure equal opportunities to the tribes and to recognize their wisdom to develop and govern on their own. The problem today is to work out a synthesis to reconcile exclusivity with change so as to ensure indigenous groups' distinct identity, culture and values in consonance with post modernity and its pervasiveness.

A shortcoming of many Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) in the country is with regards to financial and functional empowerment and working relationships with respective state governments. Many of the ADCs complain that they are starved of funds deliberately, State governments do not cooperate in financial matters and that ADCs have more responsibility without commensurate funds or authority. As a true autonomous body, ADCs should widen their own resource base and examine the means to raise resources to meet their obligations. Too much dependence on external authorities to fund the administration and the plans will take away much of their shine and also make them complacent and less accountable.

The perception of many state governments is that many ADCs flagrantly misuse the constitutional norms and feel shy of their responsibilities. They have created an institution overburdened with establishment expenditure, hazy administrative norms and diffused system of responsibility. They also perceive these bodies as political competitors to patronages of offices and goods.

There is a need to redefine the structural arrangements with adequate devolution of power and accountability to make the councils more relevant, representative and responsible. But till that is in place, the autonomous councils should work within the framework of the constitution (and principles of governance) to protect the identity, culture, language, and customs of indigenous tribes and to accelerate development in

tribal areas in order to fulfill basic entitlements of every citizen of the autonomous district councils.

M. Yasin, Srinanda Dasgupta, P.K. Sengupta, 'Decentralised Governance, Development and Empowerment: In Search of a Theoretical Framework' *Regional Studies*, Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, Vol.XXII, No.1, Winter 2003-'04.

The contemporary development discourse has been logically inter-wined with what is popularly known as governance, decentralization, development and empowerment. There seems to be a common thread in the functional operational operation chain of these four concepts. The rationale that is provided is that governance in order to be effective needs to be decentralized so that the governing structures and the processes associate common people in the governing process. If the governing process is decentralized it will lead to what is called development – an attribute that touches the quality of the life of the common people in a sustained manner. And finally, if development is achieved and sustained, empowerment takes place – a state of evolution where individuals will be free to exercise their own choices on matters affecting them. Indeed, this is the mainstream theoretical framework that is being sponsored and backed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This theoretical framework serve international capitalism by seeking to shrink the state and state-centric administered development and strengthen the civil society, but more specifically, market-friendly, NGO-friendly and MNC –friendly capitalist development respectively.

There have been innumerable challenges and scathing criticisms of the implications of the liberal framework of development with all its distortions and perversions under the garb of 'human development' or 'social development' that are being intensified with the dawn of globalization. The theoretical framework that tends to be accepted and is made to be tried is that decentralized governance leads to development and, in turn, empowerment including empowerment of women. But in the changed politico-economic world, the developing countries are destined to lack the necessary amount of discretion and hence are not 'empowered' to defy the hegemonic theoretical framework. Thus, the contemporary world order that has emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union determines the mode of governance, development and empowerment in

the periphery to suit the interests of transnational capitalism that rests on the philosophy and practice of concentration vs. erosion – concentration in the developed capitalist world at the cost of erosion in the developing countries. In the absence of any real challenge to the hegemonic westernism implying neo-capitalism with a popular face, with the support of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and hence a real emancipatory alternative development, it necessarily implies growth minus justice. This cannot be proper development. ‘Empowerment’ is the new mask for hiding the ugly face of exploitative order as if the system works for the un-empowered. The strengthening of the so-called civil society by ensuring peoples’ participation is simply a conspiratorial design to integrate the society and the people with the monstrous transnational capitalism, and hence to legitimize the unfettered operations of the latter, with the ‘cooperation’ of the civil society. Thus, ‘decentralized governance’ cannot and does not imply decentralization and devolution in substance nor good and effective governance but crises in governance. This ‘decentralized governance’ is bound to generate growth without justice, thus no development and no empowerment too. And since patriarchy is the handmaid of capitalism, gender disparity is bound to be nourished thus resulting in no substantial empowerment of women. Hence, one is constrained to revise the theoretical framework in line with the hegemonic Western ideology that under the present politico-economic order, decentralized governance does not ensure development nor can contribute to empowerment in substance including empowerment of women.

Mohit Bhattacharya, “Decentralization: Trends and Debates”, *Administrative Change A Journal on Political Administrative Development*, Vol. XXXI No. 2 and Vol. XXXII No.1 January December 2004.

It may not be an exaggeration to say that ours is an age of decentralization. Academics, administrators and planners are virtually unanimous that decentralization takes the heavy load of governance off the shoulder of the central government, brings ‘government’ to the door-step of the people, and empowers them and makes them active participants in their own local area governance, and in the process deepens democracy.

Decentralization is defined as a process of transferring power to popularly elected local governments. Transferring power means providing local governments with greater

political authority, increased financial resources, and/or more administrative responsibilities. The contemporary 'decentralization movement' is in a sense a 'democracy movement'. After decades of development, it has now been dawning on the policy makers that 'development', to be meaningful and authentic, has to be people-centric and people-driven, mobilizing people's power and knowledge and synergizing different kinds of local efforts of local government, NGOs CBOs and other local formal and non-formal organized entities.

A major turning point in development thinking was toward 'people-centric', 'participative', 'local resource-based', decentralized' development which would spring from people's authentic life-experience, and be eco-friendly and sustainable. Four streams of thought support this 'alternative development' idea (repositioning 'development' on the Decentralization principle): (i) a reversal in development thinking to 'put the last first', looking at development from the eyes of the people – what they perceive as their development and how (local knowledge and skill-wise) they would like to achieve it (ii) people's movements in different sites (eg. Chipko, Narmada Bachao etc) *confronting and challenging centralist, state-led development projects and exposing their real nature as 'destruction' rather than 'development' serving narrow class interest (interests of the elite and the urban sector rather than those of the rural masses), and oblivious of environment including the life and living environment of the indigenous population* lent international support to people's knowledge-based sustainable local development (iii) Human Development Discourse in development redefining development in terms of 'human development' and enlargement of people's choices, and 'freedom' (iv) Post-Developmentalist thinking question the original Western Powers hegemonic motivation behind coining the word 'development', and demanding its rejection altogether and substitution by a locally tradition-based, home-grown and sustainable change. All the four streams contain a built-in Decentralization principle, as they conceive a bottom-up, people-centric development. Interestingly, 'civil society' emerges in this kind of conceptualization as a strong, collective problem-solving co-partner alongside formal government, interrogating the latter's role and supplementing conventional 'public' administration.

Chanchal Kumar Sharma, "Decentralization Dilemma: Measuring the Degree and Evaluating the Outcomes", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. LXVII, No.1, January-March, 2006.

Though decentralization for past one and half decades or so has become the most favored policy priority among the policy makers yet the countries around the world differ dramatically in the degree of decentralization that is accommodated. While diversity in degree of decentralization across the world is a fact yet there is no consensus in the empirical literature over the questions like 'which country is more decentralized?' This is because decentralization is defined and measured differently in different studies. In fact, a true assessment of the degree of decentralization in a country can be made only if a comprehensive approach is adopted and rather than trying to simplify the syndrome of characteristics into the single dimension of autonomy, interrelationships of various dimensions of decentralization are taken into account. Thus it is to be realized that there is no simple one dimensional, quantifiable index of degree of decentralization in a given country. As there is wide diversity in the studies on degree of decentralization so is the case with the literature on outcome of it. Outcome varies not only because decentralization can appear in various forms and combinations across countries but also because different instruments may have very different effects in different circumstances. Thus arriving at the precise definition of decentralization and associating it with particular outcomes is neither possible nor desirable for the simple reason that generalization of any kind can create pitfalls that can obscure rather than clarify the facts. What is more important is the need for a strictly contextual yet comprehensive approach while going beyond the blunt measures like expenditure decentralization and taking politics and institutional arrangements of the specific case under investigation also into account. It is shown that the positive gains that are conventionally attached to decentralization (efficiency, transparency, accountability) are not always directly proportional to the degree of it (i.e. with more decentralization more benefits do not always come). Rather sometimes negative outcomes are associated with decentralization. In other words it tears apart the myth of decentralization as a universal remedy for ills of governance and shows that it does have potential disadvantages (under certain

conditions) and a clear cut value judgment of decentralization per se can not possibly be made.

Significance of the Study

A wide range of studies have been made on (1) District Administration in India; the (2) The role as well as the change in the role of the District (Officer) Magistrate/ Bureaucracy in India; (3) Regulatory and Developmental functions in the district; (4) Panchayat Raj System (with reference to 73rd Amendment Act 1992) in India; (5) Gorkhaland Agitation/ Movement of the 1980's in the Darjeeling hills. Many case studies have been based on DGHC and a few scholars have concentrated on the study of 'District Government'.

However, on the present day District Administration in Darjeeling (information on it being mainly in Government Gazettes and Reports); and the relationship between District Administration and DGHC, the studies made are extremely limited.

So this thesis endeavors to study the district administration in Darjeeling and establish a relationship with the DGHC in the context of decentralization, democracy and development.

Methodology

The present study has followed the Historical Method in order to unearth the history of the district administration in Darjeeling and the DGHC. Besides, the Empirical Method (including document analysis method) has also been adopted to make an evaluation of the study covering (i) the powers and functions of District Administration and DGHC, and (ii) the Rural and Urban Development Programs and their beneficiaries, within the year 1999 to 2006. The year 1999 to 2006 was selected for study because it was the third term of DGHC in Office as an elected body. It went on to become its last term in Office as well, for from 2005 onwards elections to DGHC was stalled. This evaluation of the study has reflected the jurisdiction of work between District Administration and DGHC and the frictions of everyday working between them. A study was also conducted to obtain the views of the elites of Darjeeling hills on the

performance of District Administration and DGHC and the relationship between them. For these purposes the methodology that has been adopted runs thus:-

1. The Government Reports, Records, Guidelines, Committee Reports and such other relevant documents have been studied.
2. An exhaustive interview was undertaken on the basis of Schedule prepared in the light of the previously mentioned dimensions of study. Open ended questions were used in the Schedule. Within the scope of interview the BPL (Below Poverty Line) beneficiaries for whom the district administration and the DGHC have been working were interviewed. The selection of the samples for the purpose was random in nature. Out of 112 Gram Panchayats (GPs) of the 3 sub-divisions of Darjeeling, 6 GPs were selected for study taking 2 from each sub-division. The selection of the GPs was purposive in nature keeping in mind the relative level of development. A sample of beneficiaries were randomly selected from these 6 GPs for interview to find out whether development work under various development programs/development schemes were being done/implemented at the grassroots level? Whether the beneficiaries were aware of the development work being done/implemented under various development programs/schemes in their areas? Whether the benefits were reaching the beneficiaries or not? Whether the beneficiaries were satisfied with these development works done under various development programs/development schemes? What difficulties the beneficiaries faced while enjoying the development programs/development schemes? Whether the beneficiaries had suggestions for improvement of these development works/development programs/development schemes?
3. On the basis of another interview Schedule (where open ended questions along with closed ended questions with multiple choices were used) the political leaders, administrators of District Administration and DGHC, professionals and people representing different Associations and Organizations were covered. These people were interviewed, within the year 2003 to 2006, to obtain their views on these matters:- limitation of the powers of DGHC; performance of DGHC; whether DGHC was successful in bringing about development in Darjeeling hills; measures that could have made DGHC successful; relationship between District Administration and DGHC; whether District Administration was successful in maintaining law and order. Since government

institutions/agencies/organizations cannot work in a vacuum, the people who are associated with them in one way or the other were interviewed in order to understand the working of District Administration and DGHC and the relationship that was there between them.

4. The data obtained were edited, compiled, categorized, processed and analyzed in accordance with the objectives of the study. The analysis of data was both manual and computerized with relevant software.

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- ⁴⁵ Haridwar Rai [in 'The Changing Role of the District Officer (1860-1960)', *District Administration*, *Indian Institute of Public Administration*, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 21-23] writes:- Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the ICS were to work in the context of a new power-structure which had come into existence with the implementation of the reforms in the form of "a Legislative Council in which the majority of the members were elected". The new power affected district administration in various ways.
- The influence of the new Legislative Council accentuated the tendency to make departmental activities independent of district officer, especially in the transferred departments, such as education, excise, agriculture, co-operative credit and industries. Under the old set-up, the advice of the district officer was sought on questions of policy, and reliance was placed on the advice he gave. Under the new system, although the district officer was still consulted, the views of the Legislative Council and local politicians came to carry more weight than before, and the decisions on both questions of policy and matters of local importance came to be governed by considerations of political expediency. The result was a contraction of the influence of the district officer both in relation to Government and in local affairs and a reduction of the scope of his initiative. The district officer was left ordinarily with the duties of enforcing law and order

through his control of the magistracy and police, and of collecting the land revenue and other public demands. His duties were "of maintaining the fabric of Government and securing a good part of the revenue needed for such maintenance as well as for the benevolent activities of Government in which he has no longer much share".

A basic change that came about in the position of the district officer as a result of the reforms was a change in respect of his relation with local bodies. His function vis-à-vis the local bodies, became limited to the right to intervene, to prevent action calculated to lead to a breach of the peace or to grave injustice to sections of the population, and to the duty of inspecting the local bodies and reporting his views to the ministry. It was an extension of the principle of diarchy into the districts.

The report of the Government of Bihar and Orissa on the Working of the Reformed Constitution (1923-26) is representative of the views of a critical and hostile section of the members of the ICS. It says, "The position of the district officer has definitely changed for the worse... the new system has inevitably diminished his efficiency". The ICS disliked the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and looked upon the Act of 1919 "as a fatuous, foolish and premature measure which was doomed to failure". The working of the reforms, however, did not affect the dual capacity of the district officer and he still remained "the principal executive agent of government, the one man who can get things done, whether it be the repression on the outbreak of disorder...or...the initiative of a child welfare movement". He had still very great prestige among the inhabitants of the district. He was the embodiment of government to most of them.

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