

## Chapter IV

### A Comparative Analysis of resemblances and differences of Gorkhaland and Telangana Movements

Before going to the comparative analysis of the movements a brief history of Darjeeling and Telangana with Chronology of the movement for Gorkhaland State and Telangana State is outlined. The major landmark in the time-line of the demand for Gorkhaland and Telangana are as follows :

#### 4.1 The Gorkhaland Movement:

1. 1907 – Joint petition of the Hill people(Nepali, Bhutias and Lepchas).
2. 1917 – Petition of the Hillmen’s Association to Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for India demanding a separate administrative set-up.
3. In 1929, the Hillmen's Association again raised the same demand before the Simon Commission .
4. In 1947, the undivided Communist Party of India (CPI) submitted a memorandum to the Constituent Assembly with copies to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Vice President of the Interim Government, and Liaquat Ali Khan Finance Minister of the Interim Government, demanding the formation of *Gorkhasthan* comprising Darjeeling District, Sikkim and Nepal<sup>74</sup>.
5. In Independent India, the Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League (ABGL) was the first political party from the region to demand greater identity for the Gorkha(Nepali) ethnic group and economic freedom for the community, when in 1952, under the presidency of N.B. Gurung, the party met Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime

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<sup>74</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gorkhaland> accessed on 22.12.2014

- Minister of India in Kalimpong and submitted a memorandum demanding the separation from Bengal<sup>75</sup>.
6. In 1980, under the presidency of Indra Bahadur Rai, the Pranta Parishad of Darjeeling wrote to the then Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi with the need to form a new state in Darjeeling.
  7. 1986 – 1200 people killed in the mass movement for Gorkhaland.
  8. 1996 – Resolution passed for creation of Gorkhaland in an emergent meeting of Council of DGHC on 5th November at Durbar Hall, Lal Kothi, Darjeeling.
  9. 2007 – Second mass movement by the GJM for Gorkhaland.
  10. 2011 – Sikkim Legislative Assembly passes a resolution in favour of the demand<sup>76</sup>.
  11. In 2011, GJM signed an agreement with the state and central governments for the formation of Gorkhaland Territorial Administration, a semiautonomous body that replaced the DGHC in the Darjeeling hills.
  12. In the elections of the GTA held on 29 July 2012, GJM candidates won from 17 constituencies and the rest 28 seats unopposed<sup>77</sup>.
  13. On 30 July 2013, Gurung resigned from the GTA citing both interference from the West Bengal government and the renewed agitation for Gorkhaland<sup>78</sup>.
  14. Gorkhaland demand still exists.

Following is a brief history of Andhra Pradesh and chronology of the movement for

#### **4.2 The Telangana Movement:**

1. The region, now being called Telangana, was part of the erstwhile Hyderabad state which was merged into the Indian Union on September 17, 1948.
2. Central government appointed a civil servant, M K Vellodi, as the first Chief Minister of Hyderabad state on 26 January 1950.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid

<sup>76</sup> <http://darjeelingtimes.com/archive/main-news/general/2528-resolution-of-gorkhaland-passed-the-sikkim-legislative-assembly.html> accessed on 30/9/2013

<sup>77</sup> "GJM sweeps maiden GTA polls, not to give up Gorkhaland demand". Darjeeling Times/IANS. 2 August 2012. Retrieved 5 August 2012.

<sup>78</sup> "After Telangana, GJM ratchets up Gorkhaland demand". Yahoo News. 30 July 2013. Retrieved 3 August 2013

3. In 1952, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao was elected Chief Minister of Hyderabad state in the first democratic election.
4. Andhra Pradesh was the first state to be carved out (from erstwhile Madras state) on linguistic basis on November 1, 1953.
5. It had Kurnool town (in Rayalaseema region) as its capital after the death of Potti Sriramulu who sat on a 53-day fast-unto-death demanding the new state.
6. The proposal for amalgamation of Hyderabad state with Andhra state came up in 1953 and the then Chief Minister of Hyderabad state, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, supported the Congress central leadership's decision in this regard though there was opposition in Telangana region<sup>79</sup>.
7. Accepting the merger proposal, Andhra assembly passed a resolution on November 25, 1955 promising to safeguard the interests of Telangana.
8. An agreement was reached between Telangana leaders and Andhra leaders on February 20, 1956 to merge Telangana and Andhra with promises to safeguard Telangana's interests.
9. A Gentlemen's Agreement<sup>80</sup> was then signed by Bezawada Gopala Reddy and Burgula Ramakrishna Rao to the effect.
10. Eventually, under the States Re-organisation Act, Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad state were merged with Andhra state, giving birth to the state of Andhra Pradesh on November 1, 1956.
11. The city of Hyderabad, the then capital of Hyderabad state, was made the capital of Andhra Pradesh state.
12. In 1969, an agitation began in Telangana region as people protested the failure to implement the Gentlemen's Agreement and other safeguards properly.

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<sup>79</sup> "No belief in Safeguards: Hyderabad PCC chief. - Page 4 of Nov 21, 1955 Indian Express". News.google.com. 1955-11-21. Retrieved 2011-10-09.

<sup>80</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gentlemen%27s\\_Agreement\\_of\\_1956](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gentlemen%27s_Agreement_of_1956) accessed on 18/11/13

13. Marri Channa Reddy launched the Telangana Praja Samiti espousing the cause of a separate state.
14. The agitation intensified and turned violent with students in the forefront of the struggle and about 300 of them were killed in violence and police firing that ensued.
15. Following several rounds of talks with leaders of the two regions, the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi came up with an eight-point plan on April 12, 1969.
16. Telangana leaders rejected the plan and protests continued under the aegis of Telangana Praja Samiti.
17. In 1972, Jai Andhra movement started in Andhra-Rayalaseema regions as a counter to Telangana struggle.
18. On September 21, 1973, a political settlement was reached with the Centre and a 6-point<sup>81</sup> formula put in place to placate people of the two regions.
19. In 1985, employees from Telangana region cried foul over appointments in government departments and complained about 'injustice' done to people of the region.
20. The then Telugu Desam Party government, headed by N T Rama Rao, brought out a Government Order to safeguard the interests of Telangana people in government employment.
21. Till 1999, there was no demand from any quarters for division of the state on regional lines.
22. In 1999, Congress demanded creation of Telangana state.
23. Congress was then smarting under crushing defeats in successive elections to the state Assembly and Parliament with the ruling Telugu Desam Party in an unassailable position.
24. Yet another chapter opened in the struggle for Telangana when Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhar Rao, who was seething over denial of Cabinet berth in the Chandrababu

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<sup>81</sup> [http://www.aponline.gov.in/apportal/homepagelinks/presidentialorder/presidential\\_order.pdf](http://www.aponline.gov.in/apportal/homepagelinks/presidentialorder/presidential_order.pdf) Statement issued by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh on 21st September, 1973.

Naidu government, walked out of TDP and launched Telangana Rashtra Samiti on April 27, 2001.

26. On 30 July 2013, the Congress Working Committee unanimously passed a resolution to recommend the formation of a separate Telangana state. After various stages the bill was placed in the Parliament in February 2014<sup>82</sup>.

25. On 2 June 2014, Telangana was formed as a new 29th state of India, with the city of Hyderabad as its capital<sup>83</sup>.

After a brief chronological study of both the movements let us now see a few issues which are significant in the growth of both the movements. As compared to the Gorkhaland demand the Telanagana demand has certain commonalities and certain differences which are very much part and parcel of any social outbreak, to have a closer look at the issues let us first have a brief outlook of such issues which are given below.

#### **4.3 Emergence of both the Movements:**

The Gorkhaland movement has emerged on ethno- linguistic line whereas the Telengana movt has been associated with the economic deprivation of the region compared to other parts of A.P. The cultural and language of the hill people differ greatly with that of the plains men is again one of the factors that had aggravated the Gorkhaland movement. Similarly cultural difference is also one of the reasons for the demand of Telengana State. Cultural assimilation of Telengana and Andhra Region is totally different. The demand for Gorkhaland can be understood as the demand for Gorkhas be recognized as Indians and be given their rightful place which according to them will solve their identity issue. It is the belief of all Indian Gorkhas that a state for Gorkhas would once and for all solve the crisis of Indian Gorkha Identity. A state for Gorkhas in India would prove that the Gorkhas are Indians. It is this belief that unites Gorkhas all over India. It is clear that the demand for Gorkhaland is not for economic reasons. It is not about the region of Darjeeling and Dooars being in a state of neglect. However one cannot totally

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<sup>82</sup> "Telangana bill passed in Lok Sabha; Congress, BJP come together in favour of new state". Hindustan Times. Retrieved 18 February 2014.

<sup>83</sup> "Notification" (PDF). *The Gazette of India*. Government of India. 4 March 2014. Retrieved 4 March 2014

neglect the economic factor because it is on this ground it is determined that whether a separate state is viable or not.

#### **4.4 Reconstruction of Historical Facts:**

The story of Telangana within the republic of India is a multifaceted one. It is only after an extensive reading that one begins to see the surfacing of even an outline of the events that played a role to see the influencing the history of its peoples. Much more research in the archives needs to be done to unravel the many mysteries of what happened during critical phases which can only be guessed from the outcomes that are still in the future.

A genuine reading would have to confess that over the course of some decades, the Telangana people have emerged once again into the history of India as a firm and patient people determined to regain the independence that the region had lost in 1324. From the collapse of the Kakatiya Kingdom in 1324 to the annexation of Hyderabad by India in 1948, Telangana's predominantly Hindu population were subjects of Muslim dynasties. The four year period between the first general election in 1952 and the merger with Andhra in 1956 was the only period during which the people of Telangana could identify themselves with their rulers. They are no longer willing to be the subjects. But want to be full citizens of the republic, for which statehood is essential. It has been a long time coming, the sacrifices many, the humiliation endless and there is much to regain. Today, the achievements do not belong to conquering dynasties or charismatic political leaders but to the people who have stayed constant to the idea of a self governing Telangana state.

To standardise their demand for a separate Telangana, the movement's leaders squabble that they are not separatists. What they want is a demerger, not separation. This is based on the assumption that there was a political entity called Telangana state before 1956, which was forced to merge with Andhra against the will of its people. This myth hides the fact that what there was before 1956 was Hyderabad state, which included not only the Telangana region, but also Marathi and Kannada-speaking areas, and also that the city of Hyderabad was the capital of Hyderabad state, not the capital of Telangana. It also obscures the fact that the decision to join Andhra to form AP in 1956 was taken in the Hyderabad legislative assembly, and that at that

time many in Telangana, including communist party leaders and sympathisers, were all for Vishalandhra (Srikanth, 2013).

The allegation that Telangana was forced to join Andhra because of manipulation and lobbying (Jayashankar 2012: 5) is negated by the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) Report, which says, “Important leaders of public opinion in Andhra themselves seem to appreciate that the unification of Telangana with Andhra, though desirable, should be based on a voluntary and willing association of the people and that it is primarily for the people of Telangana to take a decision about their future”<sup>84</sup>. The argument that the Telangana region remains underdeveloped and neglected because of neglect and exploitation by Seemandhra politicians and capitalists is imperative to the logic of a separate state. So, its proponents have had to reject the report of the Srikrishna Committee (SKC) in January 2011, which showed that many districts in Telangana are comparatively more developed and better irrigated than those in Rayalaseema and the north of coastal Andhra<sup>85</sup>.

Historically Darjeeling has been part of West Bengal since time immemorial. Whereas Telangana was merged with east Andhra to form Andhra Pradesh and during the merger as it was promised by Nehru that if the two regions don't go well together there is a provision for bifurcation so the Telangana Demand was very much rightful.

Premeditated deformation of history to gain a point is a familiar tactic used to capture a particular line of reasoning. History has been the sole spectator to such occurrence all over the world. Looking for support in history while determined for a cause is a common psychological propensity and trends towards either amplification or distortion. This is also a common misinformation tactic to gain respectability.

So far as the Gorkhaland movement is concerned the same thing happened from the very beginning when the GNLF under Subhash Ghising's leadership propped up the 'historical land theory', citing instances from history to claim that what has come to be known as Darjeeling was the land ceded by Nepal to British India in the course of war and treaties over the years. He

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<sup>84</sup> Quoted from the Telangana Resource Centre's website, <http://www.trchyd.org/>

<sup>85</sup> See Hanumantha Rao (2011); Ravinder et al (2011). As well as Justice Krishna's Injustice, published by the Telangana Development Forum, Hyderabad, 2011, and Prajalanu Vismarichina Sri Krishna Committee (Telugu), published by the Hyderabad Resource Centre, Hyderabad, 2011.

wrote the letter to King Virendra of Nepal in 1983 and also forwarded copies to several heads including Queen Elizabeth. One thing must be mentioned here. The line of theoretical exposition of Gorkhaland tangle has not changed much, though the mantle of leadership has changed from the GNLF and its Chief Subhash Ghising, to the Gorkha Jan Mukti Morcha leader Bimal Gurung. There is no evidence that Gurung's version of Sugauli Treaty is different from Ghising's (Bagchi, 2012). The bare facts of history however tell a different story. The hilly terrain of Darjeeling district was never a part of the Nepalese kingdom except for nearly three decades.

The historical facts and figures going divergent to the statehood leaders demand, It is difficult to consider that the Gorkhaland leaders are ignorant of the facts related to the area. Nepal invaded Sikkim which was then under Tenzing Namgyal (1769-90), the sixth Chogyal in 1787 and annexed some parts of what are known as Darjeeling, Kurseong and Siliguri previously known as East Morgan in 1789. The East India Company captured these areas from Nepal in the course of confrontation in 1815. The Sugauli Treaty was signed the same year, though it was ratified the next year. The company turned the areas to Sikkim through a treaty known in history as the Titaliya Treaty signed between the company and the Sikkimese government in 1817. The East India Company took over parts of what are known as Darjeeling and Kurseong subdivisions from Sikkim in 1835 by way of a gift deed signed between itself and the Sikkim government, the express purpose being to set up a sanatorium. What is presently known as the Kalimpong subdivision was ceded to British India in course of the Sinchula Treaty, signed in 1865, following a war between the East India Company and the army of Bhutan (ibid).

As a matter of fact, the statehood demand lacks much of its clarity once it is robbed of its historical make conviction. The issue gets reduced to a mere majoritarian commotion for self rule based on ethno-lingual affinity. However it might be emphasized that aspiring for a state on the basis of ethno-lingual identity cannot be dismissed as separatism. Such an aspiration is well in consonance with the constitutional provisions of the country. The modern concept of India as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious state is based on the foundation of infinite respect and flexibility with regard to infinite variety the ancient country is highly praised for. The boundaries of state cannot be deemed sacred. If it were so, India as a state would have shrunk away within a few years after independence.

Ideologically speaking, the scream for a separate state within the Union of India is perfectly sensible and exemplifies the unity in diversity notion, that the nation is renowned for all over.

#### **4.5 The Identity Issue:**

The movement for a separate Telangana state has been hailed by many intellectuals as a democratic struggle of the people of a region against political domination and economic exploitation. The central government's decision to create a new state is seen as an official recognition of the people's aspiration for identity and self-rule. To the proponents of Telangana, the movement is regarded as a struggle for identity and autonomy struggle against domination, exploitation, discrimination, trickery and humiliation. Considerable data is presented to validate these claims. However, a close look shows that some of the basic assumptions on which the Telangana identity is built are not that solid or uncontested.

As in the case of ethnic identities, the creation of regional identities involve the choosy importance or erasure of facts and memories; interpretations and misinterpretations; and contestations and claims. In recent months, especially after the Congress Working Committee decided to concede the demand for a separate Telangana, there has been intense debate in AP about the basis of a subregional identity. Critics point out that Telangana ideologues close their eyes to the linguistic and cultural similarities among all Telugu-speaking people. They ignore the fact that earlier kingdoms, including the princely state of Hyderabad, comprised not only the Telangana region, but also other Telugu and even non- Telugu-speaking areas. Now so far as the Gorkhaland movement is concerned the ethnic realization of Gorkhas increased with the growth in their numbers. They organised themselves into a number of organisations and put forward many demands asserting their identity, thereby giving birth to a stronger Gorkha ethnicity and identity. Their demands ranged from wanting powers in the local district administration to wanting a separate, autonomous province. Due to sheer numbers, the Bengalis effectively control the political, economic and social fabric of the state of West Bengal. This has caused much resentment among the Gorkhas, resulting in violence (Kaushik, p. 48).

#### **4.6 Economic viability issue of the two States:**

Economic viability of Telengana is not a question because Hyderabad being part of Telengana the viability issue doesn't arise. Whereas in case of Gorkhaland the eco- viability issue is a big question. Under the circumstances, it appears that Darjeeling might become a state. But firstly, the issue of economic viability of such a small state needs to be addressed. It is necessary to determine whether Darjeeling as a state would be able to sustain itself or will it become an burden to the Central government by surviving on grants-in-aid provided out by it. Secondly, such an action would open up demands for other separate states in West Bengal and elsewhere. Presently, Kolkata is struggling with the movement for a separate state by tribal communities like Koch, Rajbonshis, etc in North Bengal. They seek to carve out a separate state comprising of the districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, North and South Dinajpur and Malda. The movement is increasingly turning violent as armed groups have taken over and have established links with other militant organisations like the United Liberation front of Asom.

Moreover, the movement for a separate state in the same region might also result in the clash of territorial interests between these tribes and Gorkhas, because in its demand for separate state the GJMM has included not only the Darjeeling hills but also the Dooars, i.e. parts of Coochbehar, Siliguri and Jalpaiguri. This might result in spiralling violence in this region. Either way, the region bordering the sensitive 'Siliguri corridor' seems set for a period of instability<sup>86</sup>. Though the norm of big state was long broken with the formations of states like Nagaland, Mizoram, Goa amongst which only Goa was self sustained others needed heavy funds from centre and again the formation of one more state called Gorkhaland will not add extra burden on the centre is an area of big concern.

#### **4.7 The leadership factor:**

One of the most important characteristics of these emerging forces in any movement is their spontaneity. There was a time when even a mediocre political movement required a strong and highly motivated leadership. But the present separatist agitations are unprecedented because the

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<sup>86</sup> [http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments/TroubleintheQueenofHills\\_PDAs\\_140308.html](http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments/TroubleintheQueenofHills_PDAs_140308.html) Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis Trouble in the "Queen of Hills"

people themselves are launching them on their own inventiveness and are attracting political leadership to their side. The 'vested interests' are volunteering their help only at a later stage when the movements concerned have already been initiated by the large, organized and vocal classes comprising participants from different fields.

Although there is a lot of criticism about the credibility of the Gorkhas' political leadership, the popular sentiment in Darjeeling is tremendously in favor of a separate Gorkhaland state. The Gorkhas regularly face racist discrimination in the Indian cities, where they look for education and employment. India necessitates to work out mechanisms to contemplate the aspirations of statehood within smaller communities like the Gorkhas, while providing legal protection to minorities within such states.

#### **4.8 The Caste factor in the Gorkhaland and Telengana Movement:**

The Indian frontiers of Linguistic zones highly vary to the area spread of a dominant caste, it can be thus stated the caste which is in more number and has dominance in most of the local area. The linguistic region have their own dominant caste for instance the Reddys in the Telegu speaking areas are highly dominant. In the case of Darjeeling. O'Malley long back wrote that the caste structure in the Darjeeling hills was considerably slack as compared to the traditional society in Nepal. He also mentioned that the Brahmins were involved in several menial works like pottery and there was no untouchability stigma attached to certain castes (O'Malley, Reprint 1999). If we look at the caste structure in the Darjeeling Hills, it is evidently visible that it is highly linked with the regime change in accordance with Ghising indulgence determined insistence on the Sixth Schedule. The SC people had strongly resisted to the Sixth Schedule which later had seemend to be on an assertive drive, with the upper caste playing a submissive task in the hill society. The *varna* system in most part of the three hill subdivisions is mostly non visible however there can be exceptions in certain rural areas (ed John Zavos, 2004) . The self pride of the so called socially weaker caste became obvious during the anti-Sixth Schedule agitation. It is also a fact that the customary caste arrogance on part of the Bhramins is less visible in the hills (Bagchi, 2012)pp: 92-95. Another interesting feature of some movements is their secular character. For the 1<sup>st</sup> time in recent period one find rational economic considerations dominating over those of language, religion and caste. For instance, the agitators for a separate

Telangana include, apart from the Telugu speaking people of the region, persons who speak Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Gujarati and several other Indian languages. Even people from the Andhra region who settled down in Telangana before the formation of Andhra Pradesh are active in this agitation. Similarly, Reddis, Kammas, Brahmins and Harijans are active in the separatist movements both in the Andhra and in Telangana regions. Therefore, the sooner we take hold of the nature of the emerging forces the better it would be for the balanced growth of the country on secular and democratic lines.

#### **4.9 Magnitude of the Movements:**

The demand for Gorkhaland has always shifted from broad gauge to narrow gauge. From demanding full fledged state to acceptance of DGHC has always lowered the intensity of the demand and played with the aspiration of the hill people whereas the intensity acquired by the Telangana movement in a short period of time was a big blow. Telangana movement had acquired a life of its own, it dominated the villages, had a popular mass base beyond the control of individual politicians or parties, with a vast number of youths, estimated at close of 630, committing ritual suicide for Telangana cause, and the mobilization by the JAC both in urban and rural areas. It had become a mass movement with serious implications (Pingle, 2014). And the aspiration of the Telangana people could only be stratified with the formation of Telangana and every other arrangement will fall short. The students played a very important role in the Telangana movement as mentioned by one PhD research scholar and chairman of Telangana Students Joint Action Committee (TSJAC) Mandala Bhaskar, he believes students have invested in the movement in the hope of social justice. "Most of the students who are part of this movement are first generation students, i.e, they are the first ones from their family to even enter a school or college- a clear cut sign of how terrible the situation is in Telangana," he says. Sai Prasad, another prominent student leader of OUJAC says that if Telangana state is announced and carved, the students have to be given due credit. "Congress and Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) can't take the credit entirely for the success of the movement. They have to acknowledge the students who have consistently supported and taken the movement forward. If you ask me 80 % of the movement was a student led people movement and only 20% was political," he said<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> <http://www.firstpost.com/politics/how-student-leaders-were-the-driving-force-behind-telangana-996213.html>  
accessed on 19/04/2013

#### 4.10 The Language Issue:

With its unbelievable 4,635 communities and 325 languages spoken by a population of a billion plus, India has been the home of rich and diverse social movements representing protest, dissent, reform or reassertion<sup>88</sup> and is often described as the “Babel of languages” with its multi-lingual character, we are fairly aware of the fact that language is one of the pertinent marks of group identification. Linguistic homogeneity strengthens regionalism both in *positive* and *negative* senses; in the former it strengthens in unity and in the later through emotional frenzy (Majeed, 1984).

Language as “an expression of shared life, thought structure and value pattern” and has potential to unite people emotionally and make them work to improve their common destiny as also to add their bargaining strength( *ibid*). The fiercest form of linguistic regionalism was manifested in the form of opposition from non-Hindi speaking areas, particularly Tamil Nadu; opposing Hindi to become the official language of Tamil Nadu state; it also out broke violent actions from Telegu speaking areas of the old Madras province, which included present day Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. The Vishalandhra Movement (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) demanded that the Telegu speaking areas should be separated from the Madras province of which they were a part and be made into a separate Andhra province. Nearly all the political forces in the Andhra region were in favour of linguistic reorganization of the then Madras province. The movement gathered momentum when Potti Sriramulu, Congress leader and veteran Gandhian died after taking a fast for 56 days which gave rise to great violence and unrest. His objective was fulfilled when the State of Andhra came into being on Oct. 1 1953.(already discussed in Ch II).

The formation of Andhra Pradesh encouraged the struggle for linguistic states in other regions of India for which a State Reorganization Committee was appointed in 1953 to look into the question of redrawing of the boundaries of states. The Commission in its report accepted that the boundaries of the states should reflect the boundaries of different languages. On this basis State

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<sup>88</sup> Retrieved from, [http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.istr.org/resource/resmgr/working\\_papers\\_dublin/kumar.pdf](http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.istr.org/resource/resmgr/working_papers_dublin/kumar.pdf) Do we have A Theoretical Framework to explain Social Movement?Third System, Third Sector, Third Way - No Way Lalit Kumar at 9:45 A.M On November, 10 2012

Reorganization Commission gave its report in 1956 and 14 states and 6 Union Territories were created.

There was also a cry of Gorkhas of Darjeeling to include Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. In March 1958 an unofficial bill was proposed for legislation for adopting Bengali as the official and administrative language for the state, B.B Hamal of the CPI moved an amendment to include Nepali as the official language for the hills. Apart from Hamal, N.B Gurung sn independent which was later amended to include Nepali as the official language for the three hill sub divisions of Darjeeling<sup>89</sup>. The West Bengal Official Language Act 1961 states, “ In the three hill subdivisions of the district of Darjeeling namely, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, the Bengali language and the Nepali language, and elsewhere, the Bengali language, shall be the language or language to be used for the official purpose of the State of West Benga<sup>90</sup>”

The Report State Reorganization Commission (1955) said:” A regional consciousness, not merely in the sense of negative awareness of absence of repression or exploitation but also in the lense of scope of positive expression of collective personality of a people inhabiting a state or region(emphasis added) may be conducive to the contentment and wellbeing of the community. Common language may not only promote the growth of such regional consciousness but also make for administrative convenience. India in a democracy, the people can legitimately claim and the governments have a duty to ensure that the administration is conducted in a language which the people can understand<sup>91</sup>.

In the initial years it was feared that the demand for linguistic state would endanger the unity and integration of the country, it was accepted that the accommodation of regional claims would reduce regional demands and also seen as more democratic way of representation and also

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<sup>89</sup>Ranabir Samaddar(ed) The Politics of Autonomy. Indian Experience, Silence under Freedom The Strange story of Democracy in the Darjeeling Hills. Subhash Ranjan Chakrabarty. Pg 173-195 Sage Publication New Delhi 2005.

<sup>90</sup> West Bengal Act XXIV of 1961, The West Bengal Official Language Act 1961, Clause 2, sub clause (a) and (b).

<sup>91</sup> Report of the State Reorganization Commission, Delhi Publication Revision 1955, p225.

underlined the principle of diversity and also changed the nature and path of democratic politics and leadership which was open for people other than the small English speaking elite.

But Nehru's vision and the prophecy of the SRC are knocking at our door again. One hopes that the present national leadership would positively and wisely respond to this call by initiating steps for the formation of separate Telengana state. There would not be any significant resistance to the bifurcation of the state as even the people in the Andhra region are, by and large, reconciled to the inevitability of two Telugu speaking states. Most people would like to see an end to the current uncertainty. The formation of separate Telengana had unleash the creative energies of the people by initiating off social transformation in the region. This would ensure social justice by bringing the weaker sections into positions of power and would improve governance both because of smallness of the state and better participation of the people.

**Table-III.1**

**A Quick glance of Comparative Analysis of Gorkhaland and Telengana Movement:**

	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Gorkhaland</b>	<b>Telengana</b>
1.	Origin of Demand	Before independence of India	Before independence of India
2.	Cultural Identity Issue	Proponents highly focus on the issue of cultural identity of the hill people being different from the plains people	Proponents highly focus on the issue of cultural identity
3.	Economic Viability	Economically Gorkhaland is im-practicable	Economically viable state(refere) for details see ch, pp
4.	Language Issue	There was a big clamor for incorporation of Nepali Language	Language issue is present but used when required
5.	Type of leadership	Leader centric Movement	Leader centric Movement
6.	Recent Development	Gorkhaland demand still exists	Telengan had attained statehood.

#### **4.11 Arguments in favour of Small States:**

The inefficiency of India's big states provides another reason to consider creation of a set of smaller, more manageable states. But then there is a big question is development through regional planning and development committees and participatory institutions practicable in a larger state composed of heterogeneous regions? Experience with politics of planning at the state level has shown that such a mechanism is not workable. Therefore, it can be rightfully be argued that the political commitment necessary for a focused attention on the problems of growth and enquiry can be ensured better in the smaller states which are relatively homogeneous but since India is a complex country anything cannot be deemed permanent.

The observations of B.R. Ambedkar, the principal architect of our Constitution, on the desirability of smaller States are prophetic. He welcomed the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission in 1955 for the creation of Hyderabad State consisting of Telangana region and creation of Vidarbha as a separate State. Further, he envisaged the division of Uttar Pradesh into three States (Western, Central and Eastern); Bihar into two (North and South or present Jharkhand); Madhya Pradesh into two (Northern and Southern); and Maharashtra into three (Western, Central and Eastern). He was for linguistic homogeneity of a State in the sense of 'one State-one language' and not 'one language-one State'. He thus envisaged two Telugu speaking states, three Marathi speaking states and a large number of Hindi speaking states. (Ambedkar, 1979.)

While arguing for smaller States, Ambedkar was guided basically by two considerations. One, no single State should be large enough to exercise undue influence in the federation. Drawing from the American experience, he thought that smaller States were in the best interests of healthy federalism. On this issue, his views were similar to those of K.M. Panikkar, set out in his note of dissent to the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission. Second, he thought that socially disadvantaged sections are likely to be subjected to greater discrimination in bigger States because of the consolidation of socially privileged or dominant groups. (Ambedkar, 1979) Reference – Ambedkar, Dr Babasaheb (1979), Writings and Speeches, Vol. I (Part II—On Linguistic States), Education Department, Government of Maharashtra.

This is borne out by the recent experience with the creation of smaller states like Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand. Their experience has been extremely encouraging in respect of the growth in GSDP. The 11<sup>th</sup> Plan document lately approved by National Development Council gives the following telling figures showing that these states achieved growth rates far exceeding the targets set for the 10<sup>th</sup> plan period, whereas the performance of their parent states, namely., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh fell considerably short of the targets (GoI,2008):

**Table-III.2**  
**Growth rate of the States**

State	Target Growth Rate	Achieved (per cent per annum)
Chattisgarh	6.1	9.2
Madhya Pradesh	7.0	4.3
Jharkhand	6.9	11.1
Bihar	6.2	4.7
Uttarakhand	6.8	8.8
Uttar Pradesh	7.6	4.6

source: (Rao, 2010, p. 123)

For a large country like India with enormous regional disparities in development and differences in the institutional framework deriving, in quite a few cases, from cultural diversities, any single strategy for the whole country may not ascertain to be appropriate. For the less developed regions in the country, the strategy to maximize growth through regional development may need to dominate while a direct attack on poverty may have to be given priority in some of the developed regions.

It appears that the states constituted on a homogeneous basis free from the sense of regional domination would be more favourable to the growth of progressive forces, as the people will then be able to see more clearly the lasting solutions to the problem of poverty and

unemployment. It is important to note the main characteristics of the emerging regional movements for separate statehood. Regional resemblance as expressed in the will of the people should be made the basis for the reorganization of states. This may engage linguistic homogeneity not in the sense of 'one language-one state' but in the sense of a large majority of people in such homogeneous regions speaking the same language. Such regions are also likely to be homogeneous in terms of their economic characteristics, and may have the same historical background.

The most excellent course for the reorganization of states would be to approach each case on its pros. Any attempt at a once-for-all reorganization of states all over the country on the basis of a fixed set of criteria is likely to be useless and therefore unstable. This is because it would be difficult to expect public opinion to express itself clearly within a short period all over the country owing to its enormous regional diversity and unevenness. In any case, if there is directness of mind and flexibility on the part of the Central leadership, mistakes committed can be rectified in time and the wishes of the people when expressed can be given due consideration.

#### **4.12 Inclusive Governance:**

Inclusiveness is difficult to achieve in a bigger state and Indian scenario is far more complex because the voice of the disadvantaged sections remained fragmented. Experience shows that the ingrained interests are continued in bigger heterogeneous states because of their easy connectivity arising from their access to large resources, power and influence. The weaker sections, on the other hand, can come together, organize themselves and raise their voice effectively in a relatively homogeneous state because of common history and traditions and hence easy communicability.

Telengana movement in the 1969 had farmers, youth and women on a much larger scale. The movement of the late 60s petered out not just because of the opportunism displayed by the leaders of the movement or due to the repressive measures of the state, as is often made out. Statehood of Telengana is a national issue and not just a regional one. This is because it represents the ongoing social damage in the country for the empowerment of people through decentralized governance by broadening and deepening the working of our democratic system.

Such empowerment and governance would enable articulation of the real problems of the people and their solution. This would inevitably result in a socially inclusive Telengana.

The bigger states especially those composed of highly heterogeneous units, have failed to reduce disparities in development between different regions. For example Marathwada and Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat, Telengana and Rayalseema in Andhra Pradesh, and Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh are clear examples. When some of these areas were merged to constitute the linguistic states at the time of states' reorganization, as in the case of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh despite to the recommendation to the contrary by the State Reorganization Commission, it was done with the assurance that special steps would be undertaken to bring these backward regions to par with the developed regions. However, the politics of planning in a democratic set-up within the state as a political unit have been such that it became increasingly difficult to impose sacrifices on the developed regions to benefit the backward regions. The evidence, on the contrary, points to the accentuation of, disparities as in the case of Marathwada, Vidarbha, Rayalseema and Uttarakhand. This has happened despite the constitutional provisions to safeguard the interests of the backward regions through the establishment of Regional Development Boards with special powers to the Governors for monitoring the progress, as in the case of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

There has been a strong need to reduce inter-state and intra-state disparities in development which has come into sight as one of the biggest challenges in the post-reform period. Major inventiveness from the Planning Commission are called for to lowered the infrastructural gaps by mobilizing massive public and private investments for the less developed areas; to restructure the institutions for the management of infrastructure and to initiate reforms in governance. To ensure greater accountability for the development of backward regions in bigger states, it may be desirable to constitute Regional Development Boards and, where necessary, to carve out separate states comprising some of the backward regions. Experience has, however, demonstrated the failure of regional planning to make certain adequate development of backward regions within the bigger states. This phenomenon has been explicated by the politics of planning in democracy which is intrinsic in such states characterized by regional irregularities in development.

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