

**REGIONALISM IN INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF GORKHALAND AND TELENGANA MOVEMENTS**

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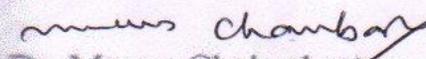
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ABSTRACT

The present work is not just about reconceptualising regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular. It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, govt in power and parliamentary system of politics. while the work focuses on the interaction , between the leadership of the movement and the government. It also focuses on the relevant consideration that are bought to bare on the course of the movement by both the govt and the leadership of the movement.

Any outcome of this dynamic process of interaction cannot therefore be called permanent. The political movement that have the objective of controlling a territory. In most case we will make selective use of history focusing on a variable like language ethnicity or any marker of identity that is considered productive from the point of ensuring solidarity and in political terms creation of majority in democratic terms. The other relevant part of both centre and state also flesh out. Their own arguments, either to justify the status quo in case the movement is powerful enough to secure its own strategic position within the new arrangement. In the content of India the debates in the SRC pertaining to the creation of Andhra state having ramification for both Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are illustrative of this process.

While we will make some kind of historical background analysis in course of studying the two movements let us make it clear that we are not concerned here primarily with social movement. The two movements that we here selected are taken by us as primarily political movements, with the stated objective of having a separate state within the Indian union.

The initial theoretical proposition that we will like to make in respect to our study of the two movements are derived from strategic relational approach. The structure represents the set of initial condition. The so called core out of which the subsequent development emanates. There is no definite cause in this development but an interplay of broad patterns or regularities which condition the character of the emanation. In our case therefore both the Telangan and the Gorkhaland movement were conditioned by certain initial structures such as the presence of Princely state or the structure of political rule that were in place for a long time. In the case of both the movements this includes the nature and extent of sovereign control regimes producing a political subject with their distinctive socio-cultural identities. For instance in the time period of the Telangana movement involved agents like the Telugu ruler and finally the British who expanded the state so that on the eve of independence the Tamils had apolitical majority.

However, structures are not decisive in determining the outcome of a movement and one has to acknowledge the role of agencies also. From the same instance one can highlight the role of Sri Potti the veteran Andhra leader who demanded creation of Andhra state and died

following fast unto death. Eventually the shape of the Andhra state was not an outcome of either Tamil Nadu's history or the history of Hyderabad but also of the political leadership of the Congress which settled for an Andhra Pradesh state having connected certain territories from Hyderabad, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

In case of Gorkhaland agitation the territory under reference comprises the whole tract between the Meachi river and the Tista the hilly region of Darjeeling and Kalimpong, bordering Sikkim and China and the whole tract of Doars bordering Bhutan and Bangladesh. Before partition of Bengal Presidency within India. The whole tract was part of the Bengal Presidency. A creation of the British colonial rule out of territories rested from Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. This shows that the political movements arising in this region would have to deal with history in a very selective way because before the British period the control regime were multiple, unclear and subsequently the demographic composition became mixed due to several practical reasons. For instance the British brought in plantation labourers from Chotanagpur areas with their own distinct cultural identity. People migrated from Sikkim to these areas to escape high tax and feudal rule. The British ruler also influenced demographic settlement pattern of this region in several other ways. For instance the British settlement of Gorkhas who were mostly hunters to offset China's advance into these areas through Tibet. Established a Gorkha Brigade encouraged a new set of government employees and traders to come and settle in the areas around Darjeeling so that ultimately formation of any regional political majority in unitary ethnic terms became difficult. For instance when the Gorkha Chief Bimal Gurung wanted to include the Doars area under the GTA, initially the Adivashi Bikash Parishad joined the movement but later on withdrew. The force of the political agencies on the structural outcome can also be illustrated by certain steps of the Government of West Bengal in moderating the movement for Gorkhaland by establishing several Councils like Lepcha Council in Kalimpong to tame the force of the movement.

In this sense probably both Telangana and Gorkhaland movement can have different prospects or outcome. Both operate within a historical context shaped by British colonial rule before independence and by the structure of parliamentary democracies after independence. However in case of Telangana movement several conditions are present which were absent in case of the Gorkhaland movement. First Telangana region had a long continued cultural tradition relating to established structures of Princely states, large concentration of linguistic communities and historically evolved cities like Chennai and Hyderabad. All these are not present in case of the proposed area under the Gorkhaland. Before British rule these areas were wild tracts with no established control regime which the British developed out of primarily strategic reasons as the area has been contiguous to several international neighbours. If Chennai was retained within Tamil Nadu for investment and development concerns despite demand for its inclusion in Andhra there is no such city under the proposed territory of Gorkhaland compared to the status of Chennai. The hilly region of Darjeeling are resource starved, over populated and depend on the only city of Siliguri which again cannot be said to have under the control of any particular ethnic community. We feel that one cannot therefore expect the same outcome as like that of the Telangana movement.

PREFACE

India is a complex plural country consisting of a number of identities. One of the most important phenomena is the emergence of regional movements in India. The framework of the present study though dealing with the conceptual understanding of regionalism in India, it primarily does not aim at redefining regionalism in any form, where as it deals with the stated objective of attainment of a separate state in terms of the origin, development and outcome of such demands. The proposed study was initiated at the time, when the Centre was contemplating on the process of creating a separate state of Telengana to be carved out from the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh. The work has taken two such regional movements under study namely the Gorkhaland and the Telengana movement demanding separate statehood taking into account the relationship between different factors working within a political process. Telengana and Gorkhaland movement can have different prospects or outcome. Both operate within a historical context shaped by British colonial rule before independence and by the structure of parliamentary democracies after independence.

The demands for separate states have seen stimulating from across the country. These regions having different regional identity pedestal on region, language, culture, caste and class now pose a serious challenge to the Indian federalism. The demands of mini tribal states came up continuously which resulted in the formation of many small states and also in granting more autonomy to the areas with the establishment of many area development councils however this did not ease the situation. The constitutional method justifying the demand for a state of Gorkhaland is on the whole a different consideration in perception to the aspects of the Telangana demand. The perspective between the two are quite different and apart but at the end the justification is the same, both the people of these areas have a legal right to demand a state of their own as provided by law, the Constitution of India.

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Finally all thanks to the Lord, whose wisdom is infinite, who is all in all and all powerful, this diminutive individual is just a dust trying to be worthy of staying on the sole of his feet.

Gayatri Bhagat

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABAVP	Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikash Parishad
AIGL	All India Gorkha League
APCC	Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee
BJP	Bhartiya Janata Party
CPI	Communist Party of India
DGHAC	Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council
DGHC	Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council
GJM	Gorkha Janamukti Morcha
GNLFF	Gorkha National Liberation Front
GTA	Gorkha Territorial Agreement
JAC	Joint Action Committee
KCR	Kalvakuntala Chandrashekhar Rao
MIM	Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
PRP	Praja Rajyam Party
SRC	State Reorganization Commission
TDP	Telugu Desam Party
TJAC	Telangana Joint Action Committee
TPF	Telangana Praja Front
TRC	Telangana Regional Council
TRC	Telangana Regional Development Council
TRS	Telangan Rashtra Samithi
UPA	United Progressive Alliance

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CHAPTER – I

CHAPTER - I

Regionalism in India

I.I Introduction-The Concept of Regionalism in India:

The present work undertaken is by no account concerning reconceptualizing regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular. However at the very outset of any study a conceptual understanding of a phenomenon is essential, it is on this regard let us see the concept of the growth of regionalism in India. Regionalism in India as a concept is not new though it has gained eminence in the recent time, not only as a form of economic, political and social phenomenon, but also as a field of study. The concept of regionalism has attracted huge attention from Scholars. As a historical factor in Indian polity regionalism has been dealt in different ways by different Scholars and in different social conditions. Regionalism in Indian politics became unavoidable and a noticeable feature of the Indian political party system.

Recently, India has been witnessing the onset of the democratic processes that have resulted in the reconfiguration of its politics and economics. Among these processes, most significant has been the assertion of identity politics. There have been struggles around the assertiveness and conflicting claims of the identity groups and of struggles amongst them, often fought out on the lines of region, religion, language (even dialect), caste, and community. These struggles have found expressions in the changed mode of electoral representation that has brought the local/regional into focus with the hitherto politically dormant groups and regions finding voices. A more genuinely representative democracy has led to the sharpening of the line of distinction between or among the identity groups and regions (Kumar, 2009).

We may also see regionalism as an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. But it is necessary, at the very outset, to distinguish two quite different meanings of the term regionalism. At the international level, regionalism refers to transnational cooperation to achieve a common goal or resolve a shared problem or it refers to a group of

countries, such as Western Europe, the Western Balkans, or Southeast Asia, that are linked by geography, history or economic features. Used in this sense, regionalism refers to attempts to reinforce the links between these countries. Today, the foremost example of such an attempt is the European Union (EU) (Bevir, 2009).

To some Scholars regionalism in Indian politics in generally has been regarded as something that is anti-system, anti-federal and against basic interest of a well integrated polity (G Ram Reddy and B A V Sharma, 1979). It has often expressed itself in antagonistic terms to that of the nation, fuelled as it is by the sense of continuing deprivation due to long- term neglect in development and resource allocation. Regionalism has often articulated itself in terms, which are opposed to national unity and integrity, and challenging to the legitimacy of the state. The literature on regionalism, its meaning, forms, causes and consequences in India is so extensive and vast that there is little scope or perhaps not much to add to elucidate the meaning of regionalism in India, or its forms and content.

India is a complex country and so far as the question of development is concerned, there are conventional theories of development economic as well as political; it is where the question arises whether these theories are sensitive enough to regional demands and aspiration. India has a federal system consisting of twenty eight states. The states have important power and also acquire their own place in contributing their share in the nationwide growth of agricultural development, education and generation of taxes and are equally effective in making India a prosperous country. There is no denying the fact that states are the constituting units of India, at a larger picture, it is the state which depicts the national progress. The hits of danger shocks that come in the way of economic growth are first faced by the states and then from the state the shock level enters at the national picture. Therefore, regional autonomy demands treat regions as coherent units politically having a right to reflect the constituents' aspiration to manage their internal affairs, while making claims on national resources, in competition for resources, language, culture, religion, economic advancement and administrative coherence are used as a basis of identity. In India despite occasional and remote indications of potential secessionism, regional movements do not usually go beyond claiming resource sharing within the border of national context. (Gupta, 1970)

Iqbal Narain in his book “Regionalism: A Conceptual Analysis in the Indian Context” stated that in the Indian context regionalism is an ambiguous concept. It has two different connotations, one is negative and other is positive. In negative sense, regionalism is a concept developed among the inhabitants who consider themselves as the deprived sections of the country in relation to the whole country. These deprivations generally arise out of the negligence of the government officials who are responsible for implementing the national developmental policy.

A region is a nucleus of social aggregation for a variety of purposes. A particular territory is set apart, over a period of time when different variables operate in different degrees. The variables may be geography, topography, religion, language, usages and customs, socio-economic and political stages of development, common historical traditions and experiences, a common way of living and more than anything else, a widely prevalent sentiment of togetherness(‘we’ feeling, which differentiates a people from ‘them’). At the core of regionalism is a profound sense of identity, which is as real, and as dear to a people than their feeling of identity with a state or a nation or a religious group, or a linguistic group. These are cultural realities and one cannot just wish them away (Maheshwari, Oct-dec 1973, p. 442).

Furthermore a region can be understood as a territorial unit with particular dialect, ethnic group, social and cultural institution. The meaning of the word ‘regionalism’ is very ambiguous in nature, there are scholars who regard regionalism as a threat to national integration and on the other hand, there are scholars who view that regionalism inculcates a strong feeling of loyalty and togetherness in the people which is highly impactful in generating political participation through regional mobilization. It often involves ethnic groups whose aims include independence from a national state and the development of their own political power. In Indian context, regionalism refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within the nation. Since regionalism is rooted in linguistic, ethnic, economic and cultural identities of the people living in specific geographical area, political scholars have treated various forms of regionalism as economic regionalism, linguistic regionalism, political regionalism and even sub-regional movements in the general frame of regionalism.

There is therefore virtually a riot of terms concerning regionalism; economic regionalism, linguistic regionalism, ethno-regionalism etc. More confusion creeps in when we connect the term regionalism with social movement or political movement. Are regional movements same as

social movements/ are social movements same as political movements? To us, they can be or cannot be depending on the chosen criteria. Region has a spatial dimension, usually geographic but often overlaid with language, culture, tradition and so on. Social movement can have spatial as well as motivational, cultural aspects in addition to its dynamic aspect. When region is seen as regionalism we usually include in it the aspects of social movement and describe it as either linguistic, political etc. However, there can be different types of social movements depending on its major dimensions and some of them can be political movements. For example when predominantly tribal population in a particular region want recognition of their language, it is cultural movement, but if they demand a share of political authority in a particular domain, it is the object of their movement that makes it political. The Bodo movement in Assam, for example is an ethnic regional movement, social movement and a political movement for separate state at the same time.

I.2 Statement of the Problem:

As already stated the present work undertaken is not about reconceptualizing regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular. It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, govt in power and parliamentary system oh politics. while the work focuses on the interaction , between the leadership of the movement and the government. It also focuses on the relevant consideration that are bought to bare on the course of the movement by both the govt and the leadership of the movement.

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However, structures are not decisive in determining the outcome of a movement and one has to acknowledge the role of agencies also. From the same instance one can highlight the role of Sri Potti the veteran Andhra leader who demanded creation of Andhra state and died following fast unto death. Eventually the shape of the Andhra state was not an outcome of either Tamil Nadu's history or the history of Hyderabad but also of the political leadership of the Congress which settled for an Andhra Pradesh state having connected certain territories from Hyderabad, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

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selective way because before the British period the control regime were multiple, unclear and subsequently the demographic composition became mixed due to several practical reasons. For instance the British brought in plantation labourers from Chotanagpur areas with their own distinct cultural identity. People migrated from Sikkim to these areas to escape high tax and feudal rule. The British ruler also influenced demographic settlement pattern of this region in several other ways. For instance the British settlement of Gorkhas who were mostly hunters to offset China's advance into these areas through Tibet. Established a Gorkha Brigade encouraged a new set of government employees and traders to come and settle in the areas around Darjeeling so that ultimately formation of any regional political majority in unitary ethnic terms became difficult. For instance when the Gorkha Chief Bimal Gurung wanted to include the Doars area under the GTA, initially the Adivashi Bikash Parishad joined the movement but later on withdrew. The force of the political agencies on the structural outcome can also be illustrated by certain steps of the Government of West Bengal in moderating the movement for Gorkhaland by establishing several Councils like Lepcha Council in Kalimpong to tame the force of the movement.

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I.4 Demonstrations of Regionalism in India:

Regionalism in India is the Expression of the neglected socio-political elements which not succeed to find expression in the mainstream polity and culture. These feelings of frustration and annoyance resulting from exclusion and neglect find demonstration in regionalism. Narrow-mindedness and biases have a lasting impact on the mind of the people. They themselves do not play a part in the political process, but as a psychic factor they do influence their party organisations and their political behaviour. Seen in this perspective, regionalism in India, as elsewhere, is which can also be described as a psychic phenomenon. It has its root in the minds of the people.

In India, the states share a common legal, constitutional and administrative structure but their international functioning has no match with each other and vary considerably. It was in the early 1950s, mass agitation occurred throughout the country with a demand to reorganize the states on linguistic lines. As the linguistic movement swept the country, there was increasing concern about the powerful sense of regional attachment and what then appeared to be a low level of national identification. Scholarly and journalistic attention was then given to development within the states, but the focus was on the relationship of one linguistic group to another, the attitudes that existed in each multilingual state towards linguistic reorganization and the relationship between the state and the central government. With the reorganization of the Indian States in 1956 along linguistic lines there was considerable apprehension that the states would be concerned primarily with their own development, that national authority would be eroded and that only a slender thread Nehru's leadership would bind the Union (Weiner, 1968).

The intention expression by the scholars that the Indian states would stay united under Nehruvian rule did not last long and it was after Nehru's death that the national authority over states started to weaken and the states started to operate in an open atmosphere which resulted in the unique development process within the states. What came out was the growth of regional sentiments which had aggravated the growth of regionalism. Regionalism in India has found expression in different ways, where boundaries cannot be considered sacrosanct, states can be taken as vital components for evolving different forms of regionalism. Supra-state regionalism or secession from the Indian Union; this kind of regionalism can be classified as the most dangerous form of regionalism as it is based on the policy of division from the Indian Union. The Kashmir issue is

the classic example of this form of regionalism which is based on the demand for a separate state outside India and the Kashmiri militants persistently committing bloodshed in pursuit of their desire to divide away. Intra-state regionalism or disputes between states; regionalism can be looked as an inter-state competition under the federal structure of India, which could be seen in regard to inter-state river water dispute. Inter-state regionalism or demands of certain areas for separate state, this type of regionalism is noticeable with demands for parts within the state for fulfillment of self identity and gaining more autonomy.

I.5 Background of Regionalism in India:

Regionalism as a phenomenon in the Indian political system is not new. Regionalism has remained perhaps the most potent force in Indian politics ever since 1947, if not before. Regionalism is rooted in India's manifold diversity of languages, cultures, tribes, communities, religions and so on, and encouraged by the regional concentration of those identity markers, and fuelled by a sense of regional deprivation. For many centuries, India remained the land of many lands, regions, cultures and traditions. The basic point that highlights in this respect is that internal self-determination of community, whether linguistic, tribal, religious, regional, or their combinations, has remained the principal form in which regionalism in India has sought to express itself, historically as well as contemporaneously. In the pre-independence period it was applied by the British imperialist, as they intentionally encouraged the people of various regions to think in terms of their region rather than the nation as a whole, with an aim to maintain their hold over India during the national movement.

I.6 Cultivation of Regionalism in Pre-Independent India:

The British empire building started around the three nuclei of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The acquired territories of east, west and south India were gradually added to the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. This resulted into the formation of 3 original British Indian provinces. The British formed bigger states during the first phase of the empire building. The second phase of the formation of the British Indian provinces was initiated by the bifurcation of bigger states into smaller ones. Assam was the first state of its kind. The sole purpose of the Britishers in the territorial reorganization and the formation of new States was the advancement of the imperial interest and the efficient administration. Development and welfare did not form

the agenda of the British State. Due weightage was always given to the furtherance of the policy 'Divide And rule'. The British India had three kinds of provinces, namely, the Governor's provinces, the Lt. Governor's provinces and the Chief Commissioner's provinces. (Kumar B. B., 1998) India during the British period was not uniformly controlled and various regions may be categorized as given below:

1. Areas under effective British control,
2. Partially administered areas,
3. Un-administered areas and
4. The areas controlled by the native princes.

The following observation of B.B. Kumar about the rulers of North-East India equally applies to the large number of cases: "the British were not aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the rulers of this region and were very cautious in their dealings with them. Their cautious approach gradually gave way to unusual firmness. The Kings and Chiefs who were initially treated on equal footings, were gradually reduced to the status of Sanad and Kabuliati holders. British paramountcy gradually eclipsed the sovereignty of the Kings. This gradually happened as British established their stronghold on other parts of the country and could know the inner weakness of the society, the ruling elite and the polity of the region". (Kumar B. B., The Trend of British Annexation of North-East India).

I.7 The Categorical Division of Post Independent India:

India, that is Bharat, was proclaimed to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic and a Union of States on 26th January, 1950. The merger of Princely States was almost complete by that time. The country had following categories of State at that time:

Category A: Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh (Central Provinces and Berar), Madras, Orissa, Punjab (East Punjab), the United Provinces (U.P.) and the West Bengal. These States continued to be headed by the Governors as was the case during the British days. They were allowed to have the elected Legislative Assemblies and the Councils of the Ministers.

Category B: The erstwhile Princely States/State Unions included in this category were Hyderabad, J&K, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union),

Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, and Vindhya Pradesh. The Maharaja of the State functioned as the Raj Pramukh of the State. In J&K, it was termed Sadar-e-Riyasat. One of the Maharajas acted as the Raj Pramukh in the case of the State Union.

Category C: Included the Chief Commissioner's provinces of Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Cooch Behar. This included three pre-existing Chief Commissioner's Provinces, namely, Delhi, Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara.

Category D: The Andaman and Nicobar islands.

Historically it is found that the regional forces played a highly valuable role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement. It often fights against the oppressed forces of chauvinist big nations. After Independence the leaders tried to encourage a feeling among the people that they belonged to one single nation. The framers of the constitution wanted to achieve this by introducing single citizenship for all. But India is a complex country and keeping in view of its vastness and diversity in culture and language, a strong sense of regional loyalty and love started appearing and thus regionalism became inevitable.

I.8 India after Independence:

The following two processes were initiated at the dawn of independence in India by the national leaders.

1. Integration of the country: All parts of the country were not equally integrated by the Britishers. The national leadership took effective steps to integrate the following in the national mainstream:
 - a) The Princely States were brought under unified constitutional framework. The people of these States were no more subjected to the autocratic excesses and the tyrannies of their rulers.
 - b) Uniform administration was gradually extended throughout the country. This was not so during the British days when a very large area of the country remained either non-administered or partially administered.

2. The entire country was uniformly democratized. This brought a change in the quality of life of the people of the Princely States of this country. (Kumar B. B., Small State Syndrome in India, 1998).

I.9 The Darjeeling Area:

The Britishers had divided the conquered territory in the hill region into a range of categories like regulated, non regulated areas on the basis of location character and importance. The Council Act of 1861 abolished such distinction. Prior to 1861 and from 1870–1874, Darjeeling District was a ‘Non-Regulated Area’ (where acts and regulations of the British Raj did not automatically apply in the district in line with rest of the country, unless specifically extended) for preservation of indigenous system of simple natives. From 1862 to 1870, it was considered a ‘Regulated Area’. The term ‘Non-Regulated Area’ was changed to ‘Scheduled District’ which kept the area outside the ambit of general law which was in operation throughout the country, in 1874 and again to ‘Backward Tracts¹’ in 1919. The status was known as "Partially Excluded Area" from 1935 until the independence of India. However, the district had been kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.

I.10 The Hyderabad Area:

When India became independent from the British Empire in 1947, the Nizam of Hyderabad did not want to merge with Indian Union and wanted to remain independent under the special provisions given to princely states. He even asked for a corridor, a passage from India. Rebellion had started throughout the state against the Nizam's rule and his army, known as the Razakars.

The Government of India annexed Hyderabad State on 17 September 1948, in an operation by the Indian Army called ‘Operation Polo’ which government called Police action. When India became independent, Telugu-speaking people were distributed in about 22 districts, 9 of them in the former Nizam's dominions of the princely state of Hyderabad, 12 in the Madras Presidency (Northern Circars), and one in French-controlled Yanam.

It can be thus seen that both Telengana and Gorkhaland movement operate within a historical context shaped by British colonial rule before independence. The view of the territory underlying

¹ Art 52 A (2) Government of India Act 1919.

the Constitution of 1950 reflected the Weberian conception of a uniform-rational legal state. The organisation did not meet historical or cultural criteria but those of administrative efficacy. However, under the pressure of regionalist movements the territory of India was gradually differentiated in the 1950s according to particularist criteria: language. However the British administrative division exhibit the Weberian legal rational state truly. Under the province division scheme as discussed earlier none of the regional unit had cultural or ethnic criteria such as that of language, religion, caste and tribe. The British provinces were multicultural. Further the state were subdivided according to the same non-ethnic rationale (ed John Zavos, 2004).

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

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 (Kumar L.)and is often mentioned 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)

The Report State Reorganization Commission 1955 also became instrumental in creating language dedication, and growth of regional sentiments it states “*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.* (State reorganization Commission, 1955).

I.11 Regionalism as a sub state movement:

On the contrary, in its positive sense, regionalism implies an idea of searching the self identity of the people of that particular area. In other sense it is rather a separate demand for protecting and preserving racial, linguistic and economic interest of a group of people belonging to a nation.

To be precise, Regionalism is in fact, is a movement of a Sub-nationality against a prevailing nationality. It is often distinguished by a particular racial, linguistic or religious group settled in a particular part of the country which demands either separation or sovereignty of special constitutional, administrative, economic or political status for themselves to the exclusion of the rights and interest of other communities and takes recourse to necessary political measures with a view to coercing the authorities to accede to their demands, then that movement is certainly a regionalist movement. Hence, regionalism is the other name of distinctive and restrictive political movement having no broad based liberal and democratic elements but in some cases it also had a clear objective of attaining separate statehood, as in the case of Gorkhaland and Telengan .

The regional movement is also considered as the ‘diverse trend detrimental to national unity’. In popular parlance, it is supposed to be a synonym of provincialism, which breeds localism, isolationism and separatism. But regionalism is not always regarded as parochial anti-national movements. Historically it is found that the regional forces played a very glorified role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement. It often fights against the oppressed forces of chauvinist big nations. Regionalism is thus a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country as a whole.

It is important to note that regionalism in India, in its present form, has various connotations like ‘provincialism’, ‘localism’, ‘son of the soil theory’, ‘disintegration of Indian States’, struggle for separate statehood or provincial autonomy, struggle for more power, especially economic power etc. whatever may be the connotations, the concept of regionalism has now become a separatist movement in different parts of India in various forms. India is now infected with regional upsurge of different kinds like geographical regionalism, linguistic regionalism, cultural regionalism, ethnic regionalism and so on.

In this scenario, it can be stated that it is very difficult to provide an acceptance to a particular definition of regionalism. However it can further be added that the process of state formation in India is going on which can be claimed by the fact that after independence, there were not as many States and union territories but at present there are 29 States and 7 Union territories. One of the most significant factors contributing to the process of State construction in India is regionalism and has further quicken the growth of this process in the Indian society.

The issue of ethnicity and language :

In order to understand both the movements on more aspect needs to be conceptually understood i.e. ethnicity. The term 'ethnic' in general words can be understood as a group of people who share a common culture and life style but without any homeland. An ethnic group is characterized by a multiplicity of attributes like religion, caste, region, descent, race, language, colour, culture and so on. The focus of interests of an ethnic group is to get some benefits for itself. The group often uses ethnic criterion like religion, language or caste to mobilize itself to give identity to itself which separates it from other group or groups. Thus delineation of boundary of an ethnic group of community is an important aspect of ethnicity. The nature of identity shifts along with shifts along with changing circumstances and calls for change in boundary or a change in identification. There are different approaches to understanding ethnicity have been used by different social scientists when trying to understand the nature of ethnicity as a factor in human life and society. Examples of such approaches are: primordialism, essentialism, perennialism, constructivism, modernism and instrumentalism².

Depending on which source of related identity is emphasized to define membership of a particular group, the following types of ethnic groups can be identified:

group, the following types of ethnic groups can be identified:

- i) Ethno-racial emphasizing shared physical appearance based on genetic origins;
- ii) Ethno-religious emphasizing shared affiliation with a particular religion, denomination and/or sect³;

² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_group retrieved on 17/07/2014.

³ ibid

- iii) Ethno-linguistic emphasizing shared language, dialect and/or script⁴;
- iv) Ethno-national emphasizing a shared polity and/or sense of national identity⁵;
- v) Ethno-regional emphasizing a distinct local sense of belonging stemming from relative geographic isolation⁶.

India is a land of various ethnic⁷ and tribal groups. Ethnicity relates to ascriptive identities like caste, language, religion, region etc. Inequality in terms of sharing power between two ethnic groups' results into conflict. The ethnicity is socially mobilized and territorially confined. It has numerically sufficient population and is a pool of symbols depicting distinctiveness. It has a reference group in relation to which /whom a sense of relative deprivation is aggregated. Ethnicity causes ethnic movements after being left out of the developmental process or even being a victim of uneven development. Ethnicity is manifested in Indian politics not merely due to grass root discontent but is also a creation of vested political interest. Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being etc are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.

According to Lake and Rothschild, (1996) ethnic conflict is a sign of a weak state or a state embroiled in ancient loyalties. In this case, states act with bias to favour a particular ethnic group or region, and behaviours such as preferential treatment fuel ethnic conflicts. Therefore, in critical or difficult political situations, the effectiveness of governance is dependent on its ability to address social issues and human needs.

The continuing demand for separate state in India as argued by T.K Oommen is due to two reasons. First, even though the Indian state is conceived as a multi layered entity- a union/federal, provincial, autonomous regions, zila parishad panchayat hardly any authority is conceded to the lower three levels. This prompts a demand for provincial state by regional linguistic communities, ignoring their population, size and financial viability. Second, the cultural specificity of subaltern communities is not only ignored but sought to destroyed through

⁴ ibid

⁵ ibid

⁶ (Ibid) it may be taken that the Gorkhaland movement is a type of ethno-regional movement.

⁷ There are many diverse ethnic groups among the people of India. The 6 main ethnic groups are as follows. 1. Negrito 2. Proto - Australoids or Austriacs 3. Mongoloids 4. Mediterranean or Dravidian 5. Western Brachycephals 6. Nordic Aryans.

their vivisection and attachment to the state dominated by major linguistic communities which results in the former's marginalization and alienation. He also points that the failure of the states in India to link culture and governance systematically provides an important agenda for the society. Moreover, the recognition of language as the basis for politico administrative units has attended to the deprivation of most of the speech communities. (Oommen, 2004)The demand for separate states for Gorkhaland and Telengana are long standing demand and the creation of such state and their sustainability demand the insight study in reference to three questions of economic viability, Social Inclusion and Social Cohesion.

Contextual Comparison of Gorkhaland and Telengana:

The proliferation of social movements and revolution in recent decades has emerged as a common feature of the political panorama. Social movements and revolution has not only become hot areas of interest for study amongst Scholars but also provide a wide range of vicinity that exist within it and which can be cram by the construction of a comparative model of study which can be taken as a base line in the study of present social movements for instance Gorkhaland and Telengana. There are good reasons why these two movements were chosen Gorkhaland and Telengana as comparative units for my study. There is no denying the fact that, at present India is infected with various regional upsurges and therefore, there are various manifestations of regional movements. From Kashmir to Kanya Kumari each and every state is now infected with the disease called regionalism.

Examples of Regional Movements like Uttarkhand, Bundelkhand, Jharkhand, Vidarbhas Khand, Boroland, Karbianglong, Garoland, Bhilland etc. All these regional movements are demanding separate states on the basis of their language, race, culture, economic development etc. It is on this line the demand for Gorkhaland in West Bengal and Telengana in Andhra Pradesh comes into the picture. It is a strong distinct sense of identity among the hill people of Darjeeling which make them feel that they are identity wise different from the people residing in the plains and to give recognition to the identity of the hill people, the demand for autonomy arise. On the other hand we can say that an early manifestation of regionalism in India is Telengana, which later became the state of Andhra Pradesh. The present Gorkhaland agitation is nowhere in sight to the position acquired by Telangana in comparatively short span of time as compared to the former.

The Telangana movement was triggered by the eminent statehood leader K. C R's singly resorting to an indefinite hunger strike which is in obvious contrast to the mass scale hunger strike by everybody in the Gorkhaland movement. In matter-of-fact estimation the rays of hope is in desolate contrast to the fast way lane that Telangana has been transferred to. Whereas Gorkhaland has deviated themselves from the broad gauge to the small gauge track, which is too insufficient to actually undertake the movement to its concluding destination.

I.14 Research Questions:

- i. Why a political movement demanding separate statehood comes up at a certain point of time and a certain context?
- ii. What are the relations between the leadership of the movement and the government within the political process?
- iii. How the nature of the interaction of different agencies affect or shape the outcome of the movement?

Apart from this general questions we may also ask the same set of three questions with respect to each of the two movements that we would cover. If we ask the same set of questions about these movements two other questions become relevant in comparative terms:

- a) How do the two movements resemble each other in terms of their origin, development and outcome?
- b) How do the two movements differ from each other in terms of their origin, development and outcome?

I.15 Research Methodology:

Comparing two political movements need some kind of method. Comparative research is a research methodology that aims to make comparisons across different variables necessary to understand a particular phenomenon. The major aim of comparative research is to identify similarities and differences between social entities. Comparative research hunt for ways to compare and contrast nations, cultures, societies, and institutions. Although scholars are far from a consensus on a definition, the trend appears to be toward defining comparative research in the

social sciences as research that compares systematically two or more societies, cultures, or nations. In actual execution comparisons of nations reign as the dominant practice. When it comes to subject matter of comparative inquiries, many contend there is none exception to it. This may indeed be true, but a brief examination of comparative undertaking reveals there are some topics more recurrent than others. Determining whether socioeconomic or political factors are more important in explaining government action is a familiar premise. In general, however, the only thing that is certain in comparative research issues is the existence of differences to be analysed.

However, the most comprehensive study of methods of comparative research was given by J S Mill. Mill's text is widely considered to be the first systematic formulation of the modern comparative method. He however thought that the methods of difference and the concomitant variations could not be applied in the social sciences because sufficiently similar cases could not be found. This suggestion is commonly rejected as over demanding scientific standard⁸. Comparative research methods have long been used in cross-cultural studies to identify, analyse and explain similarities and differences across societies. Whatever the methods used, research that crosses national boundaries increasingly takes account of socio-cultural settings. Problems arise in managing and funding cross-national projects, in gaining access to comparable datasets and in achieving agreement over conceptual and functional equivalence and research parameters. Attempts to find solutions to these problems involve negotiation and compromise and a sound knowledge of different national contexts. The benefits to be gained from cross-national work include a deeper understanding of other cultures and of their research processes⁹.

The historical comparative research involves comparing different time-frames. The two main choices within this model are comparing two stages in time (either snapshots or time-series), or just comparing the same thing over time, to see if a policy's effects differ over a stretch of time. (Deacon, 1983). So far as the Gorkhaland and Telengana movements are concerned, selective study of history of the two areas is required.

⁸ <http://poli.haifa.ac.il/~levi/Mill.htm> accessed on 19/05/2014

⁹ <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU13.html> accessed on 19/05/2014

The standard models of Most Dissimilar System(MDS) and Most Similar System(MSS) encourage us to compare either the similar or dissimilar aspect of two movements. The basic objective of MDS and MSS is not to propose uncritically similarities and differences. Essentially there designs are derived from the requirements of proof in one and everything except one, that is considered to vary, in the other everything except one is considered as constant. So that one can identify certain regularities. Basically comparative method is an attempt to bring out certain regularities.

However there is a problem with the usual strategy of MDS and MSS. They are too much structured in nature and do not highlight so much the social, emotional or political aspect of social process. Any political movement is however is as much influenced by objective factors as by subjective factors. In case of both the movements for existence, the emotional bond associated with Telugu and Gorkha identity are strong but they do not just decide the shape of the outcome of the movement. The political, economic consideration often are instrumental in providing leadership or support to a political movement which are expected to make some gain out of the success of the movement.

Hence our way of comparing the movements would be to focus on the key role played by the historical context in shaping the course of the movement and in respect to bring out both the similarities and differences. Our method would be comparative historical and critical with respect to the role and motives of different agencies. We will primarily depend on qualitative tools such as interviews and consultation of archival materials.

I.16 Review of Literature:

Shah Ghanshyam, *Social Movements in India. A Review of Literature*, (2004). The author in this book had done extensive study on the literature available on social movements in India, in order to discover gaps in the related works and other findings which would be useful for further research work in the concern field. The book also points out the fact that there has not been enough study on the review of literature and this area needs to enrich further. The author has taken into account different kinds of social movements like Peasant Movements, Tribal Movements, Dalit Movements, Women's Movements, Industrial Working Class Movements,

Students' Movements, Middle Class movements, Human Rights and Environmental Movements. the author The author opines that due to the narrow concept of politics and Political Science in India, Europe and America has in length and depth ignored studies on social movements. He also points out the due to the pre-occupation of the political scientist with elite politics and studies of political legal decision making institution, it is assumed that masses have no politics of their own they are manipulated by the ruling classes and reflect the decision made by the political elite and choices offered by political parties and leaders, which he argues that argues is not only oversimplification of the political situation but also to an extent erroneous and detrimental to the efforts of building a democratic egalitarian social order. Masses have their own politics and they also decide the fate of the government and the state. He also asserts that our understanding of the politics of any society will remain superficial irrespective of the theoretical perspective one holds without understanding the politics of the masses. And in the conclusion he points out the fact that in the study of social movements a large number of scholars have concentrated on the peasant movements, whereas the studies on the movements launched by the industrial working class or by women are relatively small in number. To understand the nature of social movements in India this book provides a good meal to scholarly appetite and this book is a must read.

G.Ram Reddy and BAV Sharma (1979) in *Regionalism in India: A Study of Telengana* the author brings upon the long deep – rooted problems of the Telengana region since its admission. The book is divided into two parts. The first part begins with analysis of regionalism in the framework of national and state politics, Telengana grievances and their eruption into a mass agitation are analyzed next along with the roles played by the political parties in relation to the separatist movement and also that of the press and public meetings in political communication. The second part analyses the data based on survey research. Keeping regionalism in focus the book deals with the mass agitation regarding the Centre's role in dealing with the telengana problem and the list of lessons learnt from the separatist movement. Regionalism in Indian politics is regarded as something that is anti-system anti federal and against basic interest of a well integrated and well developed polity. This negative thinking and negative reaction towards a phenomenon which is essential to the normal growth of any healthy polity anywhere in the world, could only be understood in the perspective of ' the ambition and assertion ' of centripetal forces in India – of forces that have continually been aspiring for the capture of executive

authority and power, viewed from the centre, the peripheral forces always tend to assume threatening and dangerous proportion. It is only through a peripheral perspective that the real implications and significance of regionalism could be assessed properly. Regionalism has remained the most potent force in Indian Politics. In the book for the author seeks to dig deep into one of the basic question that demographically what are the factors responsible for the formation of identity development. The author also stresses upon the fact that since its admission to the Indian polity, Telengana has always remained an expression of sub regionalism. In dealing with this classic issue the author provides a solution to this problem which can only be solved by creating a separate state which would entirely composed of Telengana personal. The author has very well and elaborately discussed the issue at length and gives a detail finding of the problem of regionalism in Andhra Pradesh.

Samanta, Amiya K. *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, (2000). The author has divided the book into eight chapters. This book on Gorkhaland gives a sense of ethnic exclusiveness among a community known as Indian Nepalese or Gorkhas who had migrated to India from Nepal over a period of more than one hundred and fifty years, being encouraged by the British protecting their colonial and commercial interest. They were designated as a martial race and a separate administrative arrangement in Darjeeling only for Gorkhas also built a sense of exclusiveness among the Gorkhas. The author mainly focused on the Gorkhaland Movement and also reveals the fact that sectarian considerations have been the work force rather than integrating them to the nation building process.

Subba T. B. *Ethnicity, State and Development. A Case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*. 1992. The author in this book focuses on the political conflict in Darjeeling in 1986 and the demand for a separate state Gorkhaland. The author in this book talks about the emergence of the movement and the impact of violence and counter violence that occurred in Darjeeling district. The Gorkha National Liberation Front which plays a very significant role had a very high support of the Gorkhas or Nepalese. The author also talks about the role played by media as the Queen of Hills Darjeeling were the focus of media attention for almost three years since the advent of the Gorkhaland movement in 1986.

Sundaraya Puccalapalli, *Telengana People's Struggled and its Lessons*, (1972). It highlights the Movement, the years in the forest fighting the Nizam's forces and then the Indian Army. It

provides a wealth of detail and any account of the Telengana struggle is incomplete without references to this authoritative work. This book basically deals with the important political lessons that came out from the Telengana movement. It gives the detail account of the Heroic Peasant resistance movement.

C.H Hanumantha Rao, *Regional Disparities, Smaller states and statehood for Telengana*. (2010). In this book the author primarily focus on the complex issue of regional disparities and regional tension leading to the demand for creation of separate smaller states. The author also point the fact that lack of political clout in decision making process in the backward regions regarding investment and other provisions like jobs has led to revival of regional tensions and a consistent demand for separate states consisting of the backward areas. State like Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh and some recent examples of states formed out of the backward Regions as a demand for separate states. This book is of great importance in the present context of revived regionalism in the backward regions of the country.

Nalamotou Chakravarthy, *My Telugu Roots: Telengana State Demand-A Bhasmasura Wish*, 2009. In this book the author to bring out the history of Andhra Pradesh and also focuses is on how politicians play with people sentiments for personal political gains fanning issues like regional loyalty. But while talking about issue of separate statehood there are certain points which the author should have given importance, like the implementation of the 6- point formula, gentleman's agreement etc. which actually was responsible for revival for the separate statehood demand; but this flaws were ignored by the author and were not addressed properly. However this is a good book with facts and unbiased analysis in which the author concludes that the demand for separate state of Telengana is a Bhasmasura wish.

Spencer Meeta, *Seperatism Democracy and Disintegration*, (2006). In this book the author points out the fact that how modern democracies in the world have failed to mechanise ways to curb the feeling of seperatism. The book also proposes certain suggestive measures to promote democracy and protect minority rights. The book plays a vital role in the concerned study because it brings out an analysis of various separatist movements. Some of which have achieved separation and some have not as it rightly bring out the point that the world is facing a trend of seperatist movements, or movements within movements and this is high time where these issues has be addressed at a larger extent.

Harihar Bhattacharyya, *Federalism and Regionalism in India. Institutional Strategies and Political Accommodation of Identity*, Heidelberg Papers in South Asia and Comparative Politics working Paper No. 27, May 2005. The author points out that India's federal reconciliation of regional identity with autonomy has a democratic aspect. As a study of the interaction between federalism and regionalism in India, this paper seeks to focus on Indian federalism as a method of accommodation of regionalism in India. Federalism is seen here as a political equilibrium, which results from the appropriate balance between shared rule and self-rule. The author questions the role played by Indian federalism in ensuring India's Stability in the face of persistent regionalism. The author also stresses upon the fact that devolutionary steps should be with a partnership spirit between federal and sub-national levels rather than unilaterally by a dominant centre. This paper seeks to take forward the following four ideas as a conceptual preface to the discussion. First, there is no necessary conflict between federalism and regionalism. The relations between the two may be conflicting as well as collaborating depending on the manner of accommodation, if any, which is undertaken in a federal system. Federalism and regionalism may be complementing each other in the practical political processes. The need for balance is of utmost importance if unity of the country is not to be risked. Second, federation rather than a nation-state, ideal-typically, is better able to accommodate ethnically distinct regions because while the nation-state demands uniformity, federalism is based on the recognition of differences. This assumes special significance when the top-down approach to federation-building is followed. Third, a two-tier federation may not be sufficient to accommodate regionalism of many forms and levels. A tier below the 'states', or 'provinces' with appropriate constitutional guarantee may be necessary for regional accommodation. Fourth, regionalization may itself be a technique for ethno-regional accommodation provided both the constitutional input and a sufficient ethno-regional pressures from below are available. According to the author following this technique, the spill-over effects of regional discontent can be minimized. The paper is a very informative one elaborately stating the true nature of federalism in accommodating regional identity in political process by which cultural and linguistic differences can be met and unity in diversity can be strengthened.

Hardgrave, Robert.L.Jr, *The Northeast, The Punjab and Regionalization of Indian Politics in Asian Survey* Vol. XXIII, No 11, Nov 1983 explains the different dimension responsible for regional disparities in the North-East India and the state of Punjab. The author also argues for a

genuine democratic and federal setup with economic decision making located more at people's level. Perhaps can be an answer to the recent crisis.

Ashutosh Kumar (*ed*), *Rethinking State Politics in India, Regions within Regions*, 2011. The author in this book, has tried to go beyond the State and look into the region within the State with a distinctive analytical category for an in-depth study of the democratic politics of identity and development that is unfolding to look the state levels. This book attempts to look the regions within the state as a distinctive identity. This book is divided into V Parts where in Part II Quest for Territorial Homeland backwardness and Political articulation of backwardness in North Bengal region of West Bengal by A.K Jana brings into focus that the regional imbalance in the region of West Bengal particularly in North Bengal in terms of development and sharing of political power triggers on the demand for a separate space. The author talks about a separate statehood demand of Gorkhaland and Kamtapur, he also attributes that the economic neglect of the indigenous communities had enabled people to mobilize under a separate statehood agenda. In another article by Rama Rao Assertion of a Region: Exploring the demand for Telengana the author talks about the role of the socio-economic and political factors which have rekindled the demand for separate Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh and had evaluated and analyzed it, he also refers to the process of economic reforms undertaken in recent years that had accentuate the process of regionalization of identity politics in a relatively underdeveloped Telengana region.

Hooghe Lisebet, Gary Marks and Arjan H.Schakel, *The Rise of Regional Authority: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies*, 2010. The book provides a sketch of the current trend of regional autonomy. The author has taken into account 42 advanced democracies including the 27 EU member states. The author takes four criteria like functional pressure, democratization, European integration, and identity to explain regionalization over the past fifty years. This book provides invaluable information and is a must read in the area of comparative government and politics.

Bookman Milica Zarkovic, *The Political Economy of Discontinuous Development: Regional Disparities and Inter-regional Conflict*. 1991, in this book the author has tried to develop a methodology to assess the efficiency of a region determined to secede from a nation. It also outlines four ways of studying inter-regional conflict.

Paula Banerjee (ed) Samir kumar Das (ed) *Autonomy Beyond Kant and Hermeneutics* (2008). In the first decade of the twenty first century autonomy has become one of the major concerns of our social and political existence. The right to autonomous life is now a political, cultural and social call of both individual and the group – a rare conformity that points to the crucial importance of autonomy in the agenda of critical thinking. Though the notion of autonomy in the modern era was at first applied in a political content of individual rational persons, their rights and existences. In the wake of anti colonial movements, the term gained new perspective and meaning which would imply new rights and new responsibilities. It became the emblem of group rights in particular minority rights. In time the idea of autonomy became not only the standard of rights and responsibilities, but also an issue of governmentality. The present volume is a critical attempt to understand autonomy from both historical and analytical perspective; an international group of scholars seek answer that go beyond the thinking of Immanuel kant or a simple hermeneutic reading of the principle of autonomy. Autonomy, in this collective reading, emerges as deeply rooted in Social practices and contentious polities.

Kumara Anita, *Balanced Regional Development in India: Issues and Policies* (2006). Balance regional development has always been an essential component of the Indian development strategy in order to ensure the unity and integrity of the nation. Balance regional development has been an integral part of economic planning in India since the launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1951. Part 1 of this work provides an introduction to policies, programmes, and current issues pertaining to balanced development of various parts of the Indian economy. Part 2 of the book reproduces edited extract on the subject from India's Five Year Plans.

Samaddar Ranabir (ed), *The Politics of Autonomy -Indian Experiences*. 2005. In this book the author comes up with ideas argues that autonomy has to be an essential ingredient in the building of past colonial democracies, not merely a residual measures to keep some constituencies happy, he also draws attention on the principles and consequent politics of autonomy and the need for dialogue. This book is filled with empirical findings and case studies on the autonomy experiments in Kashmir, Darjeeling and the entire North – east as a whole, this book is a cutting – edge research on democracy. This book is divided into two Parts. Part 1 deals with genealogy of the issue of autonomy. And in Part 2 dealing with the practices of autonomy Subhas Ranjan

Chakrabarty in *Silence under Freedom: The Strange Story of Democracy in Darjeeling Hills* brings out the working of the autonomy over the last decade and a half.

Rao. M.S.A(ed), *Social Movements in India, Studies in Peasants, Backward classes, Secterian, Tribal and Women's Movements.* (2004). This book is the study of Social movements in Sociological frame work, which has been a shift from the conventionalist Structure functional approach to the Study of dynamic processes and movements. This book is divided into two parts. Part 1 includes six types of movements - peasants, backward classes sectarian, tribal and women. The three peasants movements – Naxalbari movement in Bengal, NijaiBal movement in UP, and the peasant movement in Telengana it unfolds the way they have organize around revolutionary ideology of class – struggle and t the changes these movements have brought agrarian society. And Part II of the book contains extensive bibliography supporting the different types of movements and concepts.

Datta Prabhat, *The Hill Council Experiment in West Bengal: A Case Study in Journal of Political Science, Vol.55.No.1 Jan-March.1994.* The author points out the fact the Hill Councils works as definite waste. The Hill Council was just used by the GNLf leaders as an institutional device only for further political gains. The Hill Council became a battle ground between GNLf and the State government regarding flow of funds and transfer of functions and government departments. The Hill Council was an administrative set up to accommodate the aspiration of the Hill people of Darjeeling, but it failed to live up the high expectations of the local masses. The author also suggests that the failure can be attributed to the leadership of DGHC which tried to utilize this institution for narrow personal ends. He also suggests that improvements can be made if the leaders become more serious, responsible and keep themselves away from narrow political gains.

L.P Gupta *Tribal Development Administration: A Study in Darjeeling District of West Bengal,* 1998. This book deals with development administration for the underdeveloped tribal and it provides a glimpse of grass-root reality in the district of Darjeeling – a world known place for tea, timber and tourism occasionally rock the nation for its hostilities political interest for linguistic and identity recognition and movement for regional autonomy and separate statehood.

M.P Lama (compiled by) *Gorkhaland Movement, Quest for an Identity*. (1996). The author comes to the point that, the demand for Gorkhaland as a constitutional state within the Union of India has been one of the oldest demands in the History of modern India. Though this demand has to face several ups and downs and has over years taken various political turns, it acquired the shape of a mass movement only towards the end of 1970s when Sri Subhash Ghising for the first time called the Gorkhas in India to come under one umbrella and demand a separate state known as Gorkhaland. 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 very popular name. 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 August 22, 1988 which finally led to the setting up of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC). This book gives a detail account of the rise and fall of Sri Subhash Ghising and the events that occurred during this transformation.

Gurumurti Sitharam, *Telengana: Dream or Reality*, (2012). The author in this article focuses on the historical perspective for understanding people's stubborn hard decision for a separate statehood demand. It also brings into focus the report submitted Sri Krishna Committee on Telengana. The author also brings the point that it has to be understood by the Telengana leaders that the city of Hyderabad which Telengana wants it to be made its capital, was executed with contribution from all the three regions Andhra Pradesh, Rayalaseema and Telengana, during the time of Kutubshahi Sultan as early As 1590 and that all the three areas have equal rights to Hyderabad city. It is but necessary that Hyderabad should remain a common capital for both.

Kumar B.B, *Small State Syndrome in India* (1998). The author in this book gives a detailed account of background information about the small states demand in India, he also furnished all necessary facts regarding territorial re-organization during the British period and the re-organization of states after independence. The linguistic re-organization of states, formation of ethnic small states and the ever increasing demand for new states are discussed thoroughly. The myths and realities related to new states' demands discussed also give a new outlook of study. The author started with the historical perspective and had touched upon every aspect and the

factors which had generated the ever increasing demand for new states in India. This book is of high significance though precise in nature and its approach, the author had taken into account a number of small state movements including the Gorkhaland movement but in a limited approach.

Khosla Ritu, *Exploring the Demand for Telengana State: Is the demand Valid?* (2011) This article brings into account the facts and information which are very necessary in order to understand the demand for Telengana state on the ground of its validation. Giving a brief historical sketch the focus shifts to developmental issues which happen to be the core reason of the demand. The author has also provided relevant information about the allocation of Development Grants. Region wise sectoral contribution to Gross District Domestic Product and concludes that if development is the main reason for emergence of demand for Telengana state then why the region of Rayalaseema has not come up with a similar demand? The fact that is reflected by the article is that the demand for separate state should be based on concrete ground.

Atis Dasgupta, *Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling*, Social Scientist, Vol 27, No.11/12(Nov-Dec 1999) pp 74-78. The author in this article starts with the early history of Darjeeling to understand the ethnic problem embedded in the demand and see how historically there has been a shift in viewing Darjeeling from as early as in 1895 and the kind of sentiment that developed between the educated Nepali middle class and the intelligentsia of West Bengal is portrayed in a significant manner. To understand the initial stages of the Gorkhaland movement this article serves a purpose of bringing in all the information intact for reference.

LSS O' Malley, *Bengal District Gazetters Darjeeling* (1907). This book is a very essential book in understanding the historical background of Darjeeling in the early period of 19th Century. These Official records provide a wealth of information on all aspects of the region, to know the early history of the region before independence one has to refer to this book. It gives a detailed information about the early inhabitants of the region, their way of life, habits, customs religious rites and rituals, festivals and indeed everything concerning them.

Why Gorkhaland, Published by the Gorkha Jananukti Morcha Central Committee is an Official document which gives a detailed account of the reasons behind the demand for Gorkhaland state, starting from the history of Darjeeling before independence, bringing into light the distinct socio-cultural entity of the Gorkhas to the language issue, also the administration issue of depriving the

local majority Nepali speaking community. The documents also highlights various issues like education and health services, it also gives a clear picture of the sadness of the Darjeeling district towards the West Bengal Government. However, if we try to analyze the document it gives a very brief idea and can be regarded as a short summary behind the Gorkhaland demand which only gives a one sided picture on the point of view of the Gorkhaland proponents.

A Case for Gorkhaland, the Socio Economic Perspective by Udaya Mani Pradhan. The author in this article stresses on the identity question of the Indian Gorkhas which according to him is the main reason behind the demand for Gorkhaland. He also points out that the path of self reliance is self government which can only be attained by the formation of a separate state called Gorkhaland. The author also talks about the socio economic viability issue of the state and also stresses that the resources present in the state can make Gorkhaland into a model state for the country. He also talks about socio economic issues like education, tea and tourism and his views are not different from any other Gorkhaland supports in the content because each and every other Gorkhaland supporter are of the opinion that once Gorkhaland is achieved it can be easily transformed into dreamland for Gorkhs. This article can be regarded as a write up by a Gorkhaland supporter which ends up in giving the same structure of the movement like any other protagonist but which in reality stands on very different ground.

The never ending wait for a home land by Sonam B Wangyal. The author in this article points out the detailed account of number of times the Gorkhaland issue was put on demand. From the First to the twenty seventh demand for a separate state for the Indian Gorkhas. The author also cites example for how a Bengali from Cachar from Assam feel isolated violated and insulted for his community of his minority population as in an island surrounded by non Bengalis. According to the author the main aim of the article is to understand the Bengali the Bengali counterpart the sense of helplessness predicament that a minority community suffers. In the History of Darjeeling as researched and presented by Dr Sonam Wangyal organized by the Kursong Chapter of Gorkha Janamukti Secondary Teachers' Association on 12th July 2008. The paper starts with the early history of Darjeeling, its incorporation into the east India Company and ends at when Darjeeling joined to Bengal. The author is of the opinion that formation of Gorkhaland is not just partition but it is just a humble act of giving back what was never part of Bengal and

also conclude that due to difference in language physical structure food habit and clothes Bengal and Gorkhaland are different.

Social and Political Tensions in North Bengal Since 1947 edited by Dr. Sailen Debnath. This book is a compilation of papers covering a wide range of contemporary aspects of socio political movements tensions and insurgencies including the unleashing of terrorism in different phases of historical evolution in North Bengal since the attainment of independence since 1947. In Chapter 11, *The Role of Tea Planters in Creating the Demand of Separate Gorkhaland* by Soumen Nag is a paper made on his social work point of view on the role of the factors on the socio political factors behind the unrest of North Bengal with Special reference to the role of the tea garden owners during the colonial period in initiating the demand of Gorkhaland. In Chapter 12 *Tensions and Anxiety Over Proposed Sixth Schedule for Darjeeling Hills* by Prof. Rajat suhra Mukhopadhaya deals on the inclusion of Darjeeling in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution which had generated a lot of excitement as well as tension and anxiety among the people of both hills and plains for which he gives a detailed account for the rise of tension in Darjeeling hills and the apprehension of serious divisions arising between tribal and non tribal once the hills are brought under the Sixth Schedule provision.

Gorkhaland - Evolution Of Politics of Segregation by Dyutish Chakrabarty in The Centre for Himalayan Studies Special Lecture X. This paper is an altered version of a section of the project: "Roots of Regionalism: A Case Study Of Nepalis politics in Darjeeling District. In the beginning this paper primarily starts stating the gradual maturation of the demand for Gorkhaland State by the Nepali speaking people of Darjeeling district. This paper is a very elaborate paper and according to the author this paper is an attempt to highlight inter relationship between regional and local movements claiming segregation in the form of administrative autonomy and state politics that are often dismissed summarily as mere super-structural. The author also clearly pin points the fact that the main aim of the author is not to construct any grand theory of segregationist attitude and in away it aims primarily to bring fragmented pieces of information together in a systematic manner and focus on state and administrative arrangement in a broad sense, it is a descriptive paper than an analytical one.

Regionalism: Developmental Tensions In India by Akhtar Majeed. The author in this book talks about the concept of regionalism in a very elaborate manner starting from the concept to the

manifestation of regionalism in India in which he talks about three types of regional manifestations; Supra-state regionalism, Intra-state regionalism and Inter-state regionalism and also regionalism as a separate statehood movement. He also points out the fact that linguistic homogeneity strengthens regionalism in both positive and negative senses, in the former it strengthens in unity in the later through emotional frenzy. In a nutshell this is a very important book in the initial stages of studying regionalism in India and the reasons behind the outbreak of regional sentiments.

Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspective (ed) by Tanka Bahadur Subba Ashok Kumar Mittal. This book is divided into Five Sections starting from conceptual and theoretical issues like ethnic identity crisis and rethinking Gorkha identity, section two deals with search for Indian national identity, the neglect of Nepali discourses in India and the consolidation of Nepali identity, section three includes regional identities of Indian Nepalis, section four deals with Nepali sub culture, youth, women ,food and medicine where as section five talks about India Nepal linkage history literature and people. This book covers different aspect of identity issues of the Indian Nepalis for example in section five B C Upreti had talked about India Nepal treaty of Peace and Friendship.Nature Problem and the questions of identity of Indian Nepalis which is very important in understanding the core reasons that had substantiated the maturation of feeling of identity crisis among the Nepali speaking people of India. This book is a very good compilation of papers covering different aspects to understand the theoretical issue relating to identity and nationality question across cultures relating to Indian Nepalis.

Government of West Bengal Department of Information. *Gorkhaland Agitation facts and Issues: Information Document II*. It is a document published by the Director of Information Calcutta on the agitation for a separate state for Nepali speaking population in Darjeeling and its vicinity by the Gorkha National Liberation Front(GNLF). This document begins with an assessment of the impact of the ten months old agitation during 1980s by the GNLF on the economic and social life in the hills. This document is a sequel to the September document and it was an attempt to provide an updated account of the incidents occurred during that point of time.

Ethnic Groups in Conflict by Donald L Horowitz. This is a standard book on ethnic conflict which gives a theoretical aspect of insight matter focusing on the logic and structure of conflict and discussing measures to combat it. It talks about important issues which affect all levels of

society; we may say that it is a foundational work on ethnic conflict literature, mainly from South East Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. This book is divided into five parts, starting from the dimensions of ethnic conflict to Conflict Theory and conflict motives to paradigms of military ethnicity, to policies to reduce ethnic conflict. This book is a very good book to understand ethnic conflict in theoretical perspective.

Gorkhaland Movement : Ethnic Conflict and State Response by Swatasiddha Sarkar. This book on Gorkhaland Movements attempts to problematise the issue of State ethnicity relationship keeping in view the ongoing research activities taken place in the field of conflict resolution and peace studies. This book gives a critical analysis of the state led response towards the containment of the movement in the year 2012 and offers a sociological aspect of resolution. The author seeks to explain the working of regional autonomy model based on the sociology of conflict resolution, he proceeds by analyzing the historical conflict in Darjeeling in response to state policy and forms of governance. The author also argues that the main reason for the failure of the government to stop the conflict through autonomous council is its unresponsiveness to the ground reality of ethnic conflict in the hills. The author also identifies weaknesses in the state's failure to address the contradictions inbuilt in its nation state project. Instead of fostering a feeling of togetherness the autonomous council created a feeling of disparity. The author then talks about the emergence of the violent movement in the 1980s and its persistent demand for regional autonomy and language inclusion and the unresponsiveness of the government to these demands. The major problem came to the state after the formation of the DGHC. In view of allegation of corruption and violence against GNLF the author blames the government for following a policy of least interference which resulted into the autonomous council become a war zone for capturing power over council and also become a means of elite creation in Darjeeling. The author concludes that the solution of ethnic conflict in Darjeeling does not lie in addressing developmental concerns through negotiations with elites whose representation of the population is questionable. Instead it must ensure the participation of the broader public and address the ethnic identity question through an approach of "integrative peace" instead of "forceful assimilation"(p133). This book is a well researched and well structured book. It is not only highly valuable book for those trying to understand the history of Gorkhaland movement and its further development after 2007, but it also questions the value of autonomous council policy in resolving such ethnic problems in other parts as well.

Fallen Cicada – Unwritten History of Darjeeling Hills by Barun Roy (2003). This is the most celebrated book by Barun Roy, in dealing with the history of Darjeeling Hills the author had used a different approach. The is divide into three parts. The author writes about the unknown facts of Darjeeling in doing so he begins with the evolution of Darjeeling, the influx of early settlers, the evolution of ‘support towns’, the evolution of Darjeeling Himalaya Railways , Darjeeling hills plunging into the independence movement, Darjeeling during the second World War and a Gorkha at the Constituent assembly. This book is an addition to modern History of Darjeeling providing a lot of information about the Gorkha people and the hills. *Gorkhas and Gorkhaland. A Socio Political Study of the Gorkha People and Gorkhaland Movement* by Barun Roy. “Barun Roy puts to rest all the questions involving Gorkhas and Gorkhaland. A must read for Gorkhas and non Gorkhas alike”. As stated by Dr. Penelop Whitaker, this book is a well written manuscript adding higher clarification in the history of Darjeeling and making the reasons visible behind the demand for Gorkhaland. This book is a sociological and anthropological study of the Gorkha people which is done in the first part of the book. The author did a long and extensive study of the Gorkha people and the book provide enough information to know about the Gorkhas of India as Indians. This book has another two parts. In part two the author deals with the demographic study of Gorkhaland whereas book three deals with the movement for a separate state. The author provides a detailed account of the information on the social anthropological and cultural dispersion. Not known by many of us the author gives a relevant information about the division of major streams of races in the Gorkha community. Most importantly the ethnicity issue of the nepali speaking people in India has been dealt in a totally different way by the author. The author had also given information about the Muslim league hoisting the Pakistani flag over the Town hall in Darjeeling and also in kalimpong and Kurseong on 14 August 1947 and the reaction of the Gorkha people. This book can be regarded as a wide ranging book in modern Indian Gorkha history. It is a must read for those trying to understand the Gorkhaland Movement.

Sub Regional Movements in India with reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland by Snehomoy Chakladar K P Bagchi. It is a book on Nepalese and Bodo political movement in Darjeeling district in West Bengal and Kokhrajhar district in Assam. Sub regional movement is a sequence of regional movement and immediately after independence various regional movements outbroke and various linguistic communities demanded reorganization. This book is a very brief bookpin-

pointing about the movements and the author also seeks to give prescription for granting statehood.

Construction and Consolidation of the Telengana Identity by H.Srikant in the Economic and Political Weekly. According to the author the movement for a separate Telengana state has been hailed by many intellectuals as a democratic struggle of the people of that region. The paper deals with the process by which the Telengana identity has been built and also has emphasized on different factors which had contributed to such construction of identity. The author also brings out the fact that the Telengana identity is partly built on facts and partly on half truths. According to the author intellectuals had played a great role on construction and consolidation of telengana identity especially Keshav Rao Yadav and K Jayashankar. The author also highlights the role played by artists and information technology in garnering the movement and he also concludes that the construction of the Telengana identity is created in the same way as any ethnic identity movement is created and there is no denying the fact that some of the districts in Telengana are underdeveloped and it may be said that regional identity movement may not be the only solution for Telengana or any other region, to the author the left parties could have played an important and pr active role in reconciling the masse of the three regions by educating and mobilizing them and resolve internal differences and disparities.

Telengana Movement: The Demand for Separate State. A Historical Perspective by K Jayashankar. This article is a work done by one of the eminent intellectuals behind the Telengana Movement where the author gives a detailed account of the reasons behind the movement to regain its momentum in 2006. The author very sharply points out the recommendation of the State Reorganization Committee (SRC) set up by the Government of India in 1950s, to examine the issue of reorganization of States, but despite of the recommendation of the SRC which was not in favour of a merger of Telengana with Andhra State, the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 which was however not unconditional, facilitated by a number of promises and constitutional safe guards. The author gives a highlight to the promises made to the people in the form of Gentle men's Agreement(1956), which never materialized into reality and thus resulted into massive revolts by the people of the Telengana region. The author also points out a comparative picture of development in different sectors over the last 47 years highlighting the imbalance that persist. The author gives a region wise comparative study in the areas like

irrigation, tank irrigation, education primary and collegiate, industries, employment and finance all revealed that Telengana remained at the lowest. At the end the author raises a number of questions to him these question are somewhat a result of ignorance, some out of bias and some out of genuine concern for maintaining status-quo yet he attempts to answer his own questions his own way.

Sri Krishna Committee Report on Telengana: Recommendations at Variance with Analysis by C H Hanumantha Rao. A committee constituted by the Government of India headed by Justice B N Srikrishna to examine the situation in Andhra Pradesh with reference to the demand for a separate state of Telengana as well as the demand for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh, submitted its report on 31st December 2010 after carrying a wide range of comprehensive analysis of the relevant data of socio economic aspect. The author gives a very nice insight of the Sri Krishna Committee's analysis in reference to its suggestion that a separate Telengana state is viable which is favoured by a large majority of the people. The Committee examined on the three bearing issues bearing on the formation of a separate state of Telengana viz its economic viability, social inclusion and cohesion and the wishes of the people of Telengana and found them strongly favouring the creation of a Telengana State with Hyderabad as its capital. But the Committee had fears on three counts vehement opposition from the intellectual section of Semandhara particularly to Hyderabad becoming the capital of Telengana, similar demands of smaller state cropping up in the country and the impact on the internal security situation with the anticipated growth of Maoism and religious growth of fundamentalism which has been discussed in Chapter 8 of the report .The Committee tended to regard big state as strong and small state as weak. Balancing various considerations the Committee recommended keeping the state united by creating a statutory empowered Telengana Regional Council, a Water management Board and Irrigation Project Development Corporation. As the second best option the Committee recommended bifurcation into Telengana with Hyderabad as its capirtal and Seemandhaha to have a new capital, only in case it is unavoidable. Above all the Srikrishna Committee preferences shows that in our system opting for radical change by moving away from status quo is not easy.

Nizam British Relations 1724-1857 by Sarojini Regani. This book deals with the political relation of the Nizam of Hyderabad with the British East India Company. It is divided into

eleven Chapters starting from Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I and the English up to Hyderabad and 1857. This book is written with a historian's perspective digging into the traces of the Deccan history as early as 1724 when Asaf Jahi dynasty was established in the Deccan as he emerged victor against Mubariz Khan the last of the Mughal emperor's nominee. This book gives a detailed account of the French influence to the Anglo French rivalry, Nizam Ali Khan to the cession of the Northern Sarkars to the English East India Company, the Metcalf's Reform to the Wahabi Movement and Hyderabad, the sporadic attempts made by the common masses, the general dislike towards the Company's rule resulting the war of 1857 against the British rule. The attempts made by the common people to overthrow the British rule throws important light on the history of freedom movement in Hyderabad during this period.

Comparative Perspective on Social Movements. Political opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings (ed) by Dough McAdams, John D McCarthy and Mayer N Zald Cambridge University Press. As historians have produced over the years a wealth of theoretical and empirical scholarship on social movements and revolutions. It is the right time when the authors have taken stock of this mushrooming literature, possibly to discern the clear outline of a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements that transcends the limit of any single theoretical approach to the topic. This book rests on that perspective even as it seeks to extend and apply it comparatively. The authors have emphasized on the emerging agreement among movement scholars regarding the importance of three factors i) the structures of political opportunities and constraints confronting the movement ii) the forms of organization (informal as well as formal) available to insurgents iii) the collective process of interpretation attribution and social construction that mediate between opportunities and action in short political opportunities, mobilizing structures and framing processes. The growing agreement between movement scholars that these three factors can often sometimes have very different and often sometimes have antagonistic perspective in which they develop. The authors begin by discussing each of these factors separately with an eye to acknowledge the divergent intellectual streams that have influenced work on each. All these years the scholars have tended to study one aspect of the movement but the challenge here lies is to sketch a relationship between these factors thus leading to a fuller understanding of the movement dynamics.

Gorkhaland Crisis of Statehood by Romit Bagchi Sage publication India Pvt Ltd. 2012. The book starts with “Gorkhaland- a Psychological Study” a demand for separate state called Gorkhaland by the hill people in Darjeeling. The demand is made by the hill people who are completely different from the rest of Bengal. He presents two psyche condition one is the people demanding a separate state because according to them they are not acknowledged at the national level and a separate state will give them identity, on the other hand there are people who are unable to accept it. The history of Darjeeling is complicated and treacherous where the author narrates the chronological history of the movement from the first time demand of a separate administrative set up by the Hill people to the GTA in 2011. This gives a quick overview to the readers about the movement. However the authors writing seems to be anti Gorkhaland who does not believe in the demand himself which can be understood by the attempt of writing the book in a non believer way, in doing so he had overlooked the aspiration of the hill people and had made no attempts in analyzing it from a neutral point of view but had made his study narrow. The author in his epilogue views “the Telengana trajectory moving fast things seems to be uncertain for the hills” which is predictive as the formation of Telengana has been supported by the Centre whereas the demand for Gorkhaland is taking a different course.

Ethnonationalism in India: A Reader (Critical Issues in Indian Politics) by 20th July 2012. This reader the fourth in the critical issues in Indian politics series is an anthology of key theoretical essays and analytical writings on Ethnonationalism movements and conflicts that frame major debate. The country’s exceptional ethnonational diversity has long been an area of puzzle to students of comparative politics. This volume brings together important works in the study of Ethnonationalism in India in its various manifestations like separatism, secessionism and sub-nationalism and regionalism. Discussing various Ethnonational movements in India including the North-East, Punjab and Kashmir movements, the volume covers their initiation, subsequently trajectory and the role of the state. The first part provides the context discussing democracy, diversity and devolution and the containment of social and political power. The second and third part focus on Kashmir as a legacy of partition and the North-East respectively. Both parts discuss the nature of contest among various forms of legitimate and not legitimate power in these conflicts. Dealing with the nature of federal design, the fourth part discusses conflict negotiation between a democratic nation and prospective breakaway units with an emphasis on how such situations are controlled. The fifth part explores the theory of fragmented nationalism and relates

it to the specifics of the situation in India. The concluding part charts the rise and fall of self determination movement across the country.

Nation Civil Society and Social Movements Essays in Political Sociology by T K Oommen Sage Publication Pvt.Ltd.2004. This book is a collection of twelve essays on three interrelated themes of Nation, Civil Society and Social Movements organized in three parts each having four chapters. Chapter (1-4) discusses some aspects of nation and nationalism. Chapter (5-8) deals with different dimensions of Civil Society and the last four chapters (9-12) analyze social movement from different vantage points. The author seeks to explain the gap between the theoretical assumption behind the construction of nation state and the empirical reality. Particularly in the case of india and Pakistan also srilanka the author argues that project homogenization is not yet successful and also not likely to succeed in future, therefore inividual equality alongwith group identity will have to co-exist. It is in this contextthat one should recognize the salience of collective rights within south asian states as an antidote to collective alienation and to deligitimise successtionist movements. In chapter three the author argued that religion cannot be basis of nation formation in democratic state for which he had provided several imperical facts and theoretical assumption. The fear of balkanization is based in India through partition of the Indian subcontinents based on religious ground. The demand for linguistic state by the dissatisfied linguistic community led the linguistic reorganization of India. In fact the demand for new states still continues. The author gives two reasons behind the continuing demand for new state. First, even though the Indian state is conceived as a multi layered entity- a union/federal, provincial, autonomous regions, zila parishad panchayat hardly any authority is conceded to the lower three levels. This prompts a demand for provincial state by regional linguistic communities, ignoring their population, size and financial viability. Second, the cultural specificity of subaltern communities is not only ignored but sought to destroyed through their vivisection and attachment to the state dominated by major linguistic communities which results in the former's marginalization and alienation. He also points that the failuire of the states in India to link culture and governance systematically provides an important agenda for the society. Moreover, the recognition of language as the basis for politico administrative units has attended to the deprivation of most of the speech communities. The author had identified four critical pre requisites for equipping civil society to contribut positively to good governance. One of the four pre requisites of good governance is providing representation to all segments of

people from all walks of life which is possible only through education and training. In chapter nine the author argues that social movements and social policies are two different instruments pursuing the same goal. Yet in conventional social research they are just opposed as polar opposites. In chapter 10 the author talks about comparative analyses of social movements in 3 societies. Chapter 11 talks about new social movements while in chapter 12 the author seeks to explain that the movements are widely believed to be response to discontents of modernity. The modernisation project of India was exogenously initiated colonialism being its launching pad. After political freedom arrived the process of modernization was accelerated through planned development, industrialization, legislation and social movements of the deprived. Through the process of nation building the twin objective of ensuring equality to all providing dignified identity to traditionally disabled communities were sought to be achieved. The discontent of modernity was qualitatively different and the new social movements of India addresses the issue of equality and identity.

Battleground Telengana: Chronicals of Agitation by Kingshuk Nag Harper Collins (2011). In this book the author seems to go back to the history and seeks to explain the cultural background of Telengana and Andhra region. Giving the detail of Telengana region the author discusses the golden rule of the Nizams of Hyderabad its people's fight for basic needs and the region under the British rule. The book explores the core of the complex issue and the underlying causes of the Telengana movement. It throws light on the situation in Telengana before the reorganization of linguistic states in 1950. The author also talks about the first mass movement in 1960 for separate state of Telengana, by giving a detailed picture of the failure of the movement and its consequences. However, the book is informative rather than analytical, it consists of facts that analysis. Altogether the history statistics the political rivalry rampant in the book throws enough light on the much coveted root cause analysis needed to understand the Telengana movement. The author seeks to provide solution which seems highly valid but how far they are implementable is a big question. All in all this book is a must read to understand the Telengana movement.

G. Palanithurai. Polyethnicity in India and Canada. Possibilities for Exploration. M.S Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi (1997). This book is a small handy volume of ethnic movement in India and Canada. This book is a collection of articles which throw light on a variety of issues

confronting the politics of the two nations namely India and Canada. Ethnicity was once felt as a negative factor for growth and development. But at present it is reckoned with a phenomenon influencing the national and regional politics both in the breadth and length of the developing and the developed countries. India and Canada provide striking similarities and commonalities in the structure and governance of their political system. This book highlights major areas and issues of politics of both the countries. The first article identified certain areas of common interest in Canadian and Indian politics for meaningful theorization. It also analyses the implication of the usage of religion, language and culture, which is rightly possible in a comparative study. In the second article the role played by the two ethnic parties namely Parti Quebece (PQ) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagan (DMK) has been highlighted in mobilizing the people. The third article analyses the modulations of ethnic fervor among the collectivities of Tamils and Quebece. The fourth article attempts a relative evaluation of the French-English situation in Canada and Tamil-Hindi situation in India from the perspective of history, ethnic assertiveness and linguistic conflict. The fifth article makes a modest attempt to study the nature of change the ethnic groups have undergone in the political process of the society and the state system in managing the ethnic groups. The sixth part attempts to analyse a very vital aspect of the changing scenario and its necessity to evolve a new paradigm to explain the ethnic politics in India and Canada. It brings out a new postulate to manage the ethnic conflict that by shifting power from the higher to lower institutions nearer to the people, ethnic tension could be reduced. The seventh article makes a slow departure from the conventional wisdom of looking at factors from historical, sociological, institutional approaches to demographic and psychological analyses of the ethno-politics in Quebece and Tamil Nadu. The main concern of the inquiry is to construct a design to study the role played by the French Canadian women in Canada and Tamil women in India the ethnic politics of the two regions. The eighth article highlights the formula adopted by the Indian State system in building the nation and state. It deals with the issue of national integration. It tries to answer certain questions like, when and why is the identity of language, culture ,religion, race, region considered dangerous to the unity of the nation? In the last article the author analyses the fast changing pattern of perception of the people of Tamil Nadu over the ethnic issue. More specifically the governing factors of changing relationship between the centre and the ethnic groups have been analysed. In a nutshell the whole work was done in linking the Quebece issue with Tamil issues for meaningful theorization. The value system has been totally

eroded the space provided by state system to the ethnic groups in Indian content especially in Tamil Nadu tilted the balance in the approach of the groups.

State Politics in India : Reflections on Andhra Pradesh by Agarala Easwar Reddi and D Sundar Ram(1994).This edited volume is divided into two parts. Part one of the volume entitled “Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh deals with the ongoing transformation of the power politics from 1983. Part two is devoted to the study of different Lok Sabha and Assembly Elections of Andhra Pradesh state from 7th to 10th Parliament and 6th to 8th Legislative Assemblies. It also provides a detailed analysis on the election to rural and local bodies in Andhra Pradesh held in March 1987. This book is quite informative as it covers important themes relating to Andhra Pradesh state politics. The contributors to the volume by and large made an attempt in understanding the party politics and electoral politics and to bring out their reflection on the state politics of Andhra Pradesh as a whole.

Untangling Telengana by Goutam Penge Economic and Political Weekly Vol- XLV111 no 44 Nov 2, 2013. In this article the author wants to make a clear distinction about the fears of the Andhra people over sharing of water, government jobs and personal safety but the conflict which he termed as ‘real’ over the way the division of the state and the position of Hyderabad will affect the two power base ruling caste- the Kammas and the Reddys. This article is very informative it provides all the data necessary to know about the region and understand the actual fear of the people. The author is of the opinion that Telengana needs neither Reddys nor Kammas they only need peace and development and life after this divorce which Nehru had given the name of a matrimonial alliance would not ease but worsen the situation by creating ill will and resorting to self destructive actions.

I.17 Research Gap:

Regionalism is thus a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country as a whole. There are various factors which brick the wall of regional sentiments of emotional attachment and affinity with that region which they think as theirs. Factors like language, economy, political and administrative issues plays pivotal role in mobilizing people. Psychological factor is also another dimension on which people get sensitized. Any protest

movement occurring in a particular social set up is not without favourable variables. There are traditional theories of such movements and a general review is required.

For the purpose of the present study that we have undertaken, the conceptual understanding of social movements which can be stated to be a broader umbrella or genus. There are three main theories which explain the emergence of a movement. They are relative deprivation, strain and revitalization. Aberle¹¹ in the year 1966 gave a definition to relative deprivation. According to him, relative deprivation is a negative incongruity between legitimate anticipation and actuality. He considered this concept as the basis of social movements. Gurr (1970) included perceived capabilities also in addition to the expectations in the theory of relative deprivation. This theory has also guided some studies on agitation and mass movements. Relative deprivation is described as player's recognition of inconsistency between their value desires and their environment's manifest value potentialities. Value prospects are the goods and conditions of life to which people suppose they are fairly entitled. The limitation of this theory is however pointed out by a number of Indian scholars. M.S.A Rao asserts that relative deprivation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for protest movements. Shah (1979) argues that the theory of relative deprivation ignores the importance of consciousness and the ideological aspect of the participants. It explains protest and movements of revolt, but does not analyze revolutionary movements. Protest does not necessarily lead to movements. T.K. Oommen (1979) also argues that the deprivation theorist view movements as 'temporary aberrations' rather than as 'on-going process of change'. Moreover they do not deal with the sources of deprivation. For Gurr, 'deprivation' is primarily psychological; therefore he does not deal with the socio-economic structure which is the source of deprivation.

The theory of Strain was developed by Smelser¹² in the year 1962. This theory is also known as the theory of collective behaviour. The major factor of this collective behaviour is structural strain. The structural strain occurs at various levels like norms, values and mobilization. Strain together with the generalised belief of the people result in the emergence of a collective action according to the strain theory.

Wallace¹³ (1956) suggested that social movements emerge out of the deliberate, organised, conscious effort of the members of a society for better conditions. According to Wallace,

revitalisation has got four phases namely, period of cultural stability, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion and consequent disillusionment and the period of revitalisation. According to the revitalisation theory, social movements express dissatisfaction, dissent and protest against the existing conditions. But at the same time they offer a practical solution to remedy the difficult situations (Rao, 1979).

Since the early 1970s, new strands of theory and empirical research have arisen, one in the United States and one in Western Europe. The first, called resource mobilization theory, takes as its starting point a critique of those theories that explain social movements as arising from conditions of social disorganization and strain and as finding their recruits among the isolated and alienated. By contrast, resource mobilization theorists argue that the success of social movements rests mainly on the resources that are available to them; this means forming coalitions with already-existing organizations, securing financial support, and mounting effective and organized campaigns of political pressure. As a result of this emphasis on strategy, resource mobilization theorists downplay the factor of ideology in the study of social movements (Kumar L.).

India is an example of complex plural society with segmental cleavages of religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial or ethnic nature (Eckstein, 1966). After studying the theories of social movement it can be admitted that the above mentioned theoretical frame is not suited to understand or explain social movements in India because social movements in India cannot be taken as a radical outcome it has a long genesis, in some cases it goes back to the colonial period. Moreover socio-political, economic, cultural and ethnic factors also work as agents in the process of movement generation which has been overlooked by the above mentioned theories. In India social movements should be dealt in broad dynamics of intersections of societal parameters.

There has been a massive attention of scholars and experts on secessionist ethnic insurgencies in Kashmir Valley, Punjab and other parts of the country. One such area that needs further proliferation and is equally important is the political mobilization of ethnic groups in demand for a separate state within Indian federation. For instance the growth of the Gorkhaland movement is on ethno-lingual ground claiming that a separate state will be able to solve the issue of identity crisis which every Gorkha is facing in the country, and a few of such demands have reached

physically powerful face of violence and conflict. A major significance of the study is to aim at providing a deep analysis of the of such movement with the only objective of attaining a separate state separate statehood demand with the stated objective of attaining a separate state.

Also there are a very few studies made that have analysed the causes of ethnic separatist agitation in a comparative way in order to bring out major similarities and differences between such movements which is highly essential in understanding the causes and consequences for effective policy making aimed towards ethnic conflict management. This study will try to bridge the existing gap between Scholarly literature on ethnic statehood agitation and separate statehood demand in a comparative manner.

I.18 Objective of the Study:

- i) It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement in our case viz. the Gorkhaland and Telengana movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, governmentt in power and parliamentary system of politics.
- ii) In respect of both the movements to understand the idea of culture or identity as a foundation for political mobilization.
- iii) To have a deeper understanding of the relationship between the leadership of the movement and the government.

I.19 Significance of the Study:

A major significance of the study is to aim at providing a deep analysis of an organised political movement here we have taken the Gorkhaland and the Telengana movement for our study with the only objective of attaining a separate state in terms of their origin, development and outcome. As mentioned there are a very few studies made that have analysed the causes of ethnic separatist agitation in a comparative way, so the present study undertaken will open new dimension in the field of comparative study and will certainly become useful to any reader to enhance one's ken.

I.20 A Synoptic View of the Study undertaken:

The term regionalism as it should be, represents the regional idea in action as an ideology, as a social movement, or as the theoretical basis for regional planning. However regionalism as a movement may be outlined as a cultural and political movement, trying to protect and encourage an indigenous culture and to promote autonomous political institutions in particular regions or an administrative and political movement, aiming at the creation of a democratized and integrated governmental structure at an intermediate level between the state and traditional organs of local government.

The diverse character of Indian nationality is over and over again upset by lack of sentiments arising out of deprivation, mainly economic underdevelopment, unemployment regional disparity etc. slowly leading to the growth of separatist sentiments which is ultimately manifested as regional movement. India is strangled with the epidemic of regionalism infecting states with regional upsurge and political turmoil and the formation of separate autonomous state at the cost of nation building.

Reconceptualising regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular is not a major concern of the undertaken study. It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement namely the Gorkhaland and Telengana movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, govt in power and parliamentary system of politics.. It also focuses on the relevant consideration that are brought to bare on the course of the movement by both the govt and the leadership of the movement. The political movement that have the objective of controlling a territory.

The demands for separate states have come from across the country. These regions having different regional identity on the line of region, language, culture, caste and class now pose a grave challenge to the Indian federalism. The constitutional approach justifying the demand for a state of Gorkhaland is altogether a different consideration in perception to the aspects of the Telangana demand. The context between the two are quite different and apart but at the end the justification is the same , both the people of these areas have a legal right to demand a state of their own as provided by law ,the Constitution of India. In the upcoming chapters the study undertaken makes a deeper understanding of both the movements in terms of origin, development and outcome of both the movements to see how far both the movements draw

resemblances and differences in their process of maturation based on the Strategic Relational Approach which would engage in investigation and findings answers of the research question undertaken in the present study.

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1.I Proposed Map of Gorkhaland:



CHAPTER – II

CHAPTER II

The History of Darjeeling and the Gorkhaland Movement

2.1 Gorkhaland - Introduction:

This chapter takes a close look at the history of the Darjeeling Hills starting from 1780s that is when Darjeeling formed a part of dominions of the Chogyal of Sikkim. To understand the rise of the demand for Gorkhaland in the Hills by the majority Nepali speaking people, it is very necessary to understand the convoluted history of Darjeeling Hills consisting of wars, deeds, treaties and transfers, it is a very difficult task to dig deep into the uneven panorama of historical facts because deliberate deformation of history often fabricate the truth. The flow of migration of people due to developmental activities in the hills inexorably encouraged the articulation of a distinct identity among the Hill people which is completely different from the rest of Bengal led to the demand for a separate state as a result of a sense of exclusiveness and deprivation among the hill people.

The anticipated state of Gorkhaland in the Union of India is to be formed by carving out the Darjeeling District and the Dooars area of Jalpaiguri in West Bengal. Gorkhaland is a proposed state in India demanded by the majority Nepali speaking people of Darjeeling hills and the people of Gorkha ethnic origin in Dooars in northern West Bengal. The movement for Gorkhaland has achieved impetus in the line of ethno-linguistic-cultural sentiment of the people who wish to recognize themselves as Gorkha.

2.2 The Emergence of the Gorkhas:

The term Gorkha is used by the people of Darjeeling to differentiate themselves from the Nepali speaking people of Nepal. Indian Gorkhas are indigenous people living all along the Himalayan belt and the North-East states of India. The Gorkhas inhabit areas in J&K, Himachal, Uttarakhand, Sikkim, Darjeeling, Assam, and all other states in the North- East region of India.

In all of these regions the Gorkhas claim to have a long history going back to the pre-independence days. The Gorkhas have contributed to the history of these places as soldiers,

administrators, plantation workers, agriculturalists, and as educationists. It is gradually the Gorkhas had spread to different parts and now they live in the major cities of India. The Gorkha community is not confined to any region particularly the hills but present all over the country.

The Gorkhas have made very important contributions to the Indian Freedom Struggle. Many young Gorkha soldiers laid down their lives during the Freedom Struggle. Post-independence, Gorkhas have richly contributed to the nation-building as brave soldiers defending the borders of India, members of the Constituent Assembly, Parliamentarians, Chief Ministers, MLAs, educationists, academicians, administrators, journalists, writers, sportspersons, and artists. Gorkhas speak Nepali language which is included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India.

The ethnic identity of 'Gorkha' comes from the district of Gorkha within Nepal which was the kingdom of the Prithvi Narayan Shah. In 1835 there were 10,000 Gorkhas in the Darjeeling Hills. By the start of the twentieth century, Gorkhas made a modest socio-economic advance through government service, and a small anglicized elite developed among them. In today's Darjeeling, however, the term Gorkha tends to be applied to all Nepali-speaking people. It is a political rather than an ethnic label to embrace a multi-ethnic group consisting of indigenous tribes of the area and Nepali immigrants with Indian citizenship. What unites them all is probably their common aversion to the Bengali majority (Network, 2008).

As per as the *Gazette notification*¹⁰ of India on the issue of citizenship of the Gorkhas the following was notified: Whereas it has come to the notice of the Central Government that there have been some misconception about the citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution of India of certain classes of person commonly known as Gorkhas, who had settled in India at such commencement. And whereas it is considered necessary to clear such misconception it is hereby clarified as follows:

(1) As from the commencement of the Constitution, that is as from 26-1-1950, every Gorkha who had his domicile in the territory of India, that is, in the territories which on 26-1-1950 became

¹⁰ <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/gazette-notification/> accessed on 29/7/2014. (also see annexure for further details)

part of or constituted the territory of India as defined in Article-1 (2)of the Constitution of India and-

(a)Who was born in the territory of India or

(b) Either of whose parents was born in the territory of India.

(c) Who had been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than five years before such commencement shall be a citizen of India as provided in Article 5 of the Constitution of India.

(2) No such person as is referred to in paragraph (1) above shall be a citizen of India or be deemed to be a citizen of India if he has voluntarily acquired the citizenship of any foreign State, as provided in Article 9 of the Constitution of India.

(3) Every person who is citizen of India at the commencement of the Constitution as aforesaid shall continue to be such a citizen subject to the provision of any law that may be made Parliament as provided in Article 10 of the Constitution of India.

(4) The provisions of the Citizenship Act 1965 and the Rules and orders made there-under shall apply to the persons referred to in paragraph (1) after the commencement of Constitution (ibid).

2.3 History of Darjeeling district Area:

The name ‘Darjeeling’ came from the Tibetan word ‘dorje’ meaning thunderbolt (originally the scepter of Indra) and ‘ling’ a place or land and hence ‘the land of the thundebolt’ (Dasgupta J. , 1970). So far as old records are concerned, Tibetan monks from 1757 to 1763 completed building a Budddhist Monastery on the flat land atop the observatory Hills as a branch of the Pemionchi Monastery in Sikkim. The chief abbot of this newly built monastery was named after Rinzing Dorji Lagden La¹¹, so the Tibetans called it ‘Dorji-Ling’(ling house or abode or monastery) meaning ‘the place where Dorji lives’ (Noorani, 1987).

¹¹ Nicholas & Deki Rhodes: A man of the Frontier, S.W. Laden La 1876-1936, His life and Times in Darjeeling and Tibet,2006.

The tract of territory that at present goes by the name Darjeeling, is literally a land of historical ironies. It had belonged to one, acquired to India by another and is claimed by group which have only a century old association with it (Chakrabarty, 1988, p. 5).

The history of Darjeeling is intertwined with that of Bengal, Sikkim and Nepal. A land mark year in the history of Darjeeling district was 1835, but it would be appropriate to trace its history before that. Prior to its acquisition by the East India Company in 1835, Darjeeling formed a part of Sikkim and for a brief period of Nepal. However neither the history of Sikkim, nor the history of Nepal furnish any account of its early history¹². The area of Darjeeling formed a part of dominions of the Chogyal¹³ of Sikkim before the 1780s, who had been engaged in unsuccessful warfare against the Gorkhas of Nepal. From 1780, the Gorkhas made several attempts to capture the entire region of Darjeeling. By the beginning of 19th century, they had overrun Sikkim as far eastward as the Teesta River and had conquered and annexed the Terai.

In the meantime, the British were engaged in preventing the Gorkhas from overrunning the whole of the northern frontier. The Anglo-Gorkha war broke out in 1814, which resulted in the defeat of the Gorkhas and subsequently led to the signing of the Sugauli Treaty in 1815. Sugauli Treaty: According to the treaty, Nepal had to cede all those territories which the Gorkhas had annexed from the Chogyal of Sikkim to the British East India Company (i.e. the area between Mechi River and Teesta River). Later in 1817, through the Treaty of Titalia, the British East India Company reinstated the Chogyal of Sikkim, restored all the tracts of land between the Mechi River and the Teesta river to the Chogyal of Sikkim and guaranteed his sovereignty¹⁴.

With the intervention of the British, the Gorkhas were prevented from turning the whole of Sikkim into a province of Nepal and Sikkim including the present District of Darjeeling was retained as a buffer state between Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet (Kluyev, 1981).

¹² Webster's Third New International Dictionary II, 1982, cited in Satish Chandra et al(ed), Regionalism and National Integration, Jaipur Alakesh 1976, pp80-81.

¹³ A title meaning a king with reference to Sikkim in its monarchical History, who rules with righteousness, duly performing the rites in accordance with the Buddhist scriptures as presided over by the Lamas.

¹⁴ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gorkhaland> accessed on 14/2/2013.

The controversy did not end there. Later, in 1835, the hill of Darjeeling, including an enclave of 138 square miles (360 km²), was given to the British East India Company by Sikkim, executed with a Deed of Grant. (also Annexure I for further details).

In November 1864, the Treaty of Sinchula was executed, in which the Bengal Dooars, which originally had been under the Cooch Behar State and taken over by Bhutan in the second half of the eighteenth century with the passes leading into the hills of Bhutan and Kalimpong were ceded to the British by Bhutan (Debnath, 2010). Kalimpong as well had been a part of Sikkim and was occupied by Bhutan in 1700; but according to the Treaty Sinchula was ceded to British India along with the eleven Bengal Dooars; though seven Assam Dooars had already been taken over by the British in 1842. The present Darjeeling district can be said to have assumed its present shape and size in 1866.

2.4 Anglo Nepalese War (1814-1815):

From 1790-1816, Darjeeling and its immediate adjacent area were swamped by the Gorkhas of Nepal. After the Anglo Nepalese War (1814-1815), the Treaty of Sigauli (see Annexure for further details) was signed between the Gorkhas and the East India Company. Darjeeling was taken from the Gorkhas of Nepal by the British and returned to the Sikkimese after the Treaty of Titaliya. In 1835, Col Lloyd became the representative of East India Company for Darjeeling. During his tenure Darjeeling was annexed into the British Indian Empire. However the original map of Darjeeling came into existence only after the induction of Kalimpong and Duars area after the Anglo-Bhutanese war of 1864 (Treaty of Sinchula). Darjeeling as we know of today was organised in 1866.

2.5 Significance of Darjeeling in Gorkha realization.

In 1835, when British authority was extended to Darjeeling it was virtually uninhabited with the population strength stood roughly around a hundred or so though formally it boasted the residence of one of the principal kazis and had been occupied by a large village. The population was mostly of Lepcha origin. When Cambell visited Darjeeling in 1839, he found there dense forest with negligible habitation (Dash, 1911) (Chakrabarty, 1988). The Britishers had divided the conquered territory into various categories like regulated, non regulated areas on the basis of location character and importance. The Council Act of 1861 abolished such distinction. Prior to

1861 and from 1870–1874, Darjeeling District was a ‘Non-Regulated Area’ (where acts and regulations of the British Raj did not automatically apply in the district in line with rest of the country, unless specifically extended) for preservation of indigenous system of simple natives.

From 1862 to 1870, it was considered a ‘Regulated Area’. The term ‘Non-Regulated Area’ was changed to ‘Scheduled District’ which kept the area outside the ambit of general law which was in operation throughout the country, in 1874 and again to ‘Backward Tracts¹⁵’ in 1919. The status was known as ‘Partially Excluded Area’ from 1935 until the independence of India. However, the district had been kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.

Following this in 1907, the first ever demand for “a separate administrative setup” for the District of Darjeeling was placed before the British government by the “leaders of the hill people”. The “Hill people” here referred to the Lepchas, Bhutias and the Gorkhas. Their main reason for doing so was their growing sense of insecurity against the educated hordes of the plain. The demand was ignored (Chakrabarty, 1988).

The memorandum of 1907, cannot be acknowledged as a concrete and crystallized effort on the part of the leaders or the elite section of the hill people. The term hill people is not used here as a special category. The author merely repeats the term used by the memorial list themselves. In 1907 memorandum was just a spark. More systematic and articulate demand for either a special status demand or autonomy from Bengal appeared in the year 1917. Once more just two yrs before another reform i.e Montague Chelmsford reforms and the subsequent govt of the India Act 1909. A deputation of Hillman off Darjeeling under the leadership of SW Ladenla and Kharga Bahadur Chettri met the then secretary of State for india Lord Chelmsford and presented the proposal for administrative separation from rest of Bengal¹⁶.

In 1917 the Hillmen's Association came into being and petitioned for the administrative separation of Darjeeling in 1917 and again in 1930 and 1934. Later in March 1920, Darjeeling planters association, european association and hillman’s association in a joint meeting at Darjeeling resolved that the Darjeeling district including the portion of jalpaiguri annexed from

¹⁵ Art 52 A (2) Government of India Act 1919.

¹⁶ Charakbarty, 1988 for details see D.B Gurung, Political Socialization of the Indian Nepalese in the early twentieth century in North Bengal Review June and December 1981, ppp-118.

Bhutan in 1865 should be excluded from Bengal when the reforms scheme 1919 act will be introduced in India¹⁷.

The ethnic consciousness of Gorkhas increased with the growth in their numbers. They organised themselves into a number of organisations¹⁸ 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. However, it was the GNLF, under the leadership of Subhash Ghising, who took the lead and became their sole spokesman in the 1980s. The GNLF raised many demands over time, such as a separate state of Gorkhaland; inclusion of Nepali/Gorkhali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution; granting of citizenship to pre-1950 settlers; abrogation of Clause 7 of the Indo-Nepalese Treaty of 1950; and the creation of a separate Indian Gorkha Regiment. (Kaushik, 2009).

2.6 Tea Plantation

The thrust of the English East India Company towards Darjeeling and the adjacent region was motivated by several factors. One of the major reasons emanated from the geo-political importance of Darjeeling as a part of Sikkim with which the British commercial compulsions were also closely associated. Throughout the 19th century the British interest in the overland trade with Tibet and Central Asia and the concomitant urgency for safeguarding the Northern border of India against China and Tibet turned out to be the guiding parameters in the British Policy towards the kingdoms of Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. Sikkim was of special interest to British rulers because of its strategic position. The borders of the kingdom of Sikkim touched China, Nepal, Bhutan and India. The small kingdom commanded the historic Kalimpong-Lhasa trade route which was the shortest one from India to the heart of Tibet. Two main ranges of the Himalayas – the Singalila range and the Chola range – enclosed Sikkim on the North of Darjeeling district and it was bounded on either side by Nepal and Bhutan. The major factor which motivated the drive of the British rulers towards Darjeeling was the possibility of the growth of tea industry in the district. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck had appointed a committee

¹⁷ Ibid see Gurung N.B Darjeeling (in Nepal), Kalimpong, 1971, pp.6-7.

¹⁸ Examples include: Gorkha Samiti, Hillmen's Association, Gorkha Association, Hill People's Social Union, All India Gorkha League, Gorkha National Liberation Front, and so on.

to suggest ways and means for developing tea industry in India. In 1841 Dr. Campbell started in Darjeeling the experiment of growing tea plant with a few seeds from Chinese stock. Campbell's experiment followed the progress report of Jackson on tea plantation in Darjeeling. Tea cultivation on commercial scale began in the district from 1856 onwards and the industry flourished rapidly which attracted the British planters in considerable number. The following table would show the rate of growth of tea industry in Darjeeling during the 2nd half of the 19th century. (Dasgupta, 1999).

Table II.1
Area under Tea Cultivation

Year	No. of gardens	Area under cultivation (in acres)	Net production (in Lbs)
1866	39	10000	433000
1870	113	18888	3928000
1885	175	38499	9090000
1895	186	48692	11714551

(Source: Darjeeling District Gazetteers by L.S.S.O'Mally, 1907)

Along with tea plantation, the prospects of forest products and cinchona plantation had also attracted the British. The most remarkable feature of the forests of Darjeeling, which constituted more than 90% of the hill areas of the district in mid-19th century and which even now cover 54% of the hill region of the district, has been the amazing variety of special laden with immense possibilities of commercial utilization.

2.7 The growth of Nepali Identity:

The other important aspect of Darjeeling agitation during pre independence days was the concern of the hill people for their identity as distinct from the plain's men. Time and again they emphasized their historical, cultural and racial specialities to justify the demand of autonomy. But these identity quests till then was suffering from extra territorial loyalties. In 1930 memorandum of the Gorkha settled and domiciled in Darjeeling stated, "that the Gorkhas although domiciled in british india still cherish the customs and traditions of their ancestors"¹⁹. And the 1934 memorandum of hillsman association remarked: " hill people of this district still cherish the same tradition.... As they prevail in the home of their origin"²⁰.Despite this limitation a new identity was gradually emerging. The Lepchas, Bhutias and various groups of tribesmen, a large section of whom came from Nepal in this process of transformation became the "hillman" and later all were to be bracketed under the umbrella identity : The Gorkha.

2.8 The growth of Nepali language and literature in Darjeeling Hills.

The Census Report of 1901 shows that there existed a linguistic heterogeneity in Darjeeling hills and the process of assimilation not yet started. Linguistically, the number of Nepali speaking people in Darjeeling district was 40,101 out of total of 1,42,492 hill people. Had the demand of 1907 been accepted Nepali nationality in Darjeeling hills could never have emerged (Debnath, Social and Political Tensions in North Bengal (Since 1947), 2007).

Language has always played an instrumental factor in creating growth of identity creation in any community and the growth of Nepali Language is no exception.The following is a table which shows growth of Nepali language among different communities in the Darjeeling hill region.

¹⁹ From Chakrabarty 1988 see Why Gorkhaland p-54.

²⁰Ibid, p-57

Table –II.2
Linguistic Analysis of the hill people of Darjeeling District

Communities	Language	Number
Rai		33,133
Chhetri	Nepali	11,597
Sanyasi	Nepali	1,151
Brahman	Nepali	6,470
Magor	Magar	11,912
Newar	Newari	5,770
Tamang	Tamang	24,465
Gurung	Gurungi	8,378
Limboo	Limboo	14,305
Sunuwar	Sunuwari	4,428
Yakha	Nepali	1,143
Dami	Nepali	4,643
Kami	Nepali	9,826
Sarki	Nepali	1,823
Dharti	Nepali	3,428
	Total	1,42,492

(Source: Census Report of 1901)

In spite of the above ethnic complexities of the Darjeeling district, a composite culture began to take shape in the three sub-divisions from the beginning of the present century. The bond of unity was provided by the Nepali language which, in Nepal, used to be known as ‘Khaskura’ or ‘Gorkha’ since the end of the 17th century. In Nepal, however, ‘Khaskura’ language mostly remained confined to the upper castes of Brahmin-Chetris even after the Gorkha ascendancy under Prithvinarayan Shah and it could not easily form a link for linguistic or cultural affinity with the various low-caste ethnic groups of Nepal who spoke Tibeto-Burman languages. But in Darjeeling the situation was altogether different. The low-caste Nepali migrants like the Rais, the Limbus, the Pradhans, the Tamangs and the Kirats, who spoke Tibeto-Burman dialects, picked

up a second language 'Khaskura' Nepali of the upper caste Brahmins and the Chetris. In India, in general, and in Darjeeling in particular, Nepali language gradually forged a bond of cultural unity and an ethnic link among various groups who have migrated from Nepal. Even the Lepchas and bhutias, in spite of their religious and linguistic differences with the Nepalis, slowly but ultimately accepted Nepali as the lingua franca in the hill-subdivisions of Darjeeling.

The move to improve Nepali language was initiated by the Christian missionaries at Serampore in Hooghly district of Bengal during the 1820's. A Grammar of Nepali Language was published by them. Later on Rev. William Macfarlane introduced Nepali as a language in the school which he established in Darjeeling. However, all these efforts of Christian missionaries were mostly motivated by their proselytizing zeal. Ganga Prasad Pradhan, one of the earliest Nepali converts to Christianity, translated the Bible into Nepali language. It was only after the emergence of Nepali literati led by personalities like Paras Moni Pradhan, Dharanidhar Koirala and Suryavikram Gewali that the ethnic cultural identity of the Nepalis of Darjeeling began to assert itself. It was because of their efforts in 1918 Calcutta university recognized Nepali as a vernacular language for the purpose of composition in the matriculation, intermediate and BA examinations. In 1920, the first authentic version of grammar was done by Paras moni Pradhan who himself was an inspector of schools. Dharanidhar Koirala composed simple poems dealing with the themes of social reforms, urging all Nepalis to the task of national awakening. Surya Vikram Gewali, in his writings gave a nationalist perspective on the Nepali royal and martial heroes. This literary movement was further strengthened by the publication of a Nepali monthly paper Chandrika which was edited by Paras Moni Pradhan in 1918. However, it was in 1901 that the 1st Nepali journal was published from Darjeeling and it was entitled as *Gorkha Khabar Kagat*. The famous Gorkha Patra was simultaneously published from Nepal. The journals published from 1900 to 1940 concentrated on different aspects of nepali society, culture and language. The social events were criticized and a radical change in the social outlook was advocated. Nepali Sahitya Sammelan Patra, published in 1932 contributed to the development of serious rose in the language (Dasgupta, 1999).

Political mobilization in the late 50s took a new shape with the ascendancy of language demand over other issues. It is true that consideration of the relationship between language and identity is fraught with difficulties yet language can broadly be viewed as one of the essentials for

formulation and maintenance of identity. Language provides the objective perspective for emphasizing group boundary. It is this sense, it is seen as an outward sign of a group's peculiar identity and a significant means of its continuation²¹. The language demand brought the various hill groups and tribes closer and accelerated the pace of integration of hill people and growth of Gorkha identity. The differences between 1951 and 1961 census of India demonstrated this point beyond any contemplation, for more and more people recorded Nepali as the mother tongue in place of tribal dialects. In 1961, the numerical strength of nepali or Khaskura speaking people in Darjeeling district rose to 369000 (59.9%) of the total population from a meagre 889000 (19.9% 1951). The growth was chiefly at the expense of various other tribal dialects other than the normal one²². (Chakrabarty, 1988)

The demand for inclusion of Nepali as a major language of India at as an official language in Darjeeling under Articles 345 and 347 of the Constitution of India was raised by the Gorkha League and other Associations. Under Article 245 the Legislature of a state may adopt 1 or more languages in using the State as the language or languages to be used for official purposes of the State and under Article 347 the President may direct the use of a language throughout or in a part of the State for official purposes provide He is satisfied that a substantial portion of population in the State or in a part so desires.

The State reorganization Commission report 1954 also dealt with this problem of linguistic minority and clarified the expression 'Substantial Portion of population' by '.....a state should be recognized as unilingual only where one language group constitutes about 70% or more of its entire population, and that where there is a substantial minority constituting 30% or more of the population, that State should be recognized as bilingual. The same principle might hold good at the District level that is to say, if 70% or more of the total population of a District consists of a group which is minority in a State as a whole, the language of the minority group and not the State language should be the official language in that District'²³.

²¹ J Edwards, Language, Society and Identity, Blachwell, 1985,pp23 from Chakrabarty 1988.

²² District Census Handbook, Darjeeling 1961, pp39-40 from Chakrabarty 1988.

²³ The Report of the SRC 1955, Paras:783-4,p.212.

Along with the growth of literally movement for nepali cultural identity, ethnic exclusiveness was also expressed through the demands of autonomy in Darjeeling which was not always homogeneous in nature.

2.9 The rise of Gorkha league: Origin of the Movement:

On 15 May 1943, All India Gorkha League came into existence in Darjeeling. The foremost objective of the league was to integrate the gorkhas. It gained additional support after World War II with the influx of ex-soldiers from the Gurkha regiments who had been exposed to nationalist movements in Southeast Asia during service there. On 19 December 1946, the party's heart and soul, D.S. Gurung even made a plea in the Constitution Hall before the Constituent Assembly for recognition of Gorkhas as a minority community "Sir, the demand of the Gurkhas is that they must be recognized as a minority community and that they must have adequate representation in the Advisory Committee that is going to be formed. When the Anglo-Indians with only 1 lakh 42 thousand population have been recognized as a minority community, and Scheduled Castes among the Hindus have been recognized as a separate community, I do not see any reason why Gurkhas with 30 lakhs population should not be recognized as such."²⁴ But leaders within its own ranks such as Randhir Subba, were not satisfied with this meagre demand. Soon after the death of D.S. Gurung, Randhir Subba raised the demand for a separate state within the framework of the Indian Constitution called Uttarakhand. Uttarakhand could be composed one of the following ways:

Darjeeling district only or

Darjeeling district and Sikkim only or

Darjeeling district, Sikkim, Jalpaiguri, Dooars and Coochbehar or

Darjeeling district, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar²⁵

²⁴ <http://nepaleseingoettingen.blogspot.in/2008/06/what-is-gorkhaland-movement.html> accessed on 03/09/2013.

²⁵ Ibid accessed on 03/09/2013

2.10 The demand for Gorkhasthan:

Gorkhasthan, 'sthan' meaning 'place or land' translated loosely into English means Gorkhaland. However, the concept of Gorkhasthan as proposed by the Darjeeling District Committee of the Communist Party of India was radically different from the concept of Gorkhaland as proposed by other political parties since the 1980s. The two hence should not be taken as one and the same (Roy, Gorkhas and Gorkhaland A Socio Political Study of Gorkha People and the Gorkhaland Movement, 2012, p. 341).

This movement had such an impact that it was even discussed even by the masses. The movement never gained momentum as its leaders were organized to other purposes. On April 6, 1947, two Gorkhas Ganeshlal Subba and Ratanlal Brahmin members of the undivided CPI (Communist Party of India) submitted a romantic memorandum to Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Vice President of the Interim Government for the creation of Gorkhasthan – an independent country comprising of the present day Nepal, Darjeeling District and Sikkim (excluding its present North District). It can be so stated that the demand was more of a kind of gaining attention. It never was genuine. During the 1940s, the Communist Party of India (CPI) organized Gorkha tea workers. In presentations to the States Reorganisation Commission in 1954, the CPI favored regional autonomy for Darjeeling within West Bengal, with recognition of Nepali as a Scheduled Language. The All India Gorkha League preferred making the area a union territory under the Central government. In all from the 1950's to the 1985, first the CPI (1954), then the Congress (1955), then the triumvirate of Congress, CPI and AIGL (1957), then the United front (1967 & 1981), then again Congress (1968) and finally CPI(M) 1985 swing along with the pendulum of Regional Autonomy for Darjeeling.

In Independent India, ABGL was the first political party from the region to demand greater identity for the Gorkha ethnic group and economic freedom for the community. The rise of Darjeeling Prantha Parishad In 1980, the Pranta Parishad of Darjeeling wrote to the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, with the need to form a state for the Gorkhas of India.

2.11 The rise of Ghising and GNLF : Formation of DGHC

In the 1980s, it was Subhash Ghisingh who raised the demand vigorously for the creation of a state called Gorkhaland within India to be carved out of the hills of Darjeeling and areas of Dooars and Siliguri terai contiguous to Darjeeling, at this time the West Bengal had a Left Front ministry.

The demand took a violent turn, which led to the death of over 1,200 people which is an official figure. This movement culminated with the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) in 1988 also known as DGAHC for a short time. The period from 1982-1988 saw the people of Darjeeling in agitation for the formation of a separate state. However after an agreement between the Government and the Chief of the GNLF Subhash Ghising, the agitation came to a halt and paved the way for the formation of an autonomous council for the social, economic, educational and cultural achievement of the hill people. The DGHC administered the Darjeeling hills for 23 years with some degree of autonomy. The fourth DGHC elections were due in 2004. However, the government decided not to hold elections and instead made Subhash Ghisingh the sole caretaker of the DGHC till a new Sixth Schedule tribal council was established. Resentment among the former councillors of DGHC grew rapidly. What was so inopportune was Ghising had himself kept aside the developmental issue and started diverting the attention of the hill people on not so very wanted issues after the DGHC was formed. He repeatedly threatened to restart a fresh agitation for the state of Gorkhaland.

2.12 The No Mans' Land Theory

Purposeful misrepresentation of history to achieve a point is a familiar strategy used to capture a particular line of reasoning. History is witness to such things all over the world. Seeking support in history while striving for a cause is a common psychological propensity and trends towards either exaggeration or distortion. This is also a common propaganda-trick to gain respectability.

As 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

wrote the letter to King Virendra of Nepal in 1983 and also forwarded copies to several heads including Queen Elizabeth. (Bagchi, 2012, p. 10)

Ghising alleged that an international conspiracy to form a “Greater Nepal” was being hatched by joining together Darjeeling, Sikkim, the Duars and parts of lower Bhutan, with the ultimate aim of joining Nepal. In January 1992, he argued that Darjeeling and its adjoining areas were leased out to British India by Nepal and that, after independence, the lease had expired and nothing was done to sign a new treaty. Since Nepal has not reclaimed the territory, the hills of West Bengal formed a “no man’s land”. He declared that no elections could be held in the hills until it was proven that the region had been incorporated into the Indian Union after British rule (Kaushik, 2009).

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 and 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. 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 (Bagchi, 2012).

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 sanitarium and 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).

But Ghising did not get much support for his formulated theory by his own political circle. He moved a 25 page writ petition under art 32 of the Constitution to seek “an appropriate direction from Supreme Court to the Union Home Ministry for initiating necessary legislative actions under Art 4 read with Article 2 and Article 253 of the Constitution of India for the absorption and formal admission in the Union of India vide Art1(3)(C) of the territories of Kalimpong, the Assam and the Bengal Dooars are acquired as lease-hold territory from Government of Bhutan vide treaty of Sinchula dated November11, 1865 as amended by the Treaty of Punakha dated January8,1910 and the Indo –Bhutan Treaty of August 8, 1949 as also the territories of Darjeeling which is ceded territory of Nepal vide Treaty of Sequale of 1815, treaty of 1923 and the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950”. (Kumar B. B., Small State Syndrome in India, 1998, p. 95)

Since the above mentioned area were not formally assimilated in India so no parliamentary legislation or constitutional amendment under Art.368 was passed as per the petition placed by Ghising. He claimed that the interest of the inhabitants were in jeopardy and the “ambiguity of the status” had stalled development work. Ghising and the DGHC continued to pass resolution and write to appropriate authorities to do the needful in the case. However A Division Bench of the Supreme Court dismissed the case on the ground of being a ‘political issue’(ibid, 96).

It was after this verdict that Ghising started talking to solve the issue politically.

2.13 The GNLF demand for Gorkhaland:

The GNLF made numerous demands to the Central Government and the State Government. The GNLF published a Bulletin²⁶ stating the state of Gorkhaland as demanded by the party. The Bulletin reads:

- i. The name of the state would be Gorkhaland
- ii. The state of Gorkhaland would have 8 districts
- iii. The state of Gorkhaland would have 21 sub-divisions
- iv. The state of Gorkhaland would have 39 constituencies
- v. The capital of the state would be Darjeeling
- vi. Each District would have a District Court
- vii. The High Court would be at the State capital (Roy, 2012, p. 368)

²⁶ Gorkhaland Bulletin, Gorkha National Liberation Front, Issue 1, Vol.1.27 August 1980.

2.14 The demand for the dissolution of the 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty of Peace and Friendship

The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship (official name Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between The Government of India and The Government of Nepal) is a bilateral treaty between Nepal and India establishing a close strategic relationship between the two South Asian neighbours. The treaty allows free movement of people and goods between the two nations and a close relationship and collaboration on matters of defense and foreign affairs. After an abortive attempt in 1952 of the Communist Party of Nepal to seize power with Chinese backing, India and Nepal stepped up military and intelligence cooperation under treaty provisions, and India sent a military mission to Nepal²⁷.

The GNLF was against the 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship and demanded its immediate abrogation particularly Art.7 & 8 by which an open border between India and Nepal was established and the GNLF leadership believed that due to this article the Government of India deemed Gorkhas in India as reciprocal citizens of Nepal even though they were legally Indian Citizens. The party thus demanded the immediate abrogation of the treaty and the closer of the open border so that the problem arising between the Gorkhas of India and the reciprocal citizens of Nepal could be resolved.

Furthermore the GNLF argued that since the 1950 Treaty cancelled all the Treaties including the Segauli Treaty, signed between the Government of Nepal and the British East India Company in India, the Sovereign authority over Darjeeling Hills including all the northern parts of the states of Himachal Pradesh, UttarPradesh, Bihar and West Bengal reverted back to Nepal. It thus, requested the Government of India and Nepal to clarify their stand on the legal statuses of the said lands (Roy, 2012).

2.15 Nepali language in the 8th schedule and GNLF's opposition

The GNLF opposed the inclusion of Nepali Language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The party instead wanted the inclusion of Gorkhali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The party supremo Subhash Ghising had earlier supported the inclusion of Nepali Language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution since the formation of the 'Niolo Jhannda' furthermore in the initial days of the GNLF formation Ghising even went to the extent of

²⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950_Indo-Nepal_Treaty_of_Peace_and_Friendship accessed on 16/05/213

declaring in the Gorkhaland Bulletin that Nepali would be the official language of the state of Gorkhaland. However with the increased focus on separating the Gorkhas in India from the 'reciprocal Nepalese' citizens in India, Nepali language was replaced by Gorkhali²⁸ language.

2.16 The Gorkhaland movement and the onemanship of GNLF in Darjeeling hills

The GNLF initiated a mass movement against the State and Central government demanding the formation of Gorkhaland. The movement immediately turned into violent clashes between various labour unions affiliated with GNLF and CPI(M) began taking course. The CPI(M) led State Government headed by Jyoti Basu quickly sought to counter the rise of the GNLF and thwart the 'separatist tendencies' that it thought the GNLF was increasing in the region. The GNLF called for the Assembly Polls condemning the state sponsored terrorism. The demand took a violent turn, which led to the death of over 1,200 people²⁹. Subhash Ghising led the first GNLF delegation³⁰ to New Delhi in 1982.

2.17 Acceptance of DGHC and the powers of the council as Responses to Gorkhaland - Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council:

Following the agitation that began in 1986, a tripartite agreement was reached between Government of India, Government of West Bengal, and Gorkha National Liberation Front on 25th July 1988 to set up an autonomous Hill Council (DGHC) under a State Act for "the social, economic, educational, and cultural advancement of the people residing in the Hill areas of Darjeeling District". The Council covered the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling district and a few Mouzas within the Siliguri sub-division.

The Council was given limited executive powers but in the absence of legislative powers the aspirations of the people of the region could not be addressed. The non-inclusion of the Dooars region in the Council became a major reason of discontent. The people of the Dooars had equally participated in the movement and thus felt deceived. The Council also created a divide between the Hills and the Dooars which till then had shared a common history and heritage. All of these factors had created serious fault-lines in the Council right at the time of its inception. Over a

²⁸ GNLF wanted the language spoken by Indian Gorkhas to be known as Gorkhali or Gorkha Bhasa.

²⁹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gorkhaland> accessed on 23/7/14.

³⁰ The delegation composed of Subhash Ghising, B B Gurung and Nawin Tamang.

period, these fault lines, along with the apathy of the state government, led to a renewal of the voices demanding Gorkhaland. Proposal to Include Darjeeling in the Sixth Schedule In 2007, the Government of India, in consultation with the Government of West Bengal and the Council administrator, brought two amendment bills to the Parliament – Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2007 and the Constitution (107th Amendment) Bill, 2007 These bills sought to provide Sixth Schedule status for the Darjeeling Hill Areas. Given the serious trust deficit in the Hills about the functioning of the Administration and the State Government, the two bills were seen as another conspiracy to deny the aspiration of the people. Following opposition the Bill was referred to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs which was headed by Sushma Swaraj. In the hearings held by the Committee, all Gorkha groups rejected the proposal and reiterated that the aspirations of the people could only be met by the creation of a State. Based on the hearings and consultations, the report presented to the Rajya Sabha recorded, “The committee would like to caution and advise the ministry of home affairs (MHA) to make a fresh assessment of the ground realities all over again before proceeding with the Bills in the two Houses of Parliament.³¹”

Ghisingh, was not willing to hold any elections in what he saw as his sphere of influence, blamed the state government for the slip and refused to participate in these elections. He also threatened to revive the demand for a separate state. The issue of panchayat elections generated a split within the GNLf. A faction led by Madan Tamang broke away and formed a new party called the All India Gorkha League (AIGL), which participated in these elections and won a sizeable number of seats. In due course of time, the AIGL also became a platform for airing public grievances against Ghisingh for his allegedly autocratic and corrupt ways. In May 2005, the AIGL organised a massive rally to revive the demand for a separate state, but failed to mobilise mass support.

2.18 Incorporation of Nepali language in 8th schedule

Ghising raised controversy over the status of Nepali language and the Nepalis in India. The DGHC Chairman declared Nepali as a foreign Language and all Nepalis as foreigners. He

³¹ 129th Report on the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) bill, 2007 and the Constitution (107th Amendment) Bill, 2007. Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, February, 2008. Para 7.11.

demanded the inclusion of Gorkhali, rather than Nepali in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. He even threatened to evict Nepalis from Indian soil by force and launch the agitation for the recognition of Gorkhali rather than the Nepalis as Indian citizens and Gorkhali language in place of the Nepalis. Ghising termed Nepali speaking people ‘reciprocal people’ and Nepali as the language of the ‘reciprocal people’ in terms of reference of the Article 8 of the Indo-Nepalese Treaty, which reads:

“the Government of India and Nepal agree to grant on reciprocal basis to the nationals of the nationals of one country in the territories of other, the same privileges, in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce and privies of similar matter”. (Kumar B. B., Small State Syndrome in India, 1998)

2.19 The rise of Bimal Gurung and The rise of Gorkha Janmukti Morcjha Agitation under GJM

Tranquility in the scenic town of Darjeeling and adjoining areas has been devastated by an agitation demanding a separate Gorkhaland and the removal of Subhash Ghisingh from the post of Chairman of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC). The agitation as declared is part of a protest movement against the Indian government’s plan to grant Sixth Schedule status to the region. The movement is led by the Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJMM), which gave a call for an indefinite bandh on February 13 in support of these demands.

The top player in the ongoing agitation is the Bharatiya Gorkha Bhutpurba Sainik Morcha, an organisation that was recently formed under the aegis of the GJMM by the roughly 40,000 strong Gorkha ex-servicemen who are settled in and around Darjeeling. Interestingly, the services of these ex-servicemen were earlier utilised by Ghisingh (himself an ex-serviceman) during the Gorkhaland agitation in the mid-1980s. But on February 13 they changed their loyalty from Ghisingh to the newly formed Morcha. Faced with popular opposition, Ghisingh resigned as the caretaker administrator of DGHC on March 10. But his resignation is unlikely to restore peace because the demand for a separate state including not only Darjeeling Hills but also the Dooars is getting shriller.

Bimal Gurung was formerly a Gorkha Volunteers Corps member who fought for the creation of a Gorkhaland state in India during 1986-1988 under the Gorkha National Liberation

Front (GNLF). He became a councillor representing Tukver constituency in the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) after the previous councillor Rudra Pradhan was murdered in Darjeeling. He became a close aide of Subhash Ghisingh, the leader of GNLF and chairman of DGHC. Later, he turned against his mentor to launch the second agitation for a Gorkhaland state. Immediately upon formation of GJM, Bimal renewed the demand of the formation of a Gorkhaland state comprising the Darjeeling district and many areas of the Dooars. The total area of the proposed state is 6450 km² and comprises Banarhat, Bhaktinagar, Birpara, Chalsa, Darjeeling, Jaigaon, Kalchini, Kalimpong, Kumargram, Kurseong, Madarihat, Malbazar, Mirik and Nagarkatta. Unlike the 1980s, GJM has maintained that the struggle for Gorkhaland would be through non-violence and non-cooperation. Bimal received mass support from the people of Darjeeling district, Dooars and other parts of India for his statehood demand³².

The demand for Gorkhaland took a new turn with the assassination of Madan Tamang, leader of Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League. He was stabbed to death allegedly by Gorkha Janmukti Morcha supporters on 21 May 2010, in Darjeeling, which led to a spontaneous shutdown in the three Darjeeling hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong³³. After the murder of Madan Tamang, the West Bengal government threatened action against Gorkha Janmukti Morcha, whose senior leaders are named in the FIR, meanwhile hinting discontinuation of ongoing talks over interim arrangement with the Gorkha party, saying it had "lost popular support following the assassination"³⁴.

On 8 February 2011, three GJM activists were shot dead (one of whom succumbed to her injuries later) by the police as they tried to enter Jalpaiguri district on a padyatra led by Bimal

³² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bimal_Gurung accessed on 29/6/213.

³³ "Gorkha leader Madan Tamang killed, Darjeeling tense". *The Indian Express*. 21 May 2010. Retrieved 20 March 2012. "Gorkha leader Madan Tamang hacked in public". *The Times of India*. 22 May 2010. Retrieved 20 March 2012.

³⁴ "Tamang's murder threatens to derail Gorkhaland talks". *The Times of India*. 26 May 2010. Retrieved 20 March 2012.

Gurung from Gorubathan to Jaigaon. This led to violence in the Darjeeling hills and an indefinite strike was called by GJM that lasted 9 days³⁵.

In the West Bengal state assembly election, 2011 held on 18 April 2011, GJM candidates won three Darjeeling hill assembly seats, proving that the demand for Gorkhaland was still strong in Darjeeling. GJM candidates Trilok Dewan won from Darjeeling constituency³⁶, Harka Bahadur Chhetri from Kalimpong constituency, and Rohit Sharma from Kurseong constituency³⁷. Wilson Champramari, an independent candidate supported by GJM, also won from Kalchini constituency in the Dooars³⁸.

2.20 The fall of GNLF

The Sixth Schedule Constitutional (Amendment) Bill, 2007, and the Constitutional (107th Amendment) Bill, 2007, introduced in Parliament by then Union home minister Shivraj Patil. The bill was immediately referred to the standing committee on home affairs. There was a lot of opposition to Ghising's idea of a sixth schedule status. There was a four-day general strike to protest the demand for Sixth Schedule status. Hundreds of Morcha supporters had assembled at the strategic points across the hills to stop Ghisingh from entering the region on his return from Delhi. Ghisingh stays at Pintail Village. The state government had further refused to extend the tenure of Ghisingh as "caretaker" administrator at that point of time in the year 2008. Ghisingh had rushed to Calcutta to meet then chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee. Then Bhattacharjee had invited Bimal Gurung at the Writers' for the first time even as the Morcha intensifies its hunger strike and general shutdown. The standing committee on home affairs advised the government to go ahead with the implementation of the Sixth Schedule bill with "caution". Bill

³⁵ "2 killed in police firing on GJM protesters". *The Hindu* (Chennai, India). 8 February 2011. Retrieved 20 March 2012.

³⁶ "GJM wins Darjeeling constituency by record margin of votes". *Hindustan Times*. 14 May 2011. Retrieved 20 March 2012.

³⁷ "GJM wins three Assembly seats in Darjeeling". *Zee News*. 13 May 2011. Retrieved 20 March 2012.

³⁸ "GJMM to finalise stand today". *The Statesman*. 13 May 2011. Retrieved 20 March 2012.

is shelved after this. Ghisingh resigns as caretaker administrator of the DGHC “on the request of the chief minister”. This marks the end of his onemanship rule in the hills.

The fall of GNLFF, Ghisingh is himself responsible for the decline and it is very interesting to study that what could be the reason that was so strongly encouraging him for the Sixth Schedule. Ghisingh was time and again advocating that the inclusion of Darjeeling was the second best choice that was available. But this was not the truth Ghisingh had some hidden intention, he was more interested in the glaring power that was provided according to the Sixth Schedule status.

2.21 GJM Agitation Intensifies

The GJM agitation got highly intensified when the morcha had aimed to boycott all the payment of taxes to the state government. Police lathicharge on ex-serviceman rally at Darjeeling More in Siliguri. Morcha called a strike in the hill. Bimal Gurung when addressing the hill people to strive for the cause made a statement that he was fully confident that Gorkhaland can be achieved. During that time the Morcha asks hill people to replace “WB” with “GL” on vehicle number plates. Drive fizzles out after vehicles with “GL” on number plates are attacked in the plains and seized by police. It was reported that Pramila Sharma, a Morcha activist, was killed by a bullet allegedly fired from the house of GNLFF leader Deepak Gurung. Houses of GNLFF leaders are turn upside down and burnt across the hills. Ghisingh leaves the hills the next day, making Jalpaiguri his new address. The Centre invites the Morcha and the Bengal government for the first time for talk. Morcha makes it mandatory for hill people to wear traditional dresses during the month-long tourist season. It asks hill shopkeepers to write “Gorkhaland” on shops signboards. Subsequently, “West Bengal” is replaced with “Gorkhaland” on boards of government offices.

2.22 The Sixth Schedule Status:

Discontent with the denigrating attitude of administrative officials in the plains and a growing sense of insecurity against plainsmen led the Gorkhas to demand a separate administrative set-up for Darjeeling District as early as 1907. The movement was peaceful and it was alternately courted by many political parties who proposed different alternatives. The Communist Party of India favored regional autonomy for Darjeeling within West Bengal. AIGL demanded the status

of Union Territory. The Congress, the United Front and the CPI (M) all supported the demand for a special status for Darjeeling district within the Indian Union.

The situation, however, changed dramatically when the proposal to grant Sixth Schedule status to the Darjeeling Hills was made in the winter session of Parliament in 2007. Granting of Sixth Schedule status would make the way for the formation of an Autonomous Hill Council with more powers than the present Council enjoys. There are, however, opposing views on the advisability of such a course. Ghisingh is in favour of the bill since, according to him, conferring Sixth Schedule status to the Council would provide it with much needed constitutional recognition. The West Bengal government also supports Ghisingh's demand. But the GJMM, which was formed in October 2007 under the leadership of Bimal Gurung, goes up against this move, claiming that Sixth Schedule status will be against popular sentiment, which in fact aims for a separate state.

The Centre appears to be duty vault to impose Sixth Schedule on the Darjeeling Hills since it had signed a tripartite agreement with DGHC and the West Bengal government to this effect on December 6, 2005. The big question is why both Ghisingh and the Central government are so eager on granting such a status to Darjeeling, where only 31 per cent of the population is listed as tribal? It appears to be an evident case of Ghisingh's machinations to achieve his control of the Council. The last election to the Council was held in 1999, and its term expired in March 2004. Since then, Ghisingh had been postponing elections on one pretext or the other, the latest being the implementation of the Sixth Schedule. According to the accord of 2005, elections to the Council could only be held after the full implementation of the Sixth Schedule. But till his resignation Ghisingh remained at the controls of the affairs for which purpose he was given six extensions as the care taker administrator of the Council by the government.

The implementation of the Sixth Schedule will, no doubt, increase the status of the DGHC by conferring it with greater administrative and legislative powers. But it is also seen as a scheme to perpetuate Ghisingh's reign. According to the 2005 tripartite accord, the Council will have 33 seats, out of which 10 will be reserved for Scheduled Tribes and 15 for non-tribals. Three seats will be open for all communities and five members will be nominated by the Governor of West Bengal from the unrepresented communities, of which at least two should be women. The inclusion of Ghisingh's tribe, the Tamangs, along with Limbus in the list of Scheduled Tribes in

2005 armored his chances of winning more seats in the Council since Tamangs and Limbus are numerically preponderant in the Hill district. The Centre seems to have obviously fallen for Ghisingh's political maneuver and played along since it regards him as the sole representative of the people of Darjeeling Hills.

It is fairly obvious that the imposition of the Sixth Schedule, which is meant to protect and promote the socio-cultural and economic aspirations of tribals in the states of the Northeast, is not likely to resolve the issue. The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled areas of West Bengal are being governed by the Fifth Schedule. If the tripartite agreement of 2005 is implemented, then according to Article 244 part (1) & (2) of the Constitution, not only the Hill Council but the entire State would come under the jurisdiction of the Sixth Schedule, since a State can have either Fifth Schedule or Sixth Schedule in operation but not both. which would mean that other tribes in the state such as the Koch, Rajbonshi, Bodo, etc. who till now are under the Fifth Schedule would be included in the Sixth Schedule. If this happens, then there would be strong rivalry and conflict between them to avail of the benefits granted under Sixth Schedule, such as reservations in jobs and education. In addition, demands for the creation of autonomous councils might pour in from the tribal communities from different parts of the country. Already similar demands from Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur have been coming up and are under consideration.

2.23 Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA)

With rising discontent against the Council administration and the put on ice of the proposal of Sixth Schedule status to the region, another wave of a mass movement for Gorkhaland began in 2007. The Chairman of the Council was dislodged and banished along with his party members. A new leadership took over the movement. After three years of agitation for a state of Gorkhaland, the party leading the movement reached an agreement with the state government to form a semi-autonomous body to administer the Darjeeling hills.

The Memorandum of Agreement for GTA³⁹ was signed on 18 July 2011 at Pintail Village near Siliguri in the presence of Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram, West Bengal Chief Minister

³⁹ "Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Agreement signed". Outlook. 18 July 2011. Retrieved 16 March 2012.

Mamata Banerjee and movement leaders. A bill for the creation of GTA was passed in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 2 September 2011. The GTA will have administrative, executive and financial powers but no legislative powers. The GTA agreement too has evident integral flaws. First, lack of legislative power. Second, Dooars again has been left out and instead a verification team has been set to identify “Gorkha majority” areas in the Dooars. It can be understood by such action that it could be a divide and rule policy played in Dooars. United Dooars has a distinct history and culture. Diversity has been the mark of Dooars culture as the Gorkhas, Adivasis, Rajbongshis, Bengalis, Meches, Boros and other people groups have lived together with each other for decades. The move to identify “Gorkha majority” areas will not only deny the aspiration of the people of the region but will also divide the area along communal lines.

The memorandum of agreement for the formation of a Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA), a semi-autonomous administrative body for the Darjeeling hills, was signed on 18 July 2011. Earlier, during the West Bengal assembly election (2011) campaign, Mamata Banerjee had promised that the issue of Gorkhaland would be resolved. While Mamata implied that this would be the end of the Gorkhaland movement, Bimal Gurung reiterated that this was just another step towards statehood. Both spoke publicly at the same venue in Pintail Village near Siliguri, where the tripartite agreement was signed. A bill for the creation of GTA was passed in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 2 September 2011. The West Bengal government issued a gazette notification for the GTA Act on 14 March 2012, signalling preparations for elections for the GTA. In the elections of the GTA held on 29 July 2012, GJM candidates won from 17 constituencies and the rest 28 seats unopposed.

It is pertinent to note that according to the leadership of Gorkhaland movement the demand for Gorkhaland has always meant the creation of a new state within India and never has the demand had any separatist manner. The new state that the Indian Gorkhas have been demanding would be created out of Bengal the same way the state of Gujarat was created out of Bombay, Haryana out of Punjab, Andhra Pradesh out of Madras, Uttarakhand out of UP, Jharkhand out of Bihar, and Chhatisgarh out of Madhya Pradesh is what the leadership think.

Just as the creation of these states have gone on to contribute to the richness and diversity of India and has also led to more efficient governance, so also the creation of Gorkhaland would only be in the larger interest of the nation.

2.24 Demand for Gorkhaland still exists:

Even though the GTA is signed, the voices demanding Gorkhaland refuse to die down. For fear of repercussion, the signatory party to the GTA keeps harping about Gorkhaland and making unclear statements about both the GTA and Gorkhaland. Besides being seen as a major climb-down from the demand for a state, the agreement is also perceived as a betrayal of the peoples' aspiration of a state of their own. Dooars, of course, continues to simmer.

The history of the movement and the responses to the movement clearly point up that the demand is for nothing diminutive of a full-fledged state and that any other administrative arrangement will only be unsuccessful. As long as the complete power to legislate is not made available to the people of the region all arrangements will only prove to be provisional and useless.

Further more given that the Gorkhaland agitation is taking place in the strategically sensitive area of Siliguri location where the governmental authority needs to knob the situation carefully and earnestly, and must not allow the situation getting out of control. At the same time, it is important that before formulating a solution, it takes into consideration the sentimental aspiration of the people of the Hill district.

A closer assessment of the situation reveals that there is a kind of growing consensus among the major political parties to grant statehood to the Hill people of Darjeeling District but how far the state will be viable is again a big question. It has been reported that both the Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party have extended their support to the GJM's demand for a separate State in November 2007. In addition, the Parliamentary Standing Committee to which the Bill was referred has advised the Indian government to take into account the "ground realities" before taking a decision.

It can be so stated that the Gorkhaland issue has gradually matured from a demand for a separate administrative set-up to full fledged statehood. The agitation in the 1986 was a violent

one which to an extent was able to bring in notice the issue of Gorkhaland before the big shots and major political parties in the country. However the CPIM led West Bengal government dismissed the movement as a law and order problem. The demand for Gorkhaland has also led to the rise of regional upsurges particularly in the Doars Terai and Siliguri. A number of political and social organizations have since been formed to oppose the formation of Gorkhaland and some political parties are formed with the objective of attaining Gorkhaland. They include Jana Chetna, Bangla O bangle Bhasa Bachao Committee, Amra Bangali. The political parties formed which claim of attaining statehood are Gorkha Rastriya Congress, United Gorkha Revolutionar Front, Gorkha Liberation Organization, Sikkim Democratic Front and Bhartiya Gorkha Parishang.

Even though the GTA is signed, the voices demanding Gorkhaland decline to go dead down. For fear of repercussion, the participant party to the GTA keeps harping about Gorkhaland and making unclear statements about both the GTA and Gorkhaland. Besides being seen as a major drop from the demand for a state, the agreement is also perceived as a betrayal of the peoples' aspiration of a state of their own.

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2.I Map of India showing Telangana in red



CHAPTER – III

CHAPTER III

Different Phrases of the Telangana Movement

3.1 Introduction:

In this chapter we shall excavate over the historical perspective of the Telangana movement and its gradual political development to understand the movement at length and depth in order to reach at a point of view. The Telangana movement like many other successful separate statehood demand has also ended with a successful victory by the formation of Telangana State on 2nd June 2014. This study was undertaken at the backdrop of the Centre hinting at initiating at the process for the formation of a separate State. On December 9, 2009, Government of India announced process of formation of Telangana state⁴⁰. Due to objections raised in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions immediately after the announcement, and due to the agitation in those regions for 14 days, the decision to form the new state was put on hold on December 23, 2009. Since December 2009, Telangana movement intensified and it continued to dominate the state politics and is the cause of instability in the region. Following protests in Rayalaseema and Andhra regions and mass resignations of MPs and state legislators, the centre put the process on hold, citing need for consensus. In February 3, 2010: Centre set up five-member Srikrishna Committee⁴¹ to look into Telangana issue. Srikrishna Committee submitted its report, suggested six options in Dec 2010. In 2012 Union Home Minister Sushilkumar Shinde announced after an all-party meeting that a decision will be announced in a month and ultimately in July 30, 2013⁴², United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coordination panel and Congress Working Committee met and decided to carve out Telangana state.

⁴⁰ <http://telanganacongressdeclaration2009.blogspot.in/2010/12/december-9-2009-telangana-separate.html>

⁴¹ Justice B.N Srikrishna; Professor (Dr.) Ranbir Singh, Vice-Chancellor, National Law University, Delhi ;Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, Senior Research Fellow, International Food Policy Research Institute, Delhi ; Ravinder Kaur|Dr. (Ms.) Ravinder Kaur, Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT, Delhi, Vinod K. Duggal, former Home Secretary, who also functioned as its Member-Secretary.

⁴² <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-events-that-finally-led-to-the-announcement-of-telangana-as-a-separate-state-1867988>

The long pending demand for a separate Telangana state finally seems to be materializing. Just days after the government gave its 'yes' for the formation of Telangana state, the pronouncement has opened a Pandora's Box of parallel demands by regions fighting for separate state made by various regional groups in ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse India. The proposed state, which would be India's 29th, would be outlined out of a drought-prone mainly tribal belt that supporters say has been neglected by successive Andhra Pradesh governments. The state capital and India's sixth biggest city, Hyderabad, will be included in the new state, although for the first ten years it will serve as the joint capital of the two states.

This study undertaken has been at this point of time, the juncture of instability in the Telangana and adjoining region for the bifurcation of the state, one thing must not be forgotten that the prime motive of the study is to show a comparison between two separate statehood demand viz. Gorkhaland and Telangana under one roof which has been time and again brought together under discussion. To come to a comparative analysis it is very necessary to understand the historical, political and economical development of the region for a broader outlook.

3.2 Telangana's location before its formation as a separate state:

Telangana is a region in the state of Andhra Pradesh, India and formerly was part of Hyderabad State which was ruled by the Nizams. It is bordered by the states of Maharashtra to the north and north-west, Karnataka to the west, Chhattisgarh to the north-east and Odisha to the east. Andhra Pradesh State has three main cultural regions of which Telangana is one; others include Coastal Andhra region in the east and Rayalaseema region in the south. The Telangana region has an area of 114,840 square kilometres (44,340 sq mi), and a population of 35,286,757 which is 41.6% of Andhra Pradesh state population (The Census Report, 2011). The Telangana region comprises 10 districts: Hyderabad, Adilabad, Khammam, Karimnagar, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Rangareddy, and Warangal. The Musi River, Krishna and Godavari rivers flow through the region from west to east. Hyderabad and Warangal are two largest cities in Telangana region.

Telangana is the largest of the three regions of Andhra Pradesh state, covering 41.47% of its total area. It is inhabited by 40.54% of the state's population and contributes about 76% of the state's revenues, excluding the contribution of the central government. When the central government's

contribution to revenue is included, Andhra Pradesh's revenue sources come from Telangana: 61.47% (including 37.17% from Hyderabad); from the central government: 19.86%; from Andhra: 14.71%; and from Rayalaseema: 3.90%. Proponents of a separate Telangana state cite perceived injustices in the distribution of water, budget allocations, and jobs. Within the state of Andhra Pradesh, 68.5% of the catchment area of the Krishna River and 69% of the catchment area of the Godavari River are in the Telangana region. Telangana supporters state that the benefits of irrigation through the canal system under major irrigation projects is accruing substantially, 74.25%, to the Coastal Andhra region, while the share to Telangana is 18.20%. The remaining 7.55% goes to the Rayalaseema region (Jayashankar, 2006).

3.3 A Brief Early History of the Area:

Telangana was the center of culture, learning, and power in the Deccan and India for centuries. Telangana's long and rich history was shaped by the great empires that have risen and fallen in its area. The region has been ruled by many great dynasties and the history of the region can be divided into :

- i. Ancient Period- In which the Satavahanas and the Eastern Chalukyas ruled.
- ii. Medieval Period- In this period the kakatiyas, Bahmanis, Qutb Shahis and the Mughals ruled.
- iii. Modern Period- This was the period of the Asaf Jahis.

After the decline of the influential Mauryan Empire, the Satavahana dynasty (230 BCE to 220 CE), the first great Telugu empire, came to be the dominant power in the region. It originated from the lands between the Godavari and Krishna Rivers. Kotilingala in Karimnagar was their first capital, before moving to Dharanikota. Excavations at Kotilingala revealed coinage of Simukha, the first Satavahana emperor. The Satavahana Empire was important in repelling foreign empires from India, such as the Kushans, Sakas and Greeks, thereby preserving Indian culture. After the decline of the Satavahanas, various dynasties ruled the region such as the Vakatakas, Vishnukundinas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Western Chalukyas.

The period of Andhra history, between A.D. 624 and A.D. 1323, spanning over seven centuries, is significant for the sea-change it brought in all spheres of the human activity; social, religious, linguistic and literary. During this period Desi, the indigenous Telugu language, emerged as a

literary medium overthrowing the domination of Prakrit and Sanskrit. As a result, Andhradesa achieved an identity and a distinction of its own as an important constituent of Indian Cultural Set-up. This change was brought by the strong historical forces, namely, the Eastern and Western Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the early Cholas.

Kakatiyas came to power during the later half of this period and extended their rule over the entire Telugu land with the exception of a small land in the North-East. Arts, crafts, language and literature flourished under their benevolent patronage.

Among the minor Chalukya families that ruled parts of Andhra, those of Vemulavada (presently in Karimnagar district) are the most important. Their rule extended over the present day Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts. As subordinate rulers loyal to the Rashtrakutas, they ruled with semi-independent status for about two centuries (A.D.755-968). The rule of the Vemulavada Chalukyas coincided with that of the Rashtrakutas. One peculiarity with this family is that it traced its descent from the Sun, while many other Chalukya families considered themselves as of lunar descent.

During the Mauryan age there is historical evidence of Andhra as a political power in the southeastern Deccan. Megasthenes, who visited the court of Chandragupta Maurya (322-297 BC), mentioned that Andhras had 30 fortified towns and an army of a million infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants⁴³.

The continuous political and cultural accounts of Andhra Pradesh commence with the rise of the Satavahanas as a political power. According to Matsya Purana⁴⁴, there were 29 rulers of this dynasty. They ruled over the Andhra desa for about 456 years, from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD. Under the Goutamiputra Satakarni inscription at Nasik, the 23rd Satavahana, the kingdom included most of the southern peninsula and some southern parts of the present Indian states of Maharashtra, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The court language used by the Satavahanas was Prakrit. Satavahana kings followed the Vedic religion.

⁴³ Ancient India by Megasthenes and Arrian; Translated and edited by J. W. McCrindle, Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker, Spink, 1877, p. 30-174

⁴⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matsya_Puranacccc

“...who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas (the native Indian princes, the Rajputs of Rajputana, Gujarat and Central India); who destroyed the Shakas (Western Kshatrapas), Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) and Pahlavas (Indo-Parthians),... who rooted the Khakharata family (The Kshaharata family of Nahapana); who restored the glory of the Satavahana race⁴⁵”

The region experienced its golden age during the reign of the Kakatiya dynasty, a Telugu dynasty from Warangal that ruled most parts of what is now Andhra Pradesh from 1083 to 1323 AD. Ganapatideva, who came to power in 1199, was known as the greatest of the Kakatiyas, and the first after the Satavahanas to bring the entire Telugu area under one rule. He put an end to the rule of the Cholas, who accepted his suzerainty in the year 1210. He established order in his vast dominion that stretched from the Godavari delta in the east to Raichur (in modern day Karnataka) in the west and from Karimnagar and Bastar (in modern day Chhattisgarh) in the north to Srisailam and Tripurantakam, near Ongole, in the south. It was during his reign that the Golkonda fort was constructed. Rudrama Devi and Prataparudra were prominent rulers from the Kakatiya dynasty. Kakatiya dynasty weakened with the attack of Malik Kafur in 1309 and was dissolved with the defeat of Prataparudra in 1323 by the forces of Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1323. A ruler of this dynasty, Prola II who ruled from A.D.1110 to 1158, extended his sway to the south and declared his independence. His successor Rudra (A.D.1158-1195) pushed the kingdom to the north up to the Godavari delta.

The Kakatiya period is rightly called the brightest period of the Telugu history. The entire Telugu speaking area was under the kings who spoke Telugu and encouraged Telugu. They established order throughout the strife torn land and the forts built by them played a dominant role in the defense of the realm. Anumakonda and Gandikota among the ‘giridurgas’, Kandur and Narayanavanam among the ‘vanadurgas’, Divi and Kolanu among the ‘jaladurgas’, and Warrangal and Dharanikota among the ‘sthaladurgas’ were reckoned as the most famous strongholds in the Kakatiya period. The administration of the kingdom was organized with accent on the military. The Kakatiya dynasty expressed itself best through religious art. After the fall of Kakatiyas, uncertainty prevailed over the region. Several small kingdoms came into existence, Musunuri Nayakas occupied Warrangal from Muslims and ruled between A.D.1325-

⁴⁵ Rapson, XXXVII, Original Prakrit, line 5 and 6 of the inscription: "*Khatiya-dapa-mana-madanasa Saka-Yavana-Palhava-nisudanasa — Khakharatavamsa-niravasesa-karasa Satavahana-kula-yasa patithapana-karasa*"

1368. The fall of Kakatiya kingdom and its annexation to the Tughlak Empire made the Hindu feudatories to unite themselves to liberate the Andhra country from alien rulers.

The disastrous fall of Warrangal in A.D. 1323 brought the Andhras for the first time in their history, under the yoke of an alien ruler, the Muslims. In A.D. 1347 an independent Muslim State, the Bahamani kingdom was established in south India by All-ud-din Hasan Gangu by revolting against the Delhi Sultanate. During reign of Muhammad III (AD 1463-82), the Bahamanis, for the first time extended their empire from sea to sea and thereby got into their possession a large part of the Telugu area, namely the area north of the Krishna up to the coast and the present Guntur district. By the end of the 15th century the Bahamani rule was plagued with faction fights and there came into existence the five Shahi kingdoms, the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar, the Adilshahis of Bijapur, the Imadshahis of Berar, the Qutabshahis of Golconda and the Baridshahis of Bidar. Thereafter, the rule of the Bahamani dynasty came to an end in A.D.1527 of the five Shahi dynasties, it was the Qutbshahi dynasty that played a significant and notable role in the history of Andhras.

The great Vijayanagara Empire of South India may have had its origins in the Telugu Kakatiyas of Warangal. The Telugu origin of the dynasty proposes that first kings of the empires, brothers Bukka Raya I and Harihara I, were generals in the Kakatiya army. After defeat of the army by Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the brothers were taken prisoner and forced to convert to Islam. However, they managed to escape, reconfirm their Hindu faith, and establish the Vijayanagara Empire.

The region came under the Muslim rule of the Delhi Sultanate in the 14th century, followed by Bahmanis. Sultan Quli, a governor of Golkonda, revolted against the Bahmani Sultanate and established the Qutb Shahi dynasty in 1518. On 21 September 1687, the Golkonda Sultanate came under the rule of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb after a year-long siege of the Golkonda fort.

In 1712, Asif Jah I was appointed to be Viceroy of the Deccan, with the title Nizam-ul-Mulk (Administrator of the Realm). In 1724, Asif Jah I defeated Mubariz Khan to establish autonomy over the Deccan Suba, starting what came to be known as the Asif Jahi dynasty. He named the region Hyderabad Deccan. Subsequent rulers retained the title Nizam ul-Mulk and were referred

to as Asif Jahi Nizams, or Nizams of Hyderabad. When Asif Jah I died in 1748, there was political unrest due to contention for the throne among his sons, who were aided by opportunistic neighboring states and colonial foreign forces. In 1769, Hyderabad city became the formal capital of the Nizams. Nizam signed Subsidiary alliance in 1799 with British and lost its control over the state's defense and foreign affairs. Hyderabad state became princely state in British India. From the late nineteenth century on, Hyderabad was transformed into a modern city with the establishment of railway, transport services, underground drainage, running water, electricity, Post-independence.

The Qutbshahi dynasty held sway over the Andhra country for about two hundred years from the early part of the 16th century to the end of the 17th century. Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the founder of the dynasty, served the Bahamanis faithfully and was appointed Governor of Telengana in A.D.1496 he declared independence after the death of his patron king, Mahmud Shah, in A.D.1518 during the 50 year rule Sultan Quli extended his kingdom up to Machilipatnam.

The fall of Golconda in 1687 had far reaching consequences. It halted the face of cultural progress for years and relaxed the administrative grip on the English Company at Machilipatnam and Madras. So long as the kingdom was powerful in the south, the king Abul Hassan and his Minister Madanna kept their constant vigil on the English Merchants.

Qutb Shahi rulers adopted religious tolerance. They treated Hindus equal with Muslims as well and maintained cordial relations between the two throughout. They encouraged the local language Telugu besides the Deccani Urdu. They patronized scholars and awarded those titles and jagirs. The builder of Hyderabad, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was an eminent poet in Persian and was an author of several Persian works. The 4th king, Ibrahim was a great patron of Telugu. His court was crowded with Telugu poets besides many others. The rulers adopted the local customs to a great extent. This tolerance and patronage of the kings was followed by the nobles as well. Ramadas (Gopanna), a great devotee of Sri Rama who lived in the period of Abul Hassan wrote a number of poetical works and songs in praise of his deity.

The socio-cultural life of the people during the rule of the Qutb Shahis was marked by a spirit of broad-mindedness and catholicity based on sharing and adopting of mutual traditions and customs. Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor invaded Golconda in 1687 and annexed it to the

Mughal Empire. When this was done, Golconda became part of the Decca Subha and a Nazim was appointed as an agent of the Mughal emperor. Thus, for a period of 35 years it was ruled by the Nazims, the last one being Mubariz Khan.

Asaf Zahi : The founder of this dynasty was one Mir Kamruddin a noble and a courtier of the Mughal Muhammad Shah, who negotiated for a peace treaty with Nadirshah, the Iranian invader; got disgusted with the intrigues that prevailed in Delhi.

Though Hyderabad was founded in 1590-91 and built by Muhammad Quli, the Fifth king of the Qutbshahi dynasty, it was a princely capital under them. The pomp and peasantry of the fabulous Asafjahi Nizams gained an all-India importance as well as worldwide recognition. The rule of the Nizams lasted not only for a much longer period from 1724-1948 but also concerned a large territory with diverse language groups that came under their sway.

Hostilities recommenced in India between the French and English in 1758 on the outbreak of 7 Years War in Europe in 1756. As a result, the French lost their power in India and consequently it also lost influence at Hyderabad. In 1762 Nizam Ali Khan dislodged Salabat Jung and proclaimed himself as Nizam.

Hyderabad came into focus again when Nizam Ali Khan in 1763 shifted the capital of the Deccan from Aurangabad to Hyderabad. Such a move helped rapid economic growth and expansion of the city, resulting in its importance and prosperity.

Between 1766 and 1800, Nizam's sovereignty had declined considerably and the British gained their authority over the Nizams by compelling the latter to sign several treaties. The East India Company acquired the Nellore region comprising the present Nellore and Prakasam districts and a part of the Chittoor district from the Nawab of Arcot in 1781. Together with the other parts of the territories of the Nawab, this area was merged with the then Madras Presidency of the Company in 1801. Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century the Telugu land was divided into major divisions; one that came to be popularly called Telengana under the feudal rule of the Nizam, accounting approximately 1/3 of the entire land and the other, broadly designated as Andhra, in British India.

Telengana was historically known as prosperous state. Telengana region was erstwhile Hyderabad State till 1956, ruled by Asaf Jahi Nijam VII (Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur).

The state of Hyderabad was largest of the princely states in pre-independence India, among other 600 princely states; with an area of 86000 sq. miles. Hyderabad is the 5th largest city in India before 1947, with excellent administrative buildings, roads, railway network, airports, police, army and other infrastructures.

3.4 Independence for India not Hyderabad:

When India became independent from the British Empire in 1947, the Nizam of Hyderabad did not want to merge with Indian Union and wanted to remain independent under the special provisions given to princely states. He even asked for a corridor, a passage from India. Rebellion had started throughout the state against the Nizam's rule and his army, known as the Razakars.

The Government of India annexed Hyderabad State on 17 September 1948, in an operation by the Indian Army called Operation Polo (which is already discussed in Chapter II) which government called Police action. When India became independent, Telugu-speaking people were distributed in about 22 districts, 9 of them in the former Nizam's dominions of the princely state of Hyderabad, 12 in the Madras Presidency (Northern Circars), and one in French-controlled Yanam.

3.5 Liberation of Hyderabad and First Elections:

After Indian independence in 1947 the country was partitioned on communal lines. The Nizam ruled over more than 16 million people of territory when the British withdrew from the sub-continent in 1947. The Nizam refused to join either India or Pakistan, preparing to form a separate kingdom within the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the proposal was rejected by British Government. Nizam also concurrently encouraged the activities of the Razakars (A private army). The Niza cited the Razakars as evidence that the people of the state were opposed to any agreement with India.

The Central Government appointed a civil servant, M. K. Vellodi, as First Chief Minister of Hyderabad State on 26 January 1950. He administered the state with the help of bureaucrats from Madras State and Bombay State. In 1952, Dr. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao was elected Chief

minister of Hyderabad State in the first democratic election. During this time there were violent agitations by some Telanganites to send back bureaucrats from Madras state, and to strictly implement rule by natives of Hyderabad. Meanwhile, Telugu-speaking areas in the Northern Circars and Rayalaseema regions were carved out of the erstwhile Madras state on the fast unto death by Potti Sri Ramulu to create Andhra State in 1953, with Kurnool as its capital.

One of the suggestions was to reorganize the state on the basis of languages of India. This would make administration easier, and would help replace the caste and religion-based identities with less controversial linguistic identities. By the 1952, the demand for creation of a Telugu-majority state in the parts of the Madras State had become powerful. Potti Sreeramulu one of the activists demanding the formation of a Telugu-majority state, died on 16 December 1952 after undertaking a fast-unto-death. Subsequently, the Telugu-majority Andhra State was formed in 1953. This sparked off agitations all over the country, with linguistic groups demanding separate statehoods. In order to reorganise the states, the Government of India constituted the State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) under the chairmanship of Fazl Ali, a former Supreme Court judge.

3.6 Demand for Andhra State:

It is now forgotten history that the city of Chennai was the bone of disagreement between the advocates of a separate province of Telugu-speaking people and the then Madras State (Tamil Nadu) in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Though Telugu speakers, about 15 per cent of the population compared to about 70 per cent of Tamil speakers (1931 Census), constituted a minority in the city, they had a high visibility for a variety of historical reasons. With Indian nationalist politics at the doorsill of its mass phase combined with the materialization of a linguistic and regional consciousness, legitimate demands were voiced for a separate province of Andhra as early as the first decade of the 20th century. During the early 1910s, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya wrote extensively in the pages of *The Hindu* articulating this demand.

By the time of its Nagpur session in 1920, the Indian National Congress had reorganised itself on linguistic lines and the newly-formed Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee demanded the city of Chennai for its jurisdiction. Though this demand was articulated intermittently through the subsequent decades, it came to a head only as independence became imminent. However the

Telugu demand for Chennai got tied to the formation of a separate Andhra state and turned out to be the single largest stumbling block to the creation of Andhra state.

In 1938, with the formation of the first Congress ministry, the Madras Legislative Assembly recommended the formation of 'separate Provinces for the Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Kerala regions.⁴⁶' The demand for Andhra got enmeshed in Congress factional politics with intense rivalry between C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) and T. Prakasam. The fall of the Prakasam ministry in the Madras Province, largely as a result of Congress factional politics shortly after Independence, further fuelled the demand for a separate Andhra province.

In June 1948, the Constituent Assembly of India appointed a commission headed by S.K. Dar to examine the formation of new provinces. The Dar commission recommended reorganisation not on "linguistic consideration but rather upon administrative convenience." In the wake of the calamitous Partition, this found support in Nehru. (*The Hindu* 28 Sep, 2013)

Potti Sreeramulu took an effort to protect the interests of the Telugu people of Madras State, force the Madras state government to listen to public demands for the separation of Telugu-speaking districts (Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra) from Madras State to form Andhra State. He went on a lengthy fast, and only stopped when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru promised to form Andhra State. However, there was no occurrence of any movement on the issue for a long time. He started fasting again for attaining statehood for Andhra in Maharshi Bulusu Sambamurti's house in Madras on 19 October 1952. It started off without fanfare but steadily caught people's attention despite the disavowal of the fast by the Andhra INC committee. In an effort to protect the interests of the Telugu people of Madras State.

3.7 Rational Reasons behind Reorganization of States:

The demand for the reorganisation of States is often equated with the demand for the formation of linguistic provinces. This is because the movement for redistribution of British Indian provinces was, in a large measure, a direct outcome of the phenomenal development of regional languages in the nineteenth century which led to, an emotional integration of different language groups and the development amongst them of a consciousness of being distinct cultural units.

⁴⁶ <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/seeing-madras-in-hyderabad/article5176570> accessed on 15/9/2013.

When progressive public opinion in India, therefore, crystallised in favour of rationalisation of administrative units, the objective was conceived and sought in terms of linguistically homogeneous units⁴⁷. (Recent years have, however, seen some shift in emphasis on the linguistic principle and a growing realisation of the need to balance it with other factors relevant to the reshaping of the political geography of India, such as national unity and administrative, economic and other considerations. In the paragraphs which follow, we shall trace the evolution of thought on the rationale and objectives of the reorganisation of States with particular reference to the-concept of linguistic States⁴⁸ (ibid).

During the British period, territorial changes were governed mainly by imperial interests. However, as an ostensible factor the linguistic principle figured, for the first time, in a letter from Sir Herbert Risley, Home Secretary, Government of India, to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd. December, 1903, in which the proposal for the partition of Bengal was first mooted. Later, in the partition Resolution of 1905, and in the dispatch of Lord Hardinge's government to the Secretary of State, dated 25th August, 1911, proposing the annulment of partition, language was again prominently mentioned. The linguistic principle was, however, pressed into service on these occasions only as a measure of administrative convenience, and to the extent it fitted into a general pattern which was determined by political exigencies. In actual effect, the partition of Bengal involved a flagrant violation of linguistic affinities. The settlement of 1912 also showed little respect for the linguistic principle, in that it drew a clear line of distinction between the Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus. Both these partitions thus ran counter to the assumption that different linguistic groups constituted distinct units of social feeling with common, political and economic interests.(op.cit Report 1953).

3.8 The States Reorganization Commission:

The States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was a body constituted by the Central Government of India in 1953 to recommend the reorganization of state boundaries. In 1955, after nearly two years of study, the Commission recommended that India's state boundaries should be

⁴⁷ Report of The States Reorganisation Commission, Government of India in the Ministry of Home Affairs, No. 53/69/53-Public, dated 29th December, 1953)

⁴⁸ <http://www.isepune.org.in/issue-2009/Documentation.pdf>

reorganized to form 16 states and 3 union territories. States Reorganization Commission consisted of Fazal Ali, Kavalam Madhava Panikkar and H.N. Kunzru. The Commission submitted its report on 30 September 1955, with the following recommendations⁴⁹:

1. The three-tier (Part-A/B/C) state system should be abolished
2. The institution of Rajapramukh and special agreement with former princely states should be abolished
3. The general control vested in Government of India by Article 371 should be abolished
4. Only the following 3 states should be the Union Territories: Andaman & Nicobar, Delhi and Manipur. The other Part-C/D territories should be merged with the adjoining states.

Some of its recommendations were implemented in the States Reorganisation Act of 1956. The principal recommendations⁵⁰ of the Commission, which consisted of Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali (Chairman), Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru and Shri K M Pannikar, are summarised below:

The Commission has recommended the establishment of 16 states without any distinction instead of the 27 existing Part A, Part B and Part C States. (The division of states in parts is already discussed in Chapter I) In addition, there will be three centrally administered areas to be called territories. The Commission has insisted that no change should be made unless the advantages which result from it in terms of “the welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as the nation as a whole” are such as to compensate for the heavy burden on the administrative and financial resources of the country, which reorganisation must entail. In Part II of Report of the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) 1955, titled “Factors Bearing on Reorganization”, and in view of the controversy over linguistic States, the Commission clearly said that “it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise States on the basis of the single test of either language or culture, but that a balanced approach to the whole problem is necessary in the interest of our national unity⁵¹.”

They have postulated a balanced approach, which would :

⁴⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/States_Reorganisation_Commission#cite_note-7 accessed on 30/07/2014

⁵⁰ http://www.epw.in/system/files/pdf/1955_7/42/reorganisation_of_states_the_approach_and_arrangements.pdf accessed on 30/07/2014

⁵¹ Marshall, David F. *Language Planning*. John Benjamin Publishing co. Retrieved 5 June 2013

- i. identify linguistic homogeneity as an important feature favorable to administrative expediency and efficiency, but not to consider it as an restricted and binding principle, over ruling other considerations, administrative, financial or political;
- ii. guarantee that communicational, educational and cultural needs of the different language community, whether resident in predominantly unilingual or complex administrative units, are sufficiently addressed;
- iii. where agreeable conditions exist, and the balance of economic, political and administrative considerations support amalgamated States, continue them with the necessary precautions to ensure that every sections enjoy equal rights and opportunities;
- iv. renounce the 'home land' theory , which renounce one of the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution, i.e.,equal opportunities and equal rights for every citizens throughout the length and breadth of the country ;
- v. renouncet the theory of 'one land' which is justified on bases of linguistic homogeneity, because there can be more than one state speaking the same language without offending the linguistic principle of other language groups, including the vast Hindi-speaking population of the Indian Union, cannot always be consolidated to form different linguistic group ; and
- vi. finally, to the extent that the realisation of unilinguism at state level would tend to breed a particularist feeling, counter-balance that feeling by positive measures calculated to give a deeper content to India n nationalism (Reorganisation of States The Approach and Arrangement , 1955).

3.9 The Merger of Telangana and Andhra :

The formal decision to merge with Andhra to form AP was taken by the Hyderabad legislative assembly after substantial reflection on its pros and cons⁵².However, a decade later, the state

⁵² In the Hyderabad legislative assembly, 103 members consented to the formation of AP, 29 were opposed, and 15 abstained. Some Con- gress leaders who were for a separate Telanga- na state changed their stand fearing that this would benefi t the CPI. See Pingle (2010).

witnessed competing subregional movements demanding a separate Telangana and a separate Andhra (Gray 1971, 1974).

The States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was not in favor of an immediate merger of Telangana region with Andhra state, despite their common language.

Para 369 to 389 of SRC deals with the merger of Telangana and Andhra to establish the Andhra Pradesh state.

Para 386 of SRC says .. *“After taking all these factors into consideration we have come to the conclusions that it will be in the interests of Andhra as well as Telangana, if for the present, the Telangana area is to constitute into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961 if by a two thirds majority the legislature of the residency Hyderabad State expresses itself in favor of such unification”*.

Paragraph 382 of the States Reorganisation Commission Report (SRC) said *“opinion in Andhra is overwhelmingly in favor of the larger unit; public opinion in Telangana has still to crystallize itself. 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”* (State Reorganisation Commission Report, 1955).

388 Andhra and Telangana have common interests and we hope these interests will tend to bring the people closer to each other. If, however, our hopes for the development of the environment and conditions congenial to the unification of the two areas do not materialise and if public sentiment in Telangana crystallises itself against the unification of the two states, Telangana will have to continue as a separate state.(ibid)

The Chief Minister of Hyderabad State, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, expressed his view that a majority of Telangana people were against the merger⁵³. He supported the Congress party's central leadership decision to merge Telangana and Andhra despite opposition in Telangana. Andhra state assembly passed a resolution on 25 November 1955 to provide

⁵³ <http://missiontelangana.com/1954-1956-telangana-movement> accessed on 21.03.2014

safeguards to Telangana. The resolution said, “Assembly would further like to assure the people in Telangana that the development of that area would be deemed to be special charge, and that certain priorities and special protection will be given for the improvement of that area, such as reservation in services and educational institutions on the basis of population and irrigational development.⁵⁴” Telangana leaders did not believe the safeguards would work. An agreement was reached between Telangana leaders and Andhra leaders on 20 February 1956 to merge Telangana and Andhra with promises to safeguard Telangana's interests.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru initially was skeptical of merging Telangana with Andhra State, fearing a ‘tint of expansionist imperialism’ in it. He compared the merger to a matrimonial alliance having ‘provisions for divorce’ if the partners in the alliance cannot get on well⁵⁵.

3.10 Gentlemen's Agreement 1956:

The Gentlemen's agreement of Andhra Pradesh has a precedent in the Sribagh Pact of 1937 which was between the leaders of Rayalaseema and Coastal Telugu speaking districts of Madras State to provide assurances for Rayalaseema in return for their willingness to join Andhra State. This unbinding pact was largely forgotten probably because of the large political representation the region has had in the state governments since independence. When the Hyderabad State led by the Nizam of Hyderabad was invaded by India in Operation Polo, there was a debate in the Telugu-speaking districts of the Hyderabad State (1948–56), on whether to join the newly formed Andhra State, carved out of Telugu speaking districts of Madras state⁵⁶.

States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) recommended that *“the Telangana area is to constitute into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961 if by a two thirds majority the legislature of the residency Hyderabad State expresses itself in favor of such unification”*.

1. The expenditure of the central and general administration of the State should be borne proportionately by the two regions and the balance of income from

⁵⁴ Andhra Pradesh State Assembly Resolution 1955.

⁵⁵ Nehru compares the Andhra Telengana merger to matrimonial alliance with provision for divorce. Page 5 of Andhra Patrika 3 Nov 1956.

⁵⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyderabad_State accessed on 21.03.2014

Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area. This arrangement will be reviewed after five years and can be continued for another five years if the Telangana members of the Assembly so desire.

2. Prohibition in Telangana should be implemented in the manner decided upon by the Assembly members of Telangana.
3. The existing educational facilities in Telangana should be secured to the students of Telangana and further improved. Admission to the Colleges including technical institutions in the Telangana area should be restricted to the students of Telangana, or the latter should have admission to the extent of one-third of the total admissions in the entire State, whichever course is advantageous to Telangana students.
4. Retrenchment of services should be proportionate from both regions if it becomes inevitable due to integration.
5. Future recruitment to services will be on the basis of population from both regions.
6. The position of Urdu in the administrative and judicial structure existing at present in the Telangana area may continue for five years , when the position may be reviewed by the Regional Council. So far(as) recruitment to services is concerned, knowledge of Telugu should no be insisted upon at the time of recruitment but they should be required to pass a prescribed Telugu test in two years after appointment
7. Some kind of domicile rule, e.g., residence for 12 years should be provided in order to assure the prescribed proportion to recruitment of services for Telangana area.
8. Sales of agricultural lands in Telangana area (is) to be controlled by the Regional Council.
9. A Regional Council will be established for the Telangana area with a view to secure its all- round development in accordance with its needs and requirements.

10. The Regional Council will consist of 20 members as follows: 9 members of the Assembly representing each district of Telengana to be elected by the Assembly members of the Telengana districts separately, 6 members of the Assembly or the Parliament elected by the Telengana representatives of the Assembly , 5 members from outside the Assembly to be elected by the Telengana members of the Assembly. All ministers from Telengana area will be (its) members.
11.
 - a. The Regional Council will be a statutory body empowered to deal with and decide about matters mentioned above and those relating to planning and development, irrigation and other projects, industrial development within the general plan and recruitment to services in so far as they relate to Telengana area. If there is difference of opinion between the views of the Regional Council and the Government of State, a reference may be made to the Government of India for final decision.
 - b. Unless revised earlier by agreement, this arrangement will be reviewed at the end of ten years.
12. The Cabinet will consist of members in proportion of 60 to 40 per cent for Andhra and Telengana respectively. Out of the 40 per cent Telengana Ministers one will be a Muslim from Telengana.
13. If the Chief Minister is from Andhra, the Deputy Chief Minister will be from Telengana and vice- versa. Two out of the following portfolios will be assigned to Ministers from Telengana :
 - a. Home; b. Finance; c. Revenue; d. Planning & Development; and e. Commerce & Industry.
14. The Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee President desired that the Pradesh Congress Committee should be separated from Telengana upto the end of 1962. Andhra Provincial Congress Committee President has no objection.

The above agreement was arrived at on February 20, 1956. It was signed by (1) B. Gopala Reddy, Chief Minister of Andhra; (2) N. Sanjiva Reddy, Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra; (3) G. Latchanna, Minister in the Andhra Cabinet & Leader of the Krishikar Lok Party – a constituent of the United Congress Front which contested the Andhra elections (1955) and formed the Ministry; (4) A. Satyanarayana Raju, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee; (5) B.Rama Krishna Rao, Chief Minister, Hyderabad; (6) K.V.Ranga Reddy, Minister, Hyderabad; (7) Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, Minister, Hyderabad; and (8) J.V. Narsinga Rao, President, Hyderabad Provincial Congress Committee⁵⁷.

Following the Gentlemen's agreement, the central government established a unified Andhra Pradesh on November 1, 1956. The agreement provided reassurances to Telangana in terms of power-sharing as well as administrative domicile rules and distribution of expenses of various regions.

3.11 Separate Telangana State movement :

There have been a number of movements to invalidate the merger of Telangana and Andhra, major ones taking place in 1969, 1972 and 2000s onwards. The Telangana movement gained momentum over decades becoming a widespread political demand of creating a new state from the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.

This can be summarized in this simple story. There are three brothers Telangana, Rayalaseema and Andhra. They have a house with three rooms. All the three worked for 6 decades collectively and put their earnings in Telangana brothers room. Now the Telangana brother wants other two brothers to leave his room for him and asks others to separate and live on their own.

Jai Andhra Movement was a death blow to Telangana region. It resulted in the following decisions:

- i. Mulki rules were diluted –Mulki rule means nativity in Urdu Language and this rule was in force in Hyderabad state, that means one is eligible for government job on the basis of

⁵⁷ http://etelangana.org/uploads/ebooks/Telangana_Article__2014-04-02_051708/2014-04-07_100158_Gentlemen_Agreement_1956.pdf

one's nativity and not on the basis of one's domicile or residence. This rule was incorporated in the Gentlemen's Agreement.

- ii. Telengana Regional Committee was cancelled
- iii. Hyderabad though it comes under Zone VI, it was claimed as Free zone even though there is nothing called as free zone.
- iv. Period of Residence brought down from 12 to 4 years
- v. Government stopped maintaining separate revenue accounts for Andhra and Telengana regions.
- vi. Andhra people were not allowed to purchase lands from Telengana farmers resulted in diluted 6 point formula and the promises made to Telengana people and region were once again disobeyed. In 1975 the Zonal System was created as part of presidential orders. With this, Hyderabad district comes under Zone VI with Ranga Reddy, Mahaboob Nagar, Nizamabad and Medak districts.

3.12 The 1969 Telengana Movement/Jai Telengana Movement:

I may be admitted that ever since the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state, there have been occasional noise of dissatisfaction by the displeased Nizam Telangana leaders who failed in their demand for a separate state in 1956. The Nizam Telangana leaders had two main grievances: the first one related to employment in government services, and the second one involved using the balance of funds from the Telangana region. According to the Gentle men's Agreement, jobs in the Telangana region were suppose to be reserved for locals. Ironically, Nizam Telangana leaders violated this agreement. The first group of people who were directly affected by the violation of Telanagana safeguards were the government servants hailing from Telengana. It is also reported that recruitments were made by APPSC based on fake Mulki certificate.

The year 1969 saw the protests from the Telangana region when some students protested implementation of the safe guards from Andhra Pradesh, while some protested for a Separate Telangana. The local newspaper Indian Express reported that the latter group were dominant⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ "College students in Telangana agitation (Indian Express 16 January 1969; page 8-bottom)". Google. 16 January 1969. Retrieved 13 January 2012.

According to the 19 January 1969 edition of The Indian Express, the agitation turned violent when a crowd attempted to set fire to a sub-inspector's residence. This agitation was met by a counter agitation by the Andhra students accusing the transfer Andhra employees as a discrimination between one region and the other. The transfers were eventually challenged in the high-court. As days passed, the student movement gradually turned violent. Two student groups, one demanding a separate state, another demanding special protection for the region, staged rallies in the city.

The army had to be called in. After several days of talks with leaders of both regions, on 12 April 1969, Prime minister came up with an eight-point plan⁵⁹. Telangana leaders rejected the plan and protests continued under the leadership of newly formed political party Telangana Praja Samithi in 1969 asking for the formation of Telangana. Under the Mulki rules in force at the time, anyone who had lived in Hyderabad for 15 years was considered a local, and was thus eligible for certain government posts.

3.13 The 1972 Telengana Movement:

In the year 1972 the Supreme Court upheld the Mulki rules the Jai Andhra movement, with the aim of restructuring a separate state of Andhra, was started in Coastal Andhra and Rayalseema regions. The movement lasted for 110 days. The Supreme Court upheld the implementation of Mulki rules. The people from the Andhra region viewed the Milki rules as 'treating them like strangers in their own land'. In the year 1973 a political settlement was reached with the Government of India with a Six-Point Formula. It was agreed upon by the leaders of the two regions to prevent any recurrence of such agitations in the future. To avoid legal problems, constitution was amended (32nd amendment) to give the legal sanctity to the Six-point formula⁶⁰.

In 1985, when Telangana employees complained about the violations to six point formula, government enacted government order 610 (GO 610) to correct the violations in recruitment. As

⁵⁹ "[Eight point plan for Telangana \(IE 12 April\)](#)". Google. 12 April 1969. Retrieved 13 January 2012.

⁶⁰ "[Nineteenth Century politics over Telangana](#)". The Hindu Business Line. 12 December 2009. Retrieved 13 January 2012.

Telangana people complained about non implementation of GO 610, in 2001, government constituted Girglani commission to look into violations⁶¹.

The J M Girglani or the One Man Commission had made provisions for reservation of government jobs for the local people within the Telengana region. The GO 610 issued ten years after the Presidential Order of 1975, has remained unimplemented. The Commission described the deviations from the Presidential order, grievances, remedial measures and safeguards. The deviations are arranged in terms of 18 'Deviation Generes' delineated into 126 findings and 35 sets of remedial measures (Pingle, 2014, p. 133).

In 1997, the state unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) passed a resolution seeking a separate Telangana⁶².

3.14 The Telengana Movement in the 2000s:

The NDA government headed by Atal Bihari Vajpayee was in power in 1998 to 2004. It was during this period three new states were created in the country. The tribal area of Jharkhand was separated from Bihar and a new state was formed, similarly Uttaranchal and Chattishgarh were separated from Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. This event had further aggravated the aspiration for the creation of Telengana State.

In 2000, Congress party MLAs from the Telangana region who supported a separate Telangana state formed the Telangana Congress Legislators Forum and submitted memorandum to their president Sonia Gandhi requesting the support the Telangana state⁶³.

A new party called Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), led by Kalvakuntla Chandrashekar Rao (KCR), was formed in April 2001 with the single-point agenda of creating a separate

⁶¹ "GO 610 will benefit 60,000 in Telangana". Articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com. 14 July 2003. Retrieved 13 January 2012.

⁶² "Front Page : Sushma pitches for Telangana". *The Hindu* (Chennai, India). 24 January 2010. Retrieved 14 September 2010.

⁶³ "Sonia urged to back demand for separate Telangana". *The Hindu*. 12 August 2000. Retrieved 16 February 2008.

Telangana state with Hyderabad as its capital⁶⁴.As a matter of policy BJP is generally in favour of cretion of small states for the sake of administrative convience.

In 2001, the Congress Working Committee sent a resolution to the NDA government for constituting a second SRC to look into the Telangana state demand. This was rejected by then union home minister L.K. Advani citing that smaller states were neither viable nor conducive to the integrity of the country⁶⁵.

In April 2002, Advani wrote a letter to MP A. Narendra rejecting a proposal to create Telangana state explaining tha “regional disparities in economic development could be tackled through planning and efficient use of available resources”. He said that the NDA government, therefore, does “not propose creation of a separate state of Telangana⁶⁶”. However in 2012, Advani said that if their then partner TDP cooperated during NDA tenure, a separate state of Telangana could have been created⁶⁷.This was confirmed by the President of the TDP, Chandrababu Naidu, on 1 September 2013 in a public meeting⁶⁸.

In the run-up to the 2004 Assembly & Parliament elections, then Union Home Minister L. K. Advani ruled out inclusion of Telangana in the NDA agenda and said “Unless there is consensus among all political parties in the state and unless that consensus is reflected in a resolution of the state Assembly, we don’t propose to include it in the NDA agenda⁶⁹”.

As promised by the Gentlemen Agreement the share in employment to Telengana. No Telugu exam as qualifying exam for Telengana employees. Deputy CM position to be given to Telengana. The Telengana Regional Development Council TRC on the lines of autonomy council with devolution of powers and funds for Telengana. Requiring clearance by TRC for purchase of lands in Telengana (each is breached).Reservation for sons of soil: domiciliary

⁶⁴ Amin Jafri, Syed (17 May 2001). "Massive rally demands Telangana state". rediff.com. Retrieved 16 February 2008.

⁶⁵"Congress stand clear on Telangana issue: Andhra CM". rediff.com

⁶⁶ Radhakrishna, G.S. (20 October 2011). "Advani amnesia and prod on Telangana". *The Telegraph* (Kolkata, India). Retrieved 13 January 2012.

⁶⁷ "Telangana would have been reality had TDP cooperated: LK Advani". DNA. Retrieved 5 November 2012.

⁶⁸ "NDA could not divide Andhra due to my opposition: N Chandrababu Naidu". Times of India. Retrieved 3 September 2013.

⁶⁹ BJP against Telangana state: Advani - Deccan Herald

qualifications were felt needed in princely States where there was no all-around development. Mulki rule existed in Nizam and 13 other similar dominions in pre-Independence era. Dr. Ambedkar suggested a uniform law made by Parliament to protect the interests of natives. Then Mulki rules were truncated from 15 to 12 years.

For these elections, the Congress party and the TRS forged an electoral alliance in the Telangana region to consider the demand of separate Telangana State⁷⁰. Congress came to power in the state and formed a coalition government at the centre; TRS joined the coalition after the common minimum program of the coalition government included that the demand for separate Telangana state will be considered after due consultations and consensus⁷¹.

extended their support for a separate state for Telangana. The state Congress and its ally Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen have left it to the Congress high command to take a final decision. Minutes of the meeting were faxed to Congress high command⁷².

In 2009 elections also, the Congress assured that only the UPA government can deliver the Telangana State. Based on the demands to send non-locals to their regions, the Government started sending Police working in Hyderabad to their respective zones in the recent past. The Hyderabad free zone issue has long been contentious, and it was on this issue that Telangana Rashtra Samithi president K Chandrasekhar Rao had staged his famous fast-unto-death in 2009. Through Girglani Committee identified Hyderabad under Zone VI, the non-locals went to Supreme Court, and on October 9th 2009 the SC ordered that Hyderabad is a free zone. There is no word called 'free zone'⁷³ because all the districts in the state are divided into five zones, this triggered a lot of unrest among the Telangana Employee Associations, which feared that the non-locals would grab their jobs meant for Telanganites in Hyderabad.

⁷⁰ "Controversy over SRC blows over". *Andhra Pradesh* (Chennai, India: The Hindu). 2004-03-05. Retrieved 2008-02-16.

⁷¹ "Common Minimum Programme of the Congress led United Progressive Alliance". Indian National Congress. May 2004. Archived from the original on 2007-12-12. Retrieved 2008-02-16.

⁷² "TRS disrupt Andhra Assembly over Telangana". *Ibnlive.in.com*. Retrieved 13 January 2012.

⁷³ In a significant development in the separate Telangana state agitation, the Clause 14 (f) of the 1975 Presidential Order, which had made Hyderabad a free zone for employment, was deleted.

The movement got a fresh breath with employees, intellectuals, journalists, lawyers, engineers, doctors, students, NRIs, women, and children voicing against the Free Zone, and also for the Telengana statehood. Student organizations have come into the single platform and formed Joint Action Committee for participation in the Telengana statehood movement.

On 29th Nov 2009 – the President of TRS party Shri K Chandrashekhar Rao, started his fast-unto-death against the free zone and for achieving the Telengana Statehood. Telengana movement gained momentum after students of various Telengana Universities viz., Osmania Universities, Kakatia Universities, Palmoor and Telengana Universities, intellectuals, journalists, lawyers, engineers, doctors, students, NRIs, women, and children coming out to the streets for Telengana statehood.

In A.P. all the Political parties, including Congress, BJP, TSP, PRP, CPI declared that they would support the Telengana statehood. On dec 7 2009 in Assembly, all parties expressed that they would vote for the Telengana state, if bill is introduced in the Assembly. On dec 8 2009, in Parliament also, all parties expressed concern over Telengana state if it is tabled in the Parliament.

A historical day for the Telengana people, on Dec 9 2009, at 11:30 PM, Shri P. Chidambaram, Home Minister, Govt. of India, announced that, “the process of Telengana State formation will be initiated”. Within house of announcement, the MLAs and MPS from Andhra and Rayalseema started resigning citing the reason, the announcement was done without taking them into confidence and it was announced late night. All these days the Congress representatives were telling that they would honor Congress Central leadership’s decision, and overnight they changed their colors and putting spokes in the formation of Telengana State. The Chandrababu Naidu led TDP party MLAs and MPs from Andhra and Seema also gave up their resignations against the formation of Telengana State. The newly formed PRP Party led by Chiranjeevi’s MLAs. From Andhra and Seema also gave up their resignations against the formation of Telengana State. All in all 140 plus MLAs and MPs rendered their resignations. The Central Ministers of Andhra and Seema also threatened to resign from Central Govt., if the decision is not taken back. This is clear dominance of Andhra and Seema leaders and somehow stalling the formation of Telengana State.

When Telengana's people were excited that their dream of a separate Telengana state being realized after long-standing struggle, a lot of horrific actions were happenings in AP Assembly, Loksabha and Rajyasabha demonstrate to be very unacceptable and annoying Opposition to proposed Telengana Bill done by most undemocratic means like tearing off the copies of the Bill, snatching away the mike from the Speaker, removing papers tabled from the table of the Secretarial staff working in the well of Rajyasabha, spraying pepper spray and wielding a knife etc. all these might have elevate a question all over that isn't the demand for a separate state constitutionally justified.

There are in all various reasons for carving out a state of Telengana. There are numerous breaches of promises, agreements, GOs and judgements. Many people died in police firings during 1969 agitation while many young persons of Telengana gave up their lives in frustration after 2009.

Andhra people did not mix with Telengana neither on linguistic nor on social considerations. The whole world saw choose over the Seemandhra MPs of all parties were hating Telengana at every juncture and mostly during last week of the sessions in Parliament in Feb 2014. Such a unstable and antagonist situation was prevalent in AP for the last several decades... that it created identity crisis for people in Telengana who were culturally suppressed and their history was ignored. They do not tolerate the accent of Telengana. This can said to be a psychological feeling that many of the times Telengana writers and speakers experienced a question; "You are speaking good Telugu? It was always anticipated that a person from Telengana and speaking good Telugu was taken astonishing, they have no tolerance for the linguistic accent of Telengana and in addition they look down Telengana culture. All this show that there is no feeling of integration at all.

There was unjustified and continuous diversion of resources such as water, funds, employment and opportunities what the Telengana proponents think was rightfully theirs . There is a big unfairness against Telengana- in education, facilities, irrigation, employment etc as understood by the Telengana proponents, Telengana tolerated a lot for long and after so long it is difficult to tolerate this kind of exploitation, discrimination and premeditated sense of neglect.

Andhra Assembly Resolution dated 25th Nov, 1955 para 3 stated: "... they would have due reservation in respect of appointments and on par with their population and that we have absolutely no objection to concede to them their due share in other respects also." Another resolution in Feb 1st, 1956 essentially said that "we would not touch your 1/3 share in employment". This is breached.

The Telengana loyalty is so much attached that all Telengana people want their separate state. Their voice was suppressed since 1950s. They have a legitimate right to ask for Telengana state. Parliamentary Democracy accommodates demand for autonomy by separate state. Integrity is not affected by creating another state for Telugu speaking people. Living together should depend on mutual consent, Telengana is not consenting to live with Andhra and Rayala Seema districts. There should be a social contract between the groups or sub-regions which was either missing or totally breached. When 1st SRC under Fazl Ali has not recommended straight away formation of Andhra Pradesh, Nehruji agreed to lobbying of Seemandhra then under a condition that Telengana should have an option to separate if they are not satisfied. UPA Chairperson Sonia Gandhi is granting the wish of the Telengana people as it was promised by Nehru during the merger.

The people voted for Telengana vigorously by electing 11 out of 13 seats to Parliament in 1971 when there was sign of support for Congress led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi after great victory over Pakistan creating Bangladesh. It indicates strong emotional vote for Telengana. In 2004 people of both Telengana and Andhra voted out TDP government which went with manifesto of United State, gave apposite verdict for Telengana by electing Congress and TRS who tussled with electoral alliance with massive margin. Voter strength for Telengana cannot be measured because every party has some way or the other had promised separate Telengana during 2009 polls. The Seemandhra leaders are arguing that only some of Telengana people were seeking the separate state quoting the less number of seats the TRS has won in Telengana. The TRS contested only a few seats because of alliance with Congress in 2004 and all the seats won by TRS-TDP alliance need not be counted as people's support for Telengana. Especially when every party promised Telengana in 2009, it is not correct to say that all did not want Telengana but there may be some who had a different view.

All opposition parties agreed to it on Dec 7 2009 when Chief Minister Rosiah convened a meet. Congress Legislature Party supported it and said they are not opposed to Telengana and authorized their leader Sonia Gandhi to decide. Leader of opposition Chandra Babu of TDP even went to the extent of challenging the Congress party saying, “you bring the Bill and see the support of TDP”. On Dec 9, 2009 the Declaration of Telengana by the Union Home Minister was based on consent, on these facts of consensus and support and political backing for Telengana. In the month of Dec 2009 itself Telengana formation was officially declared in Parliament also. In several all-party meetings a broad consensus emerged.

Telengana by no means is a small state even after separation. When categorised on the round of separate statehood demand size and population the Telengana will not be a small state. This demand is not dependent upon the promotion for small states. Those who oppose small states also can support Telengana because it will be a big state than many in India now. And separation of Telengana from not so integrated Andhra Pradesh is just a separation and not devastation of integrity. It is switching back to pre-1956 identifiable, pre-existing and a viable state, which is thus not new.

The Preamble, Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 37, 41 and 14 of our Constitution mutually enforce an responsibility on state to accord equal protection to the citizens citizens. As advocated by the proponents for Telengana the region and people of Telengana were treated unequal and thus Telengana needs this protection. Under Article 16(3) the Parliament alone can prescribe residential qualification of jobs under the government of ‘a state’ or a local or other authority within ‘a state’. Omission to this rule is an attempt to bring together the conflicting claims of equality based on concept of single citizenship and justifiable local demands for local jobs.

We need to understand why Dr. Ambedkar opposed linguistic states and also demands of occupation by the migrants. Referring to criticism of the demands like Bengal for Bengalis and Madras for Madras etc. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar made the following remarks: “you cannot allow people who were flying from one province to another as mere birds of passage without any roots, without any connection with that particular province, just to come, apply for posts and, so to say, take the plums and walk away” (Constituent Assembly Debates at page 700).

It can be thus concluded that all the hardship the people of Telengan had earned them what they had long been waiting that is a separate state of Telengana after a lot of broken agreement and distrust Telengan state was finally formed on 2nd June 2014, with the city of Hyderabad as its capital. It is the patience of the people who had been constantly with the demand and the credit also goes to the leadership who did not compromise with any other arrangement but the state of Telengana.

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CHAPTER – IV

Chapter IV

A Comparative Analysis of resemblances and differences of Gorkhaland and Telengana Movements

Before going to the comparative analysis of the movements a brief history of Darjeeling and Telengana 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 Telengana 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 Nepal⁷⁴.
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

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

- Minister of India in Kalimpong and submitted a memorandum demanding the separation from Bengal⁷⁵.
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 demand⁷⁶.
 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 unopposed⁷⁷.
 13. On 30 July 2013, Gurung resigned from the GTA citing both interference from the West Bengal government and the renewed agitation for Gorkhaland⁷⁸.
 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.

⁷⁵ Ibid

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

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

⁷⁸ "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 region⁷⁹.
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 Agreement⁸⁰ 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.

⁷⁹ "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.

⁸⁰ 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-point⁸¹ 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

⁸¹ 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 2014⁸².

25. On 2 June 2014, Telangana was formed as a new 29th state of India, with the city of Hyderabad as its capital⁸³.

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

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

⁸³ "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 to 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 determine 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 does 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”⁸⁴. 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 Andhra⁸⁵.

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

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

⁸⁵ 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 instability⁸⁶. 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

⁸⁶ 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 1st 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 Telengana 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 Telengana 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 Telengana movement in a short period of time was a big blow. Telengana 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 Telengana 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 Telengana people could only be stratified with the formation of Telengana 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 said⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ <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 reassertion⁸⁸ 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

⁸⁸ Retrieved from, 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 Darjeeling⁸⁹. 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 Benga⁹⁰”

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 understand⁹¹.

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

⁸⁹Ranabir 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.

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

⁹¹ 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:

	Contents	Gorkhaland	Telengana
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 impracticable	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 11th 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 10th 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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CHAPTER – V

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusion

The year 2000 witnessed redrawing of the Indian territories with its internal boundaries, which has resulted in the formation of three states in the northern half of the country. Jharkhand was divided to from Bihar, Chattisgarh was formed out of Madhya Pradesh and Uttarakhand was made out of Uttar Pradesh. The demands for separate states have come from across the country- for Kukiland in Manipur to Kongu Nadu in Tamil Nadu, for Kamatapur in North Bengal to Tulu Nadu in Karnataka. Other statehood demands come from Awadh Pradesh and Bhojpur (Uttar Pradesh and Bihar), Bodoland (Assam), Bundelkhand (Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh), Coorg (Karnataka), Harit Pradesh (Western Uttar Pradesh), Konkan Pradesh (Konkan region), Marathwada (Maharashtra), Mahakoshal (Odisha), Mithilachal (Bihar), Muru Pradesh (Rajasthan), Poorvanchal (Uttar Pradesh), Saurashtra (Gujarat), Vidarbha (Maharashtra), and so on. These regions having different regional identity on the line of region, language, culture, caste and class now pose a grave challenge to the Indian federalism. The time barely needs a second States Reorganization Commission to address these issues.

However our research problem that we have dealt so far, began with the stated objective of dealing with the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement in our case viz. the Gorkhaland and Telengana movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, governmentt in power and parliamentary system of politics. In respect of both the movements to understand the idea of culture or identity as a foundation for political mobilization. To have a deeper understanding of the relationship between the leadership of the movement and the government.

While investigating and finding answers to our research questions, the study has been made under five chapters. In the beginning Chapter I dealing with the theoretical framework of our comparative methods to be used while finding answers to the questions with an outlined methodology has been detailed while in Chapter II and Chapter III a detailed historical and political evolution of the Gorkhaland and Telengana movements respectively has been showcased. Chapter IV is focussing on the comparative analysis of similaritie and differences

between the Gorkhaland and Telengana movements and finally Chapter V is drawing a summary and conclusion of the undertaken research work.

India is a complex plural country consisting of a number of identities. One of the most important phenomenons is the emergence of regional movements in India. The proposed work has taken two such regional movements under study namely the Gorkhaland and the Telengana movement demanding separate statehood taking into account the relationship between different factors working within a political process. Telengana and Gorkhaland movement have different outcome, Telengana has successfully become a separate state where as Gorkhaland demand still exists which is already discussed in chapter II.

Moreover, the announcement of Telengana has acted as a stimulator to those agitating for similar demands in different parts of the country. Demands for Bodoland, comprising Bodo dominated areas in Assam, intensified with supporters calling for an economic powercut. One of the complexities of India is its population, for instance India has five states namely Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh each with populations larger than Europe's largest nation, Germany, which has 80 million citizens. The western state of Maharashtra has almost twice as many people as Europe's second largest nation, France. Even the country's sixteenth largest state, Haryana, has more people than Australia. It is evidently on this basis many scholars view that India needs many more small states. However the Indian case cannot be cited out of calculations because of its inherent diversities and complexities where any experiment may lead to astonishing outcome.

So far as the Gorkhaland movement is concerned, even though the GTA is signed, the voices demanding Gorkhaland refuse to die down. For fear of repercussion, the signatory party to the GTA keeps harping about Gorkhaland and making unclear statements about both the GTA and Gorkhaland. Besides being seen as a major climb-down from the demand for a state, the agreement is also perceived as a betrayal of the peoples' aspiration of a state of their own. Dooars, of course, continues to simmer. The history of the movement and the responses to the movement clearly point up that the demand is for nothing diminutive of a full-fledged state and that any other administrative arrangement will only be unsuccessful As long as the complete

power to legislate is not made available to the people of the region all arrangements will only prove to be provisional and useless.

Further more given that the Gorkhaland agitation is taking place in the strategically sensitive area of Siliguri location where the governmental authority needs to knob the situation carefully and earnestly, and must not allow the situation getting out of control. At the same time, it is important that before formulating a solution, it takes into consideration the sentimental aspiration of the people of the Hill district.

A closer assessment of the situation reveals that there is a growing consensus among the major political parties to grant statehood to the Hill people of Darjeeling District. It has been reported that both the Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party have extended their support to the GJM's demand for a separate State in November 2007. In addition, the Parliamentary Standing Committee to which the Bill was referred has advised the Indian government to take into account the "ground realities" before taking a decision.

It can be so stated that the Gorkhaland issue has gradually matured from a demand for a separate administrative set-up to full fledged statehood. The agitation in the 1986 was a violent one which to an extent was able to bring in notice the issue of Gorkhaland before the big shots and major political parties in the country. However the CPIM led West Bengal government dismissed the movement as a law and order problem. The demand for Gorkhaland had also led to the rise of regional upsurges particularly in the Doars Terai and Siliguri. A number of political and social organizations have since been formed to oppose the formation of Gorkhaland and some political parties are formed with the objective of attaining Gorkhaland. They include Jana Chetna, Bangla O bangle Bhasa Bachao Committee, Amra Bangali. The political parties formed which claim of attaining statehood are Gorkha Rastriya Congress, United Gorkha Revolutionar Front, Gorkha Liberation Organization, Sikkim Democratic Front and Bhartiya Gorkha Parishang.

Even though the GTA is signed, the voices demanding Gorkhaland decline to go dead down. For fear of repercussion, the participant party to the GTA keeps harping about Gorkhaland and making unclear statements about both the GTA and Gorkhaland. Besides being seen as a major drop from the demand for a state, the agreement is also perceived as a betrayal of the peoples' aspiration of a state of their own.

And so far as the Telengana movement is concerned there are certain factors which were favourable in the successful attainment of statehood. Firstly the UPA government had taken the demand seriously , moreover Smt Sonia Gandhi was in favour of separation. Secondly,the BJP main opposition party also supported the demand for separate sate. Moreover Chandra Babu Naidu and his allies were out of power. All political parties except CPM were in favour of separation. Lastly there was a soft Chief Minister in the state and in such circumstances KCR took the opportunity and plunged into action.

Autonomous area council failures and success:

The formation of linguistic state created linguistic minorities, practically in every part of the country. This created majority phobia and many states and aggressive majoritism in many small pockets of the country. It has worked to disturbed the pluri-social formations and pluri-social ethos of Indian society. The same phenomenon was repeated in ethnic states. A large percentage of population suffered likewise in the new setup. Aggressive minoritism, however, is a new phenomenon in many respect. The Indian states should realize to think in terms of the people of the area and not in the terms of the significance of a vocal aggressive group. The state shall become out of control if every group starts speaking through violent means using weapons. We should aim at integration and the interest of non aggressive groups should never be ignored.

The formation of DGHC failed to satisfy the people of the region. Some of the reasons are as follows:

- i. It failed to conduct Panchayat elections in spite of repeated request by the WB Government. Cases of financial disorderliness and non performing work culture had the demoralizing effect.
- ii. Some politicians involved in running the council do not want its success. They wanted councils as the stepping stones for full fledged statehood.

It should be the endeavor to see that the autonomous area council succeed in achieving the desired level of developmental goals. This success of the experiment shall help in curving the mad race of state demands to a large extent.

We should learn from the functioning of small states before deciding on further reorganization of the country. The backward regions of the backward states have suffered for decades. Their development cannot wait.

Some of the points given below need serious consideration to avoid further complication in this matter:

- i. A council should be established to look forward with the regional demands so that hostility and the force of violence in the country is tamed.
- ii. There is a need for reorganization of territory but any further reorganization in the country should be based on balanced considerations and avoid majority language consideration.
- iii. The formation of new states should only be granted after thorough study of economic viability effect on the neighbouring regions and on regional development, its impact on other similar demands etc.
- iv. The economic non viable state should be reorganised.

The reason behind the people supporting this politicians and agitators of regionalism can be understood by the fact that, people of these regions face problems in everyday life in almost all aspects, education, employment, health and also identity. The country was divided into different regions for the ease of ruling by the Britishers and it is after independence the same policy is followed by the present era politicians by introducing their policy of regional development in the country at the cost of national development. However, the Pandora's box opened by the Telengana declaration is going to bring in more trouble which the Centre has to deal firmly in a way that sentiments of the regional people and diversity of the country is intact.

To sum up, I would like to point out the fact which was already stated that the same out come cannot be expected between Telengana and Gorkhaland movement. However, the declaration of Telengana state has worked as an igniting context for the Gorkha agitators to make their demand ferocious but the context of their cannot be ignored on logical lines moreover, it may be pointed out that, certain conditions such as common culture and a distinct mother tongue largely helped to create a strong sense of regional identity among the people of a part, notwithstanding the formation of an integrated and united state in independent India. In addition to this, their

relatively backward socio-economic position in comparison to the people of other region created a sense of deprivation between them which may be material as well as psychological. The relative material deprivation in socio-economic terms coupled with the disaffection resulting political disadvantage contributed immensely to the growth of regionalism among the people of Telengana in Andhra Pradesh whereas the question of identity has clamored the Gorkhaland movement.

The big state model was broken after the formation of the state of Nagaland with small size and population. The economic viability was not questioned after that and many states emerging after that state were smaller in area as well as population. Most of the small states except Goa were economically non viable and needed serious doses of funds from the Consolidated Fund of India for their plan as well as non plan expenses. Most of the small states emerged in North East India after its reorganization. Manipur and Tripura were the princely states during the preindependence period. Mizoram was a district of Assam, called the Lushai hills. Garo hills and the united Khasi and Jaintia hills emerged as Meghalaya.

Only two small states, located in other parts of the country were Sikkim and Goa. Both the states were merged in India and attained statehood in due course of time. The pattern and the trends of the formation of small states in India deferred considerably. The aim of protecting one's own cultural identity and in course its takes a form of exaggerated movement. A number of arguments have been heard about the problem of identity crises in this country and the need of protecting the identity of certain communities or group of people who claim to have a distinct identity from the rest.

The fact that the Indian society is averse to identity obliteration and tends to preserve the identity of numerous castes and tribes by the practice of endogamy is ignored. Moreover, it is necessary to create over employing state machineries for identity preservation so that no such groups are left ignored. However there are a number of developments in the country we need to think about the following particulars in this connection.

- i. Steps weren't taken by the ethnic states to improve and develop the tribal languages present. We may say that the linguistic states were not genuine enough to develop the state

language. The states were not able to perform in a way so that the customary law and the customs and usage of tribal codes could be protected.

- ii. Despite of the fact that when desirable the people have no problem adopting foreign culture and habits and at the same time they have a feeling of threat of identity deprivation in their very own country. What is witnessed in our country is the forced and purposeful social and cultural isolation from the people of other region in order to develop one's own culture is what they call as identity protection.
- iii. The State's role in terms of the policies undertaken
- iv. Further more it can be so stated that peoples aspiration cannot be neglected but a larger interest should be looked and must not be forgotten that unity of the country and national integrity is more important.

The above mentioned recommendation however, does not guarantee or should not be taken as a final resolution of the question of demands for separate state. The argument is that the process is an open process with no question of a permanent settlement. There cannot be something called a permanent resolution to the problem, if it is, at all, taken as a problem, as diverse strategic relation are forged guided by different power considerations and position of different groups within a power network leading to better or not so good bargaining capability for the people rising up in demand.

In view of the diversity and complexity of the problems of regional development , as mentioned by C H Hanumantha Rao, it is necessary to have a standing National Commission on Regional Development for constantly examining the way of transfer of resource to these areas in the light of the recommendations of the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission which would assemble the essential data on regional levels of development in order to review the growth of development and to explore innovations, organizational and otherwise, for greater transfer of resources as well as for their better absorption. The work done by such a National Commission on a continuing basis could considerably strengthen the bargaining power of the less-developed regions where a significant part of the country's none privileged live. However this arrangement also cannot be taken as a final solution to the problem of regionalism in India, yet arrangements of this kind can tame the force of any further occurrence of regional demands in the country.

ANNEXURE

Annexure-I

Deed of Darjeeling Grant – 1835⁹²

Translation of the Deed of Grant making over Darjeeling to the East India Company dated 29th Maugh, Sabat 1891, A.D., 1st February 1835.

The Governor-General having expressed his desire for the possession of the Hill of Darjeeling, on account of its cool climate, for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government, suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, I, the Sikkimputtee Rajah, out of friendship to the said Governor-General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company, that is all the land South of the Great Runjeet River, east of the Balasum, Kahail, and Little Runjeet Rivers, and west of the Rungno and Mahanuddi Rivers.

Sd/- A. CAMPBELL, Seal of the Rajah prefixed to the document.
Superintendent of Darjeeling and In charge of political relations with Sikkim.

Annexure-II

Gazette Notification on the Issue of Citizenship of Gorkhas⁹³

(Published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary Part – I Section 1 dated the 23rd August 1988)
No. 26011/6/88-ICI
Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs
New Delhi the 23rd August, 1988

⁹² <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/deed-of-darjeeling/> accessed on 14/03/2013.

⁹³ <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/gazette-notification/> accessed on 14/03/2013.

NOTIFICATION

Whereas it has come to the notice of the Central Government that there have been some misconception about the citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution of India of certain classes of person commonly known as Gorkhas, who had settled in India at such commencement.

And whereas it is considered necessary to clear such misconception it is hereby clarified as follows:

(1) As from the commencement of the Constitution, that is as from 26-1-1950, every Gorkha who had his domicile in the territory of India, that is, in the territories which on 26-1-1950 became part of or constituted the territory of india as defined in Article-1 (2) of the Constitution of India and-

(a) Who was born in the territory of India or

(b) Either of whose parents was born in the territory of India.

(c) Who had been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than five years before such commencement shall be a citizen of India as provided in Article 5 of the Constitution of India

(2) No such person as is referred to in paragraph (1) above shall be a citizen of India or be deemed to be a citizen of India if he has voluntarily acquired the citizenship of any foreign State, as provided in Article 9 of the Constitution of India.

(3) Every person who is citizen of India at the commencement of the Constitution as aforesaid shall continue to be such a citizen subject to the provision of any law that may be made Parliament as provided in Article 10 of the Constitution of India.

(4) The provisions of the Citizenship Act 1965 and the Rules and orders made there-under shall apply to the persons referred to in paragraph (1) after the commencement of Constitution.

Sd/-

(INDRA MISRA)

Joint Secretary to the Government of India

Annexure III

Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty – 1950⁹⁴

THE Government of India and the Government of Nepal, recognising the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries;

Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries;

Have resolved therefore to enter into a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with each other and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely,

The Government of India:

His Excellency Shri Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh, Ambassador of India in Nepal.

The Government of Nepal:

Maharaja Mohun Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who, having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed as follows:

Article I

There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.

Article II

The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

⁹⁴ <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/indo-nepal/> accessed on 14/03/2013.

Article III

In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article I the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions.

The representatives and such of their staff as may be agreed upon shall enjoy such diplomatic privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by international law on a reciprocal basis: Provided that in no case shall these be less than those granted to persons of a similar status of any other State having diplomatic relations with either Government.

Article IV

The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in towns, ports and other places in each other's territory as may be agreed to.

Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequaturs or other valid authorisation of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorisation is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible.

The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

Article V

The Government of Nepal shall be free to import, from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunition or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

Article VI

Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

Article VII

The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.

Article VIII

So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned, this Treaty cancels all previous treaties, agreements and arrangements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

Article IX

This treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

Article X

This Treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice.

Annexure IV

Segowlee Treaty – 1815⁹⁵

TREATY of PEACE between the HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND MAHARAJAH BIRKRAM SAH, Rajah of Nipal, settled between LIEUTENANT – COLONEL BRADSHAW on the part of the HONOURABLE COMPANY, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by HIS EXCELLENCY the RIGHT HONOURABLE FRANCIS, EARL of MOIRA, KNIGHT of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER, on of HIS MAJESTY's MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by SHREE

⁹⁵ <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/segowlee-treaty/> accessed on 14/03/2013.

GOOROO GUJRAJ MISSER and CHUNDER SEEKUR OPEDEEA on the party of MAHA RAJAH GIRMAUN JODE BIKRAM SAH BHAAUDER, SHUMESHEER JUNG, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nipal, – 2nd December 1815.

Whereas war has arisen between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two States, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon:

ARTICLE 1ST

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal.

ARTICLE 2ND

The Rajah of Nipal renounces all claim to the lands which were the subject of discussion between the two States before the war; and acknowledges the right of the Honourable Company to the sovereignty of those lands.

ARTICLE 3RD

The Rajah of Nipal hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity all the under mentioned territories, viz, –

First – The whole of the low lands between the Rivers Kali and Rapti

Secondly – The whole of the low lands (with exception of Bootwul Khass between the Rapti and the Gunduck.

Thirdly – The whole of the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosah, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourthly – All the low lands between the River Mitchee and the Teestah.

Fifthly – All the territories within the hills eastward of the River Mitchee including the fort and lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that Pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory shall be evacuated by the Gurkha troops within forty days from this date.

ARTICLE 4TH

With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the State of Nipal, whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands ceded by the foregoing Article, the British Government agrees to settle pensions to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of rupees per annum on such Chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nipal, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunnuds shall be granted under the seal and signature of the Governor-General for the pensions respectively.

ARTICLE 5TH

The Rajah of Nipal renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to or connexion with the countries lying to the west of the River Kali and engages never to have any concern with those countries or the inhabitants thereof.

ARTICLE 6th

The Rajah of Nipal engages never to molest or disturb the Rajah of Sikkim in the possession of his territories; but agrees, if any difference shall arise between the State of Nipal and the Rajah of Sikkim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government by which award the Rajah of Nipal engages to abide.

ARTICLE 7TH

The Rajah of Nipal hereby engages never to take to retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE 8TH

In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace here by established between the two States, it is agreed that accredited Ministers from each shall reside at the Court of the other.

ARTICLE 9TH

This treaty, consisting of nine Articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nipal within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieutenant Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver the ratification to the Governor-General within twenty days, or sooner, if practicable.

Done at Segowlee, on the 2nd day of December 1815

PARIS BRADSHAW, Lt. Col. P.A.

Received this treaty from Chunder Seekur Opedeea, Agent on the part of the Rajah of Nipal, in the valley of Muckwaunpoor, at half past two o'clock p.m. on the 4th of March 1816, and delivered to him the Counterparty Treaty on behalf of the British Government.

DD. OCHTERLONY
Agent, Governor General

Annexure V

Treaty of Sinchula – 1865⁹⁶

On the 11th day of November, 1865

Treaty between His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir John Lawrence, G.C.B., K.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of Her Britannic Majesty's possessions in the East Indies, and the one part by Lieutenant Colonel Herbart Bruce, CB, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in him by the Viceroy and Governor – General, and on the other part by Samdojey Deb Jimpey and Themseyrensey Donai according to full powers conferred on them by the Dhum and Deb Rajahs, 1865.

ARTICLE I

There shall henceforth be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government and the Government of Bhootan.

ARTICLE II

Whereas in consequence of repeated aggressions of the Bhootan Government and of the refusal of that Government to afford satisfaction for those aggressions, and for their insulting treatment of the officers sent by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of procuring an amicable adjustment of differences existing between the two states, the British Government has been compelled to seize by an armed force the whole of the Doars and certain

⁹⁶ <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/treaty-sinchula/> accessed on 14/03/2013.

Hill Posts protecting the passes into Bhootan, and whereas the Bhootan Government has now expressed its regret for past misconduct and a desire for the establishment of friendly relations with the British Government, it is hereby agreed that the whole of the tract known as the Eighteen Doars, bordering on the districts of Rungpoor, Cooch Behar, and Assam, together with the Taloo of Ambaree Fallcottah and the Hill territory on the left bank of the Teesta up to such points as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose is ceded by the Bhootan Government to the British Government forever.

ARTICLE III

The Bhootan Government hereby agree to surrender all British subjects, as well as subjects of the Chief of Sikkim and Cooch Behar who are now detained in Bhootan against their will, and to place no impediment in the way of the return of all or any of such persons into British territory.

ARTICLE IV

In consideration of the cession by the Bhootan Government of the territories specified in Article II of this Treaty, and of the said Government having expressed its regret for past misconduct, and having hereby engaged for the future to restrain all evil disposed persons from committing crimes with in British territory or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar and to give prompt and full redress for all such crimes which may be committed in defiance of their commands, the British Government agree to make an annual allowance to the Government of Bhootan of a sum not exceeding fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 50,000) to be paid to officers not below the rank of Jungpen, who shall be deputed by the Government of Bhootan to receive the same. And it is further hereby agreed that the payments shall be made as specified below:

On the fulfillment by the Bhootan Government of the conditions of this Treaty Twenty Five Thousand Rupees (Rupees 25,000).

On the 10th January following the 1st payment, thirty five thousand rupees (Rupees 35,000)

On the 10th January following, forty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 45,000)

On every succeeding 10th January, fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 50,000)

Annexure VII

Treaty of Titalia – 1817⁹⁷

TREATY, COVENANT or AGREEMENT entered into by CAPTAIN BARRE LATTE, AGENT on the part of HIS EXCELLENCY, the RIGHT HON'BLE, the EARL OF MOIRA, K.G., GOVERNOR GENERAL, etc., and by NAZIR CHAINA TENJIN and MACHA TEINBAH and LAMA DUCHIM LONGADOO, deputies on the part of the RAJAH OF SIKKIMPUTTEE being severally authorized and duly appointed for the above purposes-1817.

ARTICLE I

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechi river and to the westward of the Teesta river, formerly possessed by the Rajah of Nepaul but ceded to the Honourable East India company by the treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

ARTICLE II

The Sikkimputtee Rajah engages for himself and successors to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other State.

ARTICLE III

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any dispute or question that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul or any other neighbouring State and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE IV

He engages for himself and successors to join the British troops with the whole of his military force when employed in the Hills and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in his power.

⁹⁷ <https://bangaloregorkha.wordpress.com/documents/treaty-of-titalia/> accessed on 14/03/2013.

ARTICLE V

That he will not permit any British subject nor the subject of any European and American state to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English-Government.

ARTICLE VI

That he will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that might take refuge within his territories.

ARTICLE VII

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents when demanded by the British Government through their accredited agents.

ARTICLE VIII

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's province and he engages that no duty shall be levied on the transit of merchandise beyond the established custom at the several golah or marts.

ARTICLE IX

The Honourable East India Company guarantees to the Sikkimputtee Rajah and his successors, the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hilly country specified in the First Article of the present Agreement.

ARTICLE X

This treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Rajah within one month from the present date and the counterpart when confirmed by His Excellency, the Right Honourable the Governor-General, shall be transmitted to the Rajah.

Done at Titalia, this tenth day of February 1817 answering the 9th of Phagoon 1873 Sumbut and to the thirteenth of Maugh 1223 Bengallie.

Sd/- Barre Latter

Sd/- Moira

Sd/- Nazir Chaina Tenjin

Sd/- N.B.Edmonstone

Sd/- Macha Teinbah

Sd/- Archd.Seton

Sd/- Lama Duchim Longadoo

Sd/- Geo.Dowedswell

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council at Fort William, this Fifteenth day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventeen.

Sd/- J. Adam, Acting Chief Secretary to Government.

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A Comparative Study of Gorkhaland & Telengana Movements Contextualizing the Issue of Regionalism in India

Gayatri Bhagat

Abstract: *Regionalism in India is not a new phenomenon, it has deep penetration down the Indian soil, and it is so deeply rooted that sometimes it forgets that the very essence of the Indian soil i.e. Unity is threatened. This paper cannot be regarded as a maiden attempt but a modest endeavor because so far the literature of regional movement is concerned; it is quite extensive and vast. This paper is a presentation of conceptual overview of the nature of regionalism in India offering a theoretical sketch focusing on the gradual maturation of the demand for Gorkhaland getting louder and understanding the obstinacy of the people of Telengana for a separate state concentrating on the issue of language, economy, political, administrative and psychological factors contributing to the multi dimensional phenomenon of 'regionalism' in India.*

Key Words: Region, Regionalism, Social Movement, Identity and Demand.

Introduction: The Concept of Regionalism in India

The growth of regional sentiments in India has a long history. Regionalism has gained eminence in the recent time, not only as a form of economic, political and social phenomenon, but also as a field of study. The concept of regionalism has attracted huge attention from the academia. Regionalism as a historical factor in Indian polity has been dealt in different way by different Scholars and in different conditions. Regionalism in Indian Politics initially becomes a noticeable feature of the Indian political party system.

Recently, India has been witnessing the onset of the democratic processes that have resulted in the reconfiguration of its politics and economics. Among these processes, most significant has been the assertion of identity politics. There have been struggles around the assertiveness and conflicting claims of the identity groups and of struggles amongst them, often fought out on the lines of region, religion, language (even dialect), caste, and community. These struggles have found expressions in the changed mode of electoral representation that has brought the local/regional into focus with the hitherto politically dormant groups and regions finding voices. A more genuinely representative democracy has led to the sharpening of the line of

distinction between or among the identity groups and regions (Kumar, 2009). Regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. But it is necessary, at the very outset, to distinguish two quite different meanings of the term regionalism. At the international level, regionalism refers to transnational cooperation to achieve a common goal or resolve a shared problem or it refers to a group of countries, such as Western Europe, the Western Balkans, or Southeast Asia, that are linked by geography, history or economic features. Used in this sense, regionalism refers to attempts to reinforce the links between these countries. Today, the foremost example of such an attempt is the European Union (EU) (Bevir, 2009).

The second meaning of the term is regionalism refers to a process in which sub-state actors become increasingly powerful and independent of the state: power devolves from the central state to regional governments within it. In other words, it refers to a territory that is located within, or sometimes across the borders of a nation state. In this sense, different kinds of regions may be distinguished: political regions which usually possess some form of elected regional government; administrative regions, which are geographical entities created for the purpose of administering a service such as a health region or an electricity region; geographical regions, which refer to geographical feature, such as mountain regions, island regions, coastal or maritime regions; and, finally, economic regions, such as agricultural, industrial or declining industrial regions. As a general rule, the political or administrative regions refer to levels of government or administration immediately below the national level. (Loughlin, 2007).

To some Scholars regionalism in Indian politics in generally has been regarded as something that is anti-system, anti-federal and against basic interest of a well integrated polity (G Ram Reddy and B A V Sharma, 1979). It has often expressed itself in antagonistic terms to that of the nation, fuelled as it is by the sense of continuing deprivation due to long-term neglect in development and resource allocation. Regionalism has often articulated itself in terms, which

are opposed to national unity and integrity, and challenging to the legitimacy of the state.

The literature on regionalism, its meaning, forms, causes and consequences in India etc is so extensive and vast that there is little scope or perhaps not much to add to elucidate the meaning of regionalism in India, or its forms and content.

Background of Regionalism in India:

Regionalism as a phenomenon in the Indian political system is not new. Regionalism has remained perhaps the most potent force in Indian politics ever since 1947, if not before. Regionalism is rooted in India's manifold diversity of languages, cultures, tribes, communities, religions and so on, and encouraged by the regional concentration of those identity markers, and fuelled by a sense of regional deprivation. For many centuries, India remained the land of many lands, regions, cultures and traditions. The basic point that highlights in this respect is that internal self-determination of community, whether linguistic, tribal, religious, regional, or their combinations, has remained the principal form in which regionalism in India has sought to express itself, historically as well as contemporaneously.

In the pre-independence period it was applied by the British imperialist, as they intentionally encouraged the people of various regions to think in terms of their region rather than the nation as a whole, with an aim to maintain their hold over India during the national movement. After Independence the leaders tried to cultivate a feeling among the people that they belonged to one single nation. The framers of the constitution sought to achieve this by introducing single citizenship for all. But India is a complex country and keeping in view of its vastness and diversity in culture and language, a strong sense of regional loyalty and love started appearing and thus regionalism became inevitable.

India is a complex country and so far as the question of development is concerned, there are conventional theories of development economic as well as political; it is where the question arises whether these theories are sensitive enough to regional demands and aspiration. India has a federal system consisting of twenty eight states. The states have important power and also acquire their own place in contributing their share in the nationwide growth of agricultural development, education and generation of taxes and are equally effective in making India a prosperous country. There is no denying the fact that states are the constituting units of India, at a larger picture, it is the state which depicts the national progress. The hits of danger shocks that come in the way of economic

growth are first faced by the states and then from the state the shock level enters at the national picture. Therefore, regional autonomy demands treat regions as coherent units politically having a right to reflect the constituents' aspiration to manage their internal affairs, while making claims on national resources, in competition for resources, language, culture, religion, economic advancement and administrative coherence are used as a basis of identity. In India despite occasional and remote indications of potential secessionism, regional movements do not usually go beyond claiming resource sharing within the border of national context (Gupta, 1970).

A region is a nucleus of social aggregation for a variety of purposes. A particular territory is set apart, over a period of time when different variable operate in different degrees. The variables may be geography, topography, religion, language, usages and customs, socio-economic and political stages of development, common historical traditions and experiences, a common way of living and more than anything else, a widely prevalent sentiment of togetherness ('we' feeling, which differentiates a people from 'them'). At the core of regionalism is a profound sense of identity, which is a real, and as dear to a people than their feeling of identity with a state or a nation or a religious group, or a linguistic group. These are cultural realities and one cannot just wish them away (Maheshwari, Oct-dec 1973).

Furthermore a region can be understood as a territorial unit with particular dialect, ethnic group, social and cultural institution. The meaning of the word 'regionalism' is very ambiguous in nature, there are scholars who regard regionalism as a threat to national integration and on the other hand, there are scholars who view that regionalism inculcates a strong feeling of loyalty and togetherness in the people which is highly impactful in generating political participation through regional mobilization. It often involves ethnic groups whose aims include independence from a national state and the development of their own political power. In Indian context, regionalism refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within the nation. Since regionalism is rooted in linguistic, ethnic, economic and cultural identities of the people living in specific geographical area, political scholars have treated various forms of regionalism as economic regionalism, linguistic regionalism, political regionalism and even sub-regional movements in the general frame of regionalism

Manifestations of Regionalism in India:

Regionalism in India is the manifestation of the neglected socio-political elements which fail to find expression in the mainstream polity and culture. These

feelings of frustration and anger resulting from exclusion and neglect find expression in regionalism. Prejudices and biases have a lasting impact on the mind of the people. They themselves do not play a part in the political process, but as a psychic factor they do influence.

An introduction to the conceptual framework of 'social movements':

In social science, there is a lot of ambiguity that arise due to the usage of words. For instance there is no clear cut definition of the term 'social movement' accepted by scholars and neither a precise accepted definition for many words like 'protest', 'masses', 'popular', 'movement' etc. The term 'movement' is often used differently by different scholars. As defined in the Encyclopedia Britannica, social movement is "loosely organized but sustained campaign in support of a social goal, typically either the implementation or the prevention of a change in society's structure or values. Although social movements differ in size, they are all essentially collective. That is, they result from the more or less spontaneous coming together of people whose relationships are not defined by rules and procedures but who merely share a common outlook on society." (Encyclopedia Britannica).

Definitions from Literature:

A "social movement" is "a set of opinion and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society", *Social movements* "are better defined as collective challenges based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" . *Social movements* are "effort[s] by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem that they feel has in common", "Social movements have traditionally been defined as organized efforts to bring about social change", "A social movement is a purposive and collective attempt of a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structures". "A social movement organization is a complex, or formal organization which identifies its goal with the preferences of a social movement or a counter movement and attempts to implement these goals", "Social movements are voluntary collectivities that people support in order to effect changes in society. Using the broadest and most inclusive definition, a social movement includes all who in any form support the general idea of the movement. Social movement contain social movement organizations that consciously attempt to coordinate and mobilize supporters" (Opp, 2009). According to Rudolf Heberle (1949), social movements are "collective attempts to bring about a social change" and Herbert Blumer (1939) also views

social movements as "collective enterprises to establish a new order of life". David Aberle (1966) had suggested that "relative deprivation" is a necessary condition for precipitating social movements, however, later research, has identified ideology, informal or formal organization and orientation to change as the other necessary ingredients for sprouting social movements. Studying the definitions from Literature it can be understood that demand for a separate state based on the ground of regional loyalty should find a place to accommodate itself within the sphere of social movement.

There are copious definitions of the term social movements and after over viewing a few of them one basic question arises that whether a perfect definition of social movements can be evolved to understand the concept accurately. However there is no denying the fact that ideological affiliation plays a vital role in offering one's own idea and understanding of social phenomenon, which may not be the same for scholars even working within the same discipline.

The term '*social movement*' gained currency in the European language in the early 19th Century. This was a period of social upheaval, the political leaders and authors who used the term were concerned with the emancipation of exploited classes and the creation of a new society by changing value system as well as institution and/or property relationship. Their ideological affiliation is reflected in their definition. However since the early 1950s, various scholars have attempted to provide thorough going definitions of the concept of social movements. The works of Rudolf Heberle(1950,1968), Neil Smelser(1963) and John Wilson(1973) are very important works but as mentioned by (Shah, 2004) is not without difficulties.

Theories of Social Movements:

There are three main theories which explain the emergence of a movement. They are relative deprivation, strain and revitalization. Aberle (Rao, 2004) in the year 1966 gave a definition to relative deprivation. According to him, relative deprivation is a negative incongruity between legitimate anticipation and actuality. He considered this concept as the basis of social movements. Gurr (1970) included perceived capabilities also in addition to the expectations in the theory of relative deprivation. This theory has also guided some studies on agitation and mass movements. Relative deprivation is described as player's recognition of inconsistency between their value desires and their environment's manifest value potentialities. Value prospects are the goods and conditions of life to which people suppose they are fairly entitled. The limitation of this theory is however pointed out by a number of Indian scholars. M.S.A Rao asserts that relative deprivation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition

for protest movements. Shah (1979) argues that the theory of relative deprivation ignores the importance of consciousness and the ideological aspect of the participants. It explains protest and movements of revolt, but does not analyze revolutionary movements. Protest does not necessarily lead to movements. T.K. Oommen (1979) also argues that the deprivation theorist view movements as 'temporary aberrations' rather than as 'on-going process of change'. Moreover they do not deal with the sources of deprivation. For Gurr, 'deprivation' is primarily psychological; therefore he does not deal with the socio-economic structure which is the source of deprivation.

The theory of Strain was developed by Smelser (Rao, 2004) in the year 1962. This theory is also known as the theory of collective behaviour. The major factor of this collective behaviour is structural strain. The structural strain occurs at various levels like norms, values and mobilization. Strain together with the generalised belief of the people result in the emergence of a collective action according to the strain theory.

Wallace (1956) (ibid) suggested that social movements emerge out of the deliberate, organised, conscious effort of the members of a society for better conditions. According to Wallace, revitalisation has got four phases namely, period of cultural stability, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion and consequent disillusionment and the period of revitalisation. According to the revitalisation theory, social movements express dissatisfaction, dissent and protest against the existing conditions. But at the same time they offer a practical solution to remedy the difficult situations (Rao, 1979).

Since the early 1970s, new strands of theory and empirical research have arisen, one in the United States and one in Western Europe. The first, called resource mobilization theory, takes as

its starting point a critique of those theories that explain social movements as arising from conditions of social disorganization and strain and as finding their recruits among the isolated and alienated. By contrast, resource mobilization theorists argue that the success of social movements rests mainly on the resources that are available to them; this means forming coalitions with already-existing organizations, securing financial support, and mounting effective and organized campaigns of political pressure. As a result of this emphasis on strategy, resource mobilization theorists downplay the factor of ideology in the study of social movements. (Kumar L.).

The second theory is the new social movement theory. It derives from an intellectual dissatisfaction with the predominantly Marxist view that treats social

movements as reflecting a fundamental struggle among classes organized around economic production. That theory, it is argued, has become less relevant as these classes have been drawn into collective bargaining, the welfare system, and other social advancements within the state. The new social movements that have arisen in their place are interpreted as struggles against the social inequalities, the dominance of the mass media, and other features of post-industrial capitalism and the welfare state. These include youth, feminist, peace, and ecological movements, as well as the rise of group conflicts based on ethnicity and race.¹⁵(ibid)

The third line of theory that is also very vital in the field of social movements is social identity theory based on the work of Henri Tajfel and associates (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). The theory assumes that individuals compare the groups they are members of (their ingroups) with other groups (the outgroups). If it turns out that the ingroups have a lower (perceived) social status, i.e. possess a relatively large number of important negative features, the individual's social identity is diminished (Tajfel and Turner 1979:43). "Social identity" refers to "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership" (Tajfel 1978:68). The individual's self-concept (or, equivalently, self-image) is his or her self-evaluation. (Opp, 2009)¹⁶

Regionalism as Separate Statehood Movements:

Historically it is found that the regional forces played a very glorified role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement. It often fights against the oppressed forces of chauvinist big nations. Regionalism is thus a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country as a whole. There are various factors which brick the wall of regional sentiments of emotional attachment and affinity with that region which they think as theirs. Factors like language, economy, political and administrative issues plays pivotal role in mobilizing people. Psychological factor is also another dimension on which people get sensitized.

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 reassertion²⁰ (Kumar L.) 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)²¹

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)²² 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.

The formation of Andhra Pradesh spurred 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 Reorganization Commission gave its report in 1956 and 14 states and 6 Union Territories were created.

There was also a clamor 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. (Chakrabarty, 2005) .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 f (Report of the

State Reorganization Commission p225, 1955)or the official purpose of the State of West Bengal" (West Bengal Act XXIV of 1961).

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. (Report of the State Reorganization Commission p225, 1955)

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 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.

The Economic factor: Regionalism in India can be described as a colonial legacy of the British imperialist ruler. It was a deliberate intervention of the British ruler to antagonize one region of the country against the other on the ground of economic disparity, which is very much evident from the fact that the British ruler never emphasized on even economic development of the country which benefited them to continue their rule in the country of a long time. The 'drain theory' of Dadabhai Naoroji clearly reflected the extent of economic exploitation, and it was after independence that India inherited a shattered economy. Uneven economic development created economic imbalances between states and sub-regions. It is generally agreed that the rise of regional movement in the country is primarily based on economic backwardness and mal development of regions. This manifestation of regionalism had found expression in people of the deprived regions grouping themselves on the lines of language, culture and territory. Moreover, regional political elite demanding regional development in the national scenario also galvanized the growth for regional affiliation of the people. It may be recalled here that most of the demand for constituting new states were primarily based on allegedly unfair and unequal distribution of developmental benefit and expenditures in the multi lingual states.

The Telengana movement can be cited as a classic example. An early manifestation of regionalism in India was the Telengana movement in what became the state of Andhra Pradesh. In 1953, based on the recommendation of the State Reorganization Commission, Telegu speaking areas were separated from the former Madras states to form Andhra, India's first state based on linguistic lines. The commission also contemplated establishing Telengana as a separate state, but instead Telengana was merged with Andhra to form the new state of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. The concern of the Telengana people were multi-layered, the apprehension against Andhra migrant posed status threat to the middle class particularly in jobs and educational institutes. No doubt, Telengana Movement originated from certain economic disparities, but it emerged through politicization of economic problems by the political elite of the region. As far as the movement is concerned, ever since the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state, there has been occasional rumblings of dissatisfaction by the disgruntled Nizam Telengana leaders who failed in their demand for a separate state in 1956. The Nizam Telengana leaders had two main grievances: the first one related to employment in government services, and the second one involved using the balance of funds from the Telengana region.

According to the Gentle men's agreement, (Gentlemen's Agreement of Andhra Pradesh, 1956) jobs in the Telengana region were reserved for locals. Ironically, Nizam Telengana leaders violated this agreement in certain instances, and often for good reasons. For example, when teachers were not available in the Nizam Telengana region, they were hired from other regions. The local Telengana leaders running the zilla parishads made these hiring decisions. There were violations in other government departments, and these violations happened in all ministries, including under the very eyes of the Nizam Telengana ministers.

According to the then Deputy Chief Minister J. V. Narasinga Rao, hailing from Nizam Telengana, there were 107,000 non-gazetted employees in the Nizam Telengana region in 1969. Out of these, about 4.5% were nonmulkis 1,600 were teachers, 1,800 were nurses, 400 were stenographers, and the remaining few came from other departments (Chakrabarty N., 2010).

The second major issue was the balance of funds. In Circa districts, alcohol was banned; as a result, there was no excise revenue. That was not the case in Nizam Telengana districts, which generated significant excise revenue on alcohol sales. Consequently, the government received more revenues from the Nizam Telengana region than from the rest of the state. The

gentle men's agreement stipulated that the excess revenue should be invested in the Nizam Telengana region for economic stimulation. The government failed to fulfill this clause effectively. All party Telengana legislatures determined the balance of funds to be 33 crores. Undoubtedly, a significant sum in those days, but it was accrued over 15 years. The state government agreed to resolve the issue of balance of funds. Based on all party legislatures' demands, the government planned to spend 33 crores in the early part of the fourth five-year plan. (ibid).

With that background, let us now delve into the bloody fight for the separate Telengana state that was fought for less than 5,000 non-mulki jobs. In other words, the issue affected a minuscule 0.033% of the approximately 1.5 crore people living in the Nizam Telengana region. (ibid).

Political Administrative factor: After independence regional imbalances were visible throughout India. And the initial decades had witnessed a clear tilt towards development and modernization process mainly due to the fragile nature of the states. Contemporary Indian politics is witnessing number of movements which pose a serious threat to the survival of the political process itself; it is all due to the growing complexities of the post-independent political attitudes. Demands for safeguarding regional interest had entered tremendous impact on the federal governance of India and politicians for vested interest exploit situation of regional deprivation and unrest to strengthen their support bases. For instance when the General elections are scheduled to take place in 2014, the government giving a 'yes' on the formation of the Telengana state as India's 29th state pose a serious question on the intentions of the government. There are scholars who agree that small states are better administered, but in the present situation it is hard to believe that the intention behind formation of Telengana is purely administrative and not political.

Psychological Factor: Regionalism in India can also be regarded as a psychological intervention of the minds. *Mind* is best understood as a path to the store house of doubts, which will not always necessarily lead to the truth. Mind is divided into two equal halves – possession and non possession and sometimes one half dominates the other half by virtue of a psychic interplay of each other. Possession and non possession goes together, giving something to somebody is depriving somebody for that particular thing is a psychological invention. In the long colonial legacy of the country there are communities, groups and tribes who witnessed exploitation and deprivation of resources but it was after independence though the country

unevenly developed, with all hurdles some groups, communities and tribes had developed themselves, and this sense of development had inculcated a psychic fear of lagging behind, which had taken form in evolving extreme love and loyalty of one's own region, community, group or tribe. The ultimate analysis of the phenomenon of regionalism lies in the minds of men. The fear of not achieving something may lead to self destruction is entirely a psychological element of the human mind. Rational reasoning encourages the human quest for truth getting higher and deeper and finally it opens path to achieve the illuminating authority penetrating the limitations of the human mind, unveiling the truth beyond human attainment. As far as the Gorkhaland movement is concerned it appears that the Gorkhaland agitators are somewhat captured in the love of the movement and GJMM Chief Bimal Gurung and his followers adamant to achieve their goal as fast as possible are mobilizing masses.

SUMMARY & CONCLUSION:

To sum up, I would like to point out the fact that though there are not very high considerable scope of comparison comparison between Telengana and Gorkhaland movement but the declaration of Telengana state has worked as an igniting context for the Gorkha agitators to make their demand ferocious but the context of their cannot be ignored on logical lines moreover, it may be pointed out that, certain conditions such as common culture and a distinct mother tongue largely helped to create a strong sense of regional identity among the people of a part, notwithstanding the formation of an integrated and united state in independent India. In addition to this, their relatively backward socio-economic position in comparison to the people of other region created a sense of deprivation between them which may be material as well as psychological. The relative material deprivation in socio-economic terms coupled with the disaffection resulting political disadvantage contributed immensely to the growth of regionalism among the people of Telengana in Andhra Pradesh whereas the question of identity has clamored the Gorkhaland movement.

Regionalism in India has turned out to be a way out to attain the political ambitions by expressively exploiting the sentiments of the people. The fear of Balkanization is abyss of any reason. India is together by a common culture. The states which had fought for complete independence sometime are now part of Indian Union and they have renounced for some extent violence; they include Mizoram, Nagaland, Kashmir, Bodoland, and Tamil Nadu. India is too big for these states to fight against and win. They are responsible

for bringing the core of regionalism out in the open initiating rifts in the minds of people. They started influencing the minds of people at an emotional level where it pains the most. The motive behind all this is to develop a sense of difference from others which can be cultivated for attaining desired objectives by big shots of the society.

The reason behind the people supporting this politicians and agitators of regionalism can be understood by the fact that, people of these regions face problems in everyday life in almost all aspects, education, employment, health and also identity. The country was divided into different regions for the ease of ruling by the Britishers and it is after independence the same policy is followed by the present era politicians by introducing their policy of regional development in the country at the cost of national development. However, the Pandora's Box opened by the Telengana declaration is going to bring in more trouble which the Centre has to deal firmly in a way those sentiments of the regional people and diversity of the country is intact.

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