

Chapter – IV

REGIONAL AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS AND INDIAN FEDERATION

4. Introduction:

'Unity in Diversity' is the basic essence of Indian Parliamentary Democracy and the concept of diversity is very much interred coined with another concept of Regionalism. "Regionalism is a world-wide phenomenon and even older and developed nations have not been immune from regional movements. But regionalism is of crucial importance in third world countries (developing societies) where the traditional societies have been passing through the painful process of transforming their particularistic and primordial loyalties/sentiments to loyalties to the nation state. Processes of modernization call for far reaching socio-economic and political changes in such nations" (Hazary, 1991). India that is Bharat is a continent of culture, language, caste, religion which produces a diversified atmosphere in the country and regionalism was emerged out as a way of accommodating this diversity. But this regional diversity was not a new one. It was observed that the root of regionalism was inherent in the soil of ancient India more than 4000 years. The country developed its socio-cultural as well as linguistic units with their own identities. The country's regional diversity was sought to use by the contemporaneous ruler for the purpose of administration. According to 'Puranas', there were several 'Janapad' in ancient India which was characterized as a multi-lingual, multi-cultural in nature. During the Mughal period on the basis of ethno-regionalism, the country was divided into different 'Suba' or 'Pradesh'. At the age of British Imperialism, the Britishers instigated this feelings of regionalism and encouraged the people of various region in India to think in terms of their region. Regionalism was seen as an instrument in the hands of British to exploit the Country on the basis of divide and rule policy. It was said that the British ruler adopted "a policy of administrative divisions of the country as to endanger conflict between people of different Nationalities, the Assamese against the Bengalis, the Tamils against the Telegus and the Bengalis against the Oriyas e.t.c" (Bandopadhyay, 1998). It was observed that, on the basis of ethnographic study of India's regional disparities the British started to play "a vicious game to instigating one regional group against the other". (Chakraborty, Dutta and Roy, 2009). More over plundering the national wealth of the country by the British imperialist gradually make an erosion of countries economy at large scale which paves the way for uneven economic development as well as regional imbalances in the post-Independent India. It is said that "regional parties are a natural consequence of the establishment of a democratic

political system in a federal polity. The inauguration of the constitution, coming in of adult franchise, land reforms, spread of literacy and political awareness etc in a multi- linguistic and ethnic society were bound in time to lead to regional parties, pre-occupied with local issues. The formation of linguistic states, provided an impetus for the development of 'regionally oriented elites' distinct from the 'central elites' and the consequence of state reorganization in India have been provided, "an indigenization and democratization of provincial politics" (Pai , 1990).

However before going the nature of various regional movements in India which trying to make Indian federalism as region friendly as much as possible for strengthening its roots, we must analysis the dimensions of regionalism as well as the origin of Indian regionalism at first.

4.1. Dimensions of Regionalism:

Now if we contextualize the Indian Regionalism, we find that this particular concept have positive as well as negative dimension. In positive outlook, the feelings of regionalism refers self-development on the basis of self-identity where the regional elites began to participate in a decision making process at national as well as state level. This approach equalizes the concept of regionalism with the concept of participatory democracy in a broad sense. It was said that this concept of regionalism was associated with a "plural integration model" rather than "unitary integration" (Hazary, 1991). But on the other hand where the quest for regional identity was disintegrative in nature, which directed towards the politics of scarcity, was treated as a negative regionalism which was detrimental towards the national unity and integrity.

It was observed that regionalism is a multi-dimensional concept where caste, religion, language, culture, race played a dominant role. In India specially the essence of regionalism was carried by the masses on the basis of un even economic development as well as relative deprivation of a particular state or a particular region which some time colored by identity crisis. In India there ware three major types of regionalism identified by the scholars, like supra State regionalism, Inter-State regionalism Intra-State regionalism which some time called as a sub-regionalism. It has been observed that the supra-state regionalism where represent the group identity of several states, the Intra-State regionalism was associated with the state boundaries particularly. The Intra-State regionalism is a quest for self fulfillment of a particular region within a State and there movement was directed not against the Union but

against the State. Eventually it was observed that, with the connotation of 'cultural mornings' and 'economic roots', the regionalism of India evolved gradually, from the widening gap between the ruling elites and the masses in general (Narain, 1984). Hedwig observes: "In a general way regionalism may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggerated or aggressive form of centralization." (Hedwig, 1924).

4.2. Origin of Indian Regionalism:

The feeling of regionalism was injected in the blood of Indian Civilization, through the ancient rulers as well as by the British Imperialist. Hence forth this feeling was carried forward in post-independent India also. Eventually the territorial redistribution of State boundaries on the basis of language was come to forefront of Indian political system as first regional crisis of Independent India. Gradually the issue of creation of linguistic States converted into a popular agitation. The Situation was compelled The Congress dominated Central government to create the first linguistic State Andhra Pradesh in 1952, which stimulated the demand for the re-organization of States in the Southern part of the country. The founding fathers were afraid about this growth of linguism in the country which may prove itself as a threat to Indian Unity. Hence forth the State Reorganization commission was established in 1953 by the central govt. of India under the Chairmanship of S.K. Dar for the Purpose of rational Solution of this ethno- regional problem. Nehru believed that 'Some Kind of re-organization' was 'inevitable' but the cultural, geographic and economic factors as well as language must be taken in to account. (Austin, 1972) The commission realized that, the language being the objective criterion of the formation of an ethnic group. So, redrawing the boundaries of the States on the basis of language is a rational as well as suitable solution for the Country in general. The State Reorganization commission also felt that, "the sense of scope for positive expression of the collective personality of a people inhabiting a state or a region may be conducive to the contentment and well-being of the community." (Singh, 1994) Hence forth, The State Re organization commission adopted the principle of linguistic homogeneity for the re-organization of States and the Govt. of India accepted the proposal of the commission to re-drawing the political map of the States on basis of language in 1956. (Narang, 2003) It was said that in this process of linguism, the force of regionalism is driven towards the remedy of uneven economy of the regions produced by the 'mal – Development syndrome' (Pant 1984) However on the basis of positive exposition, Kothari said that "the reorganization resulted in rationalizing the political map of India without Seriously weakening its unity __ (it) created homogeneous political units which could be administered

though a medium that the vast majority of the population understood.” On the other hand Srinibas sees the negative implications of this, “... this is the first time in Indian history when cultural frontiers were converted in to political frontiers.” (Kothari, 1977).

It was said that, originally the ethno-regional conflict was moderated through the event of linguistic reorganization of States. The core of regionalism was getting politicized in 1956. It was observed that, once, the re-organization of the States on the basis of language was completed the togetherness of the Nation was converted in to the sense of particularistic or separate identity. The political system of India was getting stigmatized by the everlasting we – they syndrome. Group interests played a dominant role at the level of state politics at that particular point of time. The problems became more complicated when the language issue coupled with the caste structure in Indian society. It was seen that, the reorganization could not make all the states linguistically homogeneous. The whole process of re organization has been resulted as a search for political identity of the entire federal Union. The several movements at Sub-State levels have been started, when a particular region within a linguistic State wanted to be separated from its own state. Gradually the linguistic regionalism which was identified as a constitutional regionalism with the need of the hour also fueled the rise of extra-constitutional regionalism. These types of regionalism evolved side by side with the constitutional arrangement of linguistic states. These extra-constitution regional movements created a pressure on political authority for their legitimate share on national resources (Mukherjee, 1992).India today has had to witness several sub-regional or intra-regional movement like Telengana movement in Andhra Pradesh, Sourashtra movement in Gujarat, Maha vidarbha movement in Maharashtra, Bodo movement in Assam, Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal e.t.c. Hence the regional movements as well as the sub-regional movements are appeared as one of the major challenges to the Indian political system in general and national strategy of development in particular.

It was observed that, the government of India has failed to evolve a new economic policy along with the formation of the states on a linguistic basis. Regional disparity appeared as an epidemic in all over the country. There was an emergence of a widening gap between the governmental policies and program of economic development and the newer aspirations of the people, which create a crisis of legitimacy as well as discontentment among masses. A plural diversified country like India, where regionalism was seen as an essential outcome often lessened in a highly centralized congress dynasty. The Indian National Congress was adopted the policy of centralization, influenced by the British legacy of colonialism, and the

party believes, through this policy it was possible to enter more effectively into regional and Sub-regional areas. But the monolithic character of Congress party paves the way for policy of detachment rather the policy of attachment with the state as well as regional level polities. It was observed that, some autocratic activity of Indian National Congress like, Inadequate attention given to regional problems, low respect for regional pride, as well as lack of intention of accommodation with regional parties, lack of communication with the regional elites on the one hand and growing regional consciousness on power decentralization have introduced the new decay of regionalization of Indian politics. It was said that, “Undue centralization leads to blood pressure at the centre and anemia at the periphery. The inevitable result is morbidity and inefficiency. Indeed centralization does not solve but aggravates the problems of the people” (Chatterjee, 1988).

Consequently after the first redrawing of the political map of the Country in 1956, the process was continued in the 1960s, the 1980s, and the early 2000s and again in 2013. This phase regarded as the post-reorganization territorial adjustment. The cultural, linguistic, ethnic ground on the one hand and regional disparities on the basis of economic ground on the other hand create a situation for re adjustments of politico- territorial units. ‘In a general atmosphere of poverty and unemployment, the feeling of economic deprivation assume politically and potentially exploitable and explosive in character.’ (Singh, 1994).

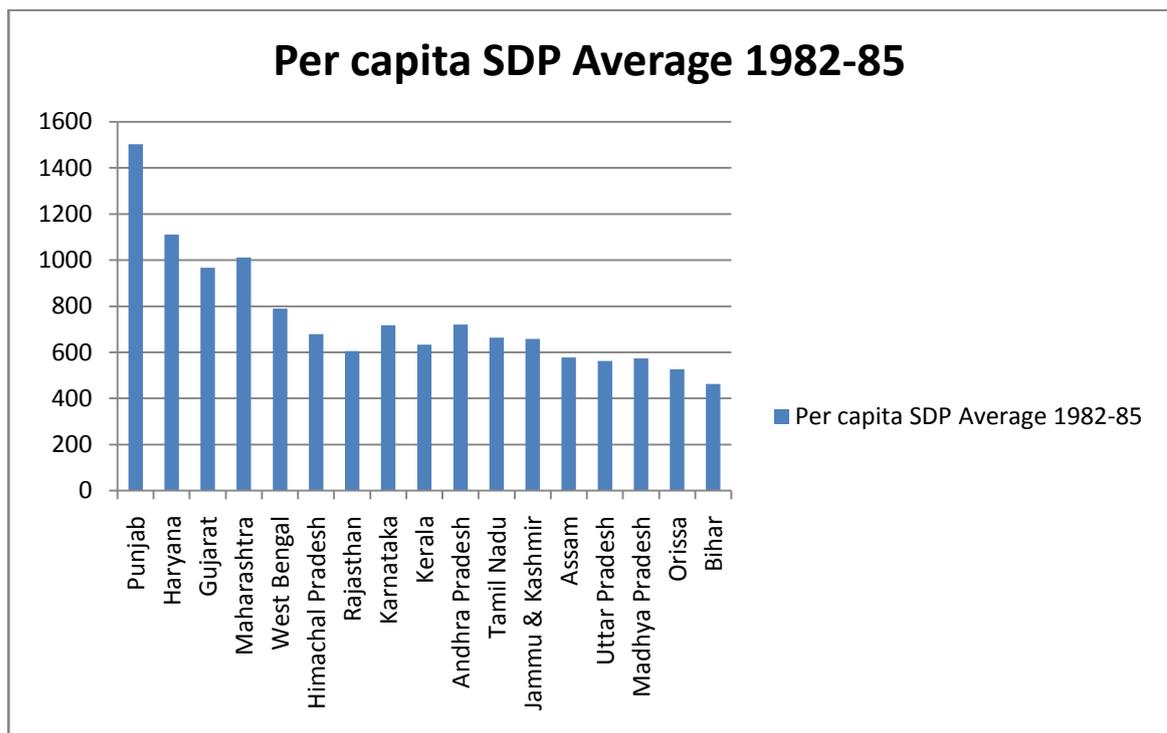
It has been observed that, “the 'capacity' of the political system to give 'outputs' to the people through effective and efficient execution of public policy - provides the key to legitimacy, which is the foundation of any state or nation. The issue of performance is directly related to distributive justice- equitable distribution of goods, services and the essentials of life. The Indian nation still suffers from the distribution crisis since the regional imbalances have often been left unattended and the basic needs of life of the weak and vulnerable sections of the society have not yet been fulfilled. This has seriously affected the attainment of a basic structure of justice and equality. Surely regional demands and movements often stress the implementation of distributive justice among people and regions which remain neglected and exploited. The creation of smaller states in the north east and the North West (Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh) has contributed to rapid progress of the regions”(Hazary, 1991). However, the interstate disparities which create a general atmosphere of relative regional deprivation is now come under my discussion.

4.3. The trends of inter-state disparities in Indian federal context:

Since independence the federal system of the country is going through the excessive inter-state disparities in an economic ground in particular which gave rise of inter-state regional discontent in general. We can notice the maximum regional disparities through the following mentioned pictures:

Figure- 4.1

Resource transfer to the States in eighties



Source: Based upon CSO. Estimates (1987). A. K. Singh “ Regional Dualism, Regionalism and Development process in India” in “ National Building and Development process,” ed. L.R. Singh, Rawat Publication, New Delhi, PP-287-291, 1994.

It was seen that, the tendency of resource transfer to the poorer States from the Centre is low in compare to the richer States in eighties. It was said that, the uneven development of Capitalism had led to regional concentration on National Wealth. Regional imbalances are generated both the enrichment as well as poverty between regions. The economy of Punjab recorded a very high rate of growth during the sixties as a result, we see the “Green Revolution”, which also resulted in uneven development in different regions of the State. (Dutta, 1993).

Though it was seen that the rate of poverty was diereases in Indian States (except Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand) from 80’s to 20th Century but the sign of regional

disparity was acute in this connection. Naturally these trends make a space for inter-State regional imbalances in general. Hence, it was observe that, though the reorganization of territories on the basis of language have led to rising expectation among the nationalists but, inadequate policy making in developmental sector as well as inter-State regional discontent was noticed in general.

Table-4.1

Per Capita share of Central Taxes and Statutory Grants (Article 273&275) between 1952-53 and 1966-67 (in Rs)

States	1952-53	1957-58	1962-63	1966-67
Andhra Pradesh	--	--	--	10.6
Assam	4.8	10.8	13.0	19.9
Bihar	2.3	4.3	4.8	6.5
Bombay	2.6	4.3	7.5*	--
Gujarat	--	--	--	8.7
Jammu Kashmir	--	--	--	32.8
Kerala	--	--	--	18.6
Madhya Pradesh	1.7	4.9	6.2	7.6
Madras	4.1	3.3	6.8**	9.9
Maharashtra	--	--	--	9.8
Mysore	2.0	6.5	7.7	15.0
Orissa	2.7	5.6	13.9	22.6
Punjab	2.5	4.9	6.0	7.1***
Rajasthan	1.7	5.0	7.7	9.9
Uttar Pradesh	2.0	3.1	4.1	7.8
West Bengal	4.0	6.1	5.8	8.4

Source: Memorandum Submitted to Fifth Finance Commission, Government of West Bengal, 1969, p.138 (Datta, 2004).

* Including Gujarat

** Including Andhra Pradesh

*** Including Haryana

It has been observed that though the amount of grants was increased to the states gradually from independence but the regional disparities continued in that states which were politically conflicting with the centre. Henceforth, the discriminatory nature of Indian politics has been seen as a source of regional deprivation. More over the border question was raised as the major Inter-State disputes immediate after the linguistic re organization. The major border disputes were seen between Maharashtra and Mysore; Punjab and Haryana; Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Another Inter-State dispute was started relating to the Kaveri water dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. (Dutta, 1993).After Independence, in India regionalism

assumed various forms in various parts of the country when the country enter into a new era of economic, social and political development. But, we know that India is a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious country and the people of different region live together in India for a long time. So, there appeared a big gap between the expectation and fulfillment of people's desire. This idea mainly emerged from the mine of those people who belonged to the backward or underdeveloped parts of the country. They started to thinking in narrow ways that were being neglected in all spheres of life. They realized that they are not taken in to consideration when the question of the development of the country is taken in to account. Also the leaders of the different political parties use this regional sentiment of the people into their own purpose. They play passive and sometime active role for the growing of that type of movement in the name of the interest of the country. The regional parties have been seen as "result of a complex interaction between regional consciousness and political and economic developments in India". It is often observed that "while the national parties tend to lead to centralisation of power, the regional parties work towards decentralization" (Kumar,1984).After 4th general election 1967, the DMK government in Madras, and Swatantra led Orissa government emphasized the need for the curtailment of Central authority and the re-allocation of resources in favour of the states. Tamil Nadu's relations with the Centre could be described as "antagonistic cooperation"(Bombwall N. 1 (i): p. 206). In contrast the CPI(M) led UF West Bengal and Kerala attempted to project Centre-state conflicts along class lines using regional grievances in order to further their revolutionary aims. They followed an extremely aggressive posture in their attitude towards the central government, by carrying federal issues to the streets.(Ray, n 47: p.32)(Pai ,1990)

India as a representative of the Third World country exhibits some peculiarities which differentiate her from the western world. Indian society cannot be strictly called traditional as there is a definite swing towards modernity. This has brought to the surface many issues of economic and social in nature which could not be observed earlier. However, regionalism in India, in terms of its desire may form itself with the color of three types of regional movements particularly. These are - **a.** Regional movement for more autonomy and power **b.** Regional movement for separate statehood **c.** Regional movement for demanding secession from the Indian Union (Mukherjee ,1992). Though regionalism is considered as a controversial as well as contemporary issue, hence forth the in-depth analysis of state based regional movement was required in India Political Process.

4.4. Various regional demands in India:

I want to discuss the several regional crises in India since Independence under the context of regional as well as sub-regional movements in the following way,

Regional movements in India:

(i) The agitation of Punjab

The demand for an Independent State for Sikh by the Akali leaders was started with the event of India being partitioned. The main objectives of the movement is freed the Sikhs from domination of hindus in general and escaped their religious temple from the control of hindu 'mahants' in one hand and draw a line of limitation of central interference in the internal affairs of the Sikhs, on the other. The Akalis conducted their demand of Azad Punjab in 1931. The creation of Punjab Suba was come to forefront against the State reorganization commission recommendation of merger of PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. The Akali leadership was demanded that, the Punjab Suba, was a only way protection of Sikhs interests, and in 1966, Punjab was established as a separate state for Punjabi speaking people. But following census 1961, there was many Hindus whose mother tongue are Punjabi(Brass,1991). However during this period Punjab was going through the phase of green revolution. The Government of India has always undermined the secessionist tendency of Punjab. However the confrontation between Congress and Akali Dal is continued in that particular state.

In 1968, the 'Batala Resolution' was passed by the Akali Dal for securing autonomy to the States as well as for the purpose of reshaped the Union –State relations. To settle down the problem of water and territorial dispute between Punjab & Haryana was also included in this resolution. In 1973, the modern phase of Punjab politics was introduced, when the Anandpur Sahib resolution was adopted by the Akali Dal, on the basis of religion based separate Sikh identity. The factional fight within the Akali Dal was played a crucial role during this period and Article 365 was proclaimed in 1975. It was observed that during 1977, the political identity to autonomy within a federal Structure. The period of militancy was worked during the period of mid 1980's to mid 1990's within the Sikh community in Punjab for the purpose of establishment of an independent state for Sikh named Khalistan. The militant phase in Punjab politics was carried by different organization like Dal Khalsa, All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) which was closely associated with Bhindranwale. Though it has been said that Bhindranwale's "primary political role was as a 'scape goat'

used by the Congress Government to displace all the blame for its own disastrous policies in Punjab”. In 1983 the Government of India imposed direct rule on Punjab due to increasing violence. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act was enforced in the disturbed areas of Punjab (Amnesty International 20th Jan 2003). Henceforth operation Bluestar, was launched by govt. of India in Punjab in 1984 and in 1988 another military operation was took place in Punjab named “Operation Black Thunder”. (Dutta, 1993).The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by his Sikh body guard resulted massive riots in Delhi and other cities in India against the Sikhs. The Punjab Accord was signed in 1985. The Sikh extremists receive Support from different foreign Countries during this period. In 1993 the Government of Punjab declared that “terrorism has been defeated and that normality had returned to Punjab” (Amnesty International 20th Jan 2003).It was observed that in 1994, the “Amritsar Declaration” was made for the fulfillment of the requirement of separate Sikh State under the leadership of Simranjit Singh Mann on the one hand and demand for more federalization, more autonomy was demanded by Prakash Singh Badal on the other hand in Punjab. (Singh, 2009)In 1997 a coalition of Shiromoni Akali Dal, Hindu Nationalist Party and Bharatiya Janata Party won state legislative election(Amnesty International 20th Jan 2003).

It has been observed that, the Government of India often induced inter-state preferential policies which often transformed India from a nation state to a multinational state. Henceforth the old problems of Indian politics have paved the way for new identity crisis simultaneously on the basis of politics of discrimination in particular. Gradually this revealed the fact that by ignoring the politics of states it is difficult to holding the power at the centre. Hence an inexorable, overwhelming centralized policies of Indira regime was treated as primary cause of Punjab regional crisis (Brass, 1991) which far away from the decentralized mode of power sharing.

(ii) ***Regional-autonomy movement in Jammu and Kashmir***

Kashmir was a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was created in 1846 consisting three regions – Muslim dominated Kashmir, Hindu dominated Jammu and Tibetan-Buddhist dominated Ladakh. It was the British who actually created the politics of religion in Kashmir by provoking clashes between Hindu and Muslims. It was said that the uprising of 1931 was generated an ethnic atmosphere in Jammu & Kashmir which may strengthen the national base for their freedom Struggle. Eventually in the period of Post-Independence, on the basis of the demand of Special Status as well as autonomy of Kashmir based on their cultural distinctiveness was accepted by the Govt. of

India with the condition of India's accession of Jammu and Kashmir since 26th Oct 1947, Kashmir was given a special Status in terms of Article 370 and the regional consciousness of Kashmir took a new turn. However, beside the Special Status, of the state," The word consultation and concurrence used in Article 370" are significant. The tendency of over centralization make an opposite circumstances for abrogation of Article 370. Out of the fear of the marginalization of their culture identity with the "State-Sponsored imposition of Pan-Indian ness derived from Bharatiya Culture" the Kashmir's eventually raised there secessionist demand of freedom (Dutta, 1993).

Gradually the issue of ethno-regional autonomy has dominated the political context of Jammu & Kashmir. It was said that, the feeling of preserving Kashmir separate identity resonated from the time of Kashmir accord 1975, when Jammu & Kashmir recognized as 'a constituent Unit of the Union of India' (Sheikh-Indira Accord,1975 satp.org) . In 1986, Rajiv-Farooq Accord was signed with the aims of establishment of a new phase of political consolidation in the State of Jammu & Kashmir against all kind of Secessionist, Communalist forces in the State. But again the feeling of marginalization of the State with India Union as well as tremendous manipulation of the States electoral process disturbed the situation of peace. In 1989, the matter has turned in to a supreme form of militancy under the guidance of Kashmiri Mujahedin. In 1996, the demand of State autonomy for protecting Kashmiri identity with due honor, was again culminated by National Conference. A durable ethno-political strategy to fulfill the aspirations of the Jammu & Kashmir was offered by the State Autonomy Committee. But their recommendation has been refused by the Government of India, 2000 to protect unity and integrity of the country. Again the Sagheer Ahmed Committee was recommended for the improvement of Centre-State relations as well as examining the autonomy demand in moderate way. (Bhat, 2010) Hence re institutionalization of power sharing has been focused in Kashmir political discourse gradually.

However, in 1990's there was an Inter- regional conflict was appeared dominated by the feelings of relative deprivation between the three regions of Jammu & Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. Particularly it has been observed that the problem of Kashmir rests upon some barrier of ethno-regional diversity. The diversities are described as, "Indian-controlled Kashmir, where pro-independence, pro-India, pro-Pakistan population segments uneasily coexist and to lesser extent also in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir, where pro-Pakistan and pro-independence segments coexist" (Bose, 2010). The following table has shown the ethno-regional diversity in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Table-4.2

Jammu and Kashmir State Population: 2001

Division	Population	%Muslim	%Hindu	%Sikh	%Buddhist and Others
Kashmir (53.9)	5,476,970	97.16	1.84	0.88	0.11
Jammu (43.7)	4,430,191	30.69	65.23	3.57	0.51
Ladakh(2.3)	236,539	47.40	6.22	-	45.87
Jammu and Kashmir	10,143,700	66.97	29.63	2.03	1.36

Source: Census 2001, Government of India, Jammu and Kashmir official Portal jk.gov.in

Finally the Central hegemony over the State of Jammu and Kashmir was proved in 2019 by abrogation of Article 370 permanently and turned the State towards two Union Territory under the direct Central control during the President Rule. The Central Government has taken a step strategically to infringe the Article 370 from the State of Jammu and Kashmir through the Presidential Power [370(3)] and bypassing the Article 368(1) of the Constitution of India. As it was stated that Article 370 is a temporary in nature [370(2)] and the power of making the Article in effective or inoperative was vested with the President of India [370(3)].

(iii) ***Regionalism in North-East India:***

North Eastern region of India comprises primarily the five states, the states of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura and two union territories (now States), Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. Later Sikkim has also been included in North East India. North East India was treated in Indian Politics socio-politically cardinal and strategically vulnerable. Now the modernity in tradition has influenced the identity dynamics in North East India which were associated with several socio-political problems where some of the region has demanded the autonomous status on the one hand, movements for separate statehood as well as demanding secession from the country on the other. The political crisis in this region is highly fragmented by the movement of autonomy as well as separatist movement. Inter-regional ethnic conflicts in this region have transformed the regional politics in to a politics of protest in particular.

It was observed that the ethnicity played a dominant role in Northeastern identity politics, as we saw that the North Easter Region contains distinct ethno-cultural groups. The

North Eastern States which are closely associated with the tribal identity geographically is being overcastted by the foreign countries. It was the primordial values of the tribal people which based on their tradition, laws, customs, then style of living and naturally there was a gap between their traditional values and upcoming modern culture. They have their own primitive outlook which no longer habituated with the advanced races. Henceforth the felling of alienations as well as deprivation was fostered among the tribal people of North cost India. Eventually the situation has become complicated on account of tribal tensions on the basis of a new political frame work. Inspite of geographical isolation as well as racial conflict the tribes of North-East India have tried to maintained their existence. Along with the linguistic diversity the migration also provides the concept of heterogeneity – in these regions. It was said that “the khasis, who belongs the austric speaking people, extremely have contributed to the development of the ancient civilization in North Eastern region. The Bodos, who came from the Himalayas are started to inhabit the mountain terrain and plain in this region. They were a great race accompanied with the mech and the Rabha who, settled in western Assam; the Koch, who placed on the north bank and Darrang District; The lalung, who residing in lower Assam; The Hajong, who stay on the southern Meghalaya, The kacheri, who placed on the northern bank; The Dimaser who settled in North cacher and Nagaland; The Hojai who occupy cachar and Nowgons; the Deori established in lakhimpur. The Nagas are widespread in Nagaland and some are spreaded out in Arunachal, Manipur and Assam. Their Culture exhibits some similarities with that of Indonesia”. (Barch, 1993) More over it was seen that, the multi-languages in North-East region, each being split up in to a number of dialects and linguistically the tribes are different among themselves.

So far as economic development is concerned, the North-Eastern region of India was treated almost backward region generally. Traditional agriculture, as well as incomprehensible industrialization, remove transport system make this region economically underdeveloped. Henceforth the inhabitant of this region rouses a question on centre negligence, which fortified their feeling of deprivation in compare to others regions of the country. More over the Unemployment issue in over the years. It was said that the socio-political isolation of this region form the national main stream has strong then their regional Identity. The theory of Relative deprivation is very much accustomed in this situation of North-Eastern region of India.

Table-4.3

State-wise distribution of net proceeds of Union taxes & Duties.

State	2013-14 (crore)
Andhra Pradesh	21,842.95
Arunachal Pradesh	1,032.22
Assam	11,423.45
Bihar	34,374.49
Chhattisgarh	7,777.36
Goa	837.47
Gujarat	9,575.28
Haryana	3,299.60
Himachal Pradesh	2,459.00
Jammu & Kashmir	4,125.13
Jharkhand	8,822.63
Karnataka	13,628.02
Kerala	7,371.20
Madhya Pradesh	22,418.73
Maharashtra	16,370.20
Manipur	1,420.01
Meghalaya	1,284.95
Mizoram	846.89
Nagaland	988.24
Orissa	15,048.04
Punjab	4,373.61
Rajasthan	18,426.32
Sikkim	752.66
Tamil Nadu	15,645.81
Tripura	1,608.97
Uttar Pradesh	61,957.20
Uttarakhand	3,526.72
West Bengal	22,872.51

* The State of Telengana was not created at that time.

Source: Business Standard. Thenewsminute.com.

The table shows a tremendous Central disparity on the states of Northeast region in compare to the others. It was observed that, all forms of autonomy movement can be found in Northeastern region, which covered by tremendous diversity on the basis of economic disparity as well as ethno-cultural identity.

Moreover in compare to another region like Eastern, Southern, Western, Central Zones the Northeast region is, recognized as the most undeveloped region in India. 'The most striking fact of Assam's economic development is that it is falling behind the rest of the country. In 1950-51, per capita income in Assam was 4 percent above national average. In 1998-99, it was 41 percent below the national average at current prices and 45 percent below the national average at 1980-81 prices'.

Table 4.4

Per Capita Income (at constant 1980-81 prices)

Year	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91	1995-96	1996-97	1998-99
India	1127	1350	1520	1630	2222	2608	2761	3132
Assam	1173	1140	1221	1284	1524	1606	1628	1708
Difference	46(+)	210(-)	299(-)	346(-)	698(-)	1002(-)	1133(-)	1424(-)

Source: Assam Development Report niti.gov.in

Moreover it has been observed that the cabinet representation from this region is too low. It has been argued that, “It was for the first time in 1994 the Prime Minister Narsimha Rao gave P.A. Sangma, the status of a Cabinet minister. (Jayal,2006). However, it may observe that, “any national political system which ignores the realities of ethnicity or denies wider participation for all ethnic groups may result in the subordination of weaken groups by more powerful once and thus may generate ethnic disintegration and eventual national fragmentation” (Bhattacharya, 1993). Watts argues that, the small states in north east region “should be seen as rather different to 'mainland' India” and he “stresses, a distinction between ‘full-fledged’ member-states and ‘peripheral’ units is analytically important” (Watts, 2007).

A) Naga insurgency: an ethno-political consideration.

The Naga movement is considered as the mother of all movements in North East India. The word Naga was used to designate the hill people. Naga covers sixteen major mongoloid tribes. They came from Burma and according to the government of India Act of 1935 the Naga territory was left as “Naga Hills Excluded Areas”, a part of the composite State of Assam, to be administered directed by the Governor. (Singh, 2002).

Ethnicity in respect of the Nagas may be observed as an activated response to the colonial process. The Naga movement was Considered as an Ethno-Political Movement, which accelerated through there Socio-Cultured needs as a distinct Identity. The development of Naga ethnicity was consequently crystallized through the Naga movement. The feeling of discontent since the imposition of British rule and then intention to protect their distinctiveness, reached a climax in the Post-Independent Period. (Zebol, 2014).

The Naga Movement was based on Extreme ethno-nationalism which was articulated by Naga National Council (NMC), by fostering the Sense of Naga oneness. In June 1947 the MNC make a demand that Naga Hills would cease to be a part of India on attainment of

independence. It's proclaimed that "Nagas are not Indians; Nagaland was never Conquered by India. The British conquered a part of Naga hills once the British left it should revert to its original free status." As the Naga's are very much concerned about their distinctive tribal culture they would not ready to treat themselves as an Indian. But after Independence the Government of India was agreed to grant them and autonomous Status within the Indian Union but the proposal of complete Sovereignty was rejected. After a long confliction with the Indian Union, a separate State of 'Nagaland' was created in 1963, which was included in the Status of Special Category State under Article 371 A of the Constitution of India. But Naga Federal Government (NFG) condemns that decision of govt. of India and their militant activity was continued, with the confinement on their demand of Sovereignty. It was the Naga's assertion that, their demand was for self determination. Because they were never the citizen of India, hence there was no question about their secession from Indian Union. So, it was Seen that the Indo-Naga Conflict was not be settled through either peaceful negotiation or armed Confrontation in that Circumstances (Singh, 2002). National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCNIM) led the Naga insurgency in its modern phase. The Nagaland Assembly also passed a resolution in 1994, by extending their Support to the demand of the greater Nagaland _ Nagalim. (Das, 2009).

Though the government of India is trying to involve the Naga leadership in 'framework agreement' 2015 (www.thehindu.com) in order to maintain the federal Status of the country in general and maintaining the integrity in NE Region in particular. But the issue of tolerance as well as patience is the predominant factor at this present Juncture.

B) Regionalism in Mizoram

Like the Nagas, the Mizo's also protest against inclusion in India after Independence. They are the ancestor of the Tibeto- Burman-Mongoloid tribes, and they also not prepared to treat themselves as an Indian. They tried to join in Burma before the period of pre-independence but failed due to lack of effective leadership. After Independence, the Mizo union Started s civil disobedience movement during 1950's for full-fledged autonomy.

As a very backward and a remote Mizo hill when affected by a famine in 1959, the Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) was established with the aim of formation of an independent State for the Self- respecting Mizo, due to the negligence of Plains man, during this particular crisis. Consequently the MNFF was converted into Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Independence was the principle agenda of this party of Mizoram. So, it was

Seen that again the regional disparity was played a predominate role in Mizo's regional movement. With the help of China and Palestine the Mizo's were continued their struggle against Indian Union and the MNF converted there movement in to a Secessionist movement in 1966. (Singh 2002)

So it was seen that, the movement was started with a regional in character but Spreaded in to a Nationalist outlook. It was said that the MNF was tried to arouse the consciousness of Mizo Nationalism, based on ethnic Identity as well as economic development of the Mizo hills region. After a long insurgency as well as counter insurgency it gained the status of a full-fledged State within the union of India in 1987. Finally the State of Mizoram was started its journey for the development towards the modernity.

C) Ethno- regional tribalism in Manipur

Manipur which was a princely State under British rule came under the purview of Indian govt. in 1949 and it was made as a union territory during the time of linguistic reorganization and became a full-fledged State in 1972. The tribes of Manipur, had their distinct culture, tradition, right to land and resources was considered important for their Survival. The tribal's of Manipur by influencing Nagas and Mizo's, has Started to search for a greater Identity. The Relative deprivation was developed between the tribal's of poor villages and the urban tribal's, under the Kuki administration which was colonial in nature. So the tribal's were looking for a perfect administration as well as the formation of their new wider identity, which was often distasted by the Unique demography on the basis of several ethnic groups. This movement was fueled by the grievances over cultural alienation and domination also. (Arun, 2014). So the ethnic problem was treated very much sensitive in Manipur in present day Indian Politics and it was a major task of the Country to integrate the tribal people in its national mainstream.

D) Regionalism and Meghalaya

It is observed that, the Socio-economic Status of Meghalaya under British Colonial rule as well as post- Independent period was remaining backward despite their trading relations with different regions of the Country. Naturally, the tribal's like khasi, Garo, Jaintia through some regional associations like Khasi- Jaintia Political association, Garo National Council expressed their unique traditional cultures for their Socio- economic interests.

Soon after Independence, the people of the Hill areas began to feel a Sense of deprivation and negligence against the Central as well as the State govt. on Assam. As a more

advanced tribals, the Khasis feel the relative deprivation against Assamese. The movement for a separate state for hill's people getting fueled in the early sixties on the basis of language issue, after adoption the Assamese as the State language by the Constitution of India. Consequently the ethno-political demand of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills people for regional autonomy was triggered by the period from 1968 to 1970. In 1972, a full-fledged State of Meghalaya was created. (Bhaskaran,1993).

E) Regionalism in Tripura

Tripura is the motherland of different tribes, whose deprivation was continued even after the merger of it's with the Indian union. So far as the development is concerned the infrastructure as well as the per Capita income of the States was very low in compare to the another territory of India. Besides the economic deprivation, an ethnic problem was started in this region due to the large scale of inflow of immigrants from Pakistan as well as Bangladesh. Hence the regional imbalance on the basis of economic and cultural issues, the demand of autonomy was started in this region under the guidance of Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS). In 1972, from the status of Union territory (1956) it becomes established as a full-fledged State in Northeast India. (Dasgupta, 1993).

F) Arunachal Pradesh

The tribal society of Arunachal Pradesh was started their journey for autonomy on the basis of Socio-Economic development of the people of this region as well as to maintain their regional identity at State as well as Central level, under the guidance of United Peoples Party of Arunachal (UPPA).

The North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) after getting the Status of Union territory of India was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh (1972) become a full-fledged State in 1987.(Talukder, 1993).

G) Ethno-Regional Movement in Assam

Assam was treated one of the most backward States in India. A tiny apex of Western Assam Connected with a narrow corridor of west Bengal, that constitutes its only link with the rest of India. Per Capita income of the States was also very low in general. Industrially Assam is considered, one of the poorest states in India due to its geographical isolation as well as boarder dispute in particular. More over the rapid growth of population create a problem factor for the State. Capital deficiency as well as poor communication system makes the state as an under developed one. Henceforth there was no significant utilization of the

huge natural resources like tea, oil products etc in the states. The following pictures indicated the adverse condition of Assam in particular:

Table 4.5

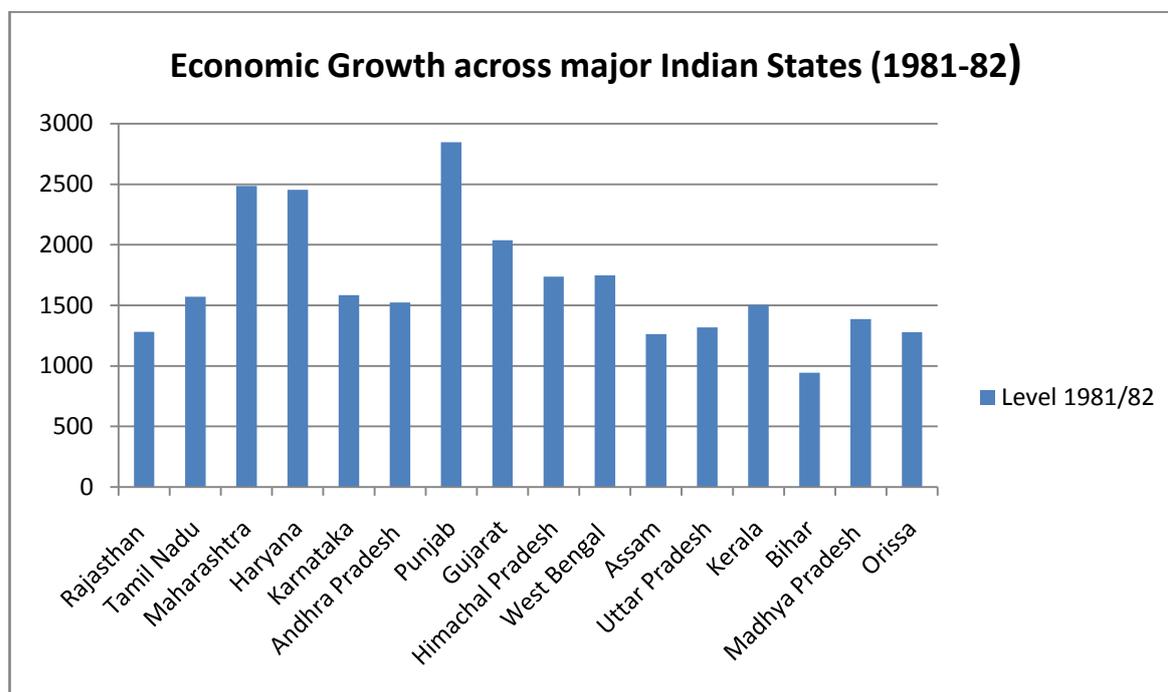
Per capita income, Assam and India

Year	At Current Prices		At Constant (1993-94) Prices	
	Assam	India	Assam	India
1993-94	5715	7698.2	5715	7698.2
1994-95	6493	8876.4	5737	8087.6
1995-96	7001	10160.3	5760	8494.5
1996-97	7394	11600.9	5793	9035.9
1997-98	7966	12771.5	5796	9287.9
1998-99	8826	14712.4	5664	9733.1
1999-2000	9720	15562.0	5978	10067.0
2000-2001(Q)	10198	16487.0	6157	10245.0

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Assam and the Central Statistical Organization 2001 wptbc.assam.gov.in

Figure-4.2

Economic growth across major Indian States (1981-82)



Source: India National Human Development Report 2001. Cited in “India’s ‘poorly-performing’ States” Andrew Shepherd, Ed Anderson and Nambusi Kyegombe, Odi Overseas Development Institute, March, 2004.

Table 4.6

World Bank Projects in India States, 1980’s. \$ Per Capita

States	1980’
1. Andhra Pradesh	14.4
2. Assam	0.0
3. Bihar	1.5
4. Gujarat	30.8
5. Haryana	14.2
6. Himachal Pradesh	0.0
7. Karnataka	19.5
8. Kerala	6.7
9. Madhya Pradesh	12.6
10. Maharashtra	10.2
11. Orissa	4.0
12. Punjab	9.8
13. Rajasthan	2.3
14. Tamil Nadu	13.3
15. Uttar Pradesh	5.6
16. West Bengal	2.3

Source: World Bank Project data base Cited in “India’s poorly- performing States” Andrew Shepherd, Ed Anderson and Nambusi Kyegombe, Odi Overseas Development Institute, March, 2004.

Moreover, it was said that, In the Post- Independent period, the colonial politico-geography was massively affect the culture politics of Assam, consequently the State of Assam was menaced by the terrorist activities resulted by the ethnic revelries between different castes as well as tribal's in that particular State only. The State is treated as melting pot of diverse ethno-Cultural groups. The language based mobilization of 1960, in Assam was considered crucial in Indian political analysis. It was often treated as self-resistant movement of the people of Assam. The people of Assam getting inspired by their distinct identity organized a linguistics, which represent the ethnic consciousness of the Assamese through the symbolic ethno-lingual activities and which influenced the ethnic environment in Assam also.

It was said that, Assamese assertion on their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness is originally treated as a reaction against colonial conspiracy to turn Assam in to cohesion of Bengal. Naturally the feeling of deprivation was grown in Assam on the basis of one crucial agenda, that Assam was treated as an adjunct and Subordinate area of Bengal. Eventually a new political equation was emerged out in a State, under the leadership of All Assam Student Union (ASSU), which has been resulted the demand of electoral reservations for the indigenous people of Assam.

Moreover, the hills-plains antagonism in Assam creates an obstacle to make the State Unilingual. In the period of 1979 to 1985, the Assam movement was getting tempted by the foreigner issue. The Assamese identity received jolt in a new way by the illegal penetration from Bangladesh. This started a militant separatism led by the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) which stands differ from another political organization in Assam, AASU especially in this issue of immigration. (Misra, 2000)

It was observed that, demographically Assam was consists of the inhabitants, migrated from Tibet, Burma, Thailand, Bengal and elsewhere and assimilations of their populations created the greater Assamese Nation. Henceforth it was said that, the Assamese was not the original inhabitant of Assam, rather the Bodos, the Koches, the Morans, the Chatias, the Ahoms, these tribal's were the original inhabitants in this particular State.(Phakon, 2014). As a result, Assam become a land of different kinds of separate Identity movements as well as Sub-regional movements, including hills and plains of Assam like Bodoland movement, the ethnic identity formation of missing tribal, the demand for a separate Ahom State led by Tai-Ahom land committee, led by Karbi Students Association

and the Autonomous State Demand Committee (ASDC) etc. The following table has been shown the ethnic diversity of Assam:

Table-4.7

Assam: Population of major STs, 2001

Name of the Tribe	Total Population	Proportion to the total ST Population
Boro	1,352,771	40.9
Miri	587,310	17.8
Mikir	353,513	10.7
Rabha	277,517	8.4
Kachari	235,881	7.1
Lalung	170,622	5.2
Dimasa	110,976	3.4
Deori	41,161	1.2

Source: Census 2001, Government of India censusindia.gov.in

Besides these there are several another tribes are exist in Assam like, Sonwal Kachari, Barman of Cschar, Mech, Hojai, Karbi, Kukis, Chutia, Thengale.t.c It has been observed that all the groups have some sort of anxieties about their identity and they have growing aspirations for greater administrative and political autonomy. Though in Assam there are a lot of autonomous councils but their territory often not clearly demarcated even in the case of the area of Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). The dispute of demand often appeared in some cases. When BTC of Bodo's, the largest plain tribes of the state has placed under the provision of sixth schedule, the protest has come from some hill tribes in Assam. As because 'the Sixth Schedule was originally limited its applicability only to the hill tribes of Assam. Though later, the provision of inclusion of plain tribes under sixth schedule was permitted through the recommendation of the State Government. Following 1991 census of India the relevance and applicability of the Hill as well as Plain tribes are mutually exclusive in Assam (Prabhakara, 2010). In Assam there was an ethnicity within ethnicity. Hence the tremendous ethno-cultural differences, central domination, the sense of growing deprivation against the mainland of India may responsible for regional unrest in the said territory.

Therefore the continuous central deprivation as well as the feelings of relative deprivation of Northeastern region of India has been resulted as the several insurrections over the year in

general. It is assumed that these grievances specifically stand on the politics of isolation or the politics of segregation in particular.

Table-4.8

Ten year's data of violence related insurrection in Northeast India:

Year	Assam	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Manipur	Nagaland	Arunachal Pradesh	Tripura
2006	169	25	2	286	89	11	70
2007	450	19	6	461	106	32	35
2008	373	11	4	496	144	3	28
2009	389	5	0	432	19	9	12
2010	154	22	0	138	3	0	3
2011	92	27	1	65	17	41	1
2012	102	51	0	113	61	4	3
2013	102	60	0	55	31	4	0
2014	306	77	2	55	16	9	4
2015	61	61	3	97	47	10	0

Source: [Government of India, Institute of Conflict Management, Data Sheet, 2020 www.stap.org]

The table shows the continuous trend of ethnic violence in Northeast India which highlighting the issues of diversity recognition within an integrationist frame of course. However besides these regional movements there are some sub-regional movements also raising their heads within different states for their identity recognition and some time for the quest for an economic equality of a particular region even the caste factor often merged with such kind of demands.

iv. Sub-regional movements in India:

It has been observed that besides the ethnic pride when some discontent arises in between different region within a same state over the issue of economic prosperity on another ethno-linguistic region the sub-regional movements occur in general.

Bodoland Movement in Assam

The Bodo movement is the longest Social movement in the Plains of Assam, which was started on the basis of Social reforms and consolidation of the Bodo identity against the Assamese Community in particular. The Bodo's who claim as the original inhabitant of Assam, as a tribes of plains in Assam when feel exploited as well as neglected for their non-inclusion of either 5th or 6th Scheduled of the Constitution, they are Started to protected their identity as well as Socio- Culture heritage through various kind of demands. They started their journey with the agitation of inclusion of Bodo language in Secondary level in Assam against imposition of Assamese language as a compulsory third language in Assam. In its modern phase the demand of Bodo's was converted in to a greater Share in political Power for maximum autonomy of Bodo's.

Eventually, the all Bodo Student Union and Bodo Peoples Autonomous Council (BPAC) launched a movement for creation of a separate State of Bodoland, for all over development of Bodos. However going through a serious ethnic conflict in Assam, the United Reservation Movement Council of Assam demanded for reorganization of Assam on federal basis. Eventually the Bodo's Maximum autonomy in the Socio-Culture as well as economic sector was preserved by the establishment of the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) through a Bodo accord signed by the Govt. of Assam and Bodo leadership, supervised by the Govt. of India, 1993. (Singh, 2002) But, due to some territorial boundary dispute in BAC, the Bodos come under a new Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). In 2003 BTC was constituted under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India after signing a memorandum of settlement between the Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Liberation Tigers (Department of Plain Tribes and Backward classes, Government of Assam wptbc.assam.gov.in) and Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District (BTAD) was formed.

Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal

The name Darjeeling is derived from Tibetan words 'dorje' means thunderbolt and 'ling' means a place or land that means "a place or town of the thunderbolt"(Chakraborty, 2008). It is situated in the foot hills of Himalaya. Darjeeling the northern hill district of West Bengal is topographically divided in to two parts, the Terai and the Hill areas; Terai consists of the Siliguri sub-division while sub-division of Dareeling Sadar, Kurseong and Kalimpong constitute the Hill areas (Subba, 1983).

It is said that the territories corresponding to the present district of Darjeeling were annexed to Nepal by military conquest from the kings of Sikkim and Bhutan onward 1788 and remained as part of Nepal till 1815(Samanta'2001). History of Darjeeling shows that Nepal and Bhutan has shown great interest in this region. It was retained as a buffer state between Nepal and Bhutan(O'Malley, 1907).The situation got complicated after the active participation of East India Company. After its formation as a district by 1866, the British Government treated Darjeeling as a 'Non-regulated' district. Where the laws and regulation were not related to land and land revenue would not be in force. These administrative arrangements bred a sense of separatism and till as late 1874 Darjeeling was treated as a 'Non-regulated' area (Samanta,2001). From 1874 to 1919 it was recognized as a 'Scheduled District' and from 1919 to 1935 as a 'Backward Tract'. Finally from 1935 till the independence of India it was recognized as a 'Partially excluded area' under the Govt. of India Act 1935. Hence until 1947 Darjeeling was administratively not fully integrated with West Bengal though politically it was a part of it since 1866 (Subba, 1992). But the language, culture and tradition of the people were distinctly difference from those people inhabited in the plains of Bengal. After independence Darjeeling remained with Bengal as a Hindu majority. In fact Darjeeling owes a large proportion of population to the advent of immigrants.

In 1872, the first census of India was published and the total population of Darjeeling appeared to have steadily increased to 94,712. In 1876 W.W.Hunter wrote in his "Statistical Account of Bengal"(Volume x): " The Nepalese who form 34 percent of the population of the district, are all immigrants from the State of Nepal. They are a 'pushing' and 'thriving' race...." (Hunter,1876). The Nepalese were yet to be the major ethnic group in the population of Darjeeling. However the migration from Nepal went on unabated and by the time of the second census of India in 1881, the Nepalese form the absolute majority in the whole of Darjeeling. From 1951 onwards, following the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship (district 1950), there was visible reluctance among the Nepalese to divulge the place of birth. But the sudden upswing of the population figure in Darjeeling district from 3, 28,785 in 1951 to 4, 64,762 in 1961 underscored the quantum of migration from Nepal to Darjeeling(O'Malley, 1907).

The overwhelming demographic predominance of the Nepalese, which become a hard reality towards the end of the 19th century, contributed to this acceptability of Nepali language as the lingua franca. Along with the growth of literary movement for Nepali cultural identity,

ethnic exclusiveness was also expressed through the demands for autonomy in Darjeeling which were not always homogeneous in nature. They submitted a memorandum in 1907 to the Morley-Minto reforms committee pleading for the creation of a separate administrative entity for Darjeeling outside Bengal but within the British Indian Empire. When Edwin Montague, the British Secretary of State, visited India in 1917, the Hillman Association submitted a memorandum to the chief secretary of Bengal, demanding a separate administrative unit comprising the present Darjeeling District and the portion of Jalpaiguri District which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865(O'Malley, 1907). Again a memorandum jointly with the local association submitted to Sir Samuel Hoare, in 1930 by the Hillman Association, clearly highlighted the problems of the Gorkhas only. It reflects the fear of losing their solidarity under the new Constitution. They suggested the Gorkha predominated Darjeeling should be excluded from Bengal. In 1941, the Association urged to Lord Pretheweik Lawrence to treated Darjeeling as an independent administrative unit with the Deputy Commissioner. But under section 92 of the Govt. of India Act, 1935 the district of Darjeeling was made a 'Partially excluded area' (Subba, 1992).

In 1931, the CPI(M) demanding that the centre grant regional autonomy to the three hill sub-division. But the centre rejected the solution as potentially divisive (Dasgupta, 2000). In 1943 the Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League was the first political party from the region to demand greater identity for the Gorkha ethnic group and economic freedom for the community. It included the protection of Nepali language with establish a friendly relation with Nepal also to preserve Nepali civilization and culture and the just demand for citizenship of Indian Gorkhas (Chakraborty,1988).

On the eve of the independence the All India Gorkha League called for regional autonomy of Darjeeling and its adjoining areas with Assam. The demand was submitted after Independence to the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But he did not pay much heed to the demand. While, some other states were carved out on the basis of language and culture, the SRC did not consider demand for Gorkhaland strong enough. On 6th April, 1947 Darjeeling District Committee of the communist Party of India had submitted the memorandum for Gorkhas – Gorkhastan, an independent nation comprising Nepal, Darjeeling, Sikkim to the constituent Assembly. It stated that, "in the opinion of the CPI the district of Darjeeling belongs to the Gorkha and it is their homeland (Subba, 1992).The concept of the regional autonomy was introduced in our Constitution only

in respect of the tribal areas. Besides the provision for district and regional autonomous council, the concept of autonomous state was introduced by 22nd Amendment of the Constitution in 1969. But this was applicable only in respect of the areas falling in the North Eastern region. The regional autonomy for Darjeeling Hills had not been seriously opposed either by the state govt. or any political party of West Bengal (Samanta,2001). In 1955, congress also made a case for autonomy in the form of statutory District Council for Darjeeling to aid and advice the govt. in matters of administration. In 1957 when Jawaharlal Nehru visited Darjeeling, a joint memorandum claiming autonomy for the hill sub-division was submitted to him by the representatives of Congress, CPI and Gorkha League. The Darjeeling district Congress committee had dissolved in its meeting on August 25, 1968 that geographical condition of the area, racial, cultural and linguistic background of the people and the backwardness of the area amply justify an autonomous administrative set up for hill areas comprising Darjeeling Sadar, Kalimpong and Kurseong sub-divisions. But significantly Congress never made any serious effort to implement their resolution of 1968 during their tenure in power from 1972 to 1977(Samanta,2001).

It was the Pranta Parishad which first stated that separate state is very important to maintain the identity of Nepalis. In 1980's it was emerge s the leading political organization of the Gorkhas. The Parishad gave prime importance to the upliftment of economic standard of the Nepalis. The Pranta Parishad demands the formation of a separate state which named as Gorkhaland comprising of the Nepali speaking areas of the Dooars in the district of Jalpaiguri and the whole of Darjeeling district in accordance with the Article 3(a) of the Constitution.

The Gorkha Ntional Liberation Front (GNLF) led by Subhas Ghising, came into being in 30th July 1980. This Organization carried forward the movement for a separate state and regional autonomy. The areas which the GNLF wanted to include in Gorkhaland was Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong, Mirik, Siliguri and some other parts of the Dooars area (Chakraborty,2008).Abrogation of Article VII of Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 was one of the major demands of the GNLF which seems to determine the political status of millions of “Nepalese of Indian origin” and “Indians of Nepal origin”. To Ghising Aricle VII of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 has made Gorkhas absolutely stateless or identity less, thus creating a big problem (Chakraborty, 2008). It has been observed that Article VII of the Treaty made an effect on the settled Indian Gorkhas and those who come along with the incorporation of territory in to India. The problem of similarity in ethnic and

linguistic expressions as well as the 'policy of open frontiers' has further complicated this situation. Often it has been observed that along with the migration the Nepali speaking people had entire in to India by the process of Incorporation of territory after the Sugauli's Treaty, 1816. However Subhas Ghising the leader of GNLF, has favored the term Gorkha in order to differentiate the citizens between India and Nepal after the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950.

Gorkhas were engaged in military services in the 18th century. The British had the first opportunity of appreciating the material qualities of the Gorkhas in the war that broke out between East India Company and Nepal in 1814(Stiller, 1992). It was said that Indian history projected only the darker side of the Ghorkhas and Indians seldom questioned their history(Mansorgh and Lumby, Toker, 1992). The movement gained serious momentum during 1986-1988, when a violent agitation was carried out by GNLF under the leadership of Subhas Ghising. A qualitative differences has been observed between the movements in Darjeeling Hills in 1970 and 1980's (Sarkar, 2000). Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council accord is signed by GNLF, the state of West Bengal and the Government of India (Memorandum of Settlement,1988).In **2005**, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has demanded for the inclusion of DGHC in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. This addresses the administration of tribal areas (Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, Amendment Bill 2007)

It has been observed that the Gorkha movement has been started as a pure identity movement which gradually curb for economic development. It leads to revolt by Bimal Gurung, who launched GJM in 2007. Thereby, the second biggest agitation in Gorkhaland movement took place. In **2010-2011**, the Gorkhaland agitation saw a new turn after local leaders fought among themselves. Their demand was accomodated by the State govt. of Bengal (TMC) and Central govt. with the tripartite agreement with the GJM, by establishing another autonomous council, named Gorkhaland Territorial Adinistration (GTA) in 2012(West Bengal Act XX of 2011, West Bengal Legislature).In **2014**, the demand for separation rose high again due to the division of Andhra Pradesh.

Sub regional demands in Andhra Pradesh:

It was said that economic backwardness was one of the major issue of Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh for regional autonomy. This resulted on the demand of establishment of Separate State. On the one hand the regional autonomy of Andhra Pradesh when articulated

by TDP. On the other hand the issue of creation of Telengana as a Separate State has been articulated by TRS the two major political Parties of Andhra Pradesh. The feelings of relative deprivation in various regions within a States represented the intra- State regional movement in Andhra Pradesh. Consequently the Telengana was appeared as a full fledged State in 2014.

Sub regional demands in Karnataka:

Ethno-regionalism as well as Caste factor played a dominant role in different regions in Karnataka. It was observed that, there was a Superior-Subordinate relationship between two dominant Casts, named Vokkaligas and Lingayats, in old Mysore as well as Karnataka region. (Verma, 1994) Besides that, the issue of “Coorg, dentity” was treated in Karnataka as a corrupted one.

Sub regional demands in Maharashtra:

The feelings of negligence in compare to another region as well as Central negligence besides their, Socio-Cultural distinctiveness create an ethno-regional problem in Vidharbha region In Maharashtra. Even it was said that, in 1950's the recommendation of State reorganization Commission for the creation of Separate Vidharbha State was not accepted by Central govt. at that particular point of time. So the feeling of dissatisfaction gradually turned in to full-fledged regional movement under the leadership of Vidarbha Janata Congress and Vidarbha Rajya Party. The movement was taken its acute form after the creation of Smaller States like, Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh in 2000. Besides this, there is an another linguistic issue has been emerged consequently, when for the purpose of Uniting all the Marathi Speaking people in to a one region by the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samithi. The demand was made on, the transfer of Belgaum from Karnataka as well as Khanapur and Nipani to Maharashtra. (Prakash, 2010)

Sub regional demands in Madhya Pradesh:

The Distinct Socio-Cultural Context as well as on the basis of tribal Identity, the people of Chhatisgarh area in Mahakoshal region in Madhya Pradesh was launched an autonomy movement which resulted the creation of separate State of Chhatisgarh in 2000. (Kumar, 1994). Besides this, then was an another in the State of Madhya Pradesh was articulated by the Gondwana Ganatantra Party (GGP) (Prakash, 2010)

Sub regional demands in Jharkhand:

It was observed that, the demand of regional autonomy of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, Consists of the tribal people of Jharkhand was Came in Political for front of India in many years ago. Henceforth the Superior-Subordinate relationship between non tribal and tribal people pave the way for a movement for a separate State for tribal people, which resulted the creation of separate State of Jharkhand in 2000.

Sub regional demands in Uttar Pradesh :

It was observed that, the inter-regional problem was also acute in Uttar Pradesh, a largest State of Indian Union, the feelings of relative deprivation hilly Uttarakhand region against the plains was emerged gradually in Uttar Pradesh. Besides the Cultural distinctiveness, the gap between high rates of literacy on the one hand, lack of employment opportunities on the other has produced a “remittance economy” in this hill region particularly (Dube, 1995). This led the growing assertion of local people against the State as well as Central Government. With the needs of hours, the Uttarakhand become a full fledged State in 2000. Besides this demand of Uttarakhand, in Uttar Pradesh there was another demand was seen, the demand of Harit Pradesh and the demand of Bundelkhand. These demands was articulated by Purvanchel Rajya Banao Manch; RLD; Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha. (Prakash,2010).

Though the boundaries of the states have been re-organized on the basis of linguistic needs in 1956 but these States as a geographical unit is based on culture heterogeneity instead of cultural homogeneity. Hence a large number of ethno-regional minorities were comprises in different States and Union territories in India. Consequently the ethno-lingual needs were scattered in a new way named as sub-regionalism which affected the state as well as the national politics in an extensive way.

Conclusion

It has been observed that the event of linguistic reorganization have made our country's federation ethno federal in nature. The different cultural identities that co-exist in an ethno federation and at times are in confrontation due to the perception of relative deprivation as well as political discriminations. Hence it becomes difficult for a single national authority to hold an ethnically plural country in the long run under the anti-central atmosphere among the regions. But when the one party domination was converted in to a multiparty domination, the context of federalism also changed. The modified trend of ethno-

federation has divided the country's identity equally both the national as well as the regional. Hence in a democracy the ethnic orientation often goes against the centralized national endurance when the consequences depend upon the qualitative strategy of the political authority in general. As the centralized political authority of India was unable to hold the country's unity after its cultural fragmentation (since 1956) and especially when this lingo-cultural fragmentation is going towards the socio-economic and political deprivation which boosting the regionalist tendency (since 1977). Hence the trend of power sharing could be won over by the conventional trend of power concentration. However the consolidation of regional thrust for cultural identity has prepared a ground for consensual federalism where the regional political powers become strong enough. It is observed that, the inclusionary method often strengthen the legitimacy of the multiparty system through the coalition building unlike the one party system. Hence it is assumed that the regional parties often appeared as a crisis manager in the field of federation to fulfill the gap of federal imbalances through the strategy of coalition in general.

Hence the lack of concentrations of powerful Congress party towards the regional grievances as well as their intentional disparity towards the non-Congress ruled States have identified as a pre-condition of the enhancement of the newly emerging regional political parties. Hence the ethno-regional forces are intended to make the federal policy of India more devolutionary in nature. In this context there was no antagonism between the phenomena of regional autonomy and the federal framework made by the constitution makers for recognized the difference in a plural country. Hence forth it is depend on the quality of political authority. However they can manage the regional problems through the federal device. It has been noticed that "the basic issue is not of regionalism v. nationalism but one of right ordering of loyalties between the regional and the national identities" (Narain ,1984). The regions are the earnest contributor in the Indian 'Multi regional federation' with their individuality stand for 'bucket approach' instead of 'melting-pot theory'. Where the attempt has been made regarding federation-building is not to eliminate the ethnic distinctiveness rather provide them the opportunity of the self flourishing as the primary requisite of the plural nation. (Khan, 1997)

On the other hand the linguistic demand denotes a quest for political identity formation in particular when the world is stand for the new existence of 'Small homogeneous units' instead of a centralize nation state where the ethno-regional consciousness are being highlighted instead of national heritage. The phenomena of regionalism have been appeared

as a demand of age. Hence, regionalism has been trying to spread the fragrance of decentralization through the federal particle in a centripetal nation state which often, identified as a paradox of modernization. As India is one of the longest heterogeneous country in the world, the each regional units have its own 'composition of ethnic and linguistic groups'. Hence, in India the connotation of regionalism is sub-merged with 'ethnicity and sub-nationalism'. (Narang, 1997)

In a plural society the primordial attachment has been played a dominating roll along with the sub-national loyalties, arises due to the gap between rulers and ruled in particular. Moreover in a plural society the "economic activities were congruent with ethnic divisions" in general. The plural society is fragmented on the basis of social stratification. It has been argued that, a 'pluralistic societies contain one or more relatively distinct sub-cultures, but their value systems are compatible with the national political consensus. The cultural diversity has been appeared as a pre-condition of a plural democratic society. Hence the mutual understanding as was as well as the positive connectivity between the nation states and its component units. One required for managing the political disorder of a democratic plural society in general. (Rabuskha and Shepsle, Charles, 1972). So far as the political instability in a democratic plural society is concerned it is said that "the twin progeny of modernization-cultural pluralism and nationalism -must find reconciliation because the world offers no other choice" (Englewood, 1972).