

Administrative Development in Contemporary Darjeeling Hills: A politico Historical Analysis

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Submitted By

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Preface

The present Ph.D. thesis 'Administrative Development in Contemporary Darjeeling Hills: A politico Historical Analysis' tries to explore the origin and development of the administrative development in the Darjeeling Hills. The administrative problems in the hills are those problems which have constantly been haunting the political leaders of the State and the Centre and also the academicians. It is a regional problem but has drawn the attention of the whole world. Darjeeling, also known as the Queen of the Hills, more famous for its scenic beauty became the epicenter of the agitation.

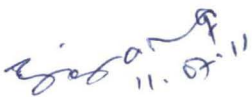
Attempt has been made to trace origin and development of the local issues including the Gorkhaland agitation which is one of the crucial issues.

An effort has been made to examine the problem from the perspective of democratic governance, historical background and also that of ground level politics.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor Manas Chakrabarty for his perennial support, guidance & encouragement throughout the writing of my thesis without whose constant guidance the thesis could not be completed.

I express my incessant gratitude to my parents . I would like to record my sincere thankfulness to my wife who is in the administrative service of the Govt. of West Bengal for her constant support in the completion of the work.

I also thank all of them who have directly and indirectly inspired, encouraged and helped me in the work.



Milan Tamang

CHAPTER - 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The concern of this intellectual venture has been to understand the politico administrative situations arising out in Darjeeling as a result of the functioning and working of the dynamics of the District administration together with the DGHC. The study tries to understand the deep rooted political synthesis and its effect on the administrations of Darjeeling. The implication being to probe beyond easy generalizations and pre occupied notions and instead understand the problem locally and on its own terms. The period between 1982 to 1988 saw the people of Darjeeling in agitation for the formation of a separate state. The agitation came to an end with the signing of an agreement between the GNLF, the State Government (West Bengal) and the Central Government (Government of India) in 1988. This agreement led to the creation of an autonomous Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the hill people. The jurisdiction of the District administration covers an area of 3149 square kilometers and the jurisdiction of the Hill Council covers an area 2476 square kilometers. For administrative purposes the district is divided into four subdivisions out of which Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong is situated in the hills and Siliguri is

situated in the plains. The jurisdiction of the district administration covers all the subdivisions whereas DGHC covers only the three (revenue) hill subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and 13 mouzas of Siliguri (revenue) subdivision.

The territorial areas of Darjeeling were acquired by the British from Sikkim.(1) In Anglo- Nepal war of 1817 the east India Company wrested away the territory of Darjeeling from Nepal and restored to Sikkim. As a mark of respect, the raja of Sikkim gifted the territory (including hills and Tarai plains) to East India Company in 1835, Municipal institution in Darjeeling was first developed with the establishment of Darjeeling municipally in 1857. Thus Darjeeling underwent a municipal civic formation since the mid 19th century. Prior to the passage of Councils Acts, 1861 Darjeeling remained under non regulation scheme. The Act. No. XV of 1874 declared Darjeeling as a scheduled District granting a special status along with other four district of Bengal. (2)The district was kept outside the ambit of general laws in operation throughout the rest of India. The government of India act of 1991 had replaced the term Scheduled District by a new terminology "Back ward Tract". By way of these new arrangements the Governor of Bengal was vested with the responsibility of administrating Darjeeling and to determine whether any law the provincial legislature would be given effect in the district.(3)

The Government of India Act 1935 brought in its wake significant changes in the administrative system and substituted the 'backward tract' by excluded and partially excluded areas with the intend to provide a special status for certain considerations,

- a) Presentation of indigenous system of land tenures,
- b) Necessary of entrusting undivided responsibility of the District Officers,
- c) Formulation of simple laws in inconformity with native institutions and simplicity of local people.

With the draw of independence Darjeeling underwent politico administrative metamorphosis. Shedding off its' status of partially excluded area, Darjeeling become district of the state of W.B. since the district had always been / kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.

Darjeeling, the northern most tip of West Bengal, has undergone various stages of political development right from the past through the British rule unto the present day.(4) Politico administrative development with regard to Darjeeling therefore becomes a major aspect of study in the process of democratization and rapid socio-economic transformation, in the contemporary political atmosphere. The study of development in

Darjeeling does not only include economic development but also social – political developments,, political awareness political consciousness and active participation of the people from all ethnic communities via Nepalese, Bhutias, Lepchas, and the other minor communities.(5)

Darjeeling is no doubt a district but it has within itself a cartload of contradictions. As pointed out earlier, there are three main ethnic races namely Nepalese, Bhutias and Lepchas, besides them we also find the Tibetans and various other people from the plains. The Marwari community is a distinct community by themselves. In this study an attempt will therefore be made to study the origin, cultural patterns, practices, habits of the various ethnic communities with a focus on the peculiarities of the contemporary political development and the role of the communities in the politico administrative aspects of Darjeeling.(6) Politics of contemporary Darjeeling indeed requires a careful analysis. Hence location of power changes in Political institutes to Governmental organization and administration, caste Politics, electoral politics and political consciousness of the people as a result of interplay of political forces within and outside Darjeeling becomes a part of the present study.

The study also offers an insight to analyze the various Political processes, administration pattern of government and governance, politics of defection, vocal sentiment reservation and regionalism. Further the role

of the GNLF, sons of the soil policy, district state district centre relation would be a special focus of the whole study.

1.2 History of Darjeeling

The name 'Darjeeling' came from the Tibetan words, 'dorje' meaning thunderbolt (originally, the scepter of Indra) and 'ling' a place or land, hence 'the land of the thunderbolt'. (1) A land-mark year in the History of Darjeeling was 1835, but it would be appropriate to trace its History before that. Prior to its acquisition by the East India Co. 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 history. (2)

Previously Darjeeling formed a part of dominions of the Raja of Sikkim, who had been engaged in an unsuccessful warfare against the Gorkhas. From 1780 the Gorkhas constantly made inroads into Sikkim and by the beginning of 19th Century, they had overrun Sikkim as far eastward as the Teesta and had conquered and annexed the Terai. E.C. Dozey in his 'Darjeeling Past and Present' writes, 'Prior to the year 1816, the whole of the territory known as British Sikkim belonged to Nepal, which won it by conquest'. (3)

In the meantime, the British were engaged in preventing the Gorkhas from overrunning the whole of the northern frontier. The Anglo-Nepal war broke out in 1814. Defeat of the Gorkhalis led to the Treaty of Sugauli, 1815 in which, 'Nepal had to cede all those' territories the Gorkhas had annexed from the Raja of Sikkim to the East India Company.(4)

'In 1817, in the Treaty of Titalia', the East India Co. reinstated the Raja of Sikkim (who was driven out), restored all the tracts of land between the Mechi and the Teesta to the Raja and guaranteed his sovereignty.

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.(5)

Ten years later dispute once again arose between Sikkim and Nepal, which according to the Treaty of Titalia, were referred to the Governor General. Accordingly in 1828 Captain Lloyd was deputed to settle the dispute. Along with Mr. J.W. Grant, the Commercial Resident at Malda, he came to the Hills and was attracted by the position of Darjeeling.(6)

From a Report dated 18th June 1829, in which he claims to have been the only European, who visited the place. We learn that Lloyd visited 'the old Gorkha Station called Darjeeling', for six days in Feb. 1829 and 'was immediately struck with it being well adapted for the purpose of a sanatorium' (he was apprehensive of the winters suggested Ging).

Lord Bentinck promptly deputed Capt. Herbert to examine and map the tract of land along with Grant with special reference to its strategic and communication benefits. Their Reports proved the feasibility of establishing a sanatorium in Darjeeling.(7) General Lloyd was accordingly deputed to start negotiations with the Raja of Sikkim for the transfer of Darjeeling in return for an equivalent in money or land. The negotiations ended in the execution by the Raja of Sikkim of a Deed of Grant on the 1st of Feb. 1835.

DEED - 'The Governor General, having expressed his desire for 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, the Sikkim puttee Raja, out of friendship for the said Governor General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Co. that is, all the land South of the Great

Rangeet River, East of the Balason, Kahail and Little Rangeet rivers and West of the Rungno and Mahanadi Rivers'.

Thus, Darjeeling was gifted to the Britishers. This was an unconditional cessation of what was then a worthless uninhabited mountain. The land gifted to East India Co. in 1835 did not comprise the whole present Darjeeling. It was narrow enclave of 138 square miles, about 30 miles long and 6 miles wide. It was entirely surrounded by the Raja's dominions - entry and exit being restricted to a narrow path, which included the sites of Darjeeling and Kurseong towns and touched the plains near Pankhabari.(8)

Nepal and Bhutan, alarmed at British presence in the Himalaya accused Sikkim of selling out to the foreigners. Tibet, instigated by China, did not look favourably to British presence in the Sikkim Himalayas.

Having acquired the Hill Territory of Darjeeling, Gen. Lloyd and Dr. Chapman were sent in 1836 to explore the tract, to ascertain the nature of the climate and to investigate the capabilities of the place. (9)They spent the winter of 1836 and a part of 1837 here and on the basis of their report it was decided to adopt Darjeeling as a sanatorium.

By 1840 a road was built from Pankhabari and staging bungalows built at Pankbabari and Mahaldiram. A hotel was started at Kurseong and one at Darjeeling. In Darjeeling itself about 30 private houses were erected.

In spite of all these, most of the tract that now comprise Darjeeling consisted of uninhabited impenetrable virgin forests. So the major problem faced by the administration was total native settlers.(10)

In 1839, Dr. Campbell, the Br. Resident in Nepal was transferred to Darjeeling as Superintendent. He devoted himself to the task of developing the station, attracting immigrants to cultivate the mountain slopes and stimulating trade and commerce. (11).Every encouragement was given to the settlers, who received grants of forest land and the success with which life met can be gauged by the fact that the population rose from not more than 100 in 1839 to about 10,000 in 1849, chiefly by immigrants from the neighbouring states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, where Rajas were despotic and where slavery was prevalent. No one has cared to examine the source from where this figure has been derived. When Dr. Campbell made this remark, he was talking of the area around Observatory Hill or Mahakal, which contained

about 20 hills because the area had been deserted by a large number of Lepchas who had migrated to Nepal.

In the meantime, British and Sikkim relations soured. The Raja of Sikkim was a mere cipher in the hands of the powerful Pagla Dewan (PM). The increasing importance of Darjeeling under free institutions was a constant source of jealousy and annoyance to the Diwan. According to Sir Joseph Hooker 'every obstacle was thrown in the way of a good understanding between Sikkim and the British Government'.(12) When in 1849 the Pagla Dewan arrested Campbell and Hooker, the British sent a fugitive expedition against Sikkim in 1850. An annual grant of Rs. 6,000 was stopped and the British annexed 640 square miles of additional territory from Sikkim. It comprised the entire 'Sikkim Morung or Terai' i.e. the Siliguri sub-division and in the hills 'the whole southern part of Sikkim, between the Great Rangeet and the plains of India, and from Nepal on the west to the Bhutan frontier and the Teesta river on the east'(13)

In 1861 (1st Feb.) Col. Gowler and Ashley Eden marched from Darjeeling and reached the Sikkimese capital of Tumlong. The Diwan fled and the old Raja abdicated in favour of his son. On March 28th 1861, Ashley Eden signed a treaty with the new Raja. This treaty was of great

advantage to Darjeeling as it ended the annoyances caused to its inhabitants and secured full freedom for commerce.(14) A road from Darjeeling to Teesta was constructed. Sikkim undertook to complete the remaining part.

In the meantime trouble arose with the adjoining state of Bhutan. The Bhutanese were constantly raiding and plundering the areas of Darjeeling. There was also rumors of a planned attack on Darjeeling. In 1863, Ashley Eden was deputed to negotiate with Bhutan. The British envoy was openly insulted and returned to Darjeeling. (15)In the winter of 1864, a military force was dispatched to Bhutan and the whole of Bhutan Duars was captured. In Nov. 1864, the treaty of Sinchula was executed in which the Bhutan Duars with the passes leading into the hills and Kalimpong were ceded to the British. The Darjeeling district can be said to have assumed its present shape and size in 1866 is 1234 sq. miles.

In fact, the year 1866 marks an epoch in the History of Darjeeling, peace was established on all fronts, hence began the march to progress and civilization.

Darjeeling is the Queen of Hills. Among the spectacular snow covered mountains at an altitude of 2134 m the Darjeeling hill station was founded by the British in 1835 with a military cantonment and a health sanitarium. Tea plantation had started around 1850s and the British also introduced various flowers and fruits to the area. It had grown in stature which is incomparable in the world and the grand name of Darjeeling tea is now well established all over the world. The word Darjeeling comes from the Tibetan words "Dorje" meaning the thunderbolt of Indra, the king of Gods and "Ling" meaning a place or land. Thus "Dorje-Long" means the land of thunderbolts. So goes the history.

So far as the old records are concerned, Tibetan monks from 1757 to 1763 completed building a Buddhist Monastery on the flat land atop the observatory Hill as a branch of the Pemiongchi Monastery in Sikkim. (16)The chief abbot of this newly built monastery was named after Rinzing Dorji Legden La, (Nicholas & Deki Rhodes: A Man of the Frontier, S.W. Laden La 1876-1936, His Life & Times in Darjeeling & Tibet, 2006) so the Tibetans called it "Dorji-Ling (Ling-house or abode or monastery) meaning "the place where Dorji lives".

The observatory Hill was the highest point on the Darjeeling Ridge and attracted an awful thunder & lightning during the monsoon storms so



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the name Dorji-Thunderbolt & Ling-house or abode or the place of the thunderbolt became the meaning of the name Darjeeling.

As records show that Darjeeling was under the domain of Raja of Sikkim, a petty ruler who had been struggling against the growing power of Gurkhas of Nepal. They intruded Sikkim in the year 1780 after over running the hills & valleys of Nepal.(17)

Finally, they annexed the eastern part of Sikkim near river Tista, Tarai belt lying near river Mechi, which is now covered with valuable tea-garden areas of the Darjeeling planters. However, the extension of Darjeeling was included only in the beginning of 19th century by the East India Company.(18)

In the year 1814 the war broke out between the Nepalese & the British army & they again reinstated the raja of Sikkim who had been driven out of his throne through the treaty of Titalyain 1817.

By virtue of this Treaty the Raja's sovereignty was guaranteed by the Company & the area from river Mechi to river Tista covering an area of 4,000 sq. miles was restored under him thus, the intervention of the British was successful in preventing the Gurkhas from intruding Sikkim, & the hill areas of west & southern part of river Tista. Thus, Sikkim, & the present

district of Darjeeling was retained as a buffer state between Nepal & Bhutan.(19)

As per record, the people of Darjeeling hills came into contact with the British and with Bengal subsequently through the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-1816 and through the signing of Treaty of Titaliya with Sikkim in the year of 1817.

Until the end of the year 1816, the hills of Darjeeling and Tarai areas up to Phansedewa & Naxalbari was under the kingdom of Sikkim, & no king and no Nawab of Bengal ever ruled and exercised any kind of power over the Darjeeling Hills and surrounding plain areas in history. (20) Infact, Darjeeling by default through the lapse of British paramountcy became the part of Bengal only after the independence of India from British Raj in the year 1947.

The East India Company assumed the paramount power in Sikkim through the treaty and any disputes between Sikkim and Nepal and any other neighboring countries would be referred to British Government. But ten years after the treaty was signed the dispute broke out between Sikkim & Nepal frontier. (21)The first British General, Captain Lloyd visited Darjeeling for six days and through his report in 18th June, 1829, "the old Gorkha station was called Dorjeling"and "was immediately struck with its

being well adapted for the purpose of the sanitarium". Governor General, Lord William Bentinck sent Captain Herbert, then Deputy Surveyor-General, to examine the country with Mr. Grant. Soon after their visit the Court of Directors of the Company decided to make Darjeeling a valuable depot for the temporary reception of European recruits and a permanent cantonment for a European regiment in the area.(22)

By 1840 a road had been constructed by the Company from Pankhabari & the Company made their bungalow there & in Mahaldiram; a hotel was started in Kurseong & in Darjeeling & some 30 private houses & more houses were constructed in Lebong.

Geographical location:

So far as the geographical location is concerned, Darjeeling district lies between 26 degrees 31 minutes & 27 degree 13 minutes north latitude, & between 87 degrees 59 minutes & 88 degrees 53 minutes east longitude. It has total area of 1,164 sq. miles. the main town & the administrative head-quarters of this district is situated in the lower Himalayas of 27 degree 3 minutes & 88 degree 16 minutes east longitude. It is a frontier district which runs between Nepal, Bhutan & the plain areas of west Bengal in the south & Sikkim on its north. It ranges at an altitude of 300 to 12,000 feet above sea-level.

Darjeeling is situated in the northern hill districts of west Bengal which is subdivided in two parts, Terai and hill areas. (23)The Hilly region of Darjeeling comprises three subdivisions, Darjeeling Sadar, Kurseong, Kalimpong and the Terai consists of Siliguri subdivision.

Kalimpong, a small town which in Lepcha language means 'Ridges where we play' is a hill station & sub – division of Darjeeling district. It covers an area of 1056.5 sq kms (approx.) & the main town spreads over an area of 4 to 5 kms (app) is situated at an altitude of 1250mts. Kalimpong Till 1864, was under the domain of Bhutan, but after the Anglo-Bhutanese war of 1864-65, the Siniolchu treaty was signed after which kalimpong was taken over by the East India Company. (24)Earlier kalimpong was the 'Gateway to Tibet' but with the Chinese aggression in Tibet in 1962 the trades through the Jelep La pass ceased. Eventually, kalimpong's economy depends on Flower Nurseries private schools, schools started by Christian Missionaries since from British Raj.

Kurseong is situated at an altitude of 1458 mts (4860ft.), Kurseong is 51 km from Siliguri and 30 km from Darjeeling. The word Kurseong means (the place of White Orchid. Because of its lower elevation, Kurseong enjoys milder and very healthy climate throughout the year.)

It is the beauty, peace, serenity and the pleasant climate that attracted many great persons to visit this place. Infact, some of the famous poems and songs of great poet Rabindranath Tagore were composed in Kurseong. Abanindranath, the magic painter, Tagore and great composer Atul Prasad Sen got inspiration for some of their famous works in the beautiful Kurseong. The great disciple of Swami Vivekananda Sister Nivedita, made Kurseong her home. Mark Twain spent some time in Kurseong in 1885, Fazlul Haque the Prime Minister of undivided Bengal also stayed here. Netaji Subash Chandra Bose was interned by the colonial government for a couple of months in 1936 in a house at Giddapahar near Kurseong.(25)

1.3 Regionalism as a Concept

The word Regionalism is a comprehensive term having various connotations. There is enormous ambiguity among different scholars in this field to define the term regionalism in a specific and accurate way. Some scholars referred it as the tendency to assign to the region a greater value in comparison with the nation - a tendency that is concretely expressed in cultural, linguistic, economic, political and administrative terms¹. Hence, it is a sense of identity that develops within a region, which leads to regional consciousness among the people living in that particular

region. Regionalism is accompanied with various issues like provincial autonomy, administrative decentralization, a kind of local ownership, and local patriotism. It is originated against the problem of excessive centralization of power. Therefore, in this sense, regionalism is a special kind of obligation to a specific geographical area in which the inhabitants of that particular area possess a special type of identity. 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 considered 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 those who are responsible for implementing the national developmental policy. 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. In fact, regionalism originates among the group of people of a particular area owing to their separate racial, linguistic, economic and cultural consciousness. In this context, the scholars in this field have also given emphasis on studying the

different aspects of regionalism like linguistic regionalism, economic regionalism, and political regionalism. According to Webster's Dictionary, "Regionalism is nothing more than a consciousness of and loyalty to a distinct sub-national or supra-national area, usually characterized by a common culture, background or interest"².

Therefore, Regionalism, stands for self-determination on the basis of race, language, kinship and religion. It is a kind of nationalism blended with parochialism. The regionalist groups often try to establish hegemony over a particular geographical area or territory in order to protect their common interests and thereby want to establish a sovereign state or demanding a separate statehood. It is often found that regionalist groups are generally united on ethnic lines. But regionalism is not regarded as ethnicity because ethnic group generally belongs to a particular race or group. In this context, the Gorkha Land Movement in Darjeeling district of West Bengal is basically an ethnic movement. On the contrary, the Jharkhand movement is purely a regional movement. Because Jharkhand movement is organized by the various ethnic groups for separate statehood. But the Gorkhaland movement is organized by a particular community or more clearly the Nepalese community living in Darjeeling. In this sense, the ethnic movement and the regional movement are not synonymous in character in the true sense of the term.

To be precise, Regionalism, in fact, is a parochial ethno-centrism. It is rather a movement of a Sub-nationality against a dominant nationality. It is often characterized 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 particularistic and exclusivist political movement having no broad based liberal and democratic elements. The Regional movement is also considered as the 'divisive trend detrimental to national unity'. In popular parlance, it is supposed to be a synonym of provincialism, which breeds localism, isolationism and separatism³.

It should be stated that 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 the basis of nationalist movement. It often fights against the oppressed forces of the chauvinist big nations. These types of anti-imperialist movements helped to develop and inculcate the democratic values among the nationalist forces of a nation.

In fact, the regional forces under imperialist rule acted as a cementing bond against the nation building. But after independence, these regional forces no longer remained united and tried to weaken the national unity by adopting parochial regional interest which has now become a major obstacle to the very basis of the Indian nation. It is because after independence, the regional forces become conscious of their social, political, economic interests and at the same time, these forces also become aware of their racial, linguistic and religious interests. This consciousness among a particular group leads to unite themselves against the dominant sections of the society. 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 pertinent to note that sometimes regionalism may also be regarded as the movement arising out of the identity crisis. In a multinational country, various nationalist groups interacting with each other to cope with the changing socio-political and economic situations. The dominant groups can easily adopt themselves with the changing environment of the society. But the minor groups have often suffered from a fear-psychosis. The fear psychosis is nothing but a possibility of intermingling with other dominant groups. So there arises a kind of

identity crisis among the minority sub-national groups. They began to protect and preserve their own language, culture, heritage, race, religion on the basis of their own way and understanding. This particular group specifies a particular area as their own and demanding autonomy for that purpose. So identity crisis may often lead to the creation of regional movements and the sentiment of regionalism in a country or at a particular region.

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 separatists movement in different parts of India in various forms. The whole India is now infected with regional upsurge of different kinds like geographical regionalism, linguistic regionalism, cultural regionalism, ethnic regionalism and so on.

It must be said that it is really difficult to provide an accepted definition of regionalism. However, some kind of separatist movements or upsurges in respect of geography, language, religion, culture, and ethnicity may be termed as regionalism. Sometimes regionalism is defined as a

demand for a separate state. Though such type of regionalism is often described as parochialism which is leading to the idea of national disintegration. As a result of such provincialism, the present state formation process is going on. No one can deny the fact that after independence, there were only 15 States and 11 Union Territories but at present, there are 28 States and 6 Union Territories. Therefore, the process of state formation of Indian states is going on. In this process of state formation, various factors are responsible. Among them, regionalism is also considered as one of the vital factors in this process. Of the society.

It is seen that from the very inception, it has been found that India is a country of many languages, religion, ethnicity, culture and geographical variations. That is why India is called as the multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. The multi-culturalism is the very basis of the Indian nation. India maintains its national unity in diversity. The diverse character of Indian nationality is often disturbed by various types of local sentiments arising out of diverse kinds of national deprivations. These deprivations are mainly economic under development, unemployment problems of local youth, uneven regional development, exploitation of State by the Centre, over taxation of the state etc. These deprivations among the local people gradually lead to a separatist sentiment, which is ultimately manifested as regional

movement. It is therefore clear that the regional movement in India is not simply arising because of regional imbalances; it is rather arising out of various reasons. Some scholars, however, have opined that the roots of present day regionalism in India in different forms are mainly due to the British rulers who occupied and ruled over the Country for more than 200 years. The imperialist ruler had united India under one administrative system to achieve their colonial purpose.

As it is seen that the present state of regionalism in India is rather a threat to the national unity. India is now infected with regional upsurge in its various manifestations. In the North-Eastern part of the country, there are Mizo and Naga militants who are demanding separate state on regional lines. NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland) and NAGALIM etc. are also demanding separate state for Nagas. In Assam, there are various separatists groups now operating for separate statehood like AASU, AAGSP, and AGP etc. In Lower Assam, the ULFA militants are demanding sovereign state of Assam. Bodo Land is also demanded by the Boros. In West Bengal the GNLFF, the KPP, the Greater Cooch Behar etc. are also striving for separate statehood on the basis of language, economic deprivations etc. In Bihar, the Jharkhand State has already created on regional sentiments. In Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir etc. all states in the Indian Union are now

facing the problem of regionalism either from linguistic lines or from economic developmental prospects. In Gujarat and Maharashtra there is also regional movement in respect of the regional demands. Therefore, a kind of separatist movement is now common in all states in India.

An attempt has been made in to identify the root of regional movements in India with the help of the following points:

- (I) Regionalism - A Conceptual framework,
- (II) Concept of Regionalism in Pre-colonial India mainly under The Mughals,
- (III) Regionalism and the British Colonial Rule,
- (IV) Post-colonial state of Regionalism – A Legacy,
- (V) Manifestations of various Regional movements in India and their nature:

Regionalism in Pre-Colonial India

As we know that the Concept of regionalism is not new in India. From the very inception of the Indian society, it is found that the problem of regionalism was imbedded in the ancient and middle ages of our country. The contemporary rulers of this country became eminent on the basis of separate socio-cultural identity. The 'Puranas' are considered as

the important source of ancient Indian history. In these 'puranas' it is stated that there were different 'Janapadas' in ancient India. The geographical description of Indian Territory has been found in the 'Bayu Puranas'. In 'Bayu Puranas' it is described that ancient India was geographically divided into several large regions having 165 'Janapadas'. These 'Janapadas' were composed of different race, language, culture and heritage. Each 'Janapada' had separate geographical identity and specific boundary. Each 'Janapada' had distinct character of racial origin and socio-political, economic and linguistic differences. Historically, it is also found that there were constant struggles and battles among these 'Janapadas' for supremacy. As a result, a large number of 'Janapadas' gradually became 16 'Mahajanapadas' mainly in North India having different race, language, cultures and heritage. These 16 'Mahajanapadas' later on came under the direct rule of Kosala, Avanti, Vatsa and Magadha during the 6th century B.C. After a ceaseless struggle for supremacy among these four 'Mahajanapadas', Magadha gradually rose to power in North India under the dynasties of Harsyanka, Shaisunag and Nanda and Magadha emerged as a unitedly big empire in North India. But Chandragupta Mourya brought this empire of North India under the direct control of his kingdom with the help of Kautilya by overthrowing Dhanananda and became the first historic ruler in ancient India. After the Nanda dynasty, Mourya dynasty came to

power and the unification of different 'Mahajanapadas' tuned into a single country under the reign of Chandragupta Mourya.

Naturally, the diversity in language, race, and religion was common in Indian society from the very beginning. So the regionalism and the regional movements had its origin in the ancient Indian society. During the Mughal period, the Indian society was divided into several 'Suba' or Pradesh on the basis of similar language and socio-cultural affinities. This administrative structure on the basis of socio-cultural similarity have been discussed in detail by Abul Fajal in his 'Ayan-I-Akbari' and 'Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri'. From this standpoint, it is said that during the Mughal period, the regional division of India had been done on the basis of judging the socio-cultural togetherness among the people of that region. As a result, the instances of regional upsurge were not so prominent in the Mughal rule. Nevertheless, the regional movements had occurred even in the reign of Mughal rulers. It must be said that these regional movements had different character. Often, these movements were limited to a specific regional area and having racial and religious character. Apart from two or three instances, there was no such great regional upsurge during the Mughal period. Though there were the instances of religious turmoil in Mughal India between the Muslims and the Hindus. However, those types of turmoil may often be termed as the religious regionalism. But after the

downfall of the Mughal Empire, Indian Territory was captured by the imperialist British Rulers who ruled this country for more than 200 years to achieve their imperialist goal. During the British period, the Indian Territory was again reorganized by them on different administrative lines for a better administration.

The idea of Regionalism and the British Rule

There is no denying the fact that the British came to India basically as an imperialist ruler. Their ultimate purpose was to rule the country in order to achieve their commercial or business purpose. They, after occupying the whole territory of India, started to re-structure the country on the basis of administrative advantage. They did not consider the basic needs and aspirations of the Indian people. They adopted various policies to disintegrate India from within. They could understand that the Hindus and the Muslims are the two dominant religious groups in India. These two groups were to be separated on religious line otherwise their unity would be a threat to the British imperialism. That is why; they adopted the policy of 'divide and rule'. The colonial rulers adopted their own system of education, national market, development of transport and communication, trade and commerce without considering the needs and aspiration of the native Indians. As a result, there arose different types of

dissatisfaction among the Indians against the British rule. These 'awakened nationalities', wrote A.R.Desai, 'have also been developing their own languages, building up their own literatures, starting their own universities, creating their own national theatres and reviving their own cultures. Andhras, Maharashtrians, Karanatakis and some other nationalities have also established their own chamber of commerce'⁴.

Although British rule in India became able to unify the heterogeneous society into a single political entity but in fact, the diverse cultural set up could not be mingled together during the British regime. The Britishers adopted a strong administrative set up in order to rule the country. As a matter of fact, the Indian unity has apparently become successful under the British rule. In this context, **Boris I Kluyev** rightly pointed out that "British imperialism forcibly united India within its colonial empire and internally divided and separated it so deeply and so skillfully as no other forces in the history of the sub-continent could have done"⁵. Therefore, the British imperialist rulers followed such 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 etc.⁶. 'Thus the strained national relations exist in the country today', writes Khuyev, 'are, to a great extent, the result of the 'accumulation' by the population

of national sentiments and contradictions created during the British rule in India'⁷.

Since the British people exhibited the colonial character, the British were simply plundering the national wealth for the sake of the economic development of Great Britain. This plundering of wealth leads to uneven economic development in the Country. The British were mainly concerned about the development of the metropolises. As a result, the large sections of the Indian nationals became deprived and having no other alternative, they started to ventilate their anger and anguish against the British rule. The first of its type was the Espy Mutiny in 1857. Though it was a mutiny led by the Sepoys in the British army but it was rather a tip of an iceberg. The Indian society provided a moral booster to this Espy Mutiny. It was rather an organized effort to overthrow the British rule from India. That is why; some historians called it "the first struggle for national independence". Though the mutiny failed due to the unorganized effort of the sepoys but the British had taught a great lesson from that mutiny. The British tried to disintegrate the mutiny form within. So they tried to confine the Espy Mutiny to a specific geographical area simply because of the fear that the whole nation might be engulfed with the revolt. For these reasons, some historians describe the 1857 Espy Mutiny as the Pan-Indian

movement though it was manifested through the Sepoys in the British military segment.

After the Sepoy Mutiny, the British rule in India got a drastic change. The company's rule came to an end and Victorian regime started in India with the help of a Governor General. But the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 haunted the British rulers for the last 100 years. They started to identify the causes and consequences of the mutiny. From this mutiny, they taught a lesson, which made them to change the previous policy of ruling the country simply on imperialist line. They started to study the Indian society very intricately so that the total fabric of the society could be known to them. On the basis of that study, they initiated a social engineering in order to control the regional moments in different parts of the country. They described the regionalism and regional movements as religions fanaticism and always tried to confine the movement within specific areas so that they can easily control the movements within a short span of time.

On the basis of the social engineering, the British initiated a drastic change in the armed forces. They started to create caste-based army instead of race-based army. Before mutiny, it was found that indigenous army constituted the 80% of Hindus, Brahmins and Rajputs and 15% of

Musalmans. But after the mutiny, the British Government created the army regiment on the basis of caste and a clear cut distinction was made between each and every regiment. In case of social fabric, they used the terms like loyal Talukdars, faithful Gorkhas, and valiant Shiks etc. As a result, a new fillip was initiated by the British to instigate the regional movements in India.

It should be stated that the British could understand very well that Indian unity was a direct threat to their imperialist rule in India. That is why; they started ethnographic study since 1960 to study the Indian society and regional disparities. From this ethnographic study, they collected and gathered very important information about the Indian caste system. The ethnographic study helped them to know what regional group is hostile to another. In this way, they started to play a vicious game of instigating one regional group against the other. They also started census in order to have detailed information about the demographic elements of the country. With the help of this **census** report, they tried to find out the upward and downward social mobility among different caste groups. Such academic exercise made them able to continue the imperialist rule in this country in a stable manner. The purpose of all these exercises are nothing but to maneuver the imperialist rule in this country. They followed the binary contradictions between nationalism and imperialism. In order to

overcome such binary contradictions, they adopted the policy of coalition strategy within the multi-class coalitions. Therefore, during the British imperialist rule in this country, the British rulers undertook no favourable attitude so that India could become a uniform nation on the basis of race, language, caste, creed, culture and heritage. The ultimate purpose of the imperialist ruler was to divide the Indian society in such a way that could help the British to continue the exploitation of Indian mass in a longer period. No comprehensive and cohesive policy was found to be adopted by the British ruler to develop the Indian people socially, politically and economically. As a result, after the post colonial period various manifestations of regional movements had been visualized at the national level as well as at the state level. Now India is a country of many regional movements either on race, language, ethnicity, cultural and economic under developments etc.

The state of Post-Colonial Regionalism

From the foregoing discussion, it may easily be said that the post colonial state of regionalism is basically a colonial legacy because the process of regional disparities was consciously manipulated by the British imperialist rulers to divide the country inherently from within. After independence, the regional sentiment as it was created by British rose its

ugly heads over the secular forces of the Indian nation. First of this kind of movement was the demand for the reorganization of the Indian states on linguistic basis. There created "we" feeling among the Indian nation on the basis of linguistic affinity, which was invariably opposing the concept of "them". As a result, the seeds of dissension, detachment, alienation and separation among different linguistic communities arose at the national level. Not only that the language factor was intermingled with other factors like social, political, economic, religious and caste interests. So it created an enormous scope of regional movement and regional elements among the Indian nationalities. It is also a fact that in India there are 1652 spoken language out of which 24 have been given constitutional status and the other languages have potentiality of creating regional sentiments among the Indian nationalities.

However, after the attainment of independence, attempts have been made on the part of the Indian people to create linguistic provinces. The demand to set up linguistic provinces began in the first part of the 19th century. It had played a positive role during the British imperialist rule but it had become rather a disturbing one in the post colonial period. The demand for forming one language one state was no longer considered as the acceptable phenomenon for the unity of the country. In order to solve the problem of linguistic province, a commission was set up with justice

Dar as the chairman to examine the issue. The commission suggested, "the formation of provinces exclusively, or even mainly, on linguistic considerations is not in the larger interest of the Indian nations, and should not be taken in hand".⁸ The three member committee did not thought it important so far as the national unity was concerned. But the constant demand for reorganization of state on linguistic basis by Andhra Pradesh made the Government to form another committee which was known as the Linguistic Reorganization Committee in the year of 1953.

It should be pointed out that the Linguistic Reorganization Committee also accepted the linguistic principle and on the basis of the recommendation of the committee, the Indian federation was reorganized on a linguistic basis. However, the creation of linguistic states strengthened the hands of the regional bourgeoisie. They now began to establish close ties with the dominant linguistic, communal and caste groups in order to strengthen and consolidate their position in the field of decision-making and power politics at the provincial level. This resulted in a shift in the Country's political life from an all India to a regional orientation facilitating the growth of regionalization of Indian politics⁹.

Moreover, the establishment of a strong union with subsidiary federal features was also greatly responsible for the regional movements in the country. In the Constituent Assembly it was decided that in order to have strong union, it is necessary to centralize power at the hands of the center. That is why, though India is a federal country in structural sense but the word federation is nowhere written in the constitution. Instead it is stated that 'India, that is, Bharat shall be a union of states'. So India is not a federal state but a union of all states. The framers of the Constitution tried to make a strong union considering the possibility of disintegrating the country in different regions. It is also a fact that 70% of the taxes collected go to the hands of central Government and only 30% remains at the states. But the tragedy is that the states bear the 60% of the total expenditure in the country. It makes the states to be dependent on the Center in economic sphere. From this point of view, it is stated that the states are now going to be crippled with the economic burden on the one hand and the weakness of the states in the economic field has very ample scope to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. As a result, there has been an enormous scope of uneven economic development in the country, which ultimately leads to various types of regionalism or regional movements responsible to disintegrate the country in its national sphere as a whole.

However, the regional movements erupted in India in those states which had long -standing grievances related to unbalanced growth. Colonial economic development was greatly responsible for this because during the colonial period, the development was chiefly concentrated to the presidency towns and the rest of the country was suffering from utter poverty and less development owing to colonial policy of the British regime. The uneven development of capitalism had led to regional concentration of industrial development. The Hazare report on industrial planning and licensing policy, 1967, pointed out that most of the Marwari, Gujrati and Parsi investment was concentrated in the three states of Maharashtra, West Bengal and Madras¹⁰.

Apart from these, the role of the Finance Commission and Planning Commission is not worth mentioning so far as the uniform economic development throughout the country is concerned. The Finance Commission was appointed to reduce the regional economic inequalities considering the fund allocations to the states. The Planning Commission, enjoys more power than the Finance Commission, do not recommend the resource transfer from the Center to the States, which are striving for economic development. Moreover, the capitalist growth of development leads to the uneven economic growth among the states simply instigating the regional disparities in India.

Nature of Regional movements in India

It is evident that at present, India is pregnant with various regional upsurges and therefore, there are various manifestations of regional movements. From Gujrat to Arunachal Pradesh and from Jammu-Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, each and every state is now facing the problem of regionalism either as a direct threat or as an indirect threat. In Jammu and Kashmir, though National Conference Govt. assumed power but the All Party Huriat Conference and other extremist groups have been demanding self-rule and self-government in Kashmir. So, in Kashmir the regional movement is in a very ugly state of affairs.

The situation in the North-Eastern States is so explosive that any kind of turmoil may emerge at any moment. The Nagas, Mizos, Khasis, Garos and other tribal people living in these regions, are demanding separate states on the basis of their distinct identity. In Assam, the All Assam Students Union (AASU), All Assam Sangram Parisad (AAGSP), Assam Gana Parisad, (AGP), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), etc., all of them are demanding either self-rule or autonomy or special privileges for their upliftment. Sometime these forces become so volatile that there happens a colossal loss of lives and government property.

In West Bengal, the GNLf, the KPP, the Greater Cooch Behar Movements are so prominent that there is every possibility to disrupt the peace and tranquility of the state at any moment. The KLO has made a link with the ULFA in Assam and started various disruptive and sabotage to disturb the normal life of the state. Their demands are also self-rule, separate state, economic development, linguistic status, inclusion of their region in the Sixth Schedule etc.

Not only that there are various other 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. Tamil Nadu, Andhrapradesh, Gujrat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab are also facing the problems of regional movements on the same lines. So it has been found that the regional problems are now a major problem of India. In fact, there is also no other alternative to solve the problem simply on administrative lines. Some experts have opined that these regional movements are nothing but the formation of states on racial, linguistic and cultural lines. It is also true that the nation-building process is still going on in India. In this nation-building process, the states are still reorganizing themselves in their own ways. Probably, the way is the one language one state syndrome.

However, it is also true that during the present state of reorganization of state or state formation process the unity and integrity of the country has the possibility to be disturbed but peculiarly it is also found that these regions, though demanded for self rule and autonomy, but they are not demanding to disintegrate themselves from the Indian union. Except some two or three cases, all regional movements in India are mainly concerned with the demands of self rule, autonomy, more economic powers, economic dependency, and special provisions for economic upliftment, reservation policy, and inclusion of the state in the Sixth Schedule etc. From this point of view, it may be estimated that this regional movements is rather a mono-cultural, mono-racial, mono-ethnic movements. So the multi-cultural essence of the country is going to be gradually tarnishing its image due to intolerance among the Indian people. The unity in diversity is also very much endangered by such regional upsurge. But the essence of the country's unity and integrity should be maintained only through the principle of multi-culturalism. But development of mono-culturalism, mono-lingualism, will definitely disturb the national sentiment of the country and it will pave the way for the foreign forces to disintegrate India from its territorial background.

It may be stated that regionalism in India, is a Colonial legacy of the British imperialist rulers who did not consider it necessary to uproot the

problem as it was favouring them to continue their rule in this country for a longer period. The British imperialist rulers rather instigated the problem of regionalism in such a way that one region could become antagonistic against the other regional groups. They did not think it necessary to give emphasis on the parallel economic growth of the country. They are mainly concerned with the economic growth of the presidential towns and exploited the country to furnish the economic development of Great Britain. Dadabhai Naoroji's 'Un-British Rule in India' and R. C. Dutt's 'Economic History of Bengal' exposed the economic character of British rule in India.

Dadabhai Naoroji's famous 'drain theory' described the British colonial administration as the great drain through which resources of India are transferred to Britain. Later, Jawaharlal Nehru in his 'Discovery of India' also stated that it was India which financed the Industrial Revolution in England. It was possible to provide capital necessary for industrial revolution by extracting surplus from India by economic administration and military means. G. Myrdal also admits that unfavourable conditions and under development in India, at present, is a result of onslaught of modernization from outside which integrated Indian economy into world capitalist economy¹¹. So the ultimate purpose of the British imperialist

rulers was to plunder the national wealth which leads to many problems among the masses of India.

After Independence, these regional imbalances through out India, was visualized in such a way that the present government is now unable to cope with the problem of regionalism. The manifestation of various Regional Movements in this country is mainly due to the uneven economic growth and development. This unbalanced economic growth inspired the people of a deprived region to assemble themselves on racial, linguistic, territorial, cultural lines. Apart from these, the Constitution makers did not pay due attention to consider the demands of the regional values and aspirations of the people for the sake of creating a strong central Government. As a result, the spurt of Regional Movement is gaining momentum day by day.

Moreover, the rise of the regional elite on the national scene aspiring for regional development, also leads to the development of regional movements. These regional elites, after being exploited for many years, find it important to form regional political parties to achieve the regional demands and aspirations of the people. The problem of regionalism in India is rather manifested in the later part of the 70s and 80s after the collapse of the one party dominance of the Congress and the

adoption of Coalition politics of many regional parties at the centre and some of the states in India. At present, the coalition politics is the only way to run the Central as well as State Governments. The rise of the Coalition Politics is definitely an indication of the dominant character of the regional political parties in different states of India.

On the other hand, the Capitalist way of development is another reason of regional imbalances leading to regional movements. The Indian Capitalists or ruling elites did not consider the national sentiments among the Indian people rather they concentrated chiefly on selected areas which also lead to uneven regional growth and imbalances suitable for regional movements in India.

Moreover, the role of the Finance Commission and Planning Commission is never worth mentioning viewing the fact that these two Commissions are not playing the positive role to reduce the regional disparities. The recommendation of the two Commissions are not favourable for States who are striving for economic development, rather their intentions were to strengthen the Central Government and the conditions of weak states remain same as before in spite of the liberal fund allocation policy adopted by the Central Government. So regionalism and regional upsurge is inherent in the Indian polity.

The word "Politics" has attracted attention of many theoreticians and other common people of different walks of life. Broadly speaking the term "Politics" denotes the existence of two other concepts like people and society. Politics can operate properly if there is a proper harmony among these three factors. It is true that with the changes in society, attitudes, values, norms or beliefs of individuals may undergo changes. It may also vary from society to society depending upon their location or value preference. But whatever may be the nature of variation the relations among the three are determined and controlled by the harmonious interactions. All actors within this pattern pay attention to the potentialities of these elements.

To be precise, Politics can be said a mechanism of achieving power, controlling it and manipulating the social relations in which they are expressed. Some of the forces may operate on the surface while others may not be visited. But whatever may be its nature, politics from the operational point of view should be looked upon as a process which influences the interaction of different factors in the society at large.

If we make a closer analysis of the nature of this problem will establish the fact that there has been a shift of emphasis in analyzing the nature of Indian Politics which again is the result of “a growing skepticism of the cultural assumptions on which the earlier models of development, economic growth and modernization were based.”¹ It has been very correctly observed that the debate is no longer narrowly political but ‘affects broader issues of identity and high politics of the state’.² In place of an emphasis on economic development or developmental paradigm, there has been a definite tilt towards ethnic or regional appeal, thereby changing the entire perception of politics or political exercise in the society in general.

A closer look to the concept of politics in India, it may be said that these changes are quite obvious and clear-cut. The first two decades after independence had witnessed a clear bias towards developmental and modernization process.

This was mainly due to the very nature of the infant state and the task the State had to accomplish. It is interesting to note that the scholars particularly

Indian Scholars, who were engaged in analyzing the role of the Indian State in the developmental affairs at the initial stage expressed hopes about

the role of the state in this process. But subsequent developments – both political and social (including economic) have established the fact that the desired objectives could not be achieved through the State itself. Moreover, in difficult situations, the Indian State began to assume a character which was not expected at all.

Attempt has been made to find out roots of the problems associated with regionalism. On a very careful examination, it appears that, on a social plane, there are many contradictions and these contradictions were responsible for creating cracks in the body politic. This phenomenon has further been aggravated by sharp disparities in the development process since independence. It may not be out of place here when one mentions that “Independent India, with its five year plans, its industrialization, its practice of democracy, has invested in change. There always was a contradiction between the archaism of national pride and the promise of the new: and the contradiction has at last cracked the civilization open. The turbulence in India this time has not come from foreign invasion or conquest; it has been generated from within. The crisis in India is not only political or economic.

” It is an all pervasive problem of the entire society. Due to this reason the basic problem of regionalism should be traced in the broader perspective society, economy and polity. It will be too simplistic to say that regionalism or

for that matter, regional demands are the results of mal-development on the economic front. It may be one of the causes, but cannot be treated as the only cause. There are other issues involved in it and these are so mutually independent and overlapping in nature that no clear cut compartmentalization is possible.

In fact, such an attempt might prove to be futile as there is no clear cut conclusion in this regard. It can be said that this is the crux of the entire problem – the problem of situating the issue of regionalism in the proper perspective. In Indian case, it appears that no straight Jacket formula can be applied or even if, applied, it would not be possible to arrive at any meaningful conclusion or any perfect decision in this regard.

In this connection we can make a brief reference to the western perceptions of Indian Politics may be mentioned. At least three problems arise out of the so-called 'western' perception of Indian Politics. In the first place, the very term 'Western' gives rise to a number of problems because even the Western

Scholars are not of the same opinion regarding the use of the term. Secondly, the nature of discourses in the western world is so varied and diverse that a simple categorization of them becomes almost difficult. Most of the scholars have tried to explain a particular issue from his or her own

perception, ideological preference or attitude towards the issue. The third and the most important problem arise out of the fast changing scenario and essential dynamism of the political problem. In other words, any discussion on the nature of political process should not only be culture-specific but also time-specific. In this context, a comparison between the working of the western democracies and the Indian democracy in general terms would be misleading because of historical, contextual, political or economic variations among different democratic systems of the world. In the Indian context, 'the contradictions between democracy and secularism on the one hand, and mass participation and order on the other, did not reveal themselves during the early years of independence.⁴ This was due to two factors namely the leadership of Nehru and others and the presence of the Indian National Congress as 'an intermediary that transposed itself between a traditional society and the modern State.'⁵

As a result, these contradictions within the Political Process since independence have passed serious threats before the Indian Polity in so far as its modernization and developmental effort were concerned. This problem has been conceptualized as a 'Stalemated modernisation' by Myron Weiner. In his own words:

“Since 1966, in all fields other than agriculture, India’s attempts to modernize had been stalemated. Even the dramatic strides that India made in the late 1960s in agriculture had been halted... Through 1974 and early 1975, there were reports from all over India reflecting the disarray in the economy. Six and a half million tribals in Bihar were said to be near starvation in late 1974.... Political and Social tensions were mounting.... Among both Indian and Western observers there was (and continued to be) a sense of foreboding : India could either move in the direction of a major political transformation....or alternatively, slide steadily into greater corruption, disorder and some form of ‘war lordism’, decentralized units of authority that resist central control”.⁶

It would be pertinent to point out that the contradiction became acute during 1970s and more precisely, during the days of political turmoil that led to the declaration of Emergency. In the opinion of some observers, though short-lived, the Emergency could provide some kind of ‘enduring’ character to some of its ‘draconian’ measures⁷. But the contradictions persisted even after the return of Mrs.Indira Gandhi in 1980. The politics of the 1980s can be said to have been dominated by religion, communal and caste- conflict and attempts to regional groups to establish their authority within their specified areas. It was in fact a battle for its mission to establish the control mechanism. It is known to all that contemporary Indian politics has been witnessing a

number of social and political movements, some of them demanding greater autonomy, while some other demanding greater assertion of regional or local identity. As a result of this social demand, the political system has been faced with serious problem – the problem of the survival of the system itself. The system is infested with multi various social, political and other problems.

It may be said that there are many forces and compulsions behind the assertion of regional identity which often lead to regionalization of politics. Although most of the issues centre round the political dimension, its manifestations are different and this difference varies with varying degrees depending on local issues which are in some places peculiar in character.

For this reason it is very difficult to formulate a uniform pattern behind the assertion of regional identity. The problem gets all the more complicated with the inclusion of other related issues like ethnicity and religious exclusiveness. At certain points the manifestations of these two factors become so hazy – that a clearline of demarcation between these two become next to impossible. It may be said that it is important in a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic society like India. It is perhaps because of this that the post-independent political scenario in India has become so complex and delicate. Scholars are offering various explanations behind this complex nature of the Indian political process. Of course, none of them are conclusive

in this regard. It is pertinent at this point to note that regionalism, or for that matter regional tendencies may arise out of many factors.

Generally speaking, a society of India's magnitude has been divided into a number of castes, sub-castes, sects and sub-sects. Geographically stated there is heavy concentration of some ethnic or religious or linguistic groups in some parts of the country while in other parts there are cases of least concentration. This wide variation in the distribution of population has been one of the causes of social tension within the fabric of the Indian polity at large.

This aspect can be analysed as follows:

- (a) Linguistic Regionalism
- (b) Demand for Creation of New States
- (c) Demand for State Autonomy
- (d) Demand for Intra-Regional Autonomy within the States
- (e) Secessionist Movement and
- (f) Sons of the Soil Theory.

If we make a perfect analysis of the Indian political scenario in the proper perspective, it will reveal a trend of regional demand which appears along the line of linguistic demand. Demand for recognition arises from a

feeling of one language being dominated by the language of a dominant group. a situation may emerge where a case of secession may take place. Whether it is morally acceptable or physically practicable depends to a large extent, on a number of objective conditions.

These conditions may be of the following nature:

- (a) The group which wants to secede is not sufficiently large to assume the basic responsibilities of an independent state
- (b) It is not prepared to permit sub-groups within itself to secede although such secession is morally and practically possible
- (c) It wants to exploit or oppress a sub-group within itself which cannot secede in turn because of territorial dispersal or other reasons
- (d) It occupies an area not on the borders of the existing state so that secession would create an enclave
- (e) It occupies an area which culturally, economically or militarily essential to the existing state. It occupies an area which has a disproportionately
- (f) high share of the economic resources of the existing
- (g) state.

The problem has been sought to be analysed from another perspective also. It is a common belief among the people of the Third World countries that

there has been a total failure of the conventional models of development and many negative consequences have occurred as a result of these failures. This has created a 'negative' feeling among those people living at the peripheries which in turn, have given birth to regional demands. These demands get channelised through concerted social movements for greater autonomy and greater share in the development process. In this framework, a total integration is sought between democracy and development – a positive synthesis of ideas with praxis thereby, putting right weight ages to culture, values democracy and participation. The variety and richness of the cultural and socio-political context in which these movements and demands are emerging need to be analysed in depth. Although some form of generalization and possible but these vary at great length with the variation of the objective conditions. In order to understand the nature and impact of these movements, these are to be placed in the right perspective – perspective of regional disparities and diversities. Two factors demand closer scrutiny: first, the nature and extent of social change and its impact on the popular mind; second, the objective framework, the goal, the target group and the results achieved – all need to be analysed in the overall social, economic, political, intellectual and other imperative conditions.

Closely following this, comes another important issue – the problem of growth and human development. At least three aspects of the development process need to be looked into:

- (a) redistribution of social Justice,
- (b) widening the base of popular participation, and
- c) a continuous process of development activities more or less on equal basis.

In other words, for an all-round development, human resources along with other locally available resources should be extensively exploited. Recent studies on this phenomenon have shown that absence of proper attention to and simultaneous utilization of these forces may lead to uneven development and dissatisfaction which, in turn, may give birth to regional demands for greater social Justice, economic development and popular participation.¹⁶

This discussion leads one to examine the nature and extent of people's response since regional demands or for that matter regionalism may be looked upon as something like a concerted move towards a rejection of situation, either created or emerged out of mal-development. It is seen that people of late, are not prepared to accept exploitative or repressive political systems. It is equally true that in more of the cases, people are not willing to capture state power but they want to have greater 'say in the use of state-

power. Regional demands or for that matter regionalism as expressed through concerted people's movements may arise spontaneously or be initiated and multiplied by sensitive external or local agents for change.¹⁷ In states where there are wide contradictions crises in legitimacy and roots of instability, regional demands find it easy to get crystallized and articulated.¹⁸ The weak state-power may be the cause¹² as well as the result of regional disparities which ultimately serve as the basis of regionalism.¹⁹ It has been very correctly observed: "A well-articulated and coherent people-oriented strategy, even if pluralistic and rudimentary in theory, would be a progressive response to the new compulsions for social change and the crisis" that affect the very foundation of the political order.²⁰ Such a strategy should, it is observed recognize the contradictions and diversities of local regions while devising a long-term process of social change.² In recent years, it has been observed that lack of adequate attention to local needs has given birth to a number of local demands, often regard as the seed-bed of regionalism. In many cases, the manifestation of people's dissatisfaction has taken the shape of people's movements. These are generally led by charismatic leader, often take the form of protest movements, demanding greater power and autonomy for the region under question. Very often, these issue though the basic fabric of the cultural aspect of the society. It has been seen that in a number of cases a movement based on cultural considerations at the initial phase often turns

into an economic or political movement at a particular region. These issues are so much overlapping in nature that it becomes difficult to separate them in very clear terms. The task becomes more complex "because of both historical contradictions that have existed in these societies and the distortions in the mode of production, community spirit and consensus-making that set in as colonialism, modernization, industrialization, westernization and other external interventions and penetrations occurred."

²² Here comes another dimension of the problem: the problem of understanding people's responses in the over-all context of state-actions. In the event of failure to measure this, there might be a total "social collapse" very often preceded by sharp contradictions and bloody conflicts. In such cases minor adjustments or alternations at the structural or functional level of the political system may be insufficient and inadequate to solve the problem. In fact, the entire problem is to be viewed from a broader perspective, taking all related issues into consideration. A single protest movement may be insufficient to reverse the complex process of the past. There should be attempts to attain both qualitative and quantitative changes along the desired lines. At this point, the emerging theories of social change, may it be revolutionary radical, reformist or evolutionary should be applied after proper assessment of the situation and the nature of the demands of the particular region.

The need is to identify, analyse and establish linkage between macro-political movements and the micro-development experiments based on a coherent theoretical framework. The answers to this problem may be of two types: First, instead of specialized, single issue-oriented approach should be given up and instead, a broad-based comprehensive approach may be adopted at the initial phase; second, it is necessary to identify the emerging ideological elements in the context of general regional demands.²³ This brings to the fore the very crucial issue of the changing nature of the state. With the expansion of new horizons, newer and newer dimensions of state-activities have been taken over by the state. The multiple dimensions of state activity vis-à-vis its relationship with the civil-society have highlighted a number of inter-related issues and demanded greater coordination among them. In some cases, conflicts do take place between the old social order and the new political initiatives, even at the micro level of regional dimension.

There is a general feeling that most of the regional movements are anti-system movements. But this may not turn out to be in all cases. There may be regional movements which may have their direct impact on the day-to-day functioning of the system, instead of total replacement of the system as such.

These regional movements are organized and directed to challenge the general functioning of the state apparatus.

Side by side, there may be other types of regional movements which are launched with the primary aim of overthrowing the present system by establishing a new political order. In fact, these may even challenge the very 'centre of state power.

That is why, it is generally believed that in any discussion of regional movements in India, the role and position of the state would definitely draw on the attention of the researcher. The very nature of the state reveals a good number of features which are mostly found in liberal (bourgeois) state. There is a strong belief that India since independence has been following what is known as the capitalist path of development. The explanation from the point of view historical perspective also demands through investigation. Immediately, after independence, the native bourgeoisie has been forced to come "to terms with pre-capitalist social and political forces in order to establish its domination." ²⁴

An interesting point deserves special mentioning in the study of regional demands in India. Because of its long association with the British imperialist power and its role as a subsidiary agency of the British bourgeoisie in the pre-independent period, the Indian bourgeoisie could gather the first

hand experience about the role it would be expected to play in the independent political scenario. They experienced the same kind of 'participatory role' and gathered the capability of manipulating the situation in crisis. In spite of this, "the path of capitalist development pursued since independence, the inherent compromising and anti-people class policies of the bourgeoisie, the attempts by the Congress Party at centralization and perpetration of its rule by all undemocratic means, has, from the very beginning brought stresses and strains on the unity and integrity of the country."²⁵

This is perhaps for this reason that observers of Indian politics differ sharply in their explanations of the Phenomenon. There is a strong belief that most of the stresses arising out of regionalism are very much 'internal' in nature. Of course, it does not rule out the possibility of the existence and operation of external factors altogether. Here lies the difference between the courses of politics in India and those found in other newly liberated states of Asia and Africa. This peculiar combination of forces, mostly internal, has forced the political system to strike, what is known as "equilibrium of compromises"- Compromises among a number of set of contending forces, rural-urban, ruling elite and the mass, nationalism and sub-nationalism, secular demands and communal preferences and the like. The foregoing discussion conclusively proves that in India regionalism and for that matter

regional demands are multifaceted affair. The course of developmental processes the nature of politics, the role of the state and the imperative need for stability without destroying the regional diversities – all these have made the phenomenon a complex and delicate one.

1.4 IMPACT OF REGIONALISM

Regionalism as a phenomenon has been playing a crucial role in the contemporary political process of India. This has influenced the concepts like federalism, autonomy and decentralization. Theoretically speaking, it is generally believed that regionalism or regional sentiments strengthen the scope of regional politics, thereby widening the scope of state politics. It is not always correct to say that regionalism and regional politics tend to sustain each other.

There may be cases of supra-state regionalism wherein the concept of regionalism crosses the boundary of the state. The best example of such a case is the reorganization of the state on linguistic basis. Only after the reorganization, some form of demands for further separation of state generated.

It may also be seen that in a particular sub-state region a sentiment is generated for the purpose of further split into some small regions. This split identity may help in making a strong case for a proposed state. The

case for Jharkhand state is a good example for such a split-identity. In fact it becomes difficult to make a broad theorization for such a case.

Moreover, there may be case when regionalism mixes with state boundaries, thereby creating a sense of state-patriotism. This may be seen when linguistic sub-nationality asserts itself or where there is some kind of a feeling generated out of specific history. In this category, there may be cases where a feeling is created by the domination of a linguistically strong group of people over a small group. The case of Assam may be cited in this respect. A strong feeling is there that Assamese identity is under threat from the linguistically dominant group of the neighbouring state.

This sentiment creates a situation where there may be agitation for mobilization for linguistic state. In fact this may, in the long run, call for a total revision of centre-state relations. Not only that, contemporary India has witnessed a new trend in this regard. There are cases of articulations of grievances on communal lines, or on caste basis or on ethnic grounds. The case of Jammu and Kashmir is an example where regionalism took the course of communal lines. The incidents in Andhra Pradesh or Maharashtra offer examples of caste basis of regionalism. That regionalism can take the form of ethnic movement may be found in the nature and course of agitations in the entire North-East.

The uneven development across the land has given birth to a concept known as “internal colony”. Movements in these regions are often directed against a section of population within that region who are politically and economically dominant. Even on some sentimental issues such as “self-respect” may create sense of regionalism or regional feelings. The creation of the Telegu Desam by N.T.Rama Rao was based on this sentiment of self respect. The same feeling may be found in some regions of Orissa.

Thus one may conclude that the roots of regionalism in the Indian context are many and varied. The arguments for regionalism are based on either perception or reality. Even the idea of relative deprivation has been helpful in some cases. In some cases it is the result of a combination of two or more factors. It is interesting to note that some years back Lok Dal in Haryana called for a separate state on the basis of what they called “Nyaya Yudha”. In a similar way the Akalis in Punjab fought what they called “Dharma Yudha”. In fact, some justifications were provided by the agitators for establishing their call for a separate region with separate identity supported by a separate politico-economic foundation.

In the opinion of Paul R.Brass, the style of functioning of the Congress Party during the 1980s was heavily determined by and depended

on local leaders in matters of distribution of party tickets.¹ This was clearly evident in the distribution of Party tickets in Uttar Pradesh. It is interesting to note that there was a tendency in the Congress Policy to make a national issue out of local issues like atrocities on Harijans in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This has resulted in a process where the Central leadership tries to establish direct contact with the local leaders, sometimes neglecting the role of the state leadership in the process of negotiation. This has, in the long run, helped in a greater way in the formation and emergence of regional parties. It may not be out of place here, to mention that Chief Minister T. Anjish's removal from the Andhra Pradesh by Mrs. Gandhi helped in a way to form the N.T.R.'s Telegu Desam Party.

The role of National issues in the General Elections needs to be analysed in greater details. It is generally admitted that in a General Election, national issues determine the nature and course of the electoral politics. Slogans like 'Garibi Hatao' or 'Freedom and Civil liberties' influence the electoral politics of 1971 and 1977 respectively. Even issues like Ram Janmabhumi and Babri Masjid also influence the electoral process. Current issues on scams have already influenced the nature of political process in the country.

Side by side the regional parties also capitalise certain issues of national character which have their profound impact on state politics. It may be pointed out that 1988 Tamil Nadu election was fought on the issue of Hindi vs. Non-Hindi in the state. The same may be found in Andhra Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. In Punjab Akalis and in Assam the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) mainly works on regional lines with some regional issues. At some points these two trends – national and regional meet on certain national problems.

There is a section of opinion that the study of regionalism is helpful in understanding the nature of state politics. But that may not be true in all cases. So far as Indian Politics is concerned, sometimes the national and sometimes the very local issues play significant role. But in Indian case there is another dimension which should not be overlooked or ignored. This is the 'zonal' aspect of political process which comes very close to the nature of state politics. Each zone has specific problems of its own. Although there are wide variations in the policy formulation and policy implementation of the states in the South zone or in the North East, but there is a uniformity of goals among the states in these zones. One may also add the role of the Hindi Zone and the dominating role it played during the first three decades of national politics. In this connection, it may

be pointed out that more than 40% of the total population lives in this Hindi heart land. The issue here is mostly linguistic in nature.

Apart from the linguistic issue there are other issue like cultural domination, identity crisis, relative deprivation and the like play important role in creating a sense of regionalism in the country.

It has been suggested that any study of regionalism should be based along the following points ²:

- (a) The phenomenon of regionalism does not necessarily help the process of consolidation of politics at the state level unless coinciding with state boundaries and accompanied by some strong perception of ethnic injustice;
- (b) The regional parties do not necessarily lose or gain with the weakening or strengthening of the Congress Party and the raising of national or regional issues in Indian politics;
- (c) A middle tier of "Zonal" politics will facilitate the study of state politics by making it more rational and comprehensive

The nature of politics that is created because of interactions between regionalism and the course of political developments in India is characterized by extreme complexity. The experience after independence during the last five decades has shown that the process of nation-building

continues to face challenges from the manifestations of regionalism. In fact, Indian state is caught between the two opposite forces of integration and disintegration. All those concerned with policy framing, integration has become the most important factor challenging the process of development. This has been summed up by Rajni Kothari when he observes that integration demands "the crystallization and consolidation of a political Centre, its outward expansion, its institutionalization, and its assimilation of diverse identities and structures into a national political community...."³

Although the term regionalism is of comparatively recent origin, it has penetrated deeply into the political process of contemporary India. In this connection, it has been very correctly observed " "whatever the context of parameter, 'region' may be said to connote an area, at least sufficiently large in size, which is differentiated and/or distinguishable from others by a variety of factors (or at least a combination of them) such as language, culture, religion or caste/creed, socio-economic life, political background, historical background, geographical continuity, and, certainly, group consciousness and of being neglected, deprived and/or discriminated by the 'majority' and/or those in authority."⁴ In a general way regionalism may be regarded as a counter movement to any excessive form of centralization. Although there is a disagreement about the actual

criteria for determining a region in India, it has been observed that on the basis of at least ten criteria, a region can be recognized. In the opinion of Rasheeduddin Khan, "maximum homogeneity within and maximum identity without where homogeneities are to be established on ten counts : (1) language dialect, (2) social composition (communities/Jatis), (3) ethnic regions, (4) demographic features, (5) area (geographic contiguity), (6) cultural pattern, (7) economy and economic life, (8) historical antecedents, (9) political backgrounds, (10) Psychological make up and felt consciousness of group identity. The main concern in this exercise is to eliminate factors contributing to heterogeneity and to coalesce factors promoting homogeneity."⁵

In India post independent political process has witnessed three important forms of regionalism, mainly supra-state regionalism, inter-state regionalism and intra-state regionalism.⁶ As has been noticed earlier that supra-state regionalism is an expression of group identity of several states which form a group on the basis of some common issues of mutual interest. The language issue which has divided the entire nation into south and north is the best example. The case of intra-state regionalism may arise over the question of self-identity or self-development resulting from such issues like deprivation or exploitation. Although the constitution of India has given adequate safeguard against discrimination on the basis of

language and culture, the evils of regionalism resulting from such sentiments could not be avoided.

Demands for safe-guarding regional interests have exerted tremendous impact on the federal governance of India. The roots for such a change can be traced in the results of the Fourth General Elections in 1967 which brought about a new power configuration at the state level for the first time. It may be recalled that after the 1967 elections, out of the Seventeen States, non-Congress governments were installed in eight states. Not only that in all these eight states, the parties which came to power had a regional base. Naturally these regional parties stood for regional interests. A series of steps taken either by the Committees set up for restructuring the centre-state relations or by memorandums submitted by different state governments were directed at some acceptable solutions of regional problems.

Regionalism, thus viewed, has resulted in inter-state rivalry and competition under the federal structure. With regard to the inter-state river dispute, the issues of regionalism came to the forefront. In a direct or an indirect way, "each state government ships up regionalism as such sentiment strengthens its bargaining position with the centre and its local political influence." ⁷ Side by side militant movements of the "Sons of the

Soil" against outsiders have emerged in some states, notably in Maharashtra and Assam. The Post-1972 regional movements in these areas are primarily directed against the migrants from the Indian States and outside. These have given regionalism a new meaning and shape. The Sons of the Soil movement, "becomes politically disintegrative in so far as it fosters local at the expense of nation-wide loyalties, undermines national cohesiveness by erecting internal social and economic barriers, and ultimately, produces a cycle of retaliatory exclusions that may fragment the nation-state."⁸

The sources and causes of regionalism can be found in the concept itself. In a vast country like India with cultural and linguistic diversities, regional demands seem to be a natural outcome. Over emphasis on regional exclusiveness has provided supporting ground for regional parties and regional leaders. Historically speaking India inherited a shattered economy as a legacy of the British Colonial rule. Uneven economic development has created imbalances between states, regions and sub-regions. The big state can surface social, economic and political tensions in a number of ways. But the cases of the small states are totally different. A small agitation even in a smaller part can create serious problem for the governance of the state. Whatever may be the nature of the manifestation, it is generally agreed that economic backwardness of

underdeveloped regions may act as an immediate cause for regionalism. Thus from the economic angle, "regionalism as the outcome of some real or perceived sense of internal colonialism, the result of mal-development of asymmetrical development. Regionalism is the response of unequal sharing of benefits of developmental activity."⁹

So far as the political process in India is concerned the Congress Party with its monolithic character played a very important role during the formative period after independence. At the same time, the frequent changes of leadership in the Congress – ruled states created a sense of frustration among the party leaders at the state level. It had its impact on the general feeling of the people in those states. A sense of anti-centre feeling was generated, out of which a feeling for the region grew. So in an indirect way any change in the Congress leadership at the state level acted as a cause for generating regional feeling. It has been pointed out that the party in power at the centre should not follow a biased course or policy while giving attention to the particular problem confronting a state or a region. This is in fact a pre-condition for the successful working of a federal government. Inadequate attention to the regional problems may allow the regional parties to come forward with their regional demands. Here comes the role of the political elites or the governing elites. This class because of their very nature seeks to hold power and exercise it for their own benefit

without paying least attention to the regional demands or to the protection of regional interests.

Any study of regionalism in the Indian context calls for a study of the implications of political development in India. The concept, political development can be understood with reference to three dominant features of the concept. These are (a) an attitude towards equality; (b) the capacity of a political system; and (c) differentiation and specialization of structures. The Indian model of nation-building seeks to attain unit, democracy, development, Justice, and autonomy. But regionalism in its extreme form appears to be disintegrative in nature. At the same time it should be noted that regionalism is the product of the pluralistic and diversified society. Historically speaking, political federation has been practiced in India since 1935 and theoretically speaking, federation is a compromise between nationalism and regionalism. It has been observed that "political monolithism is against the genius of Indian polity: therefore, a large degree of regional autonomy may be the minimum price required for the integrity of India." ¹⁰ Compared to many developing nations, India has achieved a certain level of national integration which acts as a binding force in India.

Not only that India's political structure allows democratic participation of the people in the governance of the country. Being an open society, India permits free expression of popular will in the formation of the government. From that perspective regionalism can act positively for the fulfillment of the aspiration of the people of a particular part of the country. Seen in this perspective regionalism cannot go against the federal structure of the country.

But the experience in India on this issue has been otherwise. The net result of uneven development has created a situation of wider dimension which is generally called "a maldevelopment syndrome."¹¹

Closely following this comes the question of capacity of the political system in executing effectively the public policies. The issue of performance or non-performance is directly related to the problem of equitable distribution of goods and services to the common people. That the Indian nation suffers from "distribution crisis" is evident from the nature and extent of regional imbalances that exists even today. This has, in a greater way effected the attainment of justice and equality. In other words, regional demands and movements can be explained in terms of certain actions for implementation of distributive justice among the people and regions which remain neglected and exploited. The attempts to solve

this problem by creating smaller states have proved counter productive in many cases. Thus it is seen, regionalism in India is a multi-faceted problem. It is connected with many other aspects which are not only political but also social, economic and cultural in nature. This has led Kothari to remark "it is necessary that those in command of the framework – the 'class' – act with commitment to the people and to the binding nexus that can hold them together. This is the test of the present and the emerging generations of the Indian leadership. In the final analysis it is also the test of the Indian people." ¹²

Any discussion regarding regionalism or regional movements leads to one central point; the conflict between autonomy and concentration of power. In other words it may be called a conflict between two opposite forces of centralization and decentralization. The working of India's democracy over the last four decades indicates that the civil liberties of the people get endangered when there is excessive concentration of state power. The brief spell of national emergency during Mrs. Gandhi's regime is a good pointer in this regard. In fact, the issue of emergency should not be viewed in isolation – rather it was the result of many factors, the constitutional factor being the immediate one.

There is a section of opinion that the autonomy at the state level may destroy the very foundation of the federal system in India. It is true that because of a number of constitutional provisions, the central government has become more powerful. But at the same time there are other areas where the constitution seeks to maintain a balance between these two sets of governments. In most of the cases, this dimension of achieving a balance has been neglected.

Going beyond the formal constitutional-legal aspect of the issue, a look into the social formation in India will be of much help in understanding the complex phenomenon of centralization vs. autonomy. It may be pointed out that in India the ruling class occupies the major portion of social relations. This may be the reason for India to follow a capitalist path of development. The specific features of this development are the development and consolidation of this class with the attempts at resolving internal differentiation and conflicts among themselves. This is perhaps one of the ways of explaining the process of centralization of political power. This is also the source of different types of demands for state autonomy. It has been very correctly observed: "most of the demands for state autonomy can, in fact be traced back to either the contradictions among the ruling classes or the efforts of the working class

and the peasantry to fight for and realize a democratic economy and a democratic polity.”¹³

This is why the issue of state autonomy and state rights is “more than a question of simple choice between federal and unitary preferences on a mere constitutional level.”¹⁴ It has been generally observed that the tendency towards centralization and concentration of power has been universal in any constitutional practice of a liberal democracy.

In India the situation has been different so far as the process of political centralization is concerned. One of the reasons for such a tendency has been almost uninterrupted Congress rule for more than 30 years at the centre and the states. Even when Congress was in power, there had been internal conflict within the party for greater autonomy for the local (regional) leadership for more power and effective share in the decision making process. It may not be out of place here to mention that, “the political dominance of the Congress and its hegemony over state power not only helped it to contain by repression or manipulations the recurrent political crisis but also aggravated, by the very logic of the situation, the tendency towards the centralization and concentration of political power.”¹⁵ The roots of the imposition of emergency can be traced in the process of centralization of power just mentioned.

Within this contextual setting, the regional movements for greater autonomy can be situated and analysed. In fact any serious study of this phenomenon demands an analysis of the class character of these movements. Ultimately, it is the class factor and class bases which shape and determine the nature and course of such movements. This is true about the Akali movement or the Assam movement or any other movements of this nature. At the same time given the vast and complex nature of Indian society, the regional autonomy movements, although local in character, have their far-reaching implications in national politics. The situation becomes more complicated because of other social factors namely the nature of primordial loyalties and shifting emphasis on the nature of demands.

Historically, in a complex situation like that of India, "an alliance of the ruling classes can function effectively only under the leadership of a certain class."¹⁶ As is found everywhere, there is always a tendency among the ruling class to form alliance with the monopolist forces in order to extract maximum benefit from the society. India is no exception. There has always been a kind of understanding between the ruling elite and the big bourgeoisie in India. This can be seen in the way the ruling parties get influenced by the impact of the big industrial houses. The powers that are

vested in executive or the legislature, in most cases, are used to protect the interests of the dominant class.

This brings to the fore the problem of governance with a view of setting internal conflicts or contradictions among different sections of the society. In such a situation the ruling class faces the problems of internal management of their relations and growth and consolidations of their power. This can be explained with reference to the developments which have taken place in India since the Fourth General Elections in 1967. In fact 1967 elections may be termed as a water-shed in the political history of contemporary India.

The year 1967 may be regarded as the beginning of an era when regional political parties began to dominate the regional level politics. The culmination of this process may be seen in 1977 when, for the first time, a non-Congress government was installed at the centre. In other words, a process started wherein signs of Congress decline became visible. A look at the nature of the electoral politics will reveal the fact that in some states regional-based parties gained at the cost of the Congress party. This is evident from the party positions in different states, as for example Akalis in Punjab, Bharatiya Kranti Dal in Uttar Pradesh, the DMK in Tamil Nadu and the like. It is interesting to note that the support bases of these parties

differed fundamentally from one state to another, depending upon the nature of the configuration of the social forces. It may not be out of place here to mention that the growth and consolidation of regional parties have been generally conditioned by the interests of the locally placed ruling class groups. This wide variation may be due to the differential distribution of investment in different parts of the country. In other words in situations of economic crisis, the inability of the state becomes prominent when it fails to satisfy the desire of the economically dominant class. A peculiar situation is created when both the rich and the poor sections of the society feel this satisfied and this dissatisfaction, in the long run, leads to a situation of agitation. But the goals of these two classes are not the same – one tries to perpetuate the system, while, other ones to have greater share in the distribution, possession and governance of the country.

As a result of these changes, the decline of the Congress party brought with it some necessary socio-political conditions for the emergence and consolidation of regional parties. The period between 1967 and 1969 may be cited as an example. Not only that the 1977-79 period also witnessed the same nature of development. In fact, the process which started in 1967 found its maturity in 1977 and even in 1996-97. It is not important to judge the process in terms of duration or period of time. What are important are the changing dimensions of the nature of

the political process. Another point which deserves equal attention is the nature of changes of the social bases of political parties. Other factor which is to be noted in this connection was the split within the Congress which took place in 1969. From this period upto the year of emergency, the conflict between centralization of power and decentralization of power became sharp. Even the coalition government formed in 1977 with Morarji Desai failed to unite all the different and opposing socio-political forces. The net result was the fragmentation of the power structure both at the central and at the local level.

During the Janata rule, there emerged two main national level parties – the Congress and the Janata which represented the interests of the two broad segments of the ruling classes. At the same time there were three regional parties namely, AIA DAK (also DMK) in Tamil Nadu, Akali Dal in Punjab and National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir which represented interests of local nature. Not only that the left democratic forces were represented by the two communist parties – the CIP (M) and the CPI at the national and local levels. Besides these, the ultra left ideology was represented by the CPI (M-L). In addition to this there were a number of small parties, representing both the left and the right which were essentially regional/local in character.

The nature and composition of the Janata Party at the centre had some peculiarities. It was the outcome of a broad-based consensus among a number of political parties which were basically anti-Congress in nature. Not only this, many of the leaders of the Janata Party were previously members of the ruling class. So it is held that the Janata Party was an alliance of some opposition groups of the former ruling class. In fact, it was the result of a set of peculiar social, economic and political circumstances which brought them together. It is interesting to note that most of these parties in certain regions represented the interests of feudal landlords. It is equally interesting to note that the Congress (O) represented like the Congress (R) the entire ruling class. This wide range of interest has become the central theme of many researches in subsequent period. At the same time these became the sources of conflicts among different social segments which ultimately led to intra-party and inter-party factional conflicts.

This unusual division of society in two different sections brought about a number of changes in the formation of social and political groups. Moreover, there was no common compromise formula for this formation. The result was inevitable. This may be the reason for the early breakdown of the Janata regime. It also made the federal process more fluid and open to bargaining among the different political parties. It has been very

correctly observed that "the absence of internal cohesion as well as intra-party consensus on vital issues or on modalities of handling 'crisis' situations made it difficult for it to impose its will or to effectively protect or guide the ruling classes."¹⁷

It should be pointed out that the nature of fragmentation at the party level did not make any substantial division of the masses on purely ideological grounds. Ideologically there were two main divisions of the masses – one representing the interests of the ruling classes on the national level as represented by the All India political parties; while on the other there was section of people who supported ruling class at the regional level. This brought about a substantial change in the support base of the ruling party. It was seen that there started a kind of atomised and relatively small areas of support base both at the central and local levels. In fact, such situations provided conditions for assertion of mass movements, working class movements and peasant movements. These, in turn, gave birth to a number of autonomy movements in different parts of the country. These changes had their impact on the nature and character of the Indian state. The nature of internal contradictions began to be the sole determining factor in making the state more authoritarian and despotic in dealing with autonomy movements. In fact, the roots of the imposition of emergency during Mrs. Gandhi's regime can be found in it.

This has led Prof.A.R.Desai to refer to what he called “expanding state lawlessness.” This also brought to the fore the basic question about the very nature of the state itself. It also raised the question regarding the role of ruling class in using the state machinery for its own benefit. On these two questions scholars are divided. While there is a section of opinion that the roots of the Indian state can be found in the very nature of the capitalist development. Others are of the view that in a developing state like India which had remained a colony of the imperialist power, such a state cannot go beyond these contradictory trends.

It may be noted that behind all the regional/autonomy movements there may be two types of causes both related to the economic factor – economic crisis and the resultant economic discontent among the masses. This further strengthens the basis of parties at the local or regional levels which support these types of regional or autonomy movements. In such a case, a peculiar situation emerges a class between the so-called regional movements and the authority of the centralized state becomes almost inevitable. In other words, from a broaden perspective, a clash begins between two opposite forces of national (Central) and the regional (local) nature.

This assumes greater significance in case of India where there is a necessity of understanding the subtle relationship between regional movements and the main stream national question. This becomes more complicated in the context of multi-linguistic, multi-religious, multi-ethnic situation of India. Even some one would raise questions relating to the basic 'unity' of the Indian nation. Historically speaking, regional demands or autonomy movements, so far hidden, came to the surface immediately after independence. Initially, these movements were not so organized but later on, with the passage of time and the forces of circumstances, they got further compounded. The Indian state, being in its infancy, was confronted with a paradoxical situation: how to satisfy these regional demands while at the same time, preparing the ground for a strong state.

Thus, viewed, it may be said that the situation in India is quite different in all its aspects – social, political and economic. The causes behind regional demands and the state-response should be placed in a proper perspective. One cannot be understood without a proper reference to the other. This has to be situated in the context of changing socio-economic and political process. In a word, an integrated approach is necessary to comprehend this very complicated problem which, if not handled properly, might shaken the very foundation of the political system.

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CHAPTER - 2

2.1 Review of Literature

Some of the literature which seems to be pertinent to the objective of the study have been reviewed. The following constitutes the literature and work done in the area of study.

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

Given the structure of its economy and the socio political choices it has made, India is becoming increasingly organized. Consequently, the country's growth and development are dependent on the behavior of its strategic organizations. Public agencies now play an extremely important role in India both in the areas of governance and regulation and in the country's social and economic development. Thus, a study of the relationship between these agencies is essential to assess their effectiveness and ability to coordinate between various departments and agencies of district administration in Darjeeling.

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

The book attempts to describe the administrative complex that goes to make up the district administration, both as to the component parts as well as the administration as an organic, dynamic whole. It emphasizes the unity of the whole administration under our laws and regulations and within the general pattern of the country's governance. Law and order is a central concern in the treatment of district administration in this study. A mention of threat to law and order can be done. A biggest threat to law and order is posed by Terrorism (eg. Insurgencies in and Gujarat). Terrorism and wide-scale violence breaks down the law and order of the country and this in turn hampers development.

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

The book traces the evolution and development of administrative structures to carry out the country's social, political and economic policies. The police administration in India, district rural development agency, administrative set up for the development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and women, redressal of citizen's grievances are among other subjects examined which are relevant to the area of study.

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

The present volume is a treatise on the environment, structure, functioning, behaviour impact and problems of the Indian Administration. The book has among things the evolution of Indian administration, district administration with focus on the role of the collector, urban local bodies, panchayat raj, aspects of development administration which covers planning system and rural development programs.

Bhagwan, Vishnoolal, and Bhushan, Vidhya, *Indian Administration*. S.

Chand and Company Ltd. (New Delhi) Second Edition 1996.-

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

Chaturvedi and Jain, *'District Administration'*, IIPA, New Delhi,

1980. -

District administration, with its strains and stresses is by itself a fascinating subject and, surprisingly, it has something perennial about it. In this age of development administration, the districts face a change in the ecology of administration; those in charge of the district, in turn, face a

challenge in their new role as change agents. This is a far cry from the original British administration pattern where the maintenance of law and order naturally weighed more than any other aspect of administration. Though this vital segment has its own significance in the development era as well. Anyway, between these two facets, covering more than a century, the continuity in the texture of district administration is well perceptible. Although there was transformation from mere law and order to development administration the new trend is more focus on law and order as is evident in the district of Darjeeling from 1988 onwards.

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

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

There are two assumptions with regard to the role of the district officer. One projects the district officer as a catalyst of change in carrying

out developmental activity. An alternate assumption is that the district officer, who is a carryover from the colonial administration, cannot be an agent of change in independent India. This perspective places major emphasis on decentralization and the inculcation of democratic values. In Darjeeling the second assumption holds good.

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

In India the role of the bureaucracy is not only dominant in the implementation of public policies, but is also pervasive in respect of policy formulation. Since British times, bureaucracy has no doubt played a very decisive and important role in the administrative system but after independence the role expectations and actual performance of the Indian bureaucracy changed considerably. In the context of the goals of a welfare state and development administration, bureaucracy has certainly emerged as one of the key elements in the politico-administrative process.

Ramakant (Ed) (1983) in *Regionalism in South Asia* has covered the theoretical dimensions of the problems of regionalism. The author has touched upon the main reasons of the sentiments of regionalism in general and in the Indian context in particular.

Hardgrave, R.L. Jr. in *The North East, the Punjab and the Regionalization of Indian Politics* in *Asian Survey* has tried to explain the problems of regionalism in North East India and the State of Punjab. The author has tried to touch upon the peculiar features of regionalism in North East and that of Punjab.

Ram Reddy G. and B.A.V. Sharma (1979) in *Regionalism in India: A Study of Telengana*, Which is a classic study of the problems of regionalism in the State of Andhra Pradesh, particularly with regard to the problems of Telengana Movement. This book gives a beautiful insight into the problems of regionalism.

Sandhu, R.S. In his writing on *GNLF Movement An overview*. in Markandan, K.C (Ed) (1989) *Concern of Politics* (Jalandhar: ABS Publications) has excellently touched upon the historical sketch and the nature and dimensions of the problems of regionalism. The author has gone very deep in the GNLF agitation and movement and has tried to reach a conclusion of the movement.

Gorkhaland Agitation: The Issues. An Information Document. 1986, Government of West Bengal is an authentic document regarding the Gorkhaland agitation. It has explained the status of the movement.

Don Moraes - Gorkhaland,"Guns and Ghesing" Sunday 10-16 May 1987 in his article has mainly taken up the leadership of Ghesing with regard to the GNLF Movement. The aspect of Ghesing's aggressive attitude has been reflected in this article.

A. K. Roy, in "Breaking Away: The Perils of regionalism" in an article in The Illustrated weekly of _India, 22 June, 1986, has pointed out the negative dimensions of a regional movement. The author has pointed out the dangers of regional sentiments, particularly with regard to the dangers of regionalism.

Sudhir Dey, in his article on "Ghesing Seeks Constitutional Guarantee in Times.of India, 16 October, 1987 has focused on the goals of GNLF movement has laid down the main intentions of Ghesing's programmes and the strategies for achieving the goals of separate statehood.

Malini Parthasarthy, in the article, "A Perspective on the Issues and the Politics" in the Frontline, 10- 23 January, 1987 has brilliantly touched upon the main issues and the problems of regionalism in Indian context and also that of the GNLF movement.

"Origins of a Movement," in an editorial article in the Hindustan Times 1 June 1986, has explained the origin of the GNLF movement. The

author has tried to pinpoint the deprivation of the hill people as the root cause of the GNLf movement.

Hiranmay Karlekar, in his article entitled "Revolt of the Marginalised," in the Indian Express, 27 October 1987 has pointed out to the fact that in the GNLf movement the deprived section has played a key role in the movement.

B.P. Misra, in his article 'Behind Gorkhaland Agitation" in the Mainstream Vol. XXV, No.7, 1 November 1986, is also an article which touches upon the origin of the movement. The author has tried to point out the root causes which are responsible for the crystallisation of the problem.

A.G. Noorani's work on "The Constitution and the Gorkhaland" has touched upon the issues of Gorkhaland movement from the Constitutional point of view. The author has tried to make a hair splitting analysis of the constitutional issues relating to the problem

B.G. Verghese, "Gorkhaland and all that" in an article in the Indian Express, 5 January 1987 has focused on the general issues of the Gorkhaland movement. The author has also pointed out the social dimensions of the movement.

Hiranmay Karlekar in another article entitled "Gorkhaland: Anger in the Hills, in the Indian Express, 4 January 1987 has tried to touch upon the political implications of the GNLF movement.

Ashim Mukhopadhyay, in the article on GNLF and Left Front," in the Indian Express, 1 November 1986. has focused on the tactics of the Left Front to check the GNLF movement.

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

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

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

The letters describe the slow and laborious beginnings of Darjeeling. The letters though concerned with Darjeeling, are also a mine of

information on social, economic and ethnographic conditions of that periods.

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

The book deals with development administration for the underdeveloped tribals and it provides a glimpse of grass-root reality in the district of Darjeeling,- a place famous world over for its tea, timber and tourism, and a place occasionally rocking the national scenario in India by its political unrest for linguistic and identity recognition; and movement for regional autonomy and separate statehood.

West Bengal District Gazetteers, March 1980.

The Gazette deals with administration of Darjeeling district over a period of 132 years, that is from 1835 to 1967. Lot of information is provided about various departments of the district administration in Darjeeling and the various functions of the then Deputy Commissioner.

Annual Action Report of the Darjeeling Collectorate (1999-2000)
July 2000. Office of the District Magistrate Darjeeling.

The Report is an endeavor at providing first hand information on the functioning and achievements of various Department/Sections of

District Administration in Darjeeling (1999-2000) with the view to ensure a clear, efficient and responsive administration.

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

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

The book is a chronicle of episodes that happened before and immediately after the Accord was signed, and one of its major contribution is explaining the Gorkhaland Movement and the impact of this Movement on various spheres – political, economic and social.

Magar, Dr. H.B., *Is Gorkhaland a Reality or Simply Mirage?*

Deeptara Offset Printing Press. Kathmandu (Nepal) 1994. -

The analytical view of the book is basically an analysis of striving on the emergence of Indian Gorkhas political entity seeking a separate state of Gorkhaland within the constitutional framework of India.

Spread all over Indian, the Darjeeling hill regions in the Northern Bengal had been practically the habitat of the Gorkhas of India. The frontier regions they inhabit had earlier been a part of the Nepalese Kingdom. British sought to keep them apart from the rest of the people of India. Doubtless, they had a distinctive ethnic and civic identity.

The Gorkhas proposed to become rightful of their national frontiers with their ethnic pride. Since they could not visualize any prospect for their further ethnic evolution, they were getting ready to force their way to their legitimate place in the national set-up of India. It is a state of travail which eventually bears the requisite leadership. The Gorkhas were soon blessed with one in the person of Subhas Ghising. Not a man of many

accomplishment though, he had the idea to make a dynamic cause of the Gorkha discontent. The inevitably tortuous course of negotiations in the issue of the Gorkhas demands is recapitulated in all its essential details and the spirit underlying the accord reached as a result of them, is put into bold relief.

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

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

As Ghising spread his tentacles, he soon became a household name in India. For the first time, the entire nation realized the existence of the

Gorkhas as a distinct Indian ethnic entity on the laps of the Eastern Himalayas. As we stepped into the last decade of the Twentieth Century, Ghising was declared as the 'Tiger of the Hills'. The historic accord was signed on August 22, 1988 which finally led to the setting up of DGHC.

But within a decade of the setting up of DGHC it was describe as a 'dead corpse' by Ghising himself who at another time showed desire for DGHC areas to come under the Sixth Schedule. Although DGHC is there and working but discontentment with its very existence cannot be hided.

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

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

Samanta, Amiya K., *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism.* A.P.H. Publishing Corporation. 5, Ansari Road, Daryaganj. New Delhi – 110002, 2000.-

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

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

Movement been able to undertake the constructive endeavor towards nation building process?

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

The study probes into varied aspects of Politics in Darjeeling Hills but also examines administrative structure designed for its autonomy. Amidst burgeoning demands for autonomy in multi-ethnic State of India, the study may help in building up politics – administrative structure in different parts.

Among other things the findings of the book are that neither DGHC nor District Administration provides a holistic administrative structure bringing regulatory and development spheres under an umbrella. Relationship between DGHC and District Administration are not clearly spelt out in many areas. In place of single line administration there is multiple like of administration which is expensive, time consuming and anarchic. This indicates that there is presence of 'diarchy' or 'double government' in Darjeeling hills.

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

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

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

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

However, the Hill Council ran into difficulties. It became a battleground between GNLF and the State Government regarding flow of funds and transfer of functions and government departments. Mr. Subhas Ghising himself termed the Council experiment as redundant, useless and meaningless (in mid 1992). The Hill Council was an administrative modality

to accommodate the aspirations of the Hill people of Darjeeling, but it failed to live up to the high expectations of the local population. The writer attributes this failure (here he does not mean that the experiment has been a failure) to the leadership of DGHC, which tried to utilize this body for narrow partisan and personal ends. The writer suggest that improvement can be made by making the leadership serious, committed, responsive, imaginative and not driven by narrow political and personal calculations.

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

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

Ghosh, Arun, *'Decentralization and District Government'* in
Economic and Political Weekly. January 28, 1989. Vol. XXIV No. 4

The main theme of this article is that if the Congress (I) were to introduce constitutional amendment delegating more powers to the district level then, the manner, extent and content of the proposed election should be put out in the form of a White Paper so the proposals can be discussed and debated by all interested people before any legislation is drafted.

The author mentions two related to constitutional amendment in favor of decentralization. First, responsibility and power must go hand in hand for a constitutional amendment to confer functions and responsibilities to district must be accompanied by financial devolution. Second, decentralization of functions and powers must flow logically, from the center to the states to begin with, and then from the states to the district and below. Any constitutional amendment purporting to devolve functions and power to the district (and below) – highly desirable as that is – would be fraught with grave dangers to the healthy growth of our polity if such devolution is not preceded by fundamental devolution of functions, powers and authority from the center to the states, in a truly federal spirit.

Mukharji, N., *'Decentralization Below the State Level, Need for a New System of Government'* in EPW. March 4, 1989, Vol. XXIV. No. 9.-

The author says that decentralization below the state level involves making a choice between bureaucracy and democracy, in the sense that it can mean either the delegation of administrative powers to district officers or the devolution of political authority to district governments. Further, decentralization below the state level cannot be viewed in isolation from the larger issue of reordering relations between the center and the states. Democratic decentralization as an idea has gained wide acceptance. What has not been adequately recognized, however, is that the effective implementation of the idea requires major changes in the system of governance.

The proposed synopsis attempts to focus attention on 'District Government'. A study on how close the DGHC comes to the description of District Government as provided by Nirmal Mukherjee can be done.

Mukherjee, N., *'The Third Stratum'* in EPW. Vol. XXVIII No. 18, May 1, 1993. -

Nirmal Mukherjee points out that the 73rd Constitutionalised panchayats as the third stratum of government at and below the district level. Panchayats as the third stratum of government will succeed if they

are there for development functions and for the wider purpose of self-government.

The framers of the Constitution opted for a federation with a strong center, owing to the then prevailing circumstances. But with the changed circumstances, the earlier principle of a 'federation with a strong centre' needs to give way to a 'federation with strong states'. Therefore, the union must first decentralize to the states so that they in turn may have enough to decentralize to lower formations. In this way it will be reasonable to expect the states to part with enough power to make the third stratum truly self-governing.

Krishnaswami, *'For Panchayats the Dawn is Not Yet'* in EPW.

VolXXVIII No. 41 October 9, 1993. -

K.S. Krishnaswami says if Panchayats are to be accepted as credible institutions of self-government, there has to be total change in the attitude, mind-set, of state legislators about political decentralization; and Panchayats have to have administrative and regulatory powers in a significant measures in their area of jurisdiction, in other words Panchayats are to be much more than marginal development agencies.

The combined resistance to transfer any real government authority to Panchayats on the part of the elected representatives and

bureaucracies (who wield power to accumulate patronage and profit) must be reduced to ensure effective decentralization to 'government'. Panchayats must enjoy sufficient degree of financial independence, with authority for claiming a share to state taxes, levying local taxes and mobilizing resources in other legitimate way.

No matter how cleaver or comprehensive Panchayat legislations are, state governments will not voluntarily accept effective devolution of 'governmental' authority to Panchayats. They will do so only if there is strong and persistent pressure from below. Like all major changes in a country's polity, democratic decentralization cannot be 'granted' by politicians; it has to be achieved by a groundswell of public pressure. In Darjeeling it remains to be seen if through DGHC there has been effective democratic decentralization.

Kannan K. P., *'Local Self – Government and Decentralized Development'* in EPW. Vol XXVIII No. 49 December 4, 1993.-

A seminar on Panchayat Raj at the Centre for Development Studies, Thruvanthapuram, was held where the focus was on the framework for local bodies as laid down in the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution and the lines of follow-up action required to be initiated at the level of the states for the local bodies to come into existence within

the stipulated one year and start functioning as effective units of self-government as well as for local development and planning.

In the seminar some of the potential impediments to the successful implementation of Panchayat Raj were pointed out as follows:- the structure of the bureaucracy characterized by vertical hierarchy and its lack of genuine commitment to the cause of devolution of power; profound reluctance on the part of ministers, MPs and MLAs to part with power they enjoy; and sectarian interests and views of the political parties. For real decentralization things necessary were as follows: - devolution of adequate financial resources tandem with the devolution of functions and responsibilities and powers along with financial responsibilities; local level planning; existence of effective and political will of the people; the mandatory setting up of a State Finance Commission; transferring of certain taxing powers to local bodies; non-intervention of State Government in revenue collection efforts of the local bodies; need for restructuring the bureaucratic system; local bodies to be given powers to recruit, employ and manage their personal independently; and all legislation coming into conflict with the proposed decentralization were to be scrutinized and replaced.

Acharya, Poromesh, 'Panchayats and Left Politics in West Bengal' in

EPW. Vol. XXVIII. No. 22 May 29, 1993.-

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

CHAPTER - 3

3.1 Research Questions:

The following research questions were taken for scrutiny in the present work.

1. To what extent has the politico Administrative Development in contemporary Darjeeling constituted to building democratic institution in terms of the various movements in Darjeeling.
2. How far and to what extent have the contemporary district administration and the DGHC been successful in achieving the aimed goals and objectives of the political and administrative development?
3. How was the grassroot level participation ensured in the Politicio-administrative structure?
4. What administrative and political institutions have contributed to the politico-administrative process of development in the pre DGHC Darjeeling?
5. What is the extent of voting pattern, voting behaviors to indicate the Political awareness consciousness and political process relating

to electoral politics in Darjeeling as because voting is the “most important process of political participation in democratic societies?

6. To what extent administration in Darjeeling district has helped develop to improve the quality of life through various administrative agencies.
7. What has been the relationship between DGHC, District Administration and the State and Central Government in operationalizing DGHC as a sub-State level governance structure?
8. What are the grey areas of the above relationships?
9. What are the areas of cooperation, conflict and collaboration in such relations?
10. Have people of Darjeeling experienced with duality of administration in the last twenty years?
11. What are the areas of discontents, if any, between the state and the DGHC?
12. Is the recent resurgence in Darjeeling hills a cause due to failure of DGHC administration.
13. What are the policy options to be prescribed?

3.2 Methodology:

The present study will follow the Historical Method in order to unearth the history of the district administration in Darjeeling. Besides the empirical Method (Including document analysis method) will also been adopted to make an evaluation of the study

I. Of the powers and functions of District Administration and DGHC and

II. Of the development programs and their beneficiaries in Darjeeling its areas of jurisdiction and interaction between district administration and the municipally on their everyday working. The study will also reflect the jurisdiction of the work of the district Administration and the frictions of everyday working between them. On the basis of an Interview Schedule (where closed and open ended questions will be used) the BPL (Below Poverty Level) beneficiaries for whom the district administration and DGHC have been working will also be interviewed. A study will also be conducted to obtain the views of the elites of Darjeeling hills on the performance of District Administration and political parties and the relationship between them. Therefore on the basis of another interview schedule (where open ended questions along with closed ended questions with multiple choices will be used) the political leaders

administrators of district Administration and DGHC, professionals and people representing different Associations and Organizations Political parties will be covered. The Government Reports, Records, Guidelines, Committee Reports and such other relevant documents have also to be studied. Finally the data obtained is to be edited, complied, and categorized processed and analyzed in accordance with the objectives of the study.

CHAPTER - 4

4:1 Political Development of Darjeeling

In the year 1980 the entire district administration of Darjeeling was disrupted and paralyzed by the violent Gorkhaland Agitation spearheaded by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) – a regional political party of Darjeeling. With the coming of the DGHC – a new power structure was formulated – by the transfer of some powers and functions of the district administration of Darjeeling to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, and these two institutions that's the District administration and the DGHC have been functioning in an administrative co-existential structure since then.

The principal concern of this intellectual venture has been to understand the politico administrative situations arising out in Darjeeling as a result of the functioning and working of the dynamics of the District administration together with the DGHC . The study tries to understand the deep rooted political synthesis and its effect on the administrations of Darjeeling. The implication being to probe beyond easy generalizations and pre occupied notions and instead understand the problem locally and on its own terms. The period between 1982 to 1988 saw the people of Darjeeling in agitation for the formation of a separate state. The agitation came to an end with the signing of an agreement between the GNLF, the

State Government (West Bengal) and the Central Government (Government of India) in 1988. This agreement led to the creation of an autonomous Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the hill people. The jurisdiction of the District administration covers an area of 3149 square kilometers and the jurisdiction of the Hill Council covers an area 2476 square kilometers. For administrative purposes the district is divided into four subdivisions out of which Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong is situated in the hills and Siliguri is situated in the plains. The jurisdiction of the district administration covers all the these subdivisions whereas DGHC covers only the three (revenue)hill subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and 13 mouzas of Siligrui (revenue) subdivision.

The territorial areas of Darjeeling were acquired by the British from Sikkim. In Anglo- Nepal war of 1817 the east India Company wrested away the territory of Darjeeling from Nepal and restored to Sikkim. As a mark of respect, the raja of Sikkim gifted the territory (including hills and Tarai plains) to East India Company in 1835, Municipal institution in Darjeeling was first developed with the establishment of Darjeeling municipally in 1857. Thus Darjeeling underwent a municipal civic formation since the mid 19th century. Prior to the passage of Councils Acts, 1861 Darjeeling remained under non regulation scheme. The Act. No. XV of 1874 declared

Darjeeling as a scheduled District granting a special status along with other four district of Bengal. The district was kept outside the ambit of general laws in operation throughout the rest of India. The government of India act of 1991 had replaced the term Scheduled District by a new terminology "Back ward Tract". By way of these new arrangements the Governor of Bengal was vested with the responsibility of administrating Darjeeling and to determine whether any law the provincial legislature would be given effect in the district.

The Government of India Act 1935 brought in its wake significant changes in the administrative system and substituted the 'backward tract' by excluded and partially excluded areas with the intend to provide a special status for certain considerations,

- a) Presentation of indigenous system of land tenures,
- b) Necessary of entrusting undivided responsibility of the District Officers,
- c) Formulation of simple laws in inconformity with native institutions and simplicity of local people.

With the draw of independence Darjeeling underwent politico administrative metamorphosis. Shedding off its' status of partially excluded area, Darjeeling become district of the state of W.B. since the

district had always been / kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.

Darjeeling, the northern most tip of West Bengal has undergone various stages of political development right from the past through the British rule unto the present day. Politico administrative development with regard to Darjeeling therefore becomes a major aspect of study in the process of democratization and rapid socio-economic transformation, in the contemporary political atmosphere. The study of development in Darjeeling does not only include economic development but also social – political developments,, political awareness political consciousness and active participation of the people from all ethnic communities via Nepalese, Bhutias, Lepchas, and the other minor communities. Darjeeling is no doubt a district but it has within itself a cartload of contradictions. As pointed out earlier there are three main ethnic races namely Nepalese, Bhutias and Lepchas, besides them we also find the Tibetans and various other people from the plains. The Marwari community is a distinct community by themselves. In this study an attempt will therefore be made to study the origin, cultural patterns, practices, habits of the various ethnic communities with a focus on the peculiarities of the contemporary political development and the role of the communities in the politico administrative aspects of Darjeeling. Politics of contemporary Darjeeling

indeed requires a careful analysis. Hence location of power changes in Political institute= 2ons, Governmental organization and administration, caste Politics, electoral politics and political consciousness of the people as a result of interplay of political forces within and outside Darjeeling becomes a part of the present study.

The study also offers an insight to analyze the various Political processes, administration pattern of government and governance, politics of defection, vocal sentiment reservation and regionalism. Further the role of the GNLF, sons of the soil policy, district state district centre relation would be a special focus of the whole study.

We find a radical change in the pattern and dimension of District Administration in Darjeeling in the post DGHC formation period. It is seen that after the formation of The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act, the role of district administration has changed from being a manager to a key player. Apart from managing the various key departments, it plays a pivotal role and acts as an intermediate between the council and the Government. **Critical issues viz. elections, panchayat, law and order, revenue, etc.** are still handled by the district administration. As a result, the District administration has occupied a prominent place in the administrative set up.

4.2 The DGHC Experience in Darjeeling.

Formation of Council: The DGHC

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) (also once known for a short period of time as **Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council (DGAHC)**) is a semi-autonomous body that looks after the administration of the Darjeeling District. DGHC has three subdivisions under its authority: Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Kurseong and some areas of Siliguri subdivision.

Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was the result of the signing of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Agreement between the Central Government of India, the West Bengal Government and the Gorkha National Liberation Front in Kolkata on August 22, 1988. The ceremony took place at the Banquet Hall, Raj Bhavan (The Governor's Palace) at 10 A.M. The signatories to this tripartite agreement were: C.G. Somaih, Union Home Secretary (on the behalf of the Central Government of India), R.N. Sengupta, the State Chief Secretary (on the behalf of the Government of West Bengal) and Subhash Ghisingh (on the behalf of Gorkha National Liberation Front as the representative of the people of Darjeeling District).

The Union Home Minister, Buta Singh, and the West Bengal Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu, also put their signatures on the agreement.

DGHC terms

The DGHC was administered from 1988 to 2005 for three successive terms by the GNLF with Subhash Ghisingh as the Chairman. The fourth DGHC elections were due in 2005. However, the government decided not to hold elections and instead made Subhash Ghisingh the sole caretaker administrator of the DGHC.

The period 1982 to 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 Gorkha National Liberation Front, Mr. Subhash Ghisingh, the agitation was suspended and paved the way for the formation of an autonomous council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the hill people.

The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act was passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly as the West Bengal Act 13 of 1988 to provide for the establishment of an Autonomous Council for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the Gorkhas and other people residing in the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling.

ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP :

The General Council

So far as the composition of the DGHC is concerned, the General Council consists of 42 members of which two-thirds are elected from the territorial constituencies. Of the fourteen nominated members, three are to be nominated by the Chairman of the General Council and eleven are nominated by the State Govt which may include, among others, the members of the Legislative Assembly from the hill constituencies, members of Parliament elected from Darjeeling Parliamentary Constituency and Chairmen of the Municipalities within the hill areas. The General Council elects one of its members as the Chairman and it has a life span of five years. The General Council meets at least once every quarter. The Act gives executive powers to the General Council in relation to a number of departments, which have been added to, over the years. The General Council formulates integrated developmental plans for the Hill Council and implements schemes and programs for the development of the hill areas. Due to this, a lot of departments that were under the district administration were transferred to the Hill Council. Some of the major transferred departments include:

- **Forest management except the reserved forests**

- **Agriculture**
- **Agricultural waterway systems**
- **Public health and sanitation, family welfare, hospitals & dispensaries**
- **Tourism**
- **Public Works**
- **Vocational Training(FCI)**
- **Transport and transport development**
- **Livestock management**
- **Water management**
- **Market management**
- **Education**
- **Small scale industries**
- **Sports and youth services.**

A new scene has started in the political drama of Darjeeling hills. Once a protagonist of Indian Gorkhas' rights, but now a hapless 'clown', Subash Ghising has been able to climb the hills after a hiatus of 3 years. The 65 year old Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) chief was driven

out by his vassal-turned-foe Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) chief Bimal Gurung in 2008. The former DGHC administrator who ruled the hills for 21 years with an iron hand was driven out after the incident of the killing of a GJMM woman cadre who was shot dead by a gun fired from a councillor's house in Darjeeling. Ever since then, he had been residing in a rented house at Jalpaiguri Sadar. From there he handled his party activities as there was almost no chance for him to enter the hills again. This time, finding the opportunity of poll rule, he got the chance to enter the hills. As soon as he reached the hills, he organised a mass meeting at Mirik, his home turf, and released the election manifesto of his party (GNLF) as well. From this, Ghising has started trying to gain a foothold in the hills by giving his same old rhetorical speeches. Ghising who led a bloody Gorkhaland agitation during the 80's said that he had never asked for Gorkhaland but the Gorkhaland word was used as Brhamastra to get citizenship right for Nepali speaking people in India. He also added that the Centre and state do not have any power to give Gorkhaland and Gorkhaland is already a Nafalney Bantarul (A wild yam that does not bear fruit). "The centre and state don't have not any power to give Gorkhaland and it is a Nafalney Bantaru that is why I accepted Gorkha Hill Council which will be more powerful than the Interim setup for which GJMM is dying," he reasoned.

The veteran hill politician, however, did not stop there. He further said that his party is preparing a strategy to press the Centre and state governments to get the Sixth schedule bill passed. Ghising once wanted to keep the press at a distance in an attempt to muster the support of hill people. However, the people of Darjeeling today are not the same as the people of Darjeeling then. They have lost faith in Ghising. Perhaps Ghising knows this very well and that is why, nowadays he is talking about himself before press. "I am a writer first. I entered politics after I realised that the politicians then were doing no good to the community. I was a driver trying to guide the bus for want of a proper operator," said Ghising. The novelist turned politician Ghising however after all is proved to be a rejected leader as people are not ready to listen to him. So, it is very hard to say whether all his speeches will bail him out from his present sunken position.

On December 06, 2005 a Memorandum of Settlement to replace the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council with an autonomous self-governing council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution was signed by then Union Home Secretary, V.K. Duggal, Benagal Chief Secretary Amit Kiran Deb and by Subash Ghisingh as DGHC Adminstrator purportedly to fulfil the aspirations of the people residing in the Darjeeling hills.

In March 2008, Ghisingh was forced to resign as caretaker after losing public support in the Darjeeling hills to Bimal Gurung-led Gorkha Janmukti Morcha. From March 2008, the West Bengal government has appointed IAS officers as the administrators of DGHC and no elections to this council has been held.

4.3 Gorkhaland movement under Bimal Gurung,

Two years later on October 01, 2007 this special status bill received the approval of the Union Cabinet to be placed in the session of Parliament.

While there were sporadic celebrations in a few places welcoming the approval of the bill, former GNLF councillor Bimal Gurung announced that he would oppose this anti-people bill 'tooth and nail' on the ground that the Darjeeling hills was such a place where people of all communities lived together and the Sixth Schedule bill which was essentially a provision under the constitution to safeguard the rights of the tribals, if implemented, would divide the people of the hills on ethnic lines. Other hill political parties like AGBL and CPRM also opposed the implementation of the Sixth Schedule status to the Darjeeling hills on the ground that this damaging bill would promote disharmony among the various communities residing in the hills.

In the evening of October 01, 2007 Bimal Gurung declared that the hills should accept nothing short of Gorkhaland as only a separate state would fulfil the social, economic, educational and linguistic aspirations of the people living in the Darjeeling hills, the Terai and the Doars and he welcomed everyone to join the movement to attain this age old demand. He categorically stressed that he would avoid a bloody agitation and said that the demand could be achieved in a peaceful, non-violent and a democratic manner.

A week later on October 07, 2007 thousands of people thronged the Darjeeling Motor Stand and raised Gorkhaland slogans while welcoming the formation of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) by Bimal Gurung who emphasised that the party had been formed primarily to fight for a state of Gorkhaland.

Within a very short period of GJM received popular support from every nook and cranny of the hills, the Terai and the Doars. The popularity of the GJM has resulted from the fact that the Indian Gorkhas in India and all over the world are wholly convinced about the commitment and dedication of Bimal Gurung to the statehood issue. Units of the GJM have been opened in New Delhi and in several other states and these units

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The GJM has the unstinted support of all the people living in the hills, the Terai and the Doars. It is a party which is made up of people from all walks of life - lawyers, teachers, authors, litterateurs, lecturers, doctors, retired bureaucrats, ex-servicemen, businessmen etc. all actively involved with the GJM in its movement for statehood and this has provided the party with strength, credibility and respectability.

The GJM has been demanding that a seperate state of Gorkhaland be carved out of West Bengal under the provisions of Article 3(a) of the constitution comprised of the Darjeeling hills, the Siliguri Terai and the Doars where there is a sizeable Gorkha population. The Adivasis populating the Doars have also supported the movement as the party has been actively involved in bringing about social and economic upliftment of the Adivasis.

GJM is headed by Bimal Gurung as the president with Roshan Giri as the General Secretary and other office bearers including a central committee with members.

The party has an active Women's wing, a Youth Front, a Students' Front, an Ex-Servicemen's association and is supported by various other frontal organisations which include the All Gorkha Minority Front consisting of members of other communities besides the Gorkhas.

Since its formation in October 2007 the GJM has been able to accomplish a lot in its journey towards a separate state of Gorkhaland. The first significant achievement of the GJM came within a couple of months from its formation in December 2007 when it was able to convince the Lok Sabha to refer the Sixth Schedule Bill to the Standing Committee. The bill had been on the verge of being passed in Parliament. In February 2008 the bill was headed to the cold storage when the parliamentary panel advised the Centre to make a fresh assessment before proceeding with the two pieces of legislation that would have granted the Sixth Schedule status of Darjeeling.

On March 2008 the Bengal government under continuous pressure from the GJM asked GNLF chief Subash Ghisingh to resign as the caretaker administrator of the DGHC thus bringing to an end the 21 years of dictatorial and tyrannical rule of the GNLF over the Darjeeling hills.

The GJM has been responsible in uniting not only the Gorkhas but other communities as well and people belonging to other communities are also sincerely and enthusiastically involved in the GJM's movement for Gorkhaland.

In th 2009 Lok Sabha polls the GJM leadership was able to bring a leader of Jaswant Singh's stature to Darjeeling to contest the Darjeeling

Lok Sabha seat on a BJP ticket. For the first time the long pending problems and demands of the Gorkhas and the Adivasis found place in the election manifesto of a national party like the BJP. The demand to separate from Bengal is a century old but it was for the first time that the demand for Gorkhaland was voiced in both Houses of Parliament by BJP leaders and is now supported by leaders of other political parties.

A number of tripartite talks have been held between the GJM, the Centre and the State governments regarding the statehood demand and the party has been firm on not compromising in any way on the demand for a separate state. It is also praiseworthy that the GJM though formed solely to pursue the demand for Gorkhaland has also seen the need to protect the rights of the people residing within the Gorkhaland area and has been responsible for bringing in a lot of development in the hills and the Doars. It has always kept the problems of the people in mind and has been responsible for opening up closed tea gardens in the Doars and has all along been fighting for the social and economic rights of the Gorkhas and the Adivasis.

The most noteworthy feature of the GJM's agitation since its formation in October 2007 is that the movement has been totally democratic, peaceful, non-violent and non-communal. It is undeniably

apparent that no other political party in the hills and the plains has been able to achieve so much in so short a period as has been achieved by the GJM. The GJM has come as a breath of fresh air and hope for the long-suffering and misunderstood Gorkha community for those who have for years been on a relentless quest for dignity, security and more importantly, for an Indian identity.

4.4 Current scenario

The Gorkhaland movement took a new turn after the West Bengal State Assembly Election of 2011. Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee and Roshan Giri, General Secretary of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha, met at Writers Buildings in Kolkata on June 7 after an "official-level agreement" was reached between the State government and the GJM.

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and the West Bengal government took the first steps towards formation of a new hill council for Darjeeling, replacing the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council that had been formed in 1988. It is expected that a new council would pave the way for return of normality in the Hills, hit by repeated bandhs and disturbances since 2008.

The talks focused on two main issues - the territorial jurisdiction of the proposed council and the transfer of the office of land (locally called "tauji") under the jurisdiction of the council. "Today's meeting was held

under a cordial atmosphere. Our points are on the way to be solved," he said. The delegation raised seven points, he said. The GJM general secretary made it clear that while they were not giving up the Gorkhaland demand, they were not pressing the issue either.

GJM wanted inclusion of areas in the Terai and the Dooars, besides the three Hills subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. If the discussion with state government officials progresses satisfactorily, the formula worked out would be taken up in a tripartite discussion at the political level in which representatives of the Centre would also be present. The state government would have to take into account the feelings of adivasis living in the Dooars and the Terai before a deal is concluded.

Earlier, in negotiations with the Left Front government, GJM had demanded that the whole of the Terai and the Dooars be included in the proposed interim council, but had later scaled down the demand to only the Gorkha-majority areas in these places. According to sources, however, identification of the mouzas in the Terai and the Dooars where Gorkhas are in a majority would take some time. On an earlier occasion, it had been planned that a committee would be set up to do this identification.

It seems that a TEMPORARY solution to the political impasse in the Darjeeling hills of North Bengal seems to be in sight, with the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) signing an “official-level agreement” with the State government. In meetings held on June 6 and 7, 2011, it was decided that an elected body with greater administrative, executive and financial powers and more autonomy would be constituted to replace the practically defunct Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC), which was set up in 1988. The geographical area over which the new body will have jurisdiction will be determined by a nine-member committee that will be set up to delineate the preponderantly Gorkha regions in the Terai and the Dooars in the foothills. The committee, comprising representatives from the Centre, the State and the GJM, is expected to submit its report within six months.

It was decided that the “official-level agreement” will be formalised in a tripartite meeting that is expected to be held soon in Darjeeling. Thereafter, a Bill will be introduced in the Assembly to hold elections to the new body. It was further decided that until the new body is established, a five-member committee will ensure that the development process in the region does not suffer and the people of hill areas are not deprived in the process.

Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee called the occasion “historic” and announced at a press conference at the end of the meeting that “the Darjeeling matter has been settled”. However, the minutes of the meeting clearly state that the establishment of the new body will not in any way “dilute” the main agenda of the Gorkhaland movement for a separate State. Moreover, the GJM leadership has also been careful in not calling the signed document an “agreement”. They insisted on referring to it as “the minutes of the meeting”. It shows the acumen of the leaders to maintain a balance with the administration and the mass.

Harka Bahadur Chhetri, a senior leader of the GJM Central Committee, pointed out that “Though it is a resolution for the time being, it is clearly a step forward. To put it symbolically, we had tea when the DGHC was formed under Left Front rule; now Mamata Banerjee has given us breakfast. But that does not mean we stop here and remain hungry for the rest of our lives. Our ultimate objective is Gorkhaland, and unless that is obtained, our movement will continue in some form or another.” Thus, the leaders made it clear that they are happy with the present steps of the government but not totally happy.

However, one important fallout of the new development is that the people in the hills and the rest of the State can, at least for the time being,

look forward to a period of peace and development. The Darjeeling hills have been on the boil since October 2007 when the GJM, under the leadership of Bimal Gurung, evicted Subhash Ghising and the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) he led from power and established its political supremacy in the hills with a fresh call for Gorkhaland. The subsequent three and a half years saw incessant strikes and violent agitations, which at times took on an ethnic colour as it spread even to the foothills, thus causing disturbance to peace and tranquility.

The GJM leadership has said that this form of agitation will not be pursued following the recent agreement. "Our priority now will be the implementation of all that has been decided in the meeting. We will rise to the challenge and show everyone that we are capable and that the faith the people have placed in us is justified,"so goes the opinion of the leaders.

It should be noted that the initial meeting was led by Chief Secretary Samar Ghosh from the State government's side and party general secretary Roshan Giri from the GJM side. It was decided that a committee would be formed to look into the GJM's demand for the transfer of the Tauzi department – which deals with tea-garden land – to the proposed new body. The State government also agreed to approach

the Centre over the GJM's proposal that the new body have control of the forested areas, including the reserve forests, in the region. The GJM has been demanding the regularisation of casual workers of the DGHC. It was decided in the meeting that workers who had completed 10 years of service would be made permanent with immediate effect, while the others would be made so after they completed 10 years. In the meanwhile, casual workers can look forward to an enhanced pay packet.

According to political observers in the hills, the GJM's decision to keep its demand for Gorkhaland in abeyance for a while is not surprising. "It was clear that they would not press too much for statehood after the new government came. Locally, too, they were preparing the ground for this new strategy by telling the people that while the achievement of Gorkhaland would remain the ultimate objective, it would be prudent in the meanwhile to get whatever we can for the development of the region," thus strategically, the leaders managed the situation

It should further be noted that the recent Assembly elections showed that the GJM had not lost its supremacy in the hills. In the three hill constituencies of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, GJM candidates scored thumping victories, winning around 90 per cent of the total votes polled. Initially, the party was thought to be losing its support base,

particularly after the assassination of Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League (ABGL) chief Madan Tamang in May 2010, allegedly by GJM activists. "It is true it was perceived that the common people were getting tired of the party's agitational programme and the bandhs, but our participation in the Assembly elections proved that we are as strong as ever," a senior GJM activist observed.

Earlier, the GJM had insisted that the Gorkha Regional Authority, the interim regional set-up proposed then, be a nominated one. But now, its confidence boosted by the results of the Assembly elections, it has agreed that the new body should be an elected one.

However, the latest development may not go down well with everyone in the Darjeeling hills. Some sections, including Tamang, the assassinated chief of the ABGL, were opposed to the GJM's proposal for an interim set-up. This time too, the ABGL has been quick to cry foul, saying that the statehood demand has been compromised. "This is a great betrayal of the people. The GJM, which had gone to the polls with Gorkhaland as its main issue, has betrayed the people who voted for it. We are against any arrangement within the State of West Bengal. This is no different from the DGHC," ABGL leader Pratap Khati expressed this opinion.

According to Khati, the GJM is “desperate to reach an agreement with the State government”, particularly because the Central Bureau of Investigation hearing in the Madan Tamang murder case is coming up before the Calcutta High Court on June 23. The issue of Gorkhaland has aroused emotions in the hills. However, over the years a kind of cynicism has crept in. “There is a saying here that Gorkhaland is khane bharo (utensil in which cooked food is kept). Everybody's political career is made of it, but apart from that, nothing else happens,” it was said by a senior leader.

There are indications however that GJM could wait for the period of three months within which Mamata has promised to find a solution before launching a fresh agitation. Observers say a solution may be found by giving more autonomy to the hill council, if necessary with a constitutional guarantee, together with more development for the hills. For this, Mamata is depending on the Centre, which is taking the leading role in the tripartite negotiations with GJM. There is an opinion within the Darjeeling District Congress that a solution can be found by including in the proposed council areas in Dooars with a Gorkha majority. Some more mouzas in the Dooars could be added to the council for this.

At this point, it is a million dollar question that has Mamata Banerjee indeed set the ball rolling to ultimately resolve the hill crisis? Or has she merely bought time? Only time will tell. Still, peace seems to have been restored in the hills for a while.

The territory of the earlier DGHC formed in an agreement between the Jyoti Basu government and the GNLFF comprised the three hills subdivisions and 14 mouzas in the Siliguri subdivision. Following the rise of GJM in the hills and the marginalization of GNLFF, however, DGHC has practically ceased functioning.

It should be mentioned that the previous Left Front government had also tried to find a solution to the Darjeeling crisis by giving more powers to the hill council, but the Sixth Schedule solution offered by it, a brainchild of Gorkha National Liberation Front leader Subash Ghisingh, had been unacceptable to GJM.

CHAPTER – 5

SUMMING UP

CONCLUSION – SURVEY OF THE SCENARIO AT A GLANCE

On December 06, 2005 a Memorandum of Settlement to replace the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council with an autonomous self-governing council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution was signed by then Union Home Secretary, V.K. Duggal, Benagal Chief Secretary Amit Kiran Deb and by Subash Ghisingh as DGHC Administrator purportedly to fulfil the aspirations of the people residing in the Darjeeling hills.

Two years later on October 01, 2007 this special status bill received the approval of the Union Cabinet to be placed in the session of Parliament.

While there were sproadic celebrations in a few places welcoming the approval of the bill, former GNLF councillor Bimal Gurung announced that he would oppose this anti-people bill 'tooth and nail' on the ground that the Darjeeling hills was such a place where people of all communities lived together and the Sixth Schedule bill which was essentially a provision under the constitution to safeguard the rights of the tribals, if implemented, would divide the people of the hills on ethnic lines. Other

hill political parties like AGBL and CPRM also opposed the implementation of the Sixth Schedule status to the Darjeeling hills on the ground that this damaging bill would promote disharmony among the various communities residing in the hills.

In the evening of October 01, 2007 Bimal Gurung declared that the hills should accept nothing short of Gorkhaland as only a seperate state would fulfil the social, economic, educational and linguistic aspirations of the people living in the Darjeeling hills, the Terai and the Doars and he welcomed everyone to join the movement to attain this age old demand. He categoricallly stressed that he would avoid a bloody agitation and said that the demand could be achieved in a peaceful, non-violent and a democratic manner.

A week later on October 07, 2007 thousands of people thronged the Darjeeling Motor Stand and raised Gorkhaland slogans while welcoming the formation of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) by Bimal Gurung who emphasised that the party had been formed primarily to fight for a state of Gorkhaland.

Within a very short period of GJM received popular support from every nook and cranny of the hills, the Terai and the Doars. The popularity of the GJM has resulted from the fact that the Indian Gorkhas in India and

all over the world are wholly convinced about the commitment and dedication of Bimal Gurung to the statehood issue. Units of the GJM have been opened in New Delhi and in several other states and these units In the evening of October 01, 2007 Bimal Gurung declared that the hills should accept nothing short of Gorkhaland as only a seperate state would fulfil the social, economic, educational and linguistic aspirations of the people living in the Darjeeling hills, the Terai and the Doars and he welcomed everyone to join the movement to attain this age old demand. He categoricallly stressed that he would avoid a bloody agitation and said that the demand could be achieved in a peaceful, non-violent and a democratic manner.

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dedication of Bimal Gurung to the statehood issue. Units of the GJM have been opened in New Delhi and in several other states and these units are lending their earnest support to the GJM's movement.

The GJM has the unstinted support of all the people living in the hills, the Terai and the Doars. It is a party which is made up of people from all walks of life - lawyers, teachers, authors, litterateurs, lecturers, doctors, retired bureaucrats, ex-servicemen, businessmen etc. all actively involved with the

GJM in its movement for statehood and this has provided the party with strength, credibility and respectability.

The GJM has been demanding that a seperate state of Gorkhaland be carved out of West Bengal under the provisions of Article 3(a) of the constitution comprised of the Darjeeling hills, the Siliguri Terai and the Doars where there is a sizeable Gorkha population. The Adivasis populating the Doars have also supported the movement as the party has been actively involved in bringing about social and economic upliftment of the Adivasis. GJM is headed by Bimal Gurung as the president with Roshan Giri as the General Secretary and other office bearers including a central committee with members.

The party has an active Women's wing, a Youth Front, a Students' Front, an Ex-Servicemen's association and is supported by various other frontal organisations which include the All Gorkha Minority Front consisting of members of other communities besides the Gorkhas.

Since its formation in October 2007 the GJM has been able to accomplish a lot in its journey towards a separate state of Gorkhaland. The first significant achievement of the GJM came within a couple of months from its formation in December 2007 when it was able to convince the Lok Sabha to refer the Sixth Schedule Bill to the Standing Committee. The bill had been on the verge of being passed in Parliament. In February 2008 the bill was headed to the cold storage when the parliamentary panel advised the Centre to make a fresh assessment before proceeding with the two pieces of legislation that would have granted the Sixth Schedule status of Darjeeling.

On March 2008 the Bengal government under continuous pressure from the GJM asked GNLF chief Subash Ghisingh to resign as the caretaker administrator of the DGHC thus bringing to an end the 21 years of dictatorial and tyrannical rule of the GNLF over the Darjeeling hills.

The GJM has been responsible in uniting not only the Gorkhas but other communities as well and people belonging to other communities are

also sincerely and enthusiastically involved in the GJM's movement for Gorkhaland.

In the 2009 Lok Sabha polls the GJM leadership was able to bring a leader of Jaswant Singh's stature to Darjeeling to contest the Darjeeling Lok Sabha seat on a BJP ticket. For the first time the long pending problems and demands of the Gorkhas and the Adivasis found place in the election manifesto of a national party like the BJP. The demand to separate from Bengal is a century old but it was for the first time that the demand for Gorkhaland was voiced in both Houses of Parliament by BJP leaders and is now supported by leaders of other political parties.

A number of tripartite talks have been held between the GJM, the Centre and the State governments regarding the statehood demand and the party has been firm on not compromising in any way on the demand for a separate state. It is also praiseworthy that the GJM though formed solely to pursue the demand for Gorkhaland has also seen the need to protect the rights of the people residing within the Gorkhaland area and has been responsible for bringing in a lot of development in the hills and the Doars. It has always kept the problems of the people in mind and has been responsible for opening up closed tea gardens in the Doars and has

all along been fighting for the social and economic rights of the Gorkhas and the Adivasis.

The most noteworthy feature of the GJM's agitation since its formation in October 2007 is that the movement has been totally democratic, peaceful, non-violent and non-communal. It is undeniably apparent that no other political party in the hills and the plains has been able to achieve so much in so short a period as has been achieved by the GJM. The GJM has come as a breath of fresh air and hope for the long-suffering and misunderstood

Gorkha community for those who have for years been on a relentless quest for dignity, security and more importantly , for an Indian identity.

The GJM is truly a party of the people.

APPENDIX - 1

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APPENDIX - 2

Text of the Memorandum of Settlement

The Memorandum of Settlement laying down the salient features of the Hill Council states: "In the overall national interest and in response to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's call, the GNL F agreed to drop the demand for a separate State of Gorkhaland. For the social, economic, educational and cultural advancement of the people residing in the Hill areas of Darjeeling district, it was agreed to have an autonomous Hill Council to be set up under a State Act".

The salient features of the Hill Council would be as follows:

(i) The name of the Council will be DARJEELING GORKHA HILL COUNCIL

(ii) The Council will cover the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling district, namely, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, plus the Mouzas of Lohagarh Tea Garden, Lohagarh Forest, Rangmohan, Barachenga, Panighatta, Choto Adalpur, Paharu, Sukna Forest, Sukna Part-I, Pantapati Forest-I, Mahanadi Forest, Champasari Forest and Salbari Chatt Part II within Siliguri subdivision.

(iii) The State Government agrees to lease to the Council after it is formed, or acquire for it the use of such land as may be required and necessary for administrative and developmental purposes, anywhere in the State and in particular in or around 'Darjeeling More' in Siliguri subdivision.

(iv) The Council shall exercise general powers of supervision over Panchayat Samities, Gram Panchayats and Municipalities falling within the area of the Council's jurisdiction.

(v) The General Council will have a total of 42 Members out of which 28 will be elected and the rest nominated by the State Government.

(vi) There will be an Executive Council and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the General Council will be ex-officio members of the Executive Council with the Chairman of the General Council functioning as the Chief Executive Councillor. The Chief Executive Councillor will nominate 5 members to the Executive Council from out of the elected members of the Council and the State Government will nominate 2 members of the Council and the State Government will nominate 2 members to the Executive Council from out of the non-official nominated members of the General Council.

(vii) The Chairman of the General Council-cum-Chief Executive Councillor will have the ex-officio status and privileges of a Minister in the Council of Ministers in the State.

(viii) The Bill for setting up the Hill Council will be introduced and passed in a special session of the State Legislature which has been summoned. The election to the Hill Council will be held by the 15th December 1988.

Executive Powers of the Council

The Executive Powers of the Council will cover the following subjects, subject to the provisions of the Central and State Laws:

(i) The allotment, occupation or use, or setting apart, of land other than any land which is a reserved forest, for the purpose of agriculture or grazing, or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes, or for any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the inhabitants of any village, locality or town;

(ii) The management of any forest, not being a reserved forest;

(iii) The use of any canal or watercourse for the purpose of agriculture;

(iv) Agriculture;

(v) Public health and sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries;

(vi) Tourism;

(vii) Vocational training;

(viii) Public works - Development and planning;

(ix) Construction and maintenance of all roads except national highways and state highways;

(x) Transport and development of transport;

(xi) Management of burials and burial grounds, cremation and cremation grounds;

(xii) Preservation, protection and improvement of livestock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practice.

Restoration of Normalcy

1. Review of pending criminal cases: It is agreed that a review will be done by the State Government of all the cases registered under various laws against persons involved in the GNLF agitation. Action will be taken, in the light of the review, not to proceed with prosecution in all cases except those charged with murder. Release of persons in custody will follow the withdrawal of cases. This review will be completed within 15 days of signing of this agreement.

2. Action against Government servants: The State Government agreed to withdraw all cases of disciplinary action taken against employees in the context of the agitation. There would be no victimisation of Government servants.

3. The GNLF agrees to issue a call to its cadre for the surrender of all unauthorised arms to the district administration. It will be made clear in the call that such surrenders made voluntarily within the prescribed date will not attract any prosecution.

APPENDIX - 3

Constitution of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha

The Party has been registered with the Election Commission of India

(No. 56/168/2007/J.S III dated 26th March 2008.)

Article: 1.

The name of the organization shall be GORKHA JANMUKTI MORCHA

REGISTERED HEAD OFFICE

The registered head office shall be at:

SINGMARI, NORTH POINT, DARJEELING, 734101.

FLAG OF THE GORKHA JANMUKTI MORCHA

The Flag of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall be, GREEN AT THE TOP engraved at the left with SUN, WHITE AT THE MIDDLE engraved at the left with HIMALAYA, & GOLDEN YELLOW AT THE BOTTOM engraved at the left with two CROSSED KHUKURIES, all three strips running parallel and equal in size.

SYMBOLIC MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FLAG

The green at the top symbolize the prosperity with knowledge of rightness, the white symbolizes peace and purity as Himalaya, and the golden yellow symbolizes the spirituality and pride of Khukuri.

Article 2.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE GORKHA JANMUKTI MORCHA

1. The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall be a Political Party within the meaning & provisions of the "Representation of the People (Amendment Act) 1988".
2. The Party shall fight for the democratic right of the Indian Gorkhas living in India and shall work unitedly for the creation of separate STATE for the people residing in the three Hill Sub-Division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai and Dooars areas.
3. The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established, and to the principles of socialism, secularism & democracy and would uphold the Sovereignty, Unity and Integrity of the India.
4. The organization shall fight to uphold the Political, Social and Economic rights and privileges of the people of the Indian Gorkhas living in India within the framework of the Indian Constitution.

5. It shall pledge to work for the upliftment of the socially and economically backward section of the Gorkha Community.
6. It shall also work ceaselessly to promote peace, progress and communal harmony amongst the Indian Gorkha Community and all section of the Community living together.
7. It shall always endeavor to fight against all forces that threaten to disrupt the peace and unity and integrity of the Indian Nation.
8. In due recognition to the principle of human dignity, "Gorkha Janmukti Morcha" shall pledge to fight against injustice in the form of discrimination on ground of Caste, Creed, Colour, Religion and above all Gender.
9. It shall also strive to preserve and promote the welfare of the backward and depressed communities, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes and shall extend facilities and concessions as are available to them through the good offices of the Indian Constitution.
10. The Party is also pledged to uphold, preserve and promote the age-old traditions, customs and rich cultural heritage of the Indian Gorkha Community and other section of the community living in harmony down the ages.

11. The Party shall also fight to give due recognition to the Indian Gorkhas and freedom fighters who have sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their motherland India.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE GORKHA JANMUKHTI MORCHA.

1. **NAME:** The name of the Party shall be GORKHA JANMUKTI MORCHA. It shall be a Political Party within the meaning and provisions of the Representation of People (Amendment) Act, 1988. Its registered Head Office shall be at Singmari, North Point, Darjeeling, 734104
2. **AIMS AND OBJECTS:** The aims and objects of the party as established has been mentioned in ARTICLE 2 aforementioned.
3. **MEMBERSHIP:** Any Indian citizen who is Indian Gorkha and all the people residing in three Hill Sub-Division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai , Dooars and also other parts of India, who has attained the age of majority shall be entitled to obtain membership from the authorized person and who are not enlisted members of any other Political Party, and provided he/she agrees to abide by the Memorandum and Rules and Regulations of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.

The party shall have two types of membership, viz:

1. **Primary Membership:** People having firm faith and belief in the policies, aims and objects of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and who fulfills conditions mentioned in PARA 3 hereinabove shall be considered eligible for Primary Membership of the Party irrespective of Sex, Caste, Creed and Religion.
2. **Active Membership:** Those desirous of Active membership shall have to fulfill the following conditions:
 - He/She must have been a Primary Member of the Party for a period of at least one year.
 - He/she must have been actively involved in the implementation of the social and political objectives & programs of the Party.
 - The Central Committee of the Party shall have, however the power to confer or reject Active Membership to such primary members who are dedicated to the party's cause and are willing to work covertly under the guidance and directives of the Party's principle.

Membership fees:

Those qualifying for Primary Membership of the Party shall have to pay membership fee of Rs. 10/= per annum and shall renew membership by 31st March every year.

Those qualifying for Active Membership of the Party shall have to pay a membership fee of Rs. 151/= (Rupees One Hundred and Fifty-One) only per year, and renew the membership by 31 March every year.

TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP

- The membership shall be terminated by the Central Committee or the President for his/her anti-party activities and for serious breach of discipline.
- Any member may resign from the Party membership by giving in writing not less than 30 days notice in advance in writing mentioning his/her intention.

EXPULSION OF THE MEMBERSHIP.

The Central Committee of the Party on their own information or on receipt of any complaints against any member, Primary or Active, or Office Bearers of the various Committees of the Party for violation of any Rules and Regulations of the Party or for any anti-party activities, may initiate or cause to initiate necessary inquiry by himself/herself or set up a Committee for the purpose, and after affording reasonable opportunities of hearing member/members or Office Bearer to explain his conduct, may proceed to suspend, or expel or ask to resign such erring member/members or Office Bearers of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.

COMMITTEES

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall have the following committee:

- Central Committee.
- Sub-Division/Branch Committee.
- Block Level Committee in Panchayat area.
- Constituency Committee (Council)
- Ward Committee in Municipal area.
- Village Committee in Village level both in Panchayat area and Municipal area.
- Special Units as and when necessary.
- Disciplinary Committee.
- The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall also have frontal organization such as Trade Union, Employees Union, Professional Union, Students Union, Women Organization & Youth Organization etc.
- The party shall have different mass organization according to the needs of the time which will function as sister organization of the Party.

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall consist of all members and Office Bearers of the Central Committee, Sub-Division Committee, Block

level Committee, Constituency Committee (Council), Ward Committee in Municipal/Urban area, Village Committee & Special Units, Party MLA's & MP's. The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha Committee shall meet once a year and review the work, achievement as well as setbacks of the Party in general. The Party President shall preside over the meeting of the Central Committee of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and attending of this annual affair by all concerned should be deemed compulsory for the interest of the Party. An emergency meeting may be convened by the President/Vice President, General Secretary/Joint Secretary in the interest of the Party as and when required. The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall elect the President of the Morcha at its annual or emergent meeting by the usual process of Majority of Votes, who shall hold office of the President for a period of 5 years from the date of election. All other Office Bearers of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha at the Sub-Division levels and below shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the members of the Central Committee of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha Committee.

ELECTION OF THE ORGANIZATION

The Central Committee shall hold the organizational election at different levels in every five years.

The Central Committee shall have the following Office Bearers:

a)	President	1
b)	Vice-President	2
c)	General Secretary	1
d)	Asst. General Secretary	4
e)	Press &Publicity Secretary	1
f)	Assistant Asst. & Publicity Secretary	1
g)	Treasurer	1
h)	Assistant Treasurer	2
i)	Executive Members	38

TERMS OF THE OFFICE BEARERS

The office bearers of the Central Committee & Sub-Ordinate Committee shall be elected for a term of 5 years.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Central Committee shall be the highest body of the Party which will be elected by the members of the Sub-Divisional Committee, or give this right to the President. However, the Central Committee will elect the President.

MODE OF CONDUCT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

All the meeting of the Central Committee shall be convened and presided over by the President of the party and in his absence by the Vice-President.

The Central Committee shall meet at-least once in a month. But incase of emergency the President or Vice President may convene meeting of the Central Committee at any point of time giving only 24 hours notice to each member.

The required quorum of the Central Committee meeting shall be two-third of the total number of members of the Central Committee.

An adjourned meeting of the Central Committee does not require any quorum. All question shall be decided by simple majority of votes and in case of a tie, the President shall have the casting vote with which to decide.

THE PARTY CONVENTION

The Party, the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha, shall hold Party Convention every year. The selection of venue for the proposed convention shall be determined by the Central Working Committee in due course of time prior to the said Convention.

POWER AND FUNCTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

- The responsibility of formulating all policies of the Party for attaining its aims and objectives shall rest on the Central Committee.
- The Central Committee shall frame/pass or promulgate by-laws to these existing Rules and Regulations in pursuance of the policies of the Party.
- It shall provide necessary guidance to the entire working of the Party and shall enforce and maintain discipline in the Party machinery or shall frame code of conduct.
- It shall present and furnish annual report to all the Sub-Committee of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha for its approval and perusal on the performance and functioning of the Party.
- It shall prepare annual account of the Party and submit it to the office bearer & executive members of the Sub-Committee of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha for its approval and shall manage Party funds and look after the properties, both movable and immovable, of the party.

- It shall be responsible for the conduct of day-to-day affairs of the Party to ensure smooth functioning and proper discipline without which no Organization can achieve its cherished goal

DISSOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Working Committee shall hold office for a term of 5 years. The President shall, however, have power to dissolve the Central Working Committee prematurely in consultation with the 2/3 majority of its sitting members, the same action being taken by the President in greater interest of the Party.

POWER AND FUNCTIONS

PRESIDENT

- The President shall convene and preside over all the meetings of the Central Committee of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.
- He shall have a casting vote in case of a tie in the meetings of the Central Committee.
- He shall have power to shuffle and reshuffle the Office Bearers of the Central Committee and the Sub-Division Committee as and when occasion demands in due consultation with the members of the Central Committee.

- He shall have power to remove or suspend any Office Bearer or Bearers of the Central Committee or of Sub-Division Committees to safeguard the interest of the Party as and when occasion demands in due consultation with the members of the Central Committee.
- He shall have power to constitute any committee or committees in addition to the existing ones to enhance the interest of the Party.
- He shall have the power to bring any Sub-Division or any other Committee under his direct control and supervision to achieve certain positive goals that warrant such action on his part.
- He shall be the guiding light to provide meaningful directions to all positive activities envisaged under the Party's policies and programme. He in his capacity as the beacon light of the Party, shall reserve full rights within the basic framework of Party's pledged policies to comment upon matters related to national and international events.

RESIGNATION OF THE PRESIDENT

The President, in keeping with the norms and spirit of democracy, shall be at liberty to tender his resignation in party's interest. In such event he shall hand over the Resignation to the Vice President of the Party. He

shall, however, always be eligible for re-election to his august post as and when he so desires.

REMOVAL OF THE PRESIDENT

The President may be removed from office by the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha Front Committee by tabling no-confidence motion by two third members of the Central and Sub-Divisions Committee present at the voting.

A thirty-days prior notice must be served upon the President by at least one-third of the members of the Central and the Sub-Divisional Committee of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha to let the President know that no-confidence motion is being brought against him and tabled at the general meeting of the Central Committee to be held 30 days later.

POWER AND FUNCTION OF VICE PRESIDENT

The Vice President/Presidents shall preside over the meetings of the Central Committee of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha in absence of the President of the Party and shall exercise all the powers due to the President during the absence of the President.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The President shall appoint one General Secretary for the Party who shall function as the Executive member of the Party, supervising the affairs of the Party as directed by the President.

He shall have under his custody all the relevant documents pertaining to the Party and shall convene all the Party meetings in consultation with the President, and shall prepare all minutes and proceedings of all meetings in addition to dealing with all correspondence and communications of the Party. The General Secretaries are vested with power to inspect, supervise and intervene (if occasion demands to protect the interest of the Party) all activities pertaining to the affairs of All Committees of the Party in consultation with the President.

ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY

The President/Members of Central Committee shall appoint Four Assistant General Secretary for the Party who shall functions as Assistants to the Party's General Secretaries appointed above & every Assistant General Secretary shall have the different power and functions levied on them.

PUBLICITY SECRETARY

The President shall appoint Publicity Secretary whose supreme task shall be to publicize the policies and the programme of the Party to the fullest extent possible. They shall keep the general public posted and informed of all Party activities aimed at advancing the cause of the people as envisaged in the Party's general manifesto.

ASSISTANT PUBLICITY SECRETARY

The President shall appoint Two Assistant Publicity Secretaries who shall exercise all the powers due to Publicity Secretary during the absence of the Publicity Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

The President shall appoint Eight executive members who shall always help the Central Committee to take decision in the matter placed before the table at the time to Central Committee meeting, and supervising the affairs of the Party as directed by the President.

ADVISISORY BOARD

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha is a Party founded, nurtured and led by people who are young, energetic and vibrant and who are committed to the cause of the people and the Party. The abundance of youthful energy available to the cause of the Party needs to be effectively channelized and

harnessed for greater good. Therefore the need to provide a sense of meaningful direction to this youthful Party, the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha becomes the order of the day. The President shall, therefore, have the power to constitute a body of advisors consisting of senior politicians, statesmen and retired bureaucrats who had a taste of politics while in service. Such a body, or a board of advisors shall be manned with 7 to 15 members and which shall function as part and parcel of the party to advise and counsel the President in all matters related to the Party. The Board of Advisors shall, under no circumstances, seek to impose their view on the President.

THE PARLIAMENTARY /LEGISLATORY BOARD

The President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall appoint 9 (Nine) members to constitute the Party's Parliamentary /Legislatory Board.

The said Parliamentary /Legislatory Board so constituted by the President shall have a total of nine members, including the President himself who shall be the head.

All decision taken by the Parliamentary Board in the matter of the Party and in the interest of the Party shall be final and binding.

The President shall exercise all power in the matter of inducting or removing any member/members from the said Board.

The selection of suitable and worthy candidates for the Parliamentary and Assembly elections shall be made by the Parliamentary Legislative Board.

The candidate must declare his wealth, assets and properties both movable and immovable prior to his/her nomination.

LEGAL CELL

A Legal Cell shall be constituted to look after all aspects of legal matters pertaining to the Party. A Secretary of Legal Cell shall be appointed by the President of the Party who is a qualified lawyer.

TREASURER

The Treasurer shall be the sole custodian of the Party Funds and shall maintain all accounts of the Party. He shall have power to open Bank account in respect of the Party Fund with any Nationalized Bank of India. He shall prepare annual statements of accounts of the Party in consultation with the President and place the same before the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and Central Working Committee for information and perusal. He shall have powers to keep cash in hand not exceeding Rs. 20,000/= (Rupees Twenty Thousand) only to meet the day-to-day expense of the Party. As Custodian of the Party Fund and its accountability, the

Treasurer shall be wholly and solely responsible for how the fund is handled.

ASSISTANT TREASURER

The Assistant Treasurer shall exercise all the powers due to Treasurer during the absence of the Treasurer.

SUB-DIVISION COMMITTEES

There shall be Sub-Division Committees for each and every Sub-Division comprising of :-

President	1
VicePresident	2
GeneralSecretary	1
Joint-Secretary	4
PublicitySecretary	1
Treasurer	1
Executive members	11

The President of the Sub-Division Committee shall be appointed by the President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha. The other Office Bearers of the Sub-Division Committee shall be appointed/nominated by the President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha in consultation with the Central Committee and the President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha. The Sub-

Division Committee shall hold office for a period of 5 years. The President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall have power to dissolve the Sub-Division Committees for the interest of the Party without assigning any reasons whatsoever. The Sub-Division Committee shall have not less than twenty-one members.

POWER AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SUB-DIVISION COMMITTEE

- The Sub-Divisional Committee shall have the following powers and functions:-
- It shall look after and manage the affairs of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha within its local jurisdiction.
- It shall constitute Block Level Committees within its respective District in consultation with the Central Working Committee.
- It shall maintain the Membership Register of the Party Up-to-date.
- It shall enforce and maintain Party discipline amongst its members and carry out the orders and directives of the Central Working Committee without fail.
- It may also constitute town or constituency Committees within its District for better efficiency in consultation with the President of the Party.

- It shall entertain all applicants for Party membership and their applications sent to the President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha for approval.
- It shall collect the annual subscriptions of the members against appropriate receipts, and shall renew all membership in consultation with the Central Working Committee.
- It shall make it a point to meet at least once in two months and the attendance by the members shall have to be one-third of the total members of the District Committee for such a meet.

BLOCK LEVEL COMMITTEES

There shall be Block Level Committee for every block scattered in the rural areas of three hill sub-division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai and Dooars area:-

President	1
VicePresident	2
GeneralSecretary	1
JointSecretary	2
Treasurer	1
Executive Members	8

Block Level Committees shall be constituted by the Sub-Divisional Committee in consultation with the Central. It shall hold office for a period of 5 years unless dissolved prematurely by the Sub-Divisional Committee for valid reasons.

CONSTITUENCY COMMITTEE (Council)

There shall be Constituency Committee (Council) Level for every Constituency, in all three hill sub-division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai and Dooars area:-

President	1
VicePresident	2
GeneralSecretary	1
JointSecretary	2
Treasurer	1
Executive Members	8

Constituency Committee shall be constituted by the Sub-Divisional Committee in consultation with the Central Committee. It shall hold office for a period of 5 years unless dissolved prematurely by the Sub-Divisional Committee for valid reasons.

WARD COMMITTEE IN MUNICIPAL OR URBAN AREA

There shall be Ward Committee in Municipal or Urban area in every three Hill Sub-Division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai and Dooars area:-

President	1
VicePresident	2
GeneralSecretary	1
JointSecretary	2
Treasurer	1
Executive Members	8

Ward Committee shall be constituted by the Sub-Divisional Committee in consultation with the Central Committee. It shall hold office for a period of 5 years unless dissolved prematurely by the Sub-Divisional Committee for valid reasons.

VILLAGE COMMITTEE

There shall be Village Committee in Village level both in Panchayat area and Urban area in all three Hill Sub-Division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai and Dooars area:-

President	1
VicePresident	2
GeneralSecretary	1

JointSecretary	2
Treasurer	1
Executive Members	8

There shall be Village Committee in Village level both in Panchayat area and Urban area in all three Hill Sub-Division of Darjeeling, Siliguri Terai & Dooars area by the Sub-Divisional Committee in consultation with the Central Committee. It shall hold office for a period of 5 years unless dissolved prematurely by the Sub-Divisional Committee for valid reasons.

FRONTAL ORGANISATIONS

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall have Frontal Organizations with a view to widening the scope of mass participation without which democracy becomes meaningless. These Frontal Organizations shall serve to represent Women whose emancipation has become the call of the hour, the students, the farmers who are the true salt of the earth, the laborers and workers who live far below the poverty line. The power and functions of all Frontal Organizations shall be determined by the Central Working Committee from time to time. The President of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall have power to dissolve any Frontal Organization.

DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE

All the members of the Central Committee shall be the members of the Disciplinary Committee of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.

POWER AND FUNCTION OF DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE

If any member/members of the organization is found indulgent in any anti-party activities shall be dealt by the disciplinary committee as per the provision of law/rules prescribed by the Central Committee as and when necessary. The Offender shall be served with seven days notice for show cause. After giving fair opportunity of hearing, the member shall be suspended/expelled from the party for a period prescribed by such committee.

THE PARTY PAPER (BULLETIN)

The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha shall bring out a fortnightly Bulletin to highlight the activities and the political programme of the Party to educate the mass on the current development in the state vis-à-vis the said activities.

DISSOLUTION/MERGER

The Central Committee shall if situation arises, dissolve organization or make a merger with any other organization having similar aims & objectives.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The central committee shall call its meeting to amend the constitution, if demanded by not less than one-third of its members. The amendment shall be deemed to have been passed only through a resolution adopted by two-third majority of its members present and voting.

