

# UTTARAKHAND MOVEMENT

## A Sociological Analysis.

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that this dissertation  
titled 'UTTARAKHAND MOVEMENT : A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS',  
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Prof. K.K. Jain

Chairman

  
Prof. K.L. Sharma

Supervisor.

"As The Fate Of Himalaya Is The Fate  
Of Their People, So the Fate Of Their  
People Is Fate Of All. To Imperil  
Them Is To Imperil India".

- Prof. Gerald Berreman.

- Dedicated to the victims of  
Exploitation in Uttarakhand -

## P R E F A C E

The present work is an attempt to study a complex socio-political process from sociological dimension.

A detailed account of region, regionalism, parties involved and their ideological inclination has been presented.

Here, our attempt is basically to work out the causes and trends of the nationwide process, of which Uttarakhand movement is merely a part. However, this movement, of course, has many dimensions unique to itself.

Uttarakhand movement is an expression of discontent arising out of inter-regional and , to some extent, intra - regional socio-economic inequalities. There has been a continuous isolation

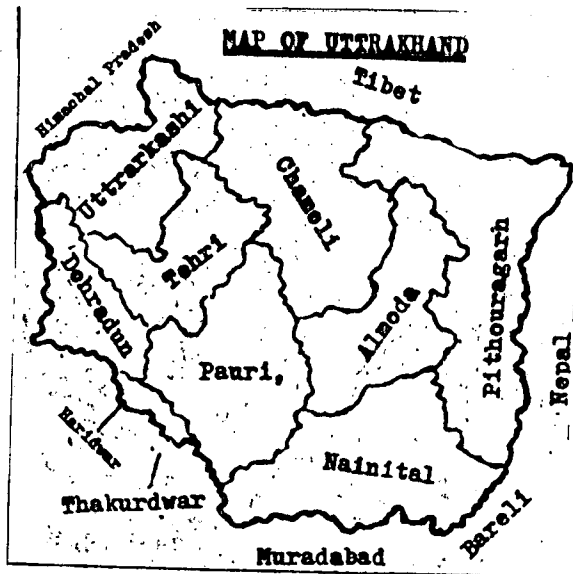
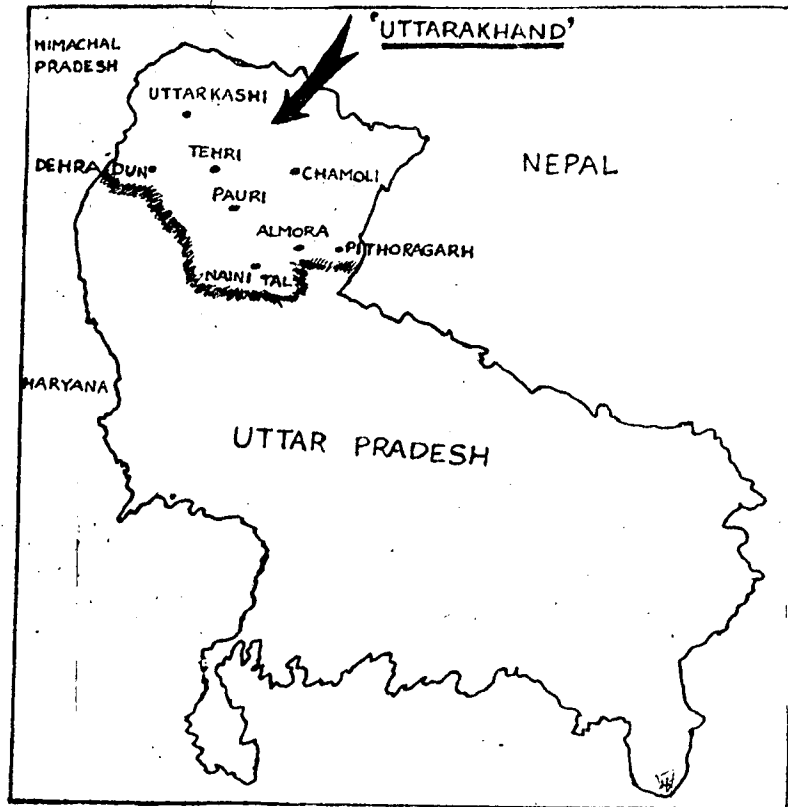
of the hills from the socio-economic, political and intellectual progress of the country as a whole. Thus, it is not the backwardness of Uttarakhand that causes discontent rather the progress of non-Uttarakhand.

Due to lack of sociological studies or other literature on this particular movement, I have wholly relied on newspapers, pamphlets, party publications, interviews, etc. Most of these sources were originally written in Hindi. Therefore, a few shortcomings in translation can not be denied. For such shortcomings I am individually responsible.

I gratefully thank my supervisor for guiding and inspiring to work for my dissertation.

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The name 'Uttarakhand' is as old as the Vedas. The word is used not only in Vedas but also in many other Hindu scriptures like Puranas, Upanisads and Mahabharat as an abode of Rishis. 'Uttarakhand constitutes eight hill districts of UP Himalaya, namely, Almora, Nainital and Pithoragarh (Kumaun); Chamoli, Tehri, Dehradune, Uttarakashi, Pauri (Garhwal). Recently one more district was created, that is, Haridwar district. This district will be included in the map of Uttarakhand due to cultural and geographical reasons.'

The hill region covers about one-sixth of the total area of the State and has a hill version of Hindu culture and a peculiar geomorphological feature. The Uttarakhand name for administrative use was first used in 26 Feb, 1960 when the districts were reorganised. The region shares borders with Nepal, Tibet, Himachal Pradesh and Ruhelkhand region of UP.'

The racial composition of the people of hills is not clear. However, "the Kolis, Kirats and the Khasas are the pre-Vedic inhabitants of the region. The Kolis are considered aboriginals and are represented by the Koltas, the Kolis and Doms

constituting scheduled caste population during present times (constituting 16.1 per cent of the total population). The Kirats and Khasas are the later races of Mangoloid and Cacauside origin which encroached this region successively. Both the races form substantial proportion of population and are represented by the Bhotias and the Khasa, Rajput Brahmins respectively".<sup>1</sup> The tribals constitute around 3.7 per cent of the population, and remaining are Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The peculiar feature of the region is non-existence of intermediary castes. The tribal population is Hinduized. The representation of minority communities is confined to urban centres. Almost 93 per cent of the population are Hindus.

Besides, a substantial proportion of population (Hindus) is constituted by the immigrants from almost all parts of the country. The people came to Uttarakhand basically for two reasons - first, due to the attraction of pilgrimage centres over this and, second, those who came here mainly from Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra due to the fear of Muslim invasions in Medieval period.

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1. Singh, O.P : The UP Himalaya : An Overview, (ed.), 1982, p.4.

Occupying about an area of 51122 km<sup>2</sup> Uttarakhand "is larger than many States of India, viz., Punjab, Haryana, Kerala, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, and Tripura. The State of Himachal Pradesh (55,673 km<sup>2</sup>) is larger than this region marginally!"<sup>2</sup> The total population according to 1981 census is 48.5 lacks.

An important characteristic feature of the hills is that there are hundreds of largely isolated patches having different cultural traits, slightly different from one another, within the larger whole. This difference can be explained by dividing the whole hill region into sub-hills of specific cultural traits and geomorphology. Even the language slightly differs in different sub-hills. One may find much similarity in the life style of Kumaun with that of Nepal than of Garhwal. However, <sup>at</sup> the macro level Uttarakhand has a common culture. This cultural homogeneity has two basic reasons behind it: one is similarity of climatic influence and another is adherence to Hinduism.

Before the coming of Britishers, i.e., 1816, in Uttarakhand, there were two feudatories Tehri (Garhwal) and Kumaun. The Kumaun was wholly merged in British colony but Tehri remained independent till 1948. The merger was resisted by the Tehri king Manvendra Sah.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Ibid.

3. Dabral Manglesh, in Jamat(Hindi), Sept 1987, p.7

The caste structure of the villages is very complex. Most of the villages are inhabited by a single Jati. Caste tensions are not manifest. This is because each jati lives in a separate village and there is no landlordism. Kshatriyas form numerical as well as economic dominance. Jatis have been divided into innumerable sub-jatis. The relation of superiority and inferiority exists within a caste irrespective of higher and lower rank. The kshatriyas have greater homogeneity in comparison to others. The immigrant castes belonging mainly to Brahmins and Kshatriyas, have almost monopolized the new opportunities.

Since, purity-pollution and superiority-inferiority is ascribed to work, the nature and type of work determines the prestige and dignity of individuals. However, there are certain things which are regarded impure in other parts of India but may not be the same in Uttarakhand. A section of the people who were patronized by the colonial power in past still have feudal mentality. Thus one can see the bourgeois morality and ethic among the 'proletariats' of Uttarakhand.

#### Demographic Structure

The total population of Uttarakhand in 1981 was 48.15 lakh, having a growth rate of 2.77 per cent annum. The growth rate is higher than the one experienced by UP during the

same period but slightly below the all India average. The following data have been taken from the various census reports: -

Table-1

Population Growth in Uttarakhand  
( in '000)

	District	1961	1981
1.	Nainital	574	1133
2.	Almora	631	773
3.	Pithoragarh	262	480
4.	Kumaun Division	1467	2386
5.	Pauri	479	624
6.	Chamoli	253	364
7.	Tehri	347	493
8.	Uttarkashi	122	191
9.	Dehradune	430	754
10.	Garhwal Division	1611	2429
11.	Uttarakhand	3098	4815
12.	Uttar Pradesh	73673	110886
13.	India	439235	685185

Table - 2

Percentage Distribution of Rural-Urban Population

	1961		1981	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1. Nainital	80.49	19.51	72.29	27.71
2. Almora	95.72	4.28	94.05	5.95
3. Pithorgarh	100.00	0.00	44.37	5.63
4. Kumaun Div.	92.52	9.48	83.78	16.22
5. Pauri	95.20	4.80	89.52	10.82
6. Chamoli	100.00	0.00	92.03	7.97
7. Tehri	97.68	2.31	95.94	4.06
8. Uttarkashi	97.55	2.45	43.19	6.81
9. Dehradune	55.58	44.42	50.53	49.47
10. Garhwal Div.	86.20	13.80	79.42	20.58
11. Uttarakhand	88.25	11.75	81.58	18.42
12. UP	87.25	12.75	81.99	18.01
13. India	82.00	18.00	77.00	23.00

Table - 3

Literacy Rate (Percentage)

	1961			1981		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
1. Nainital	27.2	36.4	14.3	37.2	46.7	26.0
2. Almora	21.8	39.1	5.4	38.1	57.4	20.7
3. Pithoragarh	22.4	40.2	5.7	37.9	36.3	20.4
4. Pauri	22.7	42.4	5.9	41.7	58.2	27.2
5. Chamoli	21.3	40.9	3.8	37.7	57.6	27.2
6. Tehri	15.9	32.6	2.1	27.3	47.0	9.5
7. Uttarkashi	15.6	28.7	1.9	28.3	45.2	9.3
8. Dehradune	38.6	47.4	27.1	51.9	60.5	41.5
9. UP	17.2	26.7	6.8	27.4	38.9	14.4
10. India	24.0	34.4	13.0	36.2	46.7	24.9

Table - 4

Ethnic Composition (Percentage) (1981 census)

<u>Religion</u>		<u>Religion</u>	
1. Hindus	92.17	5. Buddhists	0.21
2. Muslims	4.43	6. Jains	0.19
3. Sikhs	2.45		
4. Christians	0.55		

Table - 5

Districtwise Distribution

	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Buddhists	Jains	Christians
1.Nainital	77.43	12.95	8.97	0.05	0.5	0.53
2.Almora	99.09	0.58	0.10	0.20	N	0.17
3.Pithorgarh	99.34	0.40	0.05	0.01	N	0.18
4.Pauri	97.43	2.11	0.15	0.02	0.03	0.23
5.Chamoli	99.41	0.43	0.08	0.04	0.01	0.03
6.Tehri	99.42	0.48	0.06	N	0.03	0.01
7.Uttarkashi	98.84	0.30	0.11	0.57	0.18	0.01
8.Dehradune	86.28	8.32	3.27	0.52	0.54	1.16
9.UP?	83.31	15.93	0.41	0.05	0.13	0.15

Note - (1) Tribals are generally Hinduised and found in interior areas. Tribe constitutes around 3.7% of the total population.

(2) Other religious communities are mainly confined to either urban centres or the bordering areas of the hills, having small business as their main occupation



### Tribes

The principal tribes of the region are Bhotias, Jaunsaris, Tharus and Rajis. The Bhotias live in Almora, Chamoli, Pithoragarh and Uttarkashi district. While the Jaunsaris live in Jaunsar-Bawar which is "situated in Cis-Himalayas forming the northern half of the district of Dehradune. Jaunsar and Bawar are the two constituents of which Jaunsar roughly forms the lower half of the area".<sup>4</sup> The Rajis are confined to Dharchula, Didihat, Champawat and Kanalichchina blocks of Pithoragarh district. The agriculturist Tharu tribe lives in Sitarganj, Khatima developmental blocks of Nainital district.

Almost all the major tribes have been Hinduized or influenced by Hinduism. In Jaunsar Bawar the tribals have not only adopted Hindu way of life but also practice caste system although not rigid.

The Bhotias of Johar valley belong to trading class who traditionally have carried goods like spices and salt between Tibet and India.<sup>5</sup> They were declared tribe under Indian constitution. Due to their trade practice they have always been

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4. Mazumdar, D.N : Himalayan Poliyandry, 1962, p.3

5. See, Mandalbaum : Society in India, p.610

part of the mainstream of Uttarakhand. In past salt was the only thing people in Uttarakhand needed from outside. People lived in extreme isolation and were self-sufficient. People could not visit far-away urban areas since market visiting meant a loss of 40-50 days. Horse used to be the most important means of transportation and in some places it is still there. The barter system was the means of exchange. Bhotias are the most flourishing Kshatriyaised tribe of Uttarakhand.

The Tharus are traditionally a landowning tribe, although presently a good part of their land has been taken away by outsiders. Tribals are not treated inferior in Uttarakhand. The present movement for a separate State is enthusiastically supported by them.

#### Caste Composition

The caste structure in the region is very simple. The region lacks intermediary castes. The three main varnas are Brahmin, Kshatriya and Sudra (known as silpkars). Unfortunately there has not been any comprehensive sociological study of the region which could have touched these aspects scientifically. The Kshatriyas are economically as well <sup>as</sup> numerically dominant and the second comes Brahmins in both respects. The next is scheduled castes. It constitutes about 16 per cent of the population.

It seems that most of this caste people have been victims of ostracism. In a personal interview, an old person belonging to upper caste made an important point regarding the concept of outcaste. According to him if any low caste shares the place of funeral with another caste that means it must have been part of the related caste, otherwise every caste has been provided a separate place for funeral. The sharing of funeral pile can be seen in many places. Scheduled castes constitute the poorest of the poor although their condition is gradually improving due to protection given by the government.

#### Migration

Perhaps the biggest problem of Uttarakhand is out migration which is highest compared to any other region in India. A survey conducted in kumaun shows that 55.44 per cent population has migrated from the region.<sup>6</sup> "It is a grim reality that with hardly enough resources to sustain, thousands of hill people in Himalaya live virtually on the brink of near famine conditions with absolutely no technology to deal with the intricate and varied environmental problems, the destitute mountain folk are left with no option but to look to other areas for living".<sup>7</sup> The seasonal

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6. Bir Singh : 'Maidan Kee Aor Bhagte Pahar'(Hindi), Jansatta, 27 March. 1988.

7. Joshi, S.C : Rural Development in Himalaya, p.ix (Editors note).(1984)

employment in agriculture and allied activities is the biggest misfortune of the region. In his study of Pithoragarh district Khanaka points out that "there prevails a high degree of underemployment, an attested reality of hill agriculture...As a whole the problem is not how many persons are unemployed but how much they remain unemployed".<sup>8</sup> There is a saying in hills that 'Na Pahar Ka Pani Raha Na Jawani Rahi' (The hill have lost both, the water and youth).

Migration according to age group  
( percentage )

Age group	Male	Female
10 - 18	48.59	38.92
18 - 50	75.94	27.83
Above 50	35.53	12.17

Source: Survey Conducted in Kumaun : Bir Singh

In his survey of Kumaun, Dr. Bir Singh says that the problem of migration is more or less same in all 14,960 villages of Uttarakhand. He particularly talks of two villages,

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8. Khanka, S.S : in Joshi, S.C., op cit., p.149.

namely, Banik and Ratapani in Pithoragarh district where he could not find even a single male.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the whole economy of Uttarakhand is depend-  
end on what is termed as 'money order economy'.

The major source of job for local people is Indian Army. About 35 per cent of UP's share in armed force come from Uttarakhand.<sup>10</sup> The remaining work as household servants, hotel servants, etc., mainly in metropolitan cities. It is to be noted that there are about seven lakh hill migrants working in a single city, Delhi. The migration is not primarily due to higher earning outside the region but "primarily due to the very low productivity and income at the place of origin".<sup>11</sup> While writing on the inhuman life condition of Pahari migrants in Delhi, Dr. Bir Singh writes "most of the household childrens under the age group of 8 to 18 are from hills of UP. They work from 5 AM to 12 PM, even then they do not get the basic means for human existence, therefore, suffering from many diseases like T.B.... ..most of these children do not get more than Rs. 50 a month...."

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9. Bir Singh : in Jansatta (Hindi), 27 March, 1988.

10. Janmat (Hindi), Sep 13 - 19, 1987, p.7.

11. Khanka, S.S : 'Population and Development in Backward Economy', in Joshi (ed.), op cit., p.149.

there are also many incidents of sexual exploitations..."<sup>12</sup>

In fact, the migration has become a cultural norm of society. When a male child is born it is celebrated as birth of a money order sender. The migration is also not familial rather individual, because the migrants are not in a position to keep their families with them in cities or other places of destination. In a personal talk, Puran Singh, a house keeper who is working here in Delhi for the last 30 years and has migrated from a village in Pithoragarh district says, in an emotional state, " what do you want to know about our life. I could not see my wife in her youth or my childrens playing or at playing stage, because I used to visit home after four or five years gap. That also for three or four days, otherwise I would have lost my job. Now when I am finally going home I have become old. The worst part is that the same will repeat for my son because he is replacing me". This is perhaps the most miserable and contemptible condition of human life.

The out migration in Uttarakhand is synonymous to male migration. This process is not only distabilizing the sex structure of the region but also resulting in brain drain. Almost

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12. Dr. Bir Singh : Jansatta (Hindi), 27 March 1988.

all of the educated people migrate to other parts of India since the required jobs are not available in the region. Consequently, there is a divide between male and female, educated and uneducated, young and old, man and children and so on. One "should not be surprised to find village after village with only children, women and old men left to carry on with the hard struggle for survival. The massive outmigration denudes the region of its able bodied potential for leadership, man power at all levels."<sup>13</sup>

Thus, the worst part of migration is that most of the few educated people of the region who migrate for job opportunities often settle down at their destination and subsequently become indifferent about the problems of hills. Those who return to their original home are the uneducated, poor and helpless. This is not only a division between educated and uneducated but also between poor and relatively rich.

### Urbanization

Urbanization is a process which "serves the goals of modernization through new structural innovations in the spheres of industry, transport and communication, leisure and recreation

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13. Joshi, P.C : 'Perception of Planning from Above and the People's Perception from Below', S.C.Joshi (ed.), (1984), p.377.

and the mode and pattern of social interaction".<sup>14</sup> In modern times urbanization and economic advancement are closely related.

Uttarakhand is predominantly a rural region in which about 82 per cent of the population is dispersely settled in vast hilly terrain. There are about 14960 villages and 40 urban centres in the region.<sup>15</sup> The peculiar feature of the urban centres in the region is that they are developed either as market places or centres of tourism rather than as industrial centres. Even tourism is far less developed. Most of the tourists who visit hills do not get proper accommodation, due to underdevelopment of this industry, which has a large potentiality to develop. Therefore, rather than augmenting hill economy, the unplanned development of tourism has made the market place expensive and out of poor people's reach. Moreover, tourism provides only a seasonal employment for three four months without any source of employment for the remaining period. ( See Table - 2 for Rural-Urban population).

Rural areas are mainly dominated by women. According to 1981 census the women and men ratio in Pauri district was 8 : 2 .

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14. Singh, Y : Modernization of Indian Tradition, (1972), p.158.

15. Bir Singh : A Survey Conducted in Pithorgarh, (1988).



Chapter I

REGIONALISM AND STATE REORGANIZATION  
IN INDIA

Social movement is a social process directed to social change. Social movement based on the demand of separate State, in India, is not a new phenomenon. However, the nature of different movements based on similar demands, differ from each other in terms of causes, means and many other dimensions related to a movement.

Broadly speaking, the movements demanding regional autonomy, which grew around 1955, were linguistic in nature, whereas, most of the recent movements regarding to separate State are the manifestations of relative deprivation.

According to Ghose "the regional imbalances and aspirations have already found articulations in so many areas in the demand for Vidharbha in Maharashtra, Uttarakhand in UP, Gorkhaland and Uttarkhand in West Bengal and different tribal movements in North East India. In all these cases, the common aspiration is that of regional and cultural autonomy which according to regionalists will save them from domination of the majority as well as alleted cultural repression."<sup>1</sup> However,

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1. Ghose Arun : 'The Challenge of Nationality Formation', Asian Studies, Vol. 6, 1988.

regarding Uttarakhand, Eastern UP, Vidharbha and Uttarkhand the question of socio-political and economic domination is more important than the cultural domination.

In this chapter we will concentrate on regionalism in India, the State reorganisation, and the findings of State Reorganisation Commission, unfortunately there has not been any sociological study regarding Uttarakhand movement. Therefore, the review of literature is based on some other socio-political movements similar to the present one.

The social movements demanding separate State, in India, have a long history. The freedom struggle was not only aimed at liberation of the country from the colonial power but also, at the same time, it was a process of nation building. Since India was not only divided into numerous feudatories but also had linguistic and cultural heterogenities.

Although the presence of groups and communities is not peculiar to India, for the world has perhaps never had a state with a people who are completely homogeneous. Small states which at first sight seem to present an appearance of homogeneity are found on closer to consist of various units with distinct identities of their own. Religion, language, economic and social disparities as well as regional differences combine in differing

degrees to give them their distinctive character.<sup>2</sup>

The popular view regarding unity of India, at the time of independence, was that the genuine federation is necessary for this plural society. Because the federal system itself "comes into being and is maintained because of diversities - regional, religious, economic and ethnic - existing in a society".<sup>3</sup>

Among above factors language was regarded as an important basis of federalism in India. In fact the linguistic States were viewed as necessary for the eradication of many other deep rooted problems. The secularists wanted to get rid of caste and religious diversities. "Language has the potentiality for cultural identity. It can replace religion in some aspects; like religion it binds people vertically, i.e., the poor and the rich".<sup>4</sup>

According to Srinivas the concept of linguistic States is a by-product of Indian national struggle.<sup>3</sup> It was continuously encouraged by many national leaders at the later part

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2. Humaun Kabir : Problem Relating to National Unity, Seminar on National Integration, 16-17 April, 1958, p.22.
3. Noorani, A.G : Centre-State Relations in India (ed.), 1972, p.30.
4. Surendra, Mohan : 'Political Trends Since Independence', Samata Era, Vol. 6, (Jan-March, 1987).
5. Srinivas : 'On Indian Unity' , Samata Era, Vol. 6, (Jan-March, 1987).

of national movement. It was held that since the unity and strength within a constituent unit is a condition precedent to a healthy feeling of unity at national level. And, therefore, any attempt to eliminate tensions and contradictions and to make units more homogenous and internally cohesive is bound to strengthen the unity of the whole nation.<sup>6</sup> There should be fundamental unity, not imposition of external unity.

The regionalism based on caste and religion is no longer an issue. However, still remains important to a large extent. Though, the nature of many recent movements demanding separate State, e.g., Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Vidharbha, etc. is quite different from the earlier. Neither Jharkhand nor Uttarakhand has a single language rather Hindi has been playing an important role in mobilization of different linguistic entities. Yet wherever it exists it is always a supporting factor.

It is perhaps the complexity of linguistic composition which becomes hurdle to emotional unification of the people. Therefore, the inter-regional economic inequalities have become the major issues for the unification of a region as a whole.

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6. Quoted in SRC Report ; Chap. 'Unity and Security of India', p.30. (SRC was appointed in December 1953 and submitted its report on 1955.)

Subsequently the issue itself becomes the question of identity. Thus, the economic backwardness plays double role, i.e., emotional integration at the regional level and disintegration at the national. The conclusion of seminars held in 1958 is that in past decades "social and economic inequalities constituted an economic factor working against emotional integration as it resulted in emphasising particular loyalties."<sup>7</sup>

#### State Reorganisation Commission

After Independence the main issue before our leaders was reorganisation of existing States. The State Reorganisation Commission was set up in 1953 to "investigate the conditions of the problem, the historical background, the existing situation and the bearing of all important and relevant factors there on....The government expects that the Commission would in the first instance, not go into details, but make recommendations in regard to the broad principles which should govern the solution of this problem".<sup>8</sup>

The SRC submitted its report in September 1955.

"The principles that governed its deliberations were mainly four,

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7. The conclusion of three groups of Seminar On National Integration held in 1958, Report of the Seminar 1958.
  8. India, State Reorganisation Report, p.1

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namely, (i) preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India, (ii) linguistic and cultural homogeneity, (iii) financial, economic and administrative considerations, (iv) structural working of plans of economic and cultural progress".<sup>9</sup> The SRC suggested that the States should be formed on the basis of language.

It is to be noted that the All India Congress Session in Nagpur in 1920, had already accepted the principles of linguistic divisions of India. Motilal Nehru reported, adopted in the All India Conference at Allahabad in 1929, stressed the need for reorganisation of States according to linguistic principles so as to promote economic, political, cultural development of the various people.<sup>10</sup>

The procedure for the amendment of the constitution is laid down in Art. 368. The matters regarding reorganisation of States can be amended by the ordinary process of legislation and by a simple majority in the parliament. Following the constitutional process the parliament passed a State Reorganisation Bill in 1956 and reorganised the States.

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9. Gupta, D.C : Indian Government and Politics, (Vikas Publications, 1972), p.459.

10. Seshadri, K : Indian Politics Then and Now, (1976), p.155.

The framers of the constitution abolished the then existing designation of the constituent units, namely, provinces, and styled them as States. The States were classified into three categories as set forth below. In category 'A' were included the formerly known governors provinces. There were Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh (formerly central province), Madras, Orissa, Punjab (formerly East Punjab), UP (United province of Agra and Oudh), and West Bengal. The former princely States were included into category 'B' States. These were Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States' Union, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, and Travancore and Cochin. These were either big princely states that survived the process of integration or states formed by the merger of about 275 smaller princely states.

Formerly known as Chief Commissioners' Provinces comprised the 'C' category of States. These were Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, H.P., Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh. About 61 princely states were merged into these states.

Apart from these categories of States there were categories specified in part 'D' of the first schedule of



constitution. These were Andaman and Nicobar Islands.<sup>11</sup>

However, the classification of States into three categories, i.e., A.B.C States "was adopted essentially as a transitional expedient and was not intended to be a permanent feature of the constitutional structure of this country."<sup>12</sup>

Later, following the SRC recommendations the constituent unit of the union were classified only into two categories, i.e., States and Union territories, and the number of States was reduced to fourteen. These were, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Kerala, M.P., Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P., West Bengal and Jammu & Kashmir. Similarly the Union territories after the reorganisation of States were: Delhi, H.P., Manipur, Tripura, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amandive. Goa, Daman and Diu were taken over by India in 1961 and were made Union territory. In 1956 Pondicheri and after 1966 Chandigarh also became Union territories.

There was a great deal of criticism of the linguistic States. It created boundary disputes, riots, enmity among

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11. Gupta, D.C. : Indian Government and Politics, (Vikas Publications, 1972), p.481.

12. Report SRC : Proposal for Reorganisation, p.67.

the people of different States.<sup>13</sup> C. Rajagopalachari was among those who criticised this policy. The view held by this section was that "the regional consciousness never contributed to India's oneness in the past. In fact it is inherent in the narrow loyalties, whether based on communal, provincial or linguistic considerations, that they ally themselves with centrifugal forces and become instrument of the inter-State discord and disruptive trends. The idea of such nations and nationalities which form resistance to the growth of national unity, is implicit in the demand for a reorganisation of States or a rectification of their boundaries on the basis of exclusivist factors such as linguistic and cultural homogeneity."<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, it is important to note that the Dar Commission (1948) had already rejected the idea of linguistic States. The Commission felt that in forming provinces the emphasis should be primarily on administrative convenience. According to this Commission the homogeneity of language should enter into consideration only as a matter of administrative convenience not

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13. Kothari, R : Politics in India, (1970), p.328.

14. The Other View, quoted by SRC, Chap II, Unity and Security of India, p.31.

as linguistic entity. The Commission emphasised that the everything which helped the growth of nationalism had to go forward and everything which implied it had to be rejected or should stand over. Among many other factors which should be given due weight, the Commission mentioned history, geography, economy and culture.<sup>15</sup>

The criticism becomes true prediction and linguistic States failed to solve the problems. It "rather made it complicated. The aspirations of the people in several parts of India for a separate political entity got a new impetus and in order to satisfy those aspirations they began to organise agitations and campaigns."<sup>16</sup> Many of the recent movements show that the economic, geographical, cultural, and political considerations are more important than simply a language. This is perhaps due to rising linguistic homogeneity.

#### Further Reorganisation

First comes the bifurcation of Bombay in 1960, in which Marathi and Gujarati speaking population was separated. The bifur-

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15. Report of Linguistic Province Commission, 1955 to 1957), pp. 131-147.

16. Gupta, D.c : Indian Government and Politics, p.483.

reaction was against SRC recommendations. The SRC recommended that the Gujarati speaking States of Saurashtra and Kutch and Marathi speaking areas of Hyderabad should be incorporated in Bombay as a bilingual State and Vidharbha should be made a new State.

The new decision of the government was by taking the consideration of mass aspirations and the agitations of Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti for the demand of Maharashtra and Mahagujarat Janata Parisad advocating Gujarati speaking State.

#### Vidharbha Agitation for Separate State

The Marathi speaking region of Madhya Pradesh called Vidharbha was included in Maharashtra at the time of bifurcation of Bombay. The SRC recommended Vidharbha as a Separate State but the decision was opposite. The people of Vidharbha were not satisfied with the decision of the government regarding its inclusion in Maharashtra. The main discontent of the people was due to 'declining importance of Nagpur which until 1956 had been the capital of Madhya Pradesh'. Secondly the centre of economic and political activity has been shifted to Bombay consequently Vidharbha remains relatively deprived. Though many actions have been taken to eliminate this problem, however, the

Nag Vidharbha Andolan Samiti remains dissatisfied and the movement still continues.

Like Bombay, Punjab was divided on Nov. 1, 1966 into three units - Punjab comprising predominantly the Punjabi speaking areas, Haryana made up of Hindi speaking districts and Kharar tohsil, and Chandigarh the capital. Hilly areas were transferred to Himachal Pradesh. Causes behind the linguistic based division of Punjab are many in which the prolonged agitation of Akali Dal for Punjab speaking State is important. Fateh Singh had threatened the government that if the demand is not accepted, till 25 Sep. 1966, he will burn himself.

In 1956 the SRC recommended the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. But the opposition and discontent in Himachal Pradesh was so strong that it was not put into effect.

Himachal Pradesh was originally formed as a centrally administered territory on April 15, 1948. In 1955 it came under Lt. Governor as a part C State. Finally on 25 Jan., 1972, H.P became a new State.

Agitations for Autonomy in Assam

Particularly after Independence there arose a mass scale discontent among the tribals of Assam who later on demanded greater autonomy and separate hill states. While writing on the situation of dissatisfaction, Roderick Church says that it "appears to be rooted in many differences besides geography which separates the Hills and Plains in this region. Race is one example of this cleavage. Hills are mainly dominated by tribes while plains are by Aryans".<sup>17</sup>

The dissatisfaction was among the hill tribes of Garo, Khasi, Jaintia, Mier, and Mizo. Church emphasised many factors behind the discontent of tribal people. However, socio-economic factors, according to him, are basic for the understanding of the Assam problem. He talks of neo-traditionalism as a new phenomena among the tribals. He observes that "the British administration itself altered traditional institution in complex and varied ways but the overall thrust of its policy was directed towards maintaining of the traditional way of tribal life."<sup>18</sup> The political domination of Aryans on tribals, according to him, cannot

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17. Roderick Church : in Economic and Political Weekly, April 26, 1969, p.727.

18. Ibid.

be marginalized. Thus, the tribals not only lag behind economically but also politically.

In 1955, the SRC stated that lack of communication with rest of India and the economic deprivation of the region as the main contributory factors to the separatist pull of the extremist elements.

While disagreeing with the SRC report, Church states, "economic deprivation is a factor in discontent, it cannot claim primacy as an explanation to hill separatism. Christianity and literacy among hill tribe men are directly related on the basis of district figures. Ranking on both these variables correlate perfectly with district ranking on separatist sentiments. Similarly, the poor communication is not directly related to an understanding of hill sparatism unless coupled with literacy, and modern aspirations."<sup>19</sup>

In 1957 the United Mizo Freedom Organization won three seats by advocating the demand of autonomy. Though in the primary stage the different tribes were not united, in 1960 they organised an All Party Hill Leaders Conference which inclu-

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19. Roderick, Church : in EPW, April, 1968, p.729.

ded all non-Assamese tribal people living in Garo, Khasi, Micir, Jayanti, and Cacher hill districts. Now they unitedly demanded a separate hill region. Their non-violent movement reached its peak around 1968. The centre of their activities was Shillong.

In 1963 Nagaland was carved out of Assam as a full-fledged State. On 21 Jan., 1972, Meghalaya was cut out of Assam, as a separate State and Mizoram became a Union territory.<sup>20</sup>

#### Telengana Agitation

The SRC had recommended that the multi-lingual State of Hyderabad should be broken up, and the Kannada speaking areas thereof should be merged with Mysore and the Marathi speaking areas with Bombay. The Commission recognised that there were strong arguments in favour of the union of Telugu speaking area of Hyderabad State (known as Telengana) with Andhra in a single Telugu speaking State. But it did not suggest that step immediately because of the existence of a feeling among the people of Telegana that they might be "swamped and exploited" by the more

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20. Manorama Year Book, 1988, p.569.



highly educated people of Andhra. The Commission, therefore, recommended that Telengana should be a separate State, but that a provision should be made for its union with Andhra after the third general election "if a two thirds majority of the Legislature of Telengana expressed itself in favour".<sup>21</sup>

The Commission gave the following causes of the opposition from Telengana leaders to unification: (i) Telegana leaders seem to fear that the result of unification will be to exchange some settled sources of revenue....Telengana claims to be progressive and from administrative point of view, unification, it is contended, is not likely to confer any benifit on this area, (iii) When plans for future development are taken into account Telengana fears that the claim of this area may not receive adequate consideration in Vishalandhra. The Godavari projects, according to SRC, report, are among the most important which Telengana or the country as a whole has undertaken. Telengana does not wish to lose its present independent rights in relation to the utilization of the water of the Krishna and Godavari.<sup>22</sup>

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21. S.R.C.Report, 1956, quoted by Gupta : 1972.

22. S.R.C Report : The Case of Telengana, p.105.

The Congress leaders wanted to settle the problem as early as possible. So they invited the Telengana leaders and organised a meeting in 1956. The problem was settled by giving some privileges to the latter.

However, the agreement failed because the Telengana leaders argued that the agreement was not implemented "fully and sincerely". Though there have been many ups and downs after this agreement, the problem still remains in some different form.

#### Jharkhand Movement

The Jharkhand movement got its present shape only after independence. "The tribals of Jharkhand were never under any kind of domination before the Britishers. Whatsoever, they had their Jharkhand Raj. The very idea of being ruled by alien people, both Britishers and Hindu zamindars, was not acceptable, to these people even if the rulers ensured a better living and other comforts of life."<sup>23</sup>

According to Prof.K.L.Sharma three factors were crucial in Jharkhand movement: (i) the administrative unity of the region,

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23. Sharma, K.L : Caste, Class and Social Movements, (Rawal Publications, 1986), p.181.

(ii) the exploitation of the people and the material resources of the north Biharis and, (iii) ethnic differences between the people of Chotanagpur and Santhal pargana and the people of north Bihar.<sup>24</sup>

The main problem before the people of Jharkhand is the question of identity.<sup>25</sup> The Jharkhand Party submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1972, in which it demanded a "better and fuller life with dignity". Thus, the movement is against any type of assimilation. The main hurdle to this movement is the opposition to its demand from the part of non-tribals.

The Jharkhand Party won 33 seats in 1952 General Election and submitted a memorandum to SRC in 1955. However, the Commission was against the creation of Jharkhand State. It says that the 33 members' demand "do not represent the majority view, and it is also of some interest to note that the Jharkhand Party did not obtain a clear majority within the Chhotanagpur division and the Santhal pargana during the last general elections. This is in our opinion, significant. We need hardly add that public opinion outside the south Bihar is not in favour of dividing the State. Even in south Bihar, parties other than Jharkhand Party were in general

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24. Ghose, Arun : in Asian Studies, Vol. 6, 1988.

25. Sharma, K.L : op cit., p.168.

opposed to the decision."<sup>26</sup>

It further says, "We can not overlook this volume of opposition. If the Chhotanagpur division and the Santhal Pargana are taken together the tribal population is little more than one third of the total population and is divided into several language groups."<sup>27</sup> The other factors not favouring the Jharkhand State, according to SRC, include the imbalance between the industrial(Jharkhand) and the agricultural (remaining Bihar) regions, Patna and Bihar universities will be outside Jharkhand, biggest thermal power station is located at Bokaro (Jharkhand) etc.

The SRC findings and arguments may not be applicable to the present situation in Jharkhand.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the report itself has many shortcomings, for example, Prof. Sharma says, "there was no criticism of the elite of the north Bihar who have been exploiting the human and material resources of south Bihar for past 200 years."<sup>29</sup>

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26. SRC Report, p.168.

27. Ibid, p.169.

28. Upjit Singh, Rekhi : Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, 1988

29. Sharma, K.L : op cit., p.193.

Demand for the Division of UP

At first the demand for separate State, in UP, was raised by the people of Eastern UP. At the time of State reorganisation a memorandum was submitted to SRC by 97 MLAs representing western districts of UP. They had four arguments in favour of dividing UP. These are (i) physically and geographically the hill and plateau region has little in common with Gangatic valley, (ii) the present size of the region is undesirable because the administration becomes inefficient, (iii) their area has been neglected and the financial surplus which occurs in eastern half is mostly spent in western areas, (iv) the States of the Union should be roughly equal in size and importance so that no one unit is in a position to exercise a dominant influence in all-India affairs.

By rejecting the demand on many grounds the Commission says, "we are satisfied that in the State itself there is no demand on any large scale for its being broken up. On the other hand, we think that the vast majority of the people are likely to view with great disfavour and concern the partitioning of a State which has remained as a unit by itself for a very long history."

Although, the report has become now outdated, the reorganisation of Bombay and Assam did not follow its

recommendations, however, the wrong information of the Commission is still of importance. The Commission wrongly related Uttarakhand with rest of UP, by saying 'unit itself'. In fact, the hills always have had a distinct culture, geography, economy, history and polity, different from the plains. The region remained some sort of autonomous even at the time of colonial power. The Maharaja of Tehri retained his status till 1948. It is not only geography, but language, psychology, and culture also separated Uttarakhand from the rest of UP. Uttarakhand was included in UP only because some powerful congress members wanted it.

The Mizo movement has been studied by Goswami and D.P.Mukherjee. The Mizo National Front of Mizoram was formed in 1961. In the beginning the movement was oriented towards famine relief work. However, it later on changed its character when Laldanga became the President. His concept of 'nation' was narrow and localist. He propagated that Mizo belong to separate nation and have a political right to self-determination. According to these authors, the Mizo movement emerged due to several contradictions within the tribal society, several historical developments and ecological position of the region.<sup>30</sup>

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30. Goswami and Mukherjee, D.P : 'The Mizo Political Movement', in K.S.Singh (ed.), The Tribal Movements in India, (1982), Vol.1, p.129.

The movement was successful in the sense that it resulted in political autonomy in the form of separate State on 20 Feb 1987.

Another important movement is the Bodo or Udayanchal Movement. The goal of Bodo movement is to acquire Statehood to the region. This movement has been studied by Mukherjee and Mukherjee.

According to these authors the ethnic movement is mainly the outcome of socio-economic deprivation, cultural identity problems, and geography. The characteristic of Bodo movement is their antagonism towards non-tribals of Assam. They have been continuously opposing the cultural, political, and economic dominance of the 'outsiders'. The movement, with its aims and objectives, has passed through several stages. The rising consciousness of being tribals has been the very strength of Bodo movement.<sup>31</sup>

Das has studied the Naga Movement which emerged after Independence. According to him "the major phenomena which generated Naga movement was the growing discontent among the Naga tribes due to their inability to adjust themselves to the

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31. Mukherjee, D.P and Mukherjee, S.K : 'Contemporary Cultural and Political Movement among the Bodos of Assam', Tribal Movements in India, Vol.1, 1982.

emerging socio-economic situations on the eve of Indian Independence and the withdrawal of British administration which, they thought, gave them a measure of special protection and some privileges." The impact of the movement, according to Das, is twofold, i.e., the solidarity of Nagas who were till then isolated and the Statehood to Nagaland on 1 December, 1963.<sup>32</sup>

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32. Das, N.K : 'The Naga Movement', in K.S.Singh(ed.), Tribal Movements in India, Vol.1, 1982.



Chapter II

IDEOLOGICAL CONTRADICTION ON THE  
QUESTION OF UTTARAKHAND MOVEMENT  
AND MAIN ORGANIZATIONS

After dealing with different movements, we will concentrate on the nature of Uttarakhand movement. Here the main emphasis will be on the nature of such movements according to concerned organizations and not the ideologies of these organizations which will be taken in coming chapters.

In fact, the question of ideological orientation of the regional movements in India, which are sometimes termed as separatists, has attracted attention of sociologists as well as non-sociologists. There is a great confusion among the Marxists of different varieties regarding this question. The points being raised are as follows: Are these movements the manifestations of regionalism or sub-nationalism? Does sub-nationalism have anything to do with class? Is it the extreme form of centralization of power which causes such tensions? etc.

Now we will classify different parties and organisations according to what they view about the causes behind the genesis of Uttarakhand movement and other such movements.

Congress Party, Janata Dal, CPI, CPM, CPI(ML), BJP, Uttarakhand Kranti Dal(UKD), Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini(USV) are the main parties which have expressed their views on Uttarakhand movement.. These parties can be divided into three parts in which except Congress, Janata Dal and CPM, all others support this movement.

(1) Those who view this phenomenon (regionalist movement) neither as the expression of sub-nationalism, nor as a class struggle. They include (1) Congress, (2) Janata Dal, (3) BJP, (4) UKD.

(2) Those who treat these movements as an expression of sub-nationalism which is outcome of the class consciousness. They include CPI (M-L), and USV. The CPI (M-L) does not regard India as a nation rather a state. Their views are very near to USV.

3. Those who believe that these movements are the creation of bourgeois forces in order to divert the attention of working classes. They share the views expressed by the Communist Party of Russia on such movements which says, "The wave of nationalism.....engulf the masses of workers. And the more the movement for emancipation declined the more plentifully nationalism pushed forth its blossoms."<sup>1</sup> These parties include CPM. It is interesting to note that the CPI supports the Uttarakhand movement without having strong ideological justification.

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1. Stalin, J. : 'Marxism and the Nationality Question,' Stalin's Works, Vol. 2 , p.301.

The question now arises - whether India is a nation or a union of nations? Is this movement an expression of sub-nationalism? For the answer of these question it is necessary to know what nationalism is.

The definition of nationalism first given by Lenin and later improved under the regime of Stalin is still regarded very relevant. They defined nation as "a historically constituted stable community of people, formed on the basis of common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in common culture... it is sufficient for a single one of these lacking the nation ceases to be a nation".<sup>2</sup>

The language is the most important characteristic of a nation, i.e., it should have a common single language.

The "national community is inconceivable without a common language while a state need not have a common language".<sup>3</sup> According to this definition, India, China, Russia etc. are not nations rather states. If this definition is applied to Uttarakhand, then it is not a 'nation' firstly because there are many spoken languages, e.g., Kumauni, Garhwali, tribal languages, etc.

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2. Ibid, p.307.

3. Ibid, p.304.

Secondly, the common territory, which should not be confused with geomorphological region, implies historically constituted community in which the internal economic bond should be shared by a single whole, is non-existent in Uttarakhand. The region has always been divided into Kumaun and Garhwal having different historical backgrounds. The community sentiment among the Uttarakhand people could not arise due to lack of communication. The problem of communication is due to natural barriers. However, it is to be noted that it is the natural factor, i.e., climate - that made the people of the region different from other regions.

While dealing with psychological make-up of the hill people we must keep in mind the role of religion. The psychological make-up of hill people is based on mainstream Hinduism. It should be realized that the influence of Hindu philosophy is not only confined to Hindus, but historically it has been penetrated into tribals and other religious communities also. Since Hinduism is prevailing all over the country and is an uniting factor, it does not allow sub-nationalism within the country. The point is that the psychological make-up of the hill people is the psychological make-up of the country as a whole. So if India is not a nation, Uttarakhand cannot be a nation or sub-nation as well. Thus the views expressed by CPI(ML) and USV fail to understand the nature of the movement. However, these ideas are

important in order to understand the economic aspects of Uttarakhand movement.

Similarly, the views expressed by CPM do not have any logical base. The bourgeois tactics is unimportant in a caste based society. Further the neo-rich class in Uttarakhand is in its formative stage and not matured. The theory clearly fails when we confront with facts. Says Suji Chakravarty - "Belwal has set up a few industries in hills, notably Belwal Spinning Mills in Kashipur. He represent the growing section of neo-rich who are opposed to the movement"<sup>4</sup>, because they have larger interests.

Thus in our present study, by disagreeing with the views of sub-nationalism, bourgeois tactics, class based movement, and separatist movement, we treat the nature of the movement as an expression of regionalism. This movement is an outcome of the transitional state of Indian socio-economic system. In this regard Prof.P.C.Joshi's views are important. He says, "regionalism emerges as a powerful social force during the period of transition when the people are subjected to great tensions and insecurities due to the phenomena of uneven spread

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4. Sujit Chakravarty : in Patriot, 21 Nov 1988.

of development and due to the "spread effect" of development concentrated in some regions and its "backwash effect" concentrated on the other regions".<sup>5</sup>

India is a nation in making. There is a process going on in the country in which diversities are being transformed into unity, for example, Hindi is gradually becoming the common language. Similarly different cultures are homogenizing. This process of transformation creates problems and confusions, consequently resentment from the people. Moreover, when the transitional period is over and regional inequalities have overcome the resentment becomes dead.

The demand is to develop the region economically for which the local <sup>people</sup> think that decentralization of power and economic resources is necessary. Uttarakhand movement is an expression of the process of homogenization and diversification with the mainstream. The movement does not cross the degree of separation which has been provided in the constitution. It is beyond doubt that the economic cause is playing a dominant role but not deterministic.

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5. Joshi, P.C : 'Perception of Planning from Above and the People's Perception from Below', in Joshi, S.C (ed.), Rural Development in India, (1984), p.372.

In my present study I will use the term hillism for this phenomenon which is synonymous to Uttarakhandism because the term regionalism is often used in a negative sense.

#### Leadership : Theoretical Aspect

Leadership denotes an activity of organising people to cooperate towards some common desirable goal. According to Allport personal relationship is very important in leadership. He says "leadership according to our present uses means the direct face to face control between leader and followers".<sup>6</sup>

Theoretically there is no clearly defined universal approach for the understanding of leadership. There are three approaches to guide the research on leadership. These are 'trait of gentleman approach', 'situationist approach' and 'group followers approach'. In all, leadership is a complex concept which can only be understood by combining many factors such as personality, culture, group, situation, etc. Leadership in Uttarakhand is newly emergent type having no generational heritage. Almost all the leaders are from similar socio-economic background, with little variations.

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6. Allport : Quoted in Rakha, 1987.



Chapter III

HILLISM IN UTTARAKHAND :  
BACKGROUND AND CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

The demand for a separate State of Uttarakhand indicates a type of regionalism in which the problems of regional development, political autonomy etc. are given preference. For the achievement of this end, people are mobilized by giving them a particular type of a cultural identity. Therefore, without such an identity it is not possible to unite the masses, since economic issues alone are not sufficient. The point is that cultural means are often used for socio-economic goals. The examples are tribalism in Jharkhand,<sup>1</sup> Gorkha identity in Gorkhaland, etc. The people of Uttarakhand lack such types of identity. On the other hand what they have in common is that they are Paharis (Hill men). Thus 'hillism' is the base of the organizations demanding separate State.

The hill people have traditionally disliked the plain people due to a variety of reasons. The distinction between Paharis (hillmen) and Desis (Plainsmen) is a very old one. It is

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1. Sharma, K.L : Caste, Class and Movement, 1976.

the geographical factor which is responsible for this distinction. The plains people have always regarded the paharis as inferior. Sanwal has emphasized this point in his important sociological work on Kumaun. He writes: "On the whole the hills are regarded as remote and culturally backward and this effects the relations between hill people and the plain people including most significantly marriage relations".<sup>2</sup> Thus the role of outsiders in this regard is notorious not only Uttarakhand but also in Jharkhand where the outsiders are known as Dikku.<sup>3</sup>

There has been a continuous dominance of outsiders in Uttarakhand. The developmental procedures are such that the local people get no advantage out of them. For example, an HMT factory, set up in Raniganj near Haldwani, provided employment opportunities mainly to outsiders, since it requires specialized skills which is not available in the region. This type of development creates resentment among the local people which results in hatred towards outsiders, Consequently hillism develops. The same phenomena also happen between entrepreneurs. P.C.Joshi provides an excellent view. He says, the "new opportunities which require new skills, enterprise and capital are seized upon more promptly and vigorously by outsider entrepreneurs

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2. Sanwal : Social Stratification in Kumaun, (1976), p.17.

3. Sharma, K.L , 1976.

having superior skills, enterprise, capital resources; thus creating tension between local and 'outsider' entrepreneurs. In this background, there has appeared a cry against 'inner colonization' or domination of the local economy by 'outsiders' in various regions of country including Uttarakhand leading to political consequences.<sup>4</sup>

Uttarakhand has problems not only with outsiders but also within the hills. S.C.Joshi says, "the rural society in Himalaya is now facing the most challenging situation of all times, because the Himalayan eco-systems are fast losing their resilience and regenerative capacity owing to the ever increasing economic and human pressure".<sup>5</sup> However, the demographic aspect should not be over emphasized since it is relative to economic development. The tourism, forest and other resources have great potentialities but remain underdeveloped. "Uttarakhand has perhaps the largest share of the forest wealth of the country, which has a lucrative source of revenue for the State government. The rich potential offered by forest wealth for the expansion of new lines of economic activity and for new sources of income for the people of this region remains unexploited till today.

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4. Joshi, P.C : 'Perception of Planning...', in Joshi, S.C(ed.) Rural Development in India (1984), p.373.

5. Joshi, S.C (ed.) : Rural Development in India, (1984), p.ix.

To illustrate, we have ample raw material sources for setting up a number of paper plants. But as it is, logs are transported a long way to the plains to feed the paper mills. The same holds good for industries based on resin."<sup>6</sup> Presumably, almost all the (forest based) production is exported out which includes 20 lakh quintals pine wood to Star Paper Mills, 2.2 lakh quintals of resin exported to Resin and Turpentine Factory basically.<sup>7</sup> Similarly horticulture is very less developed in comparison to Himachal Pradesh. Further the mineral producing potentiality is considerable. The deposits of "monosite in Jhiroli and Chandak, soapstone, marble and dolomite (Bageswar), lime-zink (Barapattar), gypsum (Nainital) and copper (Askat) are few important minerals which may be produced at commercial scale providing proper subsidies and facilities to the individual entrepreneurs",<sup>8</sup> but are either unexploited or misused.

There is discontent among every section of the society excepting few privileged classes. An example is that of leesa (lacquer) workers. 'Leesa' is a product extracted from Cheer tree. To quote Chakravarty about the condition of

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6. Joshi, P.C : op cit., p.377.

7. Pandey, D.C : 'Financing Economic Development in Kumaun', in S.C.Joshi (ed.), op cit., p.312.

8. Pandey, D.D : in S.C.Joshi (ed.), op. cit., p.312.

'leesa' workers, "the trappers are paid Rs. 8 per canister (each holding 20 kgs) of 'leesa' extracted. It is a full day work to tap a canister. In the winter, the time takes more as the plants' capacity to produce a sap goes down. The work therefore is virtually seasoned in the summer and monsoons. It has been estimated that on an average the 'leesa' worker has an annual income of not more than Rs. 500".<sup>9</sup> The contractor, mostly 'outsiders', can go to any extent for higher profits, because workers are unorganized. However, there is a great frustration and dissatisfaction among the workers.

The frustration of unemployed youth can be imagined from large-scale migration and underemployment. In addition, the labour force from Nepal and other regions has made the situation worst. "In the absence of adequate industrial activity and corresponding job opportunity, people are forced to stay on and/or engage in an already overburdened and weak agriculture which results in disguised unemployment in the traditional agricultural sector".<sup>10</sup> Therefore, less than 15 per cent of land used for agriculture bears the whole population pressure.

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9. Chakaravarty, S : 'Exploitation of Leesa Tappers', Patriot, Monday, 21 Nov. 1988.

10. Chandra Ballabh : 'UP Hill Areas Requires a Better Deal', Yojana, March 1988

The effects of indiscriminate mining and other industrial ventures have been disastrous. According to the renowned town planner and environmentalist, M.N.Buch, there has been utter devastation of Bhagirathi catchment area including the tributaries like Bal Ganga, Bhilganga and the Mandakini in Garhwal region, the same has been the case with Kumaun region.<sup>11</sup>

Scanty hill crops are routinely damaged by rubble from mines coming down the hills. More than that, denuding of forest areas has caused the local water levels to recede. In areas where nobody had ever heard of water shortage, one can now see near drought conditions.<sup>12</sup> People are crying for water over there where the rivers flow.<sup>13</sup>

The plantation of commercial valued trees, like eucalyptus, is another problem in hills. These trees lack the quality of preserving soil humidity and also useless for animal fodder. Since animal population is almost equal to human population it has increased the already existing burden.

The main issue before the people of Uttarakhand is to break the unholy nexus between contractors, administrators,

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11. Chakravarty, Sujit : 'What Really Hurts the Hill-Folk', Patriot, 21 Nov. 1988. (Quoted by him)

12. Ibid.

13. Manifesto, UKD, p.43.

police and mafia, which has monopolized the socio-political and economic power. Majority of this nexus is constituted by 'outsiders', and the remaining local exploiters are urban based mainly in Haldwani, Dehradune, Khatima, etc. Since the government patronizes these exploiters, the struggle, naturally, is focused against the government.

Participation of women in the movement is impressive, since they are the main victims of misfortune. An average woman works at least 16 hours a day. According to census 1981 the percentage of working women in this region is highest in UP and, perhaps, all over India. It was 48.74 % in Uttar Kashi, 43.54% in Chamoli, 43.54 in Tehri, 39.83 % in Pithoragarh and so on, whereas it was 6.02 in all over UP including Uttarakhand. Similarly, the highest percentage of working population in UP was found in Chamoli district (54.03 %).<sup>14</sup>

To illustrate women's plight, there have been thousands of cases in which women were kidnapped or purchased by outsiders and sold in Delhi or Bombay. There can not be a more inhuman act than this one. This type of acts have, naturally, encouraged hillism. The hard life alienates women

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14. Census Report, 1981.



from their own life, from children and society in addition to their already separation from their husbands. Consequently, the expression results in high suicide rate. According to Pant "at least 75% of the suicides are among the women. They destroy themselves out of the disgust with their hard lot"<sup>14</sup>

#### Planning Problems in Uttarakhand

Developmental planning for Uttarakhand is throughout a failure. Although it is not because the planners' ignore the region but because "they are often quite ignorant of the Himalayan environment and the lives of its people: of their hopes and fears, their problems, needs and satisfactions, their society, activity, value and experiences".<sup>15</sup> The failure is also due to mixing of planning for plain as well as hills. There is a long standing demand that the planning for hills should be separately made but it remains unfulfilled. The "hilly nature of Himalaya with overwhelming third dimension of height and in collaboration with other topographic and climatic hardship has posed serious constraint for its proper development"<sup>16</sup>

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14. Pant, S.D : 'Social Economy of Himalaya ,(London: 1935).

15. Berreman, G,(ed.), O.P.Singh : Himalaya:Man, Nature,and Culture.

16. R.Chand and Thakur, M.C : in Joshi, S.C (ed.), p.31.(1984)

Leaders of the Uttarakhand movement have repeatedly criticized the modernizing process and plans in Uttarakhand. For example, the road network planned and built by government helps the exploiting classes like contractors and liquor mafia to expand their area of exploitation.

The Planning Commission itself knows that the direction of hill development is not favourable. In its revision of sub-area plan for UP hills, the Commission noted that, "the plan formulation and implementation has been lacking a proper and adequate base."

The new hill plan states that its core strategy is "development without destruction" for which protective, regenerative and productive measures will be streamlined during 1988-99. It cautions against mining, as this has "severe and serious environmental implications, which would need to be carefully assessed before this activity can be expanded." It also warns that though tourism has vast untapped possibilities on account of the natural endowments of the region, "tourism must be made environment-friendly".

Again, the plan warns that roads in the hills cannot be treated as commercial ventures and should be built on

the principles of "minimum necessary and not maximum possible".<sup>17</sup> However, all these things remain on papers.

### Tehri Dam Controversy and the Discontent

The (controversial 260.5 metre high, Tehri Dam Project across the Bhagirathi river (known as Ganga after Haridwar) at Tehri, which was started in 1978, has created mass resentment in Tehri Garhwal. Initially the controversy was confined to scientists and environmentalists but later on it reached to people. On November 29, 1987 there was a long debate at the India International Centre, New Delhi. The speakers were Mr. Mr. Sunderlal Bahuguna, the Chipko leader, Mr. Sunil Ray, the environmentalist, Mr. Upendra Baxi, the legal expert to Supreme Court and Mr. Devendra Kumar, chief engineer of the project. Mr. Ray said that the large scale deforestation leading to flash flood was threatening the very culture of the Indo-Gangatic plain. Purely in terms of cost benefits too the projects were a waste. Cost was underestimated as also environmental damage". Bahuguna made a highly emotional speech on the destruction of the Himalayas whose slopes are bare today. He said that as a result of

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17. Revised Hill Development Plans, Planning Commission Report, T.I.O, 21 July 1988.

tampering with nature the rivers had become turbulent in the last 50 years. Due to siltation the Bhagirathi level has risen by 21 feet. In Nainital district 45 per cent of springs had dried up and the Tehri drinking water had to be provided to people at the cost of Rs.20,000 a day. Bahuguna was not against construction of smaller dams .

The Tehri Bandh Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti, supported by the Indian National Trust for Art and Culture(INTAC) and the World Wild Life Fund(India), opposed the construction vehemently. The Samiti filed a writ against the project in Supreme Court by "calling the project a prescription for disaster. The protesters agree that it could lead to unprecedented devastation not only in areas around the project but also in thickly populated townships like Rishikesh and Haridwar that fall down the stream."<sup>18</sup> They, in their petition to Supreme Court, said, "it is technically unfeasible, geologically blunder, economically unsound and environmentally disastrous."<sup>19</sup>

Later on many regional organizations took the issue and asked the people to support the movement for a separate

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18. The Times of India, 21 Nov. 1987.

19. Manorama Year Book, 1988, p.615.

State because it is the only alternative.

The resentment among the local people was due to the fear that "the reservoir will submerge Tehri Town and 23 villages. In addition another 72 villages are to be partly affected, 70,000 people will be displaced, 1600 hectares of the cultivated land, 1000 hectares of the forest land and 2000 hectares of pasture lost for ever." 20

The other reason of the opposition to the construction of Dam, according to Samiti, is its lack of advantage to the local people, since the project was supposed to supply electricity to Delhi. Although the construction of Dam is still not finalized, however, it has created sufficient resentment and alienation particularly in Tehri, and Uttarakhand in general.

In general, the perception of the local people about Uttarakhand can best be seen in a letter published in many newspapers by four intellectuals who had done good deal of field work. The letter is reproduced here which is also quoted by Prof. Joshi.<sup>21</sup>

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20. Usha Rai : in The Times of India, 30 Oct. 1986.

21. P.C.Joshi : in S.C.Joshi (ed.) Rural Development in Himalaya, p.375.

"We express our deep concern at the present social and economic trends in hill districts of Uttarakhand which are laying the basis for tension and unrest, an area vital to national security. The trends if not effectively countered in time, may lead to popular dissatisfaction similar to what we witnessed in other backward pockets. The hill districts continue to be an economically depressed, politically ineffective region within the backward State of Uttar Pradesh.

The story of British rule in this area was the story of destruction of its isolation and self-sufficiency, increasing disruption of the traditional mode of livelihood of its people with the appearance of new economic opportunities and the dreams of its material and human resources outside the region. This area was, thus, slowly reduced into a colony within colony. The wide sweep of the national movement even in this remote part owed its existence to the result of British rule and to the widespread desire and hope for a change in the perception and initiation of a national government. The freedom failed to bring about a new turn in the lives of the common people of this region. Notwithstanding the declared objective, the story of British rule - a story of change without development has, in a fundamental sense, been repeated during the two decades since the advent of freedom. Ad hoc, haphazard and

piecemeal economic measures have neither contributed to the creation of an adequate infrastructure for regional development, nor led to the opening of new lines of economic activity. What is worse, they have not yet created promise of a better future for the common people. The massive exodus of able-bodied as well as educated manpower from this region is the only way by which the precarious economic equilibrium is maintained in face of the fast expanding population and chronic economic stagnation. The network of roads and communication, though a significant development has best contributed to providing supplementary means of subsistence for the temporary period of grossly underemployed rural population. It has failed to generate any indigenous economic momentum. This is because the economy of this region has always been based predominantly on small produces and small men of business and has, therefore, been lacking indigenous capital and enterprise capable of benefiting from these facilities.

The further opening of this region, however, has economically enlarged the scope for commercial exploitation of Uttarakhand as a source of raw materials by nominal interests from outsiders. The threat of domination of economic, social and political life of this region by powerful interest groups from outside has created a new sense in insecurity and hurt

the interests of local people. The most total exclusion of the people of this area from the fruits of Terai Development has meant the loss of the most important economic outlet for the common people within the region and this has heightened the sense of helplessness. Not regional development and prosperity but depopulation drain and exploitation - this is the grim prospect which is slowly becoming a part of popular experience and consciousness."<sup>22</sup> Thus, this is the discontent behind the genesis of Uttarakhand movement. The movement is an expression of extreme form of deprivation. Sujit writes, "The hills people are normally peace-loving and prefer seclusion. But they are not docile enough to be subject to endless exploitation".<sup>23</sup> The complex situation can be solved only by conferring some autonomy to local people. Joshi writes, "A high priority, therefore, has to be given to understanding regional autonomy as a relatively autonomous entity."

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22. Quoted by P.C.Joshi, in Joshi, S.C (ed.) : Rural Development in Himalaya, p.375.

23. Sujit Chakravarty : 'What Really Hurts the Hill-Folk', Patriot, 21 Nov, 1988.



Chapter IV

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT

The demand for a separate State of Uttarakhand was first raised by the then general secretary of undivided Communist Party of India, Mr. F.C.Joshi. It was more out of ideological cum political conviction of a separate entity for ethnic and cultural minorities, than in reflection of a strident demand born in the soil of Kumaun and Garhwal.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, the demand was also raised by former Tehri Raja (king), Manvendra Singh. Although the Raja had this idea even before Mr. Joshi put it forward, he came out openly only in 1957. The Tehri Naresh "mobilized opinion among hill people working in cities like Delhi, Chandigarh, Calcutta, Lucknow and Dehradune and even set up an 'Uttarakhand Rajya Parisas' to fight for a separate hill State".<sup>2</sup> However, it is difficult to say whether he was really concerned about the people or his lost status of Raja. Any way the movement failed.

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1. Sujit Chakaravarty : in Patriot, 21 Nov. 1988.

2. Rawat, R.S : 'The Tehri Raja's Failed Agitation', Patriot, Nov. 21, 1988.

The failure of Mr. Manvendra Singh's movement has many reasons. The main reasons according to Rawat are as follows:

1. The Maharaja was suspected in the eyes of the Brahmin community following the death of poet Sridev Suman in Tehri jail on 25 July 1947 after his 84<sup>2</sup> days fast-unto-death - demanding the end of Monarchy;
2. The demand was limited to leaders and had no grassroot support;
3. The Kumaunis and Garhwalis were not in agreement regarding the place of capital of the new State; and
4. The outbreak of Indo-China war in 1962, when the agitation was withdrawn in larger national interest.<sup>3</sup>

Further, the most important reason might be the unwillingness of Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, the first Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, though, he was a Kumauni. He was respected in Garhwal. Moreover, Pt. Pant was a mass leader and one of the most powerful persons of India in his time. However, it does not mean that by opposing the regional movement he was opposed to local people. Further, as has been mentioned earlier, there was no importance of such a need in view of the then existing socio-economic conditions.

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3. Ibid.

There have been ups and downs in the history of this movement. The unique fact is that the ideological differences did not play any important role in the past. Leaders belonging to different organizations unitedly led many agitations, for example, the Chipko Movement.

The most important phase of the movement started in 1986 when UKD and Sangarsh Vahini came up strongly and started areawise movements.

Important Events Related to Uttarakhand Movement:

1928                Nehru Report stated that the wishes of the people, the geographical and economic reasons should be taken into account while reorganizing the States.

1936                At the Srinagar Conference of Congress Party, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the hill people should be given every right to preserve their culture and solve their problems according to their needs.

1948                A Conference was organised by Pt. Badri Dutt Pandey, popularly known as 'Kurumanchal Keshari' for his contributions to freedom struggle, at Haldwani. This was the first time when a latent demand of a new State arised.

- 1952 Com. P.C.Joshi, the then general secretary of CPI, put forward the demand of a separate State. This was the first time when 'Uttarakhand' as a separate State was declared.
- 1956 Com. P.C.Joshi restarted the movement termed as Kumaun Sankalp.
- 1957 Maharaja of Tehri, Manvendra Singh, restated the demand strongly. He was the first person to contest election from Uttarakhand (Tehri) under the banner of a regional organisation called 'Uttarakhand Rajya Parisad'
- 1967 On June 24-25, Ramnagar Conference was held. This Conference is important because an organisation - 'Parvatiya Rajya Parisad' - was found, which can be seen as the foundation of present movement. Among the participants were D.K.Pandey, G.S.Mehra and N.D. Sunderyal.
- 1968 R.B.Sunderyal organized a rally at Boat Club (New Delhi). The participants were mostly migrated people from hills. All demonstrators were arrested and later released.
- 1971 Chandra Mani Badauni (MLA), Laxman Singh Adhikari,

Narendra Singh Bist and others started reawakening the masses under the leadership of Manvendra Sah, the Tehri Raja.

1973 Parvatiya Rajya Parisad was reorganised. The Parisad acquired support of two MPs from hills, namely, Narendra Singh Bisht and Pratap Singh Negi (both from Congress Party). The Parisad also organised a two-day Conference on Jan 27-28 demanding Statehood to Uttarakhand. In this Conference the name Parvatiya Rajya Parisad was changed into 'Uttarakhand Parvatiya Rajya Parisad'.

1976 A new organization called Uttarakhand Rajya Morcha came into existence. The Morcha organised a march from Badrinath to Boat Club to press their demand for a separate State. Police arrested and jailed them.

1977 An important organisation - 'Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini' - was formed by the charismatic leader Dr. Samsher Singh Bisht, (A Ph.d from Jawaharlal Nehru University), at Gopeswar.

1977 Uttarakhand Rajya Parisad was formed by a Janata M.P. Tripen Singh Negi, but he disassociated himself later on. The organisation held demonstration in Delhi

on July 25, 1979.

1978

Uttarakhand Jan Morcha, under the leadership of Kripal Singh Rawat (Congress M.F.) and Puran Singh Mehra (MLA) from Kumaun, Diwakar Bhatt, C.M Lakhera from Garhwal. In 1979 they organised a demonstration in Delhi before the President's house. 79 persons were arrested and sent to Tihar jail. CPI also participated in this demonstration. Pratap Singh Puspwan, MLA (CPI) ; also went to jail along with Saroj and others.

1979

On July 25, another important organisation - Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKD) - was formed by a famous scientist, Dr. D.D.Pant. The frontline leader of this organisation at that time was Jaswant Singh Bisht. Bisht is a learned man and "till date remains close to soil. His democratic leanings were clear in his statements on the rights of the peasants, etc. In 1980, he stood as a U.K.D candidate in the Assembly elections and won.

1985

Kashi Singh Airy won assembly election. Presently he is president of U.K.D. He contested the election independently but later on joined U.K.D.

1986

Airy gave new thrust to movement.

- 1987                    A split occurred in U.K.D. A youth wing left the party due to some serious differences.
- 1987                    December 20, Uttarakhand Jan Parisad was formed by the youth wing who left U.K.D. They are playing an important role at present. They started a typical mass awakening campaign known as 'Bairang Abhiyan' in which unstamped letters were posted in a massive way to the people of region. It was basically due to lack of communication in hills and was a success. They later on started another typical campaign at Dehradune. It was known as 'Boot Polish Abhiyan'. Shoes were polished at street for the collection of fund for victims of drought.
- 1988                    August Conference of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) declared to support the movement for separate State of Uttarakhand. It was held at Agra. The party preferred Uttaranchal at the place of Uttarakhand. 'Khard' according to them, smacks of, secessionism. It was first time when a national party supported it. The Conference is popularly known as Agra Conference.
- 1988                    December. Sangharsh Vahini held a seminar at Dehradune.



1989 Feb. 11 - 12. Unity Conference was held in Delhi, attended by all organisations including BJP. The U.K.D. was the exception. These organisations were:-

- 1) Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini (USV)
- 2) Uttaranchal Pradesh Sanghars Samiti (BJP)
- 3) Uttarakhand Jan Parisad.
- 4) Uttarakhand Raksha Manch.
- 5) Uttarakhand Pragatisheel Yuva Manch.
- 6) Uttarakhand Yuva Sakti Manch.
- 7) All Uttarakhand Student Union.
- 8) An unofficial candidate of Janata Dal.

1989 Feb. 22. A massive BJP rally held at Almora, supported by all above organisations. The BJP president L.K.Advani was the main speaker.

1989 June 4th, the biggest Conference so far was held at Uttarkashi.....

The issue is widely discussed that whether the demand for a separate State is harmful for the unity and integrity of the country or is it positive for the balanced development. Nehru Committee appointed by Indian National Congress in 1928 and Dhar Committee of 1948 supported the autonomy of smaller States.

Similarly, the State Reorganisation Committee of 1956 says in its report that regional identity is not necessarily against nationalism. Both can exist side by side. Although it limits the scope of regional identity.

After Independence many national leaders supported the concept of small States. At present this concept has been changed and it is realized by the government that economic development is not related to separate State. Moreover, it is being said that these movements are much more politically oriented, they have nothing to do with the real problems.

In August 23, 1988, the Janata leader, Mr. M.S.Gurupadaswami asked a question in Rajya Sabha about the creation of a separate State of Uttarakhand. He said that Uttarakhand "is another name of poverty" and lamented the large scale migration of youth from hills and said that whenever some old died, there was a dearth of young people to perform the last rites. In his answer the minister of state for home affairs Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev ruled out the creation of separate State saying that separate State is not the solution of backwardness.<sup>4</sup> Surprisingly enough the minister said 'tribals of Uttarakhand' which it is not. This is not to say that 'tribal' indicates some pejorative

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4. The Times of India, August 24, 1988.

cannotation rather it indicates the indifference of a responsible person and his ignorance about the country. By this type of errors the psyche of people is affected because they think that they are being neglected.

### Goals, Means and Organisations

Although for every concerned organisation the goal is clear, i.e., the separate State, for some it is not the ultimate goal, and for some other it is political capital which is the real goal.

The main organisation which has a single goal, e.g., Statehood to Uttarakhand, is Uttarakhand Kranti Dal(U.K.D). For this organisation Statehood is the only alternative for the solution of every problem and once the goal is reached the problems will cease to exist. The other most important organisation is Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini(USV). The Vahini has all India approach. However, their activities are confined to the hills. For Vahini separate State is not the solution of the problems rather a step towards that end.<sup>5</sup> Both U.K.D and U.S.V are parallel in their activities having more or less equal support base, however, the strength of the organisation of Vahini is

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5. See Manifesto, Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini.

far less than U.K.D. It is important to know that the support bases of these two organisations differ in terms of urban-rural and upper and lower caste-class. UKD comes in the former category and USV in the latter.

BJP and CPI, of course, have some support bases over there but can not be compared with either of the earlier two regarding commitment to the movement.<sup>6</sup> The position of Lok Dal (B) is marginal. The Lok Dal supports the movement simply because the national president of the party hails from Garhwal.

The main cause behind the importance of national parties, without much direction, is simply that of their being national parties. Moreover, the support of national parties, to some extent, legitimizes the hillism, by which the regional parties lose the fear of being termed as separatists. Hence, however is their commitment, the importance of these national parties cannot be marginalized.

Apart from parties some individuals also support the movement. These include Mr. Ajit Singh of Janata Dal, Swami

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6. Bist, Bikram Singh : 'Uttarakhand Jawan Ho.Gaya' , Hindustan Times, 18 Oct. 1988.

Agnivesh of Badhua Mukti Morcha, Dhirendra Pratap of Janata youth wing, some lower rank leaders of Congress party belonging to the region and some leaders of the Indian People's Front.<sup>7</sup> From the point of view of individual leaders and national parties the support to Uttarakhand Statehood is more or less politically oriented. There is a widespread feeling in the region that only those people can understand the region's problems who are close to soil.

The parties which have got solid ideological orientations are USV and BJP, the former being Marxist-Leninist (with some difference). The ideology of UKD is in flux, in Marxist term it will be termed as a bourgeois party. However, due to the nature of socio-economic conditions of the region the concept of bourgeois leadership does not arise in Uttarakhand.

There is a great contradiction that the majority of the people in Uttarakhand are not in a condition to differentiate the organisations and their ideological orientations clearly. It is perhaps because of the lack of politicization of rural folk and also due to the issues raised by different organisations having similarities. Overwhelming of issues can best be

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7. Ibid.

seen among UKD, CPI and BJP.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the main goal which attracts most is separate State irrespective of the form of proposed State. Further, the socio-cultural background homogenizes, to some extent, the leadership. Not to mention that the local branches of national parties are more enthusiastic, crossing the limit provided to them, otherwise they fear the support base will be lost. The demand has got such popularity that even heavyweights like Mr. N.D.Tiwari, Mr.K.C.Pand, Mr. Brahm Dutt and Mr. Harish Rawar (Congress M.P) are not in a position to oppose the demand.

In the next chapter I will concentrate on three main parties which are active in the region. So far, most part of my work is related to background of these parties and their ideological orientation. It is mainly because Uttarakhand movement is basically in a formative stage and so far no real mass activities have been organised by any party except few such cases.

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8. See the manifestoes of UKD and AISF. (1987)

Berreman divided politics of Uttarakhand into two types, namely, 'elite politics', i.e., the politics of survival.<sup>1</sup> National politics according to him is elite politics in Uttarakhand. They emphasize on issues which 'appeal' to the elite - industrialization, promotion of tourism, modernization, socio-cultural "reform" and alleviation of "backwardness" (emphasis is Berreman's).

What annoyed Berreman is that the elite politics comprising insiders as well as outsiders confess that the culture of Uttarakhand is inferior or backward. Therefore, to be assimilated with the mainstream.

He says that for the mainstream politicians the region's culture is the culture of the elite of the region because they do not know the rural folk. "It promotes the view of mountain people and their culture as one of the unique Hindu orthodoxy and purity; as Sanskritized, as Brahmanical and Puritanical".<sup>2</sup> These are very important observations of a

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1. Berreman, G : 'Regionalism and Environmentalism', in M.K.Rakha (ed.), The Himalayan Heritage, (1987), p.266.

2. Ibid.

great sociologist who loved the people of Uttarakhand.

Berrenan minutely observes the famous Garhwal by-election (Bahuguna v/s Congress, 1982) in which, he says, the Congress wanted to divide people by electing a candidate whose caste people constituted 68% of the population (Kshatriya candidate). However, the party lost the seat to Bahuguna. "It is sometimes", he writes, "used to manipulate class differences (elite versus mass ; urban versus rural, etc.) regional differences, ethnic differences (Hindu versus non-Hindus, Bhotia versus Pahari), and almost any other potential cleavage one might think of".<sup>3</sup>

Thus, these are the political aspects which helped discontent to flourish. And this ultimately turned into the origin of grass-root politics, i.e., the Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini, Chipko and UKD, who wanted to reintegrate the people of Uttarakhand.

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3. Ibid.



Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKD)

UKD is the only organisation in Uttarakhand which can be termed as a regional organisation and it is the only organisation which was formed for a single aim, i.e., to have a separate State, Uttarakhand.

The UKD came into existence on July 25th 1979 under the leadership of the famous scientist Dr.D.D.Pant at Mussourie.<sup>4</sup> The frontline leader of this organisation then was Jaswant Singh Bisht, "a man who till date remains close to the soil. His democratic leanings were manifested in his statements on the rights of the peasants, etc. In 1980, he stood as the UKD candidate in the assembly elections and won. In 1985, the same seat was held by a new UKD candidate, Kashi Singh Airi, the present torch-bearer".<sup>5</sup>

Till 1986, the organisation was not much active. However, it supported the movements like anti-alcoholic (1984) Chpko (1974), and the struggles of landless labourers. From '86 to '87 the Dal had good performance but after that there came a sudden fall in it. UKD is a fluid organisation.

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4. Uttarakhand Rajya Aur Uska Swaroop (Hindi), p.5.

5. Chakravarty, Sujit : in Patriot, 21 Nov. 1988.

Chapter V

GRASS ROOT POLITICS AND  
POWER POLITICS IN UTTARAKHAND

The present president of the UKD, Airy, is from Kumauni and so far the leadership of the organisation has been dominated by Kumaunis.

Airy wants the movement to be non-violent. Mainly due to this reason he has not been able to attract the youth. Even the youth wing of the organisation itself is unhappy with him. At the Conference of the organisation held at Rishikesh on July, 25, 1988, the youth wing opposed the reappointment of Airy as the president of the organisation. Even a Gandhian leader, Indramani Badauni, who has been continuously winning the assembly elections, for last 15 years, profess violence as the only means which can fulfill the demands.

The UKD had three main successes so far. The first is a public meeting at Pauri, on March 9, 1987, at Ramlila Grounds. "About 5000 people attended the meeting, a significant number, because even the general election meetings addressed by national leaders do not attract such large numbers in these areas."<sup>6</sup> The second success of the organisation was the call for 'Uttarakhand Bandh (close)' organised on Sep. 13, 1988. The third success is the Delhi Rally.

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<sup>6</sup> The Week, 17-23 May, 1987.

However, the biggest setback to the organisation came when it lost the Block and Municipal elections all over Uttarakhand, except two seats. Surprisingly, the winner was the Congress (I). When Airy was asked about this defeat he replied, "We accept the defeat. But it does not mean that the movement is losing its base. You can't tell me even a single candidate who won the election by opposing the demand of Uttarakhand".<sup>7</sup> No doubt the argument is a logical one, but it shows that the organisation has lost its support base.

At present Airy is facing many problems, and failure to overcome these problems will cost the organisation itself. The first and foremost challenge before the organisation is the ever rising domination of BJP. The UKD has many pro-BJP members who want to have an alliance with BJP. But the other leaders of the organisation feel that any type of alliance with BJP will undermine the whole existence of UKD, since the main aim of BJP is power whereas for UKD it is a separate State. Similarly, if UKD opposes BJP, there is fear of split in the organisation.<sup>8</sup>

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7. Parvatiya Times (Hindi), (January, 1989).

8. Parvatiya Times (Hindi), (Sep. 1988).

The second problem for UKD is casteism in Uttarakhand. The polarization between Brahmins and Kshatriyas is well known in Uttarakhand, locally known as 'Kha-Ba Rajneeti'. It is not only between castes but also within castes. The general phenomena is that Kshatriyas are numerically dominant whereas Brahmins have been politically dominant. Similarly, the Kumauni-Garhwali problem is yet another problem. Narayan Singh Jantwal, the vice-president of UKD says "Till date our politicians have played the politics of high Brahmin - low Brahmin; high Thakur - low Thakur (Kshatriya), Kumauni - Grahwali. Our fight is against it."<sup>9</sup>

The third problem of the organization which is related to Airy himself is that "having chosen to travel in his constituency in costly foreign cars and meeting wellheeded pradhans, contractors and trasporters of the region rather than the common people",<sup>10</sup> he has alienated himself from the masses.

Being a regional party it is obvious that it raises very attractive issues. Airy once declared that once the demand is met we will solve all the problems and within two years there will be no unemployment in Uttarakhand,

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9. Sankalin Jamat (Hindi), (13-19 Sept, 1987).

10. Chakravarty, S : in Patriot, (21 Nov. 1988).

However, the organisation has many members who are concerned with power. The youth wing has many times criticized this consideration of the organisation. It is true that if an organisation becomes a tool for power politics it becomes institutionalized, thus loses the spirit of the movement.

Airy thinks that the participation in election "is not our main aim. We are not for elections only. Yes we will contest elections in order to popularize our demand and to reach masses, that is only if the elections are democratically conducted."<sup>11</sup>

#### Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini and the Autonomous State

Vahini was formed as a reaction to liquor vendors, contractors and corrupt administration. Liquor was never an integral part of hill culture. The "alcohol entered in the region with the recruits of British army returning home after World War II".<sup>12</sup> Subsequently, it became the cancer of the whole region. In a single year 1983 there was a revenue of 32.33 crore from Kumaun.<sup>13</sup>

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11. Parvatiya Times, (Hindi),

12. Chakravarty, S : in Patriot, (21 Nov. 1988).

13. Pathak, Sekhar : 'Intoxication as a Social Evil ; Anti-Alcoholic Movement in Uttarakhand', EPW, (10 August, 1985.)

Use of alchahol is not only a drain of hill economy but also related to the sharp decline of the hill people's health. According to Lt.Gen. G.S.Rawat (Rtd.) there has been a sharpt fall in recruitment to army due to decline in the health of hill people. PUDR report says that 60% of the T.B patients in Delhi hospitals belong to the hills,<sup>14</sup> and it was estimated that at least 25% of all cases of ill health can be traced to alchahol. Another problem is the rising rate of crime in Uttarakhand.

The movement was led by Vahini on its own and supported by the Sarvodaya couple Sunderlal Bahuguna, Vimala Bahuguna. The other participants include the veteran Gandhian Sarala Bahin, C.P.Bhatt and Ghansyam Sailani.<sup>15</sup>

This movement can be termed as the first stage of the present movement for separate State. Mahipal says the anti-alchaholic movement was a result of public plight and a natural reaction against socio-economic exploitation.<sup>16</sup> This was, in fact, like Chipko movement, a women's movement, who are teetotallers over here. It was against dominance of men in society and a direct and violent act against contractors, liquor mafia and,

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14. P.U.D.R. Report : People's Movement and State Policy (Kumaun), May '84.
  15. See, Rawat, P.S : Temperance Movement in Uttarakhand : A Sociological Study, (M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, 1987).
  16. Mahipal : in Link , (21 July, 1985), p.24-26.

naturally outsiders. The movement is still not over and being fought by Vahini. The means used in this movement were marches, strikes, fasts, picketing liquor shops, gatherings, demonstrations etc. The slogans raised in this movement were as follows: -

- (1) Ye Sarkar Wo Sarkar Daru Walon Ki Sarkar (This Government that Government Daruwalas' government).
- (2) Jo Sarab Peeta Hai Wo Pariwar Ka Dusman Hai (whoever drinks is the enemy of the family.)
- (3) Nasa Nahin Rojgar Do (Employment, not liquor).
- (4) Pahar Banaya Aisgah Nasa Pilake Kiya Tabah (Hill has been made resort, people's life has disrupted).
- (5) Das Karor Hai Bairojgar Kaun Hai Eska Jimmedar (who is responsible for 10 crore unemployed).
- (6) Pahali Jarurat Roti Hai, Janata Jisko Rotee Hai (The first need is food for which people cry).<sup>17</sup>

Being himself an activist Dr. Sekhar Pathak says, "the movement recognises the social system in which, intoxication operates. While alchaholism is the means by which state commercialization has shaped the vitality of the hill soceity.

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17. Dr. Pathak, Sekhar : Nasa Eak Sadyantra Hai (Hindi), 1984.



It is only the symptom of the deeper malise of predatory capitalist development. There has been a constant attempt to understand alcoholism as a social phenomena".<sup>18</sup>

The Vahini, which was formed by a charismatic leader, Dr. Samsher Singh Bisht, in 1977 at Gopeshwar, has a long history of struggles. Bisht had been in J.P.'s Chattra Yuva Sanghars Vahini, earlier. He also played an important role in Chipko movement. The other leaders of the Vahini, 'who seized the imagination of masses' are Pradeep Tamta and P.C. Tewari

The ideological orientation of the Vahini can be known from its paper published from Almora, 'Davedar'. Earlier, Vahini did not support the movement for separate State. Bisht views Uttarakhand movement as a part of broad democratic struggle the country<sup>is</sup> facing. According to him the upliftment of people could come about by participating in a people's democratic revolution and in a genuinely free India.

However, when Vahini saw that the mass attraction is being shifted from them they started supporting the movement from Jan. 1988. But Vahini still does not regard separate State

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18. Pathak, S : EPW, (10 August 1985).

as a solution to existing problems since the real power is never decentralized. Therefore, their demand is for an autonomous state. Vahini proximates CPI(ML)'s ideological thinking. Even it does not accept the autonomous state as a solution to all problems, rather a step towards that end.<sup>19</sup> Vahini does not participate in elections. Mass awakening is their main goal. Their concept of autonomous state has been termed by many people, including CPM, as an act of secessionism. According to Vahini, only those should be termed as secessionists and separatists who merely think of Uttarakhand, not we.<sup>20</sup> The slogan given by them at their Conference on 21 June 1988 at Almora, is 'Naye Bharat Ke Liye Naya Uttarakhand' (New Uttarakhand for New India). In this new Uttarakhand, according to Vahini, except foreign affairs, defence, finance and communication, all other powers will be given to it.

The main character of the Vahini is that it is being led by intellectuals who are, no doubt, capable of articulating their views. However, they often play a politics of split by ideological contradictions within themselves. So far, Vahini has failed in all of her three movements, i.e., anti alcoholic started in April 23, 1983, movement against indiscriminate mining and the Chipko movement. Moreover, the organisation is still

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19. See Davedar (1-15 Sep. 1988), p.5.

20. Ibid.

confined to Kumaun, though expanding fast.

The kin organizations of the Vahini are

- (1) Uttarakhand Chatrya Sanghars Vahinini,
- (2) Mahila Morcha,
- (3) Jagar (a cultural organisation),
- (4) All Uttarakhand Student Union (AUSU),
- (5) Parvatiya Leesa Sramik Sangathan.

Recently, they opposed the Himalayan car rally which was a partial success. They say "the bourgeoisie is enjoying when the whole Uttarakhand is weeping for bread." Another very important movement is going on in Bindu Khatla against the atrocities on landless people. The Vahini is active in widespread activities related to lower section of the society.

I got an opportunity to have a comprehensive interview with Vahini general secretary, Mr. P.C. Tewari on 13 Feb. 1989. The interview covers all major aspects:-

Q. Do you think separate State is the only alternative to development?

Ans. No. Our aim is very broad. we don't want 26th State in the union. We don't want to be dependent on Delhi, instead of Lucknow. That is why we demand an autonomous State.

We want the sub-nationalism to flourish which is against big bourgeoisie.

Q. How many movements you have led so far? What was the outcome?

Ans. Anti-alcoholic, Chipko, protest march against Tarikhet Bronze Factory, Agro Canning Factory (now closed) and Bindukhatta movement. These are nothing more than means of mobilization, you can't stop falling tree without changing the whole exploitative system.

Q. Who is your main enemy?

Ans. The government, bureaucracy, mafia and so on.

Q. You are also raising the issues which are non-economic, supposed to be bourgeois issues, for example, the cultural issue, identity issue... Why?

Ans. Base is perpetuated by superstructure. Mao raised culture as an important issue. Cultural issues are issues of cultural change. Both have to be changed simultaneously.

Q. What is your view about local neo-rich.

Ans. We have basically our support base among lower classes.

We differentiate between 'insider' and 'outsider' bourgeoisie. To an extent we support local entrepreneurs, firstly because the money will come to this region and, secondly, more important, it will generate an organised labour force.

Q. What is your financial source?

We don't accept money from exploiters and the mafia. The financial support comes from genuine lower classes. Presently we are facing financial crisis.

Q. Could you tell me something about your organisational set-up?

Ans. We have our head office at Almora. The roots of our organisation go to our student life. Where we are informal. We have President, 4 Vice-presidents, a General Secretary, and 4 Joint Secretaries. That means three levels. There is a Working Committee of 41 members, which is the decision making body. Everything goes through democratic process. The means of mobilization are revolutionary songs, pamphlets, rallies, street plays, etc. We also concentrate on social problems, e.g., caste, communalism, women's problems, etc.

Q. Suppose, tomorrow the State is created and power goes to UKD, what will you do?

Ans. We will continue the struggle.

### Uttarakhand Jan Parisad

Ideologically very near to Vahini, Parisad is an active organisation. In early January 1989, it held its first Conference at Dehradune and declared separate State as its main goal.<sup>21</sup> The organisation was formed on Dec. 10, 1987 at Tehri. Their demand is for an autonomous State. At Dehradune Conference the "organisation could not succeed in mobilizing people in large numbers but the Conference succeeded in focusing the cause of Uttarakhand and generating enthusiasm among the activists".<sup>22</sup>

They declared that the present development strategy has only helped the big bourgeoisie, corrupt bureaucrats, greedy politicians, liquor barons and forest contractors by facilitating the plunder of forest products and other natural resources of the region.<sup>23</sup> They emphasized the establishment of a really 'democratic, secular and federal secular state' in India. They called

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21. Constitution of Jan Parisad (Uttarakhand Jan Parisad Ka Sanbidhan).

22. Vivek : in Mass Line (Feb. 1989).

23. Ibid.

upon the people to fight for a 'New India and A new Uttarakhand'.

The main criticism about this organisation, as well as Vahini, is that they undermine the power of Indian state. Secondly, their activities will alienate masses from the mainstream. Moreover, they are not <sup>as</sup> much committed for Uttarakhand State as the UKD.

Bharatiya Janata Party : The Uttaranchal

Essentially, BJP stepped into a vacuum that arose because none of the significant national political parties was active in the movement. But the BJP also does not seem to have wider plans in Uttarakhand as such.<sup>24</sup> The party has got some support base particularly confined to urban areas. The main leader of BJP in Uttarakhand is Dr. Muralimanohar Joshi, himself a Kumauni. However, due to strong Hinduism in Uttarakhand, BJP could acquire large support base. This is only possible if the other organisations fail to mobilize people. It is learned that wherever there is Muslim minority the Hindus are being easily mobilized by BJP. It is feared that with the entry of BJP in Uttarakhand the minorities may be

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24. Chakravarty, S : in Patriot (Nov. 27, 1988).

alienated from the movement who have been active participants in the past.<sup>25</sup>

The resolution to participate in what is termed as Uttaranchal Movement (khand, according to them, smacks of secessionism) was passed in Agra Conference of the Party.

The activities of BJP are widely discussed. Other political parties feel that this is based on the calculations of BJP to win over substantial Kumauni-Garhwali votes in Delhi and other cities in the coming elections to the civic bodies.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding the support of the movement, different leaders of BJP have different arguments. During his pilgrimage to the holy shrine at Badrinath the BJP leader, Mr. Bajpei, addressed a gathering at Uttarkashi, in which he indirectly stated that "the largesse of UP is a barrier for its balanced development. The problems are peculiar in hills due to its geographical uniqueness. Justice has not been done for this region".<sup>27</sup> However, he did not say anything about the movement.

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25. Ibid.

26. Chakravarty, S : in Patriot (Nov. 1988).

27. Parvatiya Times (Hindi), (June 1988).



Ajay Arora, leader of 'Uttaranchal Youth Student Wing' said something very contradictory about the map of proposed State, Uttaranchal. He says, "we want a separate state which includes Rohelkhand with the hills. We don't have any difference with 'Uttarakhand' but the term should be replaced by 'Uttaranchal'. Such a State will be more prosperous because it will include the agricultural area of plain as well as the horticulture, forests, and income of tourism from hills, therefore, economically strong".<sup>28</sup> Whereas the UP State president of BJP, Mr. Kalyan Singh says, "from the point of view of economic development, regional balances, and administrative efficiency, the country requires small States. The demand of Uttaranchal is based on this theory. The linguistic division of States have failed. We think if the eight districts of hills are included in a separate State the economic development of the region is possible. This issue is linked with our national interests. The China border is linked with Uttarakhand. The danger from outsiders increased when the role of Tibet as a buffer state ceased to exist...the hill State is always favourable to the nation".<sup>29</sup>

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28. Jarmat (Sankalin) (Hindi), (13-19 Sep. 1987).

29. Panchjanya (Hindi) (Jan. 15, 1989).

Whatever might be the aim of BJP's entry, this is a turning point for the movement. Chakravarty writes, "danger lies in BJP's anti-minority stance, because in the Kumaun - Garhwal region there are pockets of Sikh and Muslim concentrations. Both the communities, so far, had been enthusiastic participants in the movement. Observers feel that now there are more chances that the movement will split on communal lines. The Uttarakhand movement is, therefore, at a very crucial juncture at present".<sup>30</sup> The main threat is to UKD, because both have similar support bases. The pro-BJP membership in UKD is very strong.

Now it will be preferable to mention an extract from the interview of Dr. Muralimanohar Joshi, the main BJP leader in Uttarakhand.

Q. You talk about Uttaranchal, whereas other parties Uttarakhand, Why?

Ans. During Indo-China war a commissionary was formed which included Chamoli, Pithoragarh, and Uttarkashi. Therefore, the term does not represent whole region. Khand does not show unity. So Anchal. A mother keeps

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30. Chakravarty, S : in Patriot (21 Nov, 1988).

her child in her 'Anchal'. The region will be in the Anchal of Bharat Mata (Mother India)

Q. In the election of 1977 you came to power but were indifferent about the region, why?

Ans. We came to power in alliance with other parties, even then we created a separate Hill Ministry and provided budget equal to that of Himachal Pradesh. You know we had some limitations in that government. Moreover, Janata Party could not remain in power for long. If we come into power again, Uttaranchal State will be declared.

Q. What is your view about UKD?

Ans. We cannot say anything about it at present. If they accept our role, we are ready to have alliance with them.

Q. What is the plan of BJP for the future?

Ans. We had a rally two months back at Dehradune, which was attended by our president, Mr. Advani. The second rally will be organised in Feb. at Almora. After that we will raise our demands at village and Block

level in a pure democratic way. In coming times you will see the movement of BJP will become people's movement. After that we shall take help from all those hill people residing in different cities.(emphasis mine). The government will accept our demand.<sup>31</sup> (Interviewed in Jan. 1 - 15, 1989).

The slogan given by BJP is 'Pahar Bachao, Des Bachao' (Save hills, save India). BJP's rally at Almora was a big success. It is reported that such massive rally was seen in the region after a duration of 10 years, first time it was Mrs. Indira Gandhi's rally.

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31. Interview published in Parvatiya Times(Fortnightly in Hindi), (Delhi), Jan. 1989. Interviewed by Uday Sharma.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

As a student of sociology, it is not my task to predict the future of this movement. However, from my observations two things are clear. First, the movement has reached at a stage where it cannot finish and it will continue unless and until some sort of autonomy is given to Uttarakhand. Second, the movement lacks particular direction, single leadership, and strong commitment, mass participation, etc., and it is more or less institutionalized.<sup>1</sup>

However, there is a chance ahead when the movement becomes violent. In view of the activities of concerned organizations Uttarakhand movement is very nearer to Jharkhand movement, rather than Gorkhaland or Bodo movement. Although, Uttarakhand has many advantages over Jharkhand with regard to geomorphology, ethnic constitution, and especially in relation to language, culture and religious dimensions. Secondly, 'Jharkhand' is related to many States, i.e., Bihar, W.Bengal, Orissa, M.P,

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1. See H.Wariyal : Hindustan (Hindi) (April 1, 1989)

whereas Uttarakhand is related to the division of Uttar Pradesh only. Now when we see the similarities, both have similar economic background, similar leadership and varieties of political organisations opposed to each other.

The main hurdle for Uttarakhand to become a separate State is that it is part of a State like UP. Uttar Pradesh, the heartland of political scenario in India, is the major base for Congress Party and other opposition parties and if it is reduced the strength of these parties is reduced, therefore, they will never wish to do so. The another question is that people of Uttarakhand have always identified themselves with the mainstream of the country and have had their good political representation in India from the beginning, therefore, it will take time to make these people against the central government. Similarly, the Congress Party is still being supported by the old generation. The leaders like Mr. N.D.Tewari, K.C.Pant, Brahmhatt and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself has good following over there.

Perhaps the greatest problem faced by the leaders of the movement is the difficulty regarding mass mobilization due to the problem of poor communication in the dispersed settlement of hill terrain. It is very hard either

to visit people in their own places or to gather them at a place.

Strong regional feelings are necessary for the success of such movements, but the problem with Uttarakhand is that it lacks some sort of attractive issue like separate language, religion, race, caste, etc. A separate and single language is perhaps most important issue for mass mobilization. Even the creation of States in India is related to linguistic divisions. No doubt linguistic States are harmful for national integration and has been a great miscalculation in India. The Dar Commission(1948) which was appointed to investigate the question of State reorganisation in India concluded that "linguistic groups are sub-nations and if the intention was to create sub-nations in India, there could not be a better way of doing it than form linguistic provinces. In sum the Commission strongly disapproved the formation of States on linguistic basis".<sup>2</sup>

The main linguistic division in Uttarakhand is between Kumaun and Garhwal. From the point of view of

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2. Sukhwal, B.L : India : A Political Geography, p.184.



Uttarakhand it is a negative point. It is not only a hurdle for present movement, but also may create problems even after Uttarakhand becomes a separate State. Although both the dialects lack script even then it does not matter. The statistics shows that "83.3% of the population either speaks Kumauni (33.5%), Garhwali (29.9%) or Hindi (24.9%).<sup>3</sup> The tribals have their own languages. Consequently, it is only Hindi which can unite the people.

From the point of view of national integration in India, Uttarakhand as a separate State would not be a problem, since it is based on secular criterion, but there has to be Garhwali and Kumauni division when the question of power sharing comes to them. The political domination of Kumaonis, who are numerically less than Garhwalis, has been started long back, since the latter are economically more backward and politically less conscious than the former.

Another negative sociological dimension of politics in Uttarakhand is the political domination of upper castes, particularly Brahmins and Kshatriyas, since they are numerically dominant and its result is that the scheduled

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3. Singh, O.P : UP Himalaya : An Overview, Himalay Man, Nature and Culture, p.23.

castes, tribes and religious minorities will have to suffer. Since democracy is the rule of 'majority'.

One more negative dimension of politics in Uttarakhand is the domination of 'neo-rich' in politics. If power comes to this 'neo-rich' class the status quo will be maintained, as a result the question of poor people will remain as it is.

Lastly, if the demand of Uttarakhand is met and regional party rules the new State, it will suffer from financial constraints. It is to be noted that the region has the potentiality of development and for the development of resources it requires central aid, at least at the primary stage. Therefore, the development of the region from any dimension, by and large, depends on central aid.

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