

**FORMATION OF STATES IN A FEDERAL  
POLITY : THE REORGANIZATION OF  
CENTRAL AND NORTH INDIA**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled *Formation of States in a Federal Polity: The Reorganisation of Central and North India* submitted by *Ms. Shalini Pandey* for the award of the degree of *Master of Philosophy* is an original work and has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University.

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## Preface

India, like, the other developing countries of the world, is still in the process of nation building. And no problem is genuinely more basic to the survival of this federal polity, than the problem of the harmonious and stable composition of its constituent federating units. The composition and re-composition of the federating states remained a continuing exercise, ever since the commencement of the Constitution.

India is today a Union of twenty eight states and seven union territories. However, no one can say with a degree of certainty that the political map of the country has been drawn with finality. The demand for the reorganisation of the states is still alive even after several alterations within 53 years of the independence.

The latest reorganisation exercise undertaken by the Government in 2000 has once again put a question mark on the rationale/grounds taken into consideration for the formation of new states in various phases of the reorganisation process. Further, it has again provided an impetus to the various other demands for the separate statehood in different parts of the country.

Actually, the problem is not of the number of states, but of the recomposition of the Indian federalism based on socio-economic homogeneity, so that it can provide a more responsive infrastructure for the development. This is one of the challenges facing the country, today. A thorough study and appreciation of the problem with various associated causes and their effects, is the need of the hour. This work is a modest attempt to analyse the various aspects of the reorganisation process in India with particular reference to Northern and Central India. The focus of emphasis is on the formation of the new states in the Northern

and Central India, after the major reorganisation exercise completed by the States Reorganisation Commission in 1956.

This work is divided into five chapters.

*First Chapter* deals with the general reorganisation process upto 1960, with emphasis on the Constituent Assembly's work and the major reorganisation exercise done by the States Reorganisation Commission. The chapter also analysis the second phase of the reorganisation process undertaken in North-East India.

*Second Chapter* deals with the various aspects of the formation of the two new states - Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The formation of these two states marks the beginning of the reorganisation process in North and Central India after the States Reorganisation Commission Report.

*Third Chapter* analyses the various aspects of the creation of Uttaranchal, which was another attempt to reorganise North India. An attempt has been made to analyse the factors, behind the formation of the state.

*Fourth Chapter* analyses the reorganisation process in Central India. It deals with the historical, political and socio-economic factors which led to the formation of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh states in the region.

*Conclusion* is an attempt to sum-up all the work of the above chapters, as well as to analyse the emerging trends in the formation of these five states in the region. An attempt has also been made to examine various other demands in the region and provide a fresh imperative for the formation of new states.

# 1

Introduction:  
The States Reorganization Process (1946-60).



The problem of the reorganisation of provincial boundaries was bequeathed to the new government of India by the British regime. The variety and complexity of the political arrangement which, existed in India under British rule made this task an extremely formidable one. In 1947, after partition, independent India had nine Governor's provinces, and five Chief Commissioner's provinces. Besides, there were 562 Princely States ruled by princes and chiefs. Big or small, all the states were subjected to the paramountcy of the British Government, exercised through the Crown's Representatives in India. This variety of the provincial arrangement in British India became more complex with the independence of India, because the transfer of British paramountcy from British to the Indian State did not take place in case of Princely States. As Cabinet Mission in its memorandum of *State, Treaties and Paramountcy*, in May, 1946 laid down:-

“When a new fully self governing and independent government will come into being... His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the power of paramountcy. This means that the rights surrendered by the states to the paramount power will return to the States”.<sup>1</sup> The accession of the Princely States was to be voluntary act on the part of each one of them.

Thus, the integration of the Princely States with the Indian Union was necessary for political unity and security of the country and also to achieve harmonious administration. The State Ministry, under Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, assumed the primary responsibility for bringing the Princely states into the Indian Union. Almost all the states were integrated by signing the Instrument of Accession, leaving aside only states of Junagarh and Hyderabad. Later on, these two states were also integrated in the Union of India.

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<sup>1</sup> Government of India, *White Paper on Indian States*, Appendix III, July, 1948, p. 45.

After this unionization of the Princely States, the condition demanded a fresh approach to the problem of reorganisation, so that, disparity among federal units would not encourage disruptionist tendencies. Though, the question of reorganisation of federal units, on the rational and well-accepted basis, was the core of early political demands of the Indian National Congress in the struggle for self-government. The demand was basically for redrawing state boundaries on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Even, the Nehru Report, in 1928, had recommended provincial redistribution in which main consideration must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. In subsequent years, the Congress repeatedly went on favouring the redistribution of provinces on linguistic lines. But, under the British rule, it was not possible to get the things done as desired.

### **The Constituent Assembly on States Reorganisation.**

When India became independent, the question of the formation of linguistic provinces assumed its expected importance. The matter was brought before the Constituent Assembly, but the Steering Committee held, that the question could better be discussed at later stage. The agitation, however, continued. In view of the growing pressure, finally, the Constituent Assembly made a fresh attempt and appointed a committee to consider the whole question. The “Linguistic Provinces Commission” also known as the *Dar Commission* was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to examine the demand for the formation of linguistic provinces, which had particularly grown up in the South.<sup>2</sup> This Commission in its report, not only expressed itself against any reorganisation in the existing circumstances, but also held that the creation of provinces, wholly or chiefly, on linguistic considerations would be against the growth of nationalism. In

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<sup>2</sup> Government of India, *Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee*, Constituent Assembly of India, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1948, p.1.

Commission's opinion paramount need of India was its national unity and anything which could throw obstacles in the growth of national unity must be rejected.<sup>3</sup> The arguments in favour of postponement of reorganisation were that the country was not yet free from the dangers of external aggression, it was in the grip of an economic crisis, Princely States had not yet been properly integrated, the government was pre-occupied with more urgent problems and the country could not, at that moment, bear the financial and administrative strains which these new provinces would put upon it. The Report suggested that at some time in the future, when the status of Indian Princely States had been determined, and when Indian nationality had been well established, some of the existing states of the union could be reconstituted. The Commission, however, made it clear, that such redistribution should not be based upon linguistic considerations, but upon administrative convenience and effectiveness.

Thus, for the first time, a warning was issued against the accepted principle of linguistic reorganisation. Dar Commission Report was received with general disappointment throughout India. The Congress party clearly dissatisfied with the Dar Commission Report, appointed a three-member committee to review the position and examine the question in the light of the decision taken by the Congress in the past and the requirements of the present situation. The Committee known as the *JVP Committee*<sup>4</sup> also stated that it was not an appropriate time for the formation of the new provinces. Though, the report indirectly recognized the idea of linguistic provinces, stated "we would prefer to postpone the formation of new provinces for a few years so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>4</sup> *The committee consisted of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, The Committee was appointed by Jaipur Congress, 1948.*

question”.<sup>5</sup> But, at the same time, the Committee admitted that, *if public sentiments are insistent and overwhelming, we as democrats have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of the country as a whole.*<sup>6</sup> Thus, JVP Committee conditionally conceded the linguistic reorganisation of the states, but the Committee was equally concerned, like Dar Commission, with the supreme need to concentrate upon security, unity, consolidation and to discourage any separatist and disruptive tendencies.

Likewise, Pt. Nehru addressing the Constituent Assembly favoured the postponement of the reorganisation of the states. He said “First things must come first, and first thing is the security and stability of India.” He stated that “some kind of reorganisation is inevitable but the cultural, geographic and economic factors together must be taken into account. Nor should the Constituent Assembly attempt to solve the problem when passions are roused, but at a suitable moment when the time is ripe for it.”<sup>7</sup>

Thus, it is clear that in spite of the intense pressure for linguistic reorganisation of the provinces, the leaders in the Constituent Assembly thought it better to postpone the task. The pre-occupation with the problems arising immediately after the partition did not permit the Indian leaders in the Constituent Assembly to ponder over the reorganisation of the states at that critical juncture. The newly prepared Constitution, therefore, followed the pattern of the Government of India Act, 1935, recognising three categories of states, and a separate identity for Andaman & Nicobar Island. In the massive reordering

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<sup>5</sup> Indian National Congress, *Report of Linguistic Provinces Committee*, INC Publication, 1949, pp. 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>7</sup> Government of India, *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, p. 320.

exercise undertaken by the Constituent Assembly, 216 states were merged with the existing 9 provinces of British India, which became *Part A* states. Another 275 states, many of which were little more than principalities, were rearranged in 8 Union of States, which became *Part B* states. The remaining of the states were grouped into erstwhile Chief Commissioner's Provinces and these States became 11 Centrally Administered *Part C* states, whereas the Andaman & Nicobar Islands and other acquired lands were categorised as *Part D* territories.<sup>8</sup> (Table 1).

**Table 1.**

**The States of the Union (1949)**

<b>Part A States (9)</b>	<b>Part B States (8)</b>	<b>Part C States (11)</b>	<b>Part D (1)</b>
Assam	Hyderabad	Ajmer-Merwar	Andman & Nicobar Islands & other acquired territories
Bihar	Jammu & Kashmir	Bhopal	
Mumbai	Madhya Bharat	Bilaspur	
Central Provinces & Berar	Mysore	Cooch-Bihar	
Chennai	PEPSU	Coorg (Kodagu)	
Orissa	Rajasthan	Delhi	
(East) Punjab	Travancore-Cochin	Himachal	
United Provinces	Saurashtra	Kutch	
West Bengal		Manipur	
		Tripura	
		Vindhya Pradesh	

*Source:* Arora, Balveer, "State Autonomy In The Federal Union", in *Denouement*, vol. 10, New Delhi, September-October, 2000, pp. 41-42.

These four categories of states were classified in the First Schedule of the Constitution. It was only a temporary framework designed to meet the exigencies of the administration and to secure unity of the Nation. While drafting the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly had little time to make radical changes in the boundaries of the constituent units, and therefore, provisions were made under

<sup>8</sup> *The Constitution of India, 1950, 1<sup>st</sup> Schedule.*

Art 3 and 4 of the Constitution<sup>9</sup> empowering Parliament to form new states and alter the boundaries and names of the existing states. Though, the Constituent Assembly could not make any attempt for immediate redistribution of the states concerning existing circumstances of the newly independent country. Nevertheless, there was a through going awareness that the problem had only been postponed and would have to be dealt with later. The Constitution was so framed that any future redistribution or realignment of the states would meet with no constitutional difficulties.

The integration of the Princely States and the Constitution making had been a simultaneous process in India. Realising the fact, the Constitution left scope for future to envisage any change in the state boundaries. For the first time, after the commencement of the Constitution, such changes in the state boundaries was made in 1953. It resulted in the formation of a new state of Andhra, from the territory, which previously formed part of the Madras State.

### **The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh.**

The demand for separate Andhra State was one of the long standing. In 1917, the Indian National Congress after consulting the Telugu delegates of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, resolved to form a separate Congress unit of Andhra and, thereby, comply with the need for the constitution of a Telugu speaking province in due course.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the formation of Madras Presidency

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<sup>9</sup> *Art. 3* provides that parliament may by law form a new state by separation of territory from any state or by uniting two or more states or parts of states or by uniting any territory to a part of any state; may increase or diminish the area of any state, alter the boundary or name of any state.

*Art. 4* provides that laws made under Art. 2 and 3, shall not be deemed to be an amendment under Act 368.

<sup>10</sup> Sitaramayya, B. Pattabhi, *The History of Indian National Congress*, vol. 1, Padma Publication, Bombay, 1946, p. 147.

itself had disregarded the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the people of the area. Dissatisfaction began to appear more and more among the Telugu-speaking people of the area. In the new atmosphere of the independence era, the people became more conscious of their regional language. Though, the strong representation had been made to the Constituent Assembly, the demand remained unfulfilled even at the time of making of the new Constitution. The justification for the demand was felt even at the time of the drafting of the Constitution, as *JVP* Committee had also recommended that beginning could be made with the creation of Andhra.<sup>11</sup>

It was in the summer of 1951 that the agitation for a separate Andhra State took the strong form. There were a series of fasts and organised popular campaign through which they tried to persuade the government to declare its clear intention of forming the new state. Though, the problem of linguistic state had been in existence in the South from the very beginning, yet, its growth became vigorous upon the demand for the separate Andhra Pradesh. In the year 1952, there occurred an important event which forced the government to find urgent solution for the problem of linguistic states. Sri Potti Sriramulu, a citizen of Andhra, sacrificed his life for the demand. He performed a fifty eight days long fast that ended his life. Following the incident, many disturbances took place at various places in the state. These incidents alarmed the Government of India and it announced its decision to form the state of Andhra consisting of the Telugu speaking areas of the present Madras State. Justice K.M. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, was appointed to consider and report on the financial and other implications of the formation of the new state.<sup>12</sup> The report was submitted in 1953 and on 27<sup>th</sup> of

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<sup>11</sup> INC, *Report of Linguistic Provinces Committee*, Note 5, p. 95.

<sup>12</sup> Government of India, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of the People, vol. 2, col. 2805, 1952.

August, 1953, accordingly a bill for the formation of Andhra State was passed in the Parliament. It became effective from 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1953.

Andhra was the case where linguistic principle was accepted as much as was practicable. The formation of this state gave a fillip to the people in the other provinces to agitate for the materialisation of their demands. After the recognition of the linguistic factor in the formation of Andhra, a need for change in the state boundaries on the basis of language was felt more acutely in the rest of the country. Since the problem of linguistic state was nation wide one, the Government of India decided to appoint a States Reorganization Commission (SRC) to examine the whole question of the reorganisation of the states.

### **The States Reorganisation Commission.**

The change in the circumstances after the formation of Andhra and popular agitation forced the government to change its outlook. A democratic government is responsive to the wishes of the people and so the reorganisation of the states became a task, which had to be tackled immediately by the Government of India. The authorities, by this time, had very well realised the political consciousness among the people and the growing importance of the regional languages. Pandit Nehru and others, who were democrat by temperament, thought that emotional integration was not possible without giving freedom to each linguistic and cultural group to organise their affairs. A commission, which was known as *State Reorganisation Commission (SRC)* was appointed by the resolution of the Home Ministry. The Commission consisted of three members, Justice Faiz Ali, Dr. H. N. Kunjaru and Mr. K. M. Pannikar. The Commission was to recommend the broad principles, which should govern the solution of the problem of reorganisation. Although, the SRC was free to examine each case in the process of its inquiry, yet, the Commission was expected to work with certain objectives in view. The Government's resolution, which appointed the Commission, emphasized the



following broad principles, which should govern the considerations of the Commission -

- preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India.
- linguistic and cultural homogeneity.
- financial, economic and administrative considerations.
- successful working of the National Plans.<sup>13</sup>

While examining the problem in the background of these principles, the SRC had to take into account the existing conditions of the country. The role of the particular factor in the change of the state boundaries was to be judged, according to the assistance it can provide, in the practical working of the unit. The SRC also admitted that the work assigned to them had to be regarded 'as a means to an end and not as an end in itself.'<sup>14</sup>

The SRC considered 'language' as one of the factor in the adjustment of state boundaries but did not depend solely on it. The SRC said that their balance approach would appear to be -

- to recognize linguistic homogeneity as an important factor, that may help in the administration of the state but not to consider it as an overall binding principle, without paying regard to other considerations - administrative, financial or political.
- to reject the theory of '*One Language, One State*' for there can be more than one state speaking the same language.
- finally, to the extent that the realization of uni-lingualism at state level would tend to breed a particularistic feeling; to counter balance that feeling by the positive measures so as to give a deeper content to Indian nationalism; and to reinforce the links between the Centre and the State in order to work out national policies and programmes.

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<sup>13</sup> Government of India, *Report of States Reorganisation Commission*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1955, p.25.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 26.

With these objectives in the mind, the SRC approached each case in the light of the principles discussed above. The primary task was to simplify the heterogeneous units of the federal union. The integration of the former Princely States had taken place, but the present units were largely the result of expediency. The existing pattern was inadequate to meet the future progress of the country. The SRC first tried to determine the basic pattern of the constituent units before recommending the change in state territories so that each unit could have a uniform relationship with the Centre. Thus, looking at the problem from this angle, the Commission recommended two understandable categories replacing four categories of the states in the original Constitution. One was that of full-fledged States as primary units of the federation, under the second category, there were union territories over which the Central Government would keep its supervision. Out of existing 29 states, only 16 states were recommended by the Commission to be full-fledged states.<sup>1</sup> These were Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, Bombay, Vidharbha, M.P., Rajasthan, Punjab, Utter Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam Orissa and Jammu and Kashmir. Apart from this,<sup>2</sup> it recommended three Centrally Administered Union Territories-Delhi, Manipur and Andaman Nicobar.<sup>3</sup> As a result, no distinction remained between *Part A* and *Part B* States, and *Part C* states disappeared.

The recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Government of India with the minor modifications. The changes were embodied in the State Reorganisation Act of 1956. The necessary amendments were made in the Constitution by the Seventh Amendment Act of 1956. The amendment in the First Schedule of the Constitution brought about large changes in the constituent units and simplified the political map of the country. The State Reorganisation Act created 14 full-fledged state, including the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Vidarbha, which were recommended by the Commission, were not mentioned in the Act and Andhra was formed as a big state, including Hyderabad.

Marathi speaking areas of Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad and Gujarati speaking Saurashtra and Kutch were added to the new and bigger Bombay State. A new Mysore state was created in place of Karnataka, by merging the Mysore State, Coorg, Raichur, Beedar districts of Hyderabad and Kannada speaking areas of Bombay.

Apart from the full-fledged units, the Commission had recommended that Delhi, Manipur and Andaman Nicobar should be Centrally Administered Areas. The Seventh Amendment Act added three more Union Territories namely Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Lakshadweep.<sup>15</sup> (Table 2).

**Table 2.**

**Composition of the States After the States Reorganisation Act, 1956**

State	Union Territories
1. Andhra Pradesh	1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands
2. Assam	2. Delhi
3. Bihar	3. Himachal Pradesh
4. Bombay	4. Lakshadweep Minicoy
5. Jammu and Kashmir	5. Manipur
6. Kerala	6. Tripura
7. Madhya Pradesh	
8. Madras	
9. Mysore	
10. Orissa	
11. Punjab	
12. Rajasthan	
13. Uttar Pradesh	
14. West Bengal	

**Source: Compiled from the *States Reorganisation Act, 1956***

While keeping in view the principle objectives, the Commission had examined each case on its own merit and gave its verdict after taking into account "the totality of circumstances." By and large, the linguistic principle received recognition in the formation of most of the states, but other considerations as communal harmony, economic viability and the planning did not allow the strict

<sup>15</sup> Government of India, *State Reorganisation Act*, Government of India Press (Acts of Parliament), 1956, Sec. 12, p. 9.

application of the linguistic principles. Apart from language, the other factors upon which the progress of the people of each unit depends could not be ignored. The language test proved quite practicable in the fixation of the political boundaries of the states in South-India. The Commission had recommended five states in the South - Kerala, Hyderabad, Karnataka, Madras and Andhra Pradesh. All of them, except Hyderabad, were accepted in the State Reorganisation Act by the Government. These were constituted as linguistically homogenous units. The exception of the linguistic principle was permitted in the case of Bombay and Punjab. The Commission recommended that Bombay should be bi-lingual state considering the cosmopolitan character of the Bombay City and taking into account the interest of both Marathi speaking and Gujarati speaking communities.<sup>16</sup> In case of Punjab, to preserve the harmony of the various sects and security of the state, it was recommended that Punjab should be bi-lingual state.

Though, there were cases where the Commission did not attach any particular significance to the linguistic factor, but, serious violation of the linguistic principle was with regard to Bombay and Punjab where the Commission favoured the status quo.

Despite the strong reactions to the Report in many parts of the country, the SRC recommendations were accepted though with certain modifications and were quickly implemented.

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<sup>16</sup> The SRC stated "we have expressed the view that where satisfactory conditions exists and economic and administrative considerations favour composite states, there states should be continued with such safeguards as may be necessary to ensure that all sections enjoy equal rights and opportunity. Bombay in our opinion is a state which undoubtedly fulfil these conditions", *SRC Report*, p. 120, para 437, 1955.

### **Bifurcation of Bombay.**

The strongest reaction against the SRC Report and the State Reorganisation Act came from Maharashtra where widespread rioting broke out. The tension and frictions began to express themselves on the regional level between the Marathi and Gujarati speaking communities. The broad based *Samyakta Maharashtra Samiti* and *Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad* led the movements in the two parts of the state. The situation, therefore, forced the government to take steps towards the division of Bombay State, in order to satisfy the political aspirations of both the groups. The government, finally, agreed in May, 1960 to bifurcate the state of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay City being included in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad being made the capital of Gujarat. With the creation of Gujarat and Maharashtra as a separate federal units, first phase of reorganisation can be said to have finished.

### **The Reorganisation Process After 1960.**

The work of the SRC mainly changed the map of South India, where linguistic principle got proper implementation, resulting almost uni-lingual state of Kerala, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Madras. Though, the SRC was supposed to take into account entire territory of the country for reorganisation. It did not recommend major changes in the North Indian States. Thus, in a way, the SRC's work was incomplete one. After this major attempt of territorial redistribution, it can not be said that political map of India was finally drawn. The regional sentiments continuously kept on re-surfacing time and again forcing the government to take further steps to reorganise the political map of India. The result was the formation

of another 13 states. Since the first reorganisation of the states, in 1956, the number of states has doubled. (Table 3).

**Table 3.**  
**Changes in Status and Nomenclature of States (1956-2000)**

Year	State/UT Reorganized	No. and Name of New State
1960	Bombay	15. Gujarat
1963	Assam	16. Nagaland
1966	Punjab	17. Haryana
1971	Himachal UT	18. Himachal Pradesh
1972	Assam/Meghalaya AS	19. Meghalaya
1972	Manipur UT	20. Manipur
1972	Tripura UT	21. Tripura
1975	Sikkim Associate State	22. Sikkim
1987	Mizoram UT	23. Mizoram
1987	Arunachal UT	24. Arunachal Pradesh
1987	Goa UT	25. Goa
2000	Madhya Pradesh	26. Chhattisgarh
2000	Uttar Pradesh	27. Uttaranchal
2000	Bihar	28. Jharkhand

*Source:* Arora, Balveer, "State Autonomy In The Federal Union", in *Denouement*, vol. 10, New Delhi, September-October, 2000, pp. 41-42.

And if we take the whole story of the reorganisation of states after the SRC, we can say, there have been three other Zones, which have been reorganised. These are -

- North-East Zone, including Sikkim,
- Northern Zone, and
- Central Zone.

North-East reorganisation was another story, which was not an easy task for the Government. It took more than 21 years (1956-87) to reorganise the region. But, the noticeable fact was that the principle of linguistic states was successfully challenged in the North-East India. The autonomy movements leading to reorganisation of the region were violent and of secessionist nature, in some areas,

whereas, in other areas, people adopted peaceful democratic means for achieving the statehood.

After independence, an attempt was made to provide limited autonomy to the hill districts of Assam under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution provides detailed framework for the working of the district and regional councils. These district and regional councils were given certain legislative, executive and judicial powers under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule. Thus, the Sixth Schedule, gave unique status to the tribal areas of the North-East India. But, the Naga Hill District did not accept the same, and District Council was never formed there. The Nagas followed the path of violence and insurgency. The autonomy movement in Naga Hills resulted ultimately into the formation of Nagaland State. Nagaland statehood was departure from the existing norms of state formation in India and gave birth to new trends in Indian politics, specially in the politics of North-East India as-

- Nagaland was the first state, which was not formed on linguistic lines.
- The SRC and Indian leaders believed in bigger states prior to the formation of Nagaland. Nagaland was the first state with smaller area and smaller population.
- It was, for the first time, that economic viability was not the main consideration in the formation of any state, and the state was to run mainly on the grants received from the Consolidated Fund of India.
- Nagaland was the first state, which had the insurgency and underground movements in the background of its formation.

The formation of Nagaland opened the floodgate of demands for the formation of states on ethnic lines, overlooking the factor of economic viability. Thus, the formation of Nagaland was the forerunner of the demands for the smaller states in North-East India. The state of Meghalaya was formed by a peaceful democratic process, but a series of experiments were made before finally Meghalaya became the full-fledged state of the Indian Union. The area enjoyed internal autonomy under the provision of Sixth Schedule. But, when Official Language Bill was

introduced in the Assam Assembly on October, 1966, the leaders of all the hill district except that of *Mikir Hills* and *North Cachar Hills* district opposed the introduction of the bill vehemently. They formed the *All Party Hill Leaders Conference* and decided to fight for the Hill State by peaceful and constitutional means. Finally, the Autonomous state of Meghalaya was formed after the Twenty Second Amendment Act, 1969 of the Constitution, which inserted *Art 371B* in the Constitution of India. But, this experiment also proved futile, and Meghalaya became the full-fledged state within two years along with Manipur and Tripura after the North-East Reorganisation Act, 1971.<sup>17</sup>

Manipur and Tripura were Princely States before independence, and became *Part C* states with the commencement of the Constitution. The SRC recommended their merger with Assam, but Government of India allowed their separate identities as the Centrally Administered Areas. The formation of Nagaland with lesser population and comparably lesser area ensured their separate identities in future also. The statehood conferred on the two union territories in January, 1972 as per North-Eastern Reorganisation Act, 1971.

Mizoram was the district of Assam called the Lushai Hills. Mizos followed Nagas in many respects in their autonomy demands. The Mizos had accepted the constitutional provisions of the Sixth Schedule and had their district councils. *Mizo National Front* (MNF) under the leadership of Mr. Lal Denga openly demanded secession from India. They followed the path of insurgency and underground rebellion. Mizoram was awarded Union Territory status on 21<sup>st</sup> January, 1972 as per the provisions of North-Eastern Reorganisation Act, 1971. After the surrender of the MNF, the Government of India took steps to confer statehood to Mizoram. It became full-fledged state, after the *State of Mizoram Act*, 1986 and the

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<sup>17</sup> Kumar. B B., *Reorganisation of North-East India*, Omsons Publication, 1995, pp. 44-45.



*Constitution's 53<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act* was passed by the Parliament.<sup>18</sup> Arunachal Pradesh was known as the North-East Frontier Tract at the time of independence as the district administrative unit. The administration of the area was vested in the President of India as per the Constitution of India and the said power of the President was delegated to the Governor of Assam. The area became widely known after the Chinese aggression in 1962 and the Government of India sincerely started working for the development of the area. The democratic institutions were introduced in the state on the recommendation of the "Erring Committee" Report. The area achieved union territory status through North-East Reorganisation Act, 1971. When Mizoram was granted the statehood in 1986, then people of Arunachal Pradesh also demanded for the separate statehood. The Government of India readily agreed to grant statehood to Arunachal and it became a full fledged state through Fifty Fifth Amendment Act, 1986, which came into force in 1987. The evaluation of Arunachal Pradesh to statehood was a very smooth affair indeed.<sup>19</sup>

The emergence of seven North-Eastern states - Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Tripura, Manipur, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh was the result of dismemberment of Assam due to ethnic, administrative and constitutional factors. The existing framework of linguistic and bigger states was challenged for the first time in the North-East in formation of Nagaland State. The process further continued in the emergence of other states in the region. The North-East reorganisation was unique in a way that all the states except Nagaland elevated to the statehood through Union Territory or Associate State status.

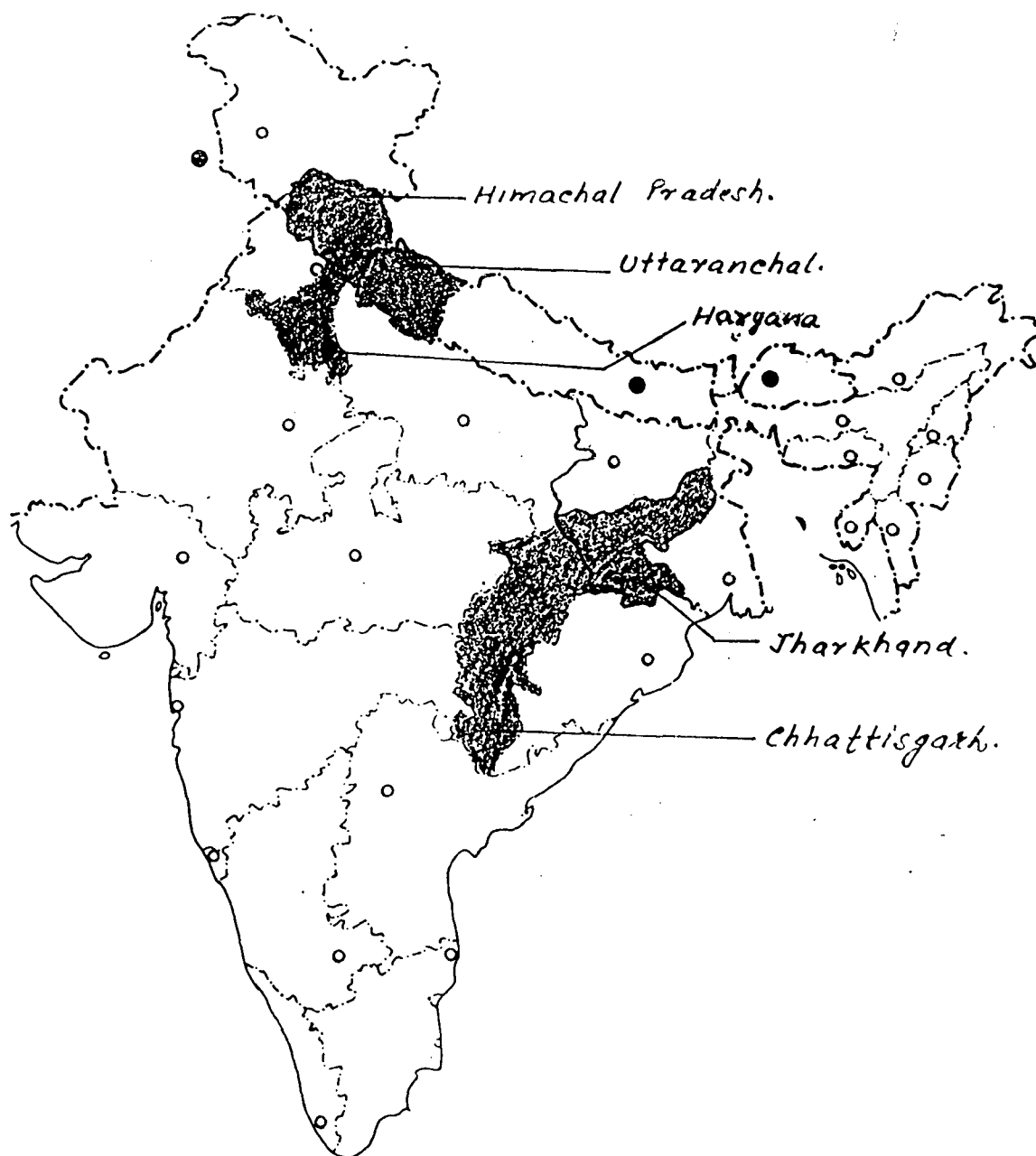
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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 66-67.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

The reorganisation process in Northern and Central Zone resulted in formation of five new states, namely, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal, Chhattishgarh. The reorganization process was unique in way that it laid down new parameters for the creation of states. The formation of all the five states was in many ways, different from the previous reorganization exercise. In this work, an attempt has been made to provide full details of formation of these five states in Northern and Central India.

Map 1.1 Map showing new formed states in North and Central India

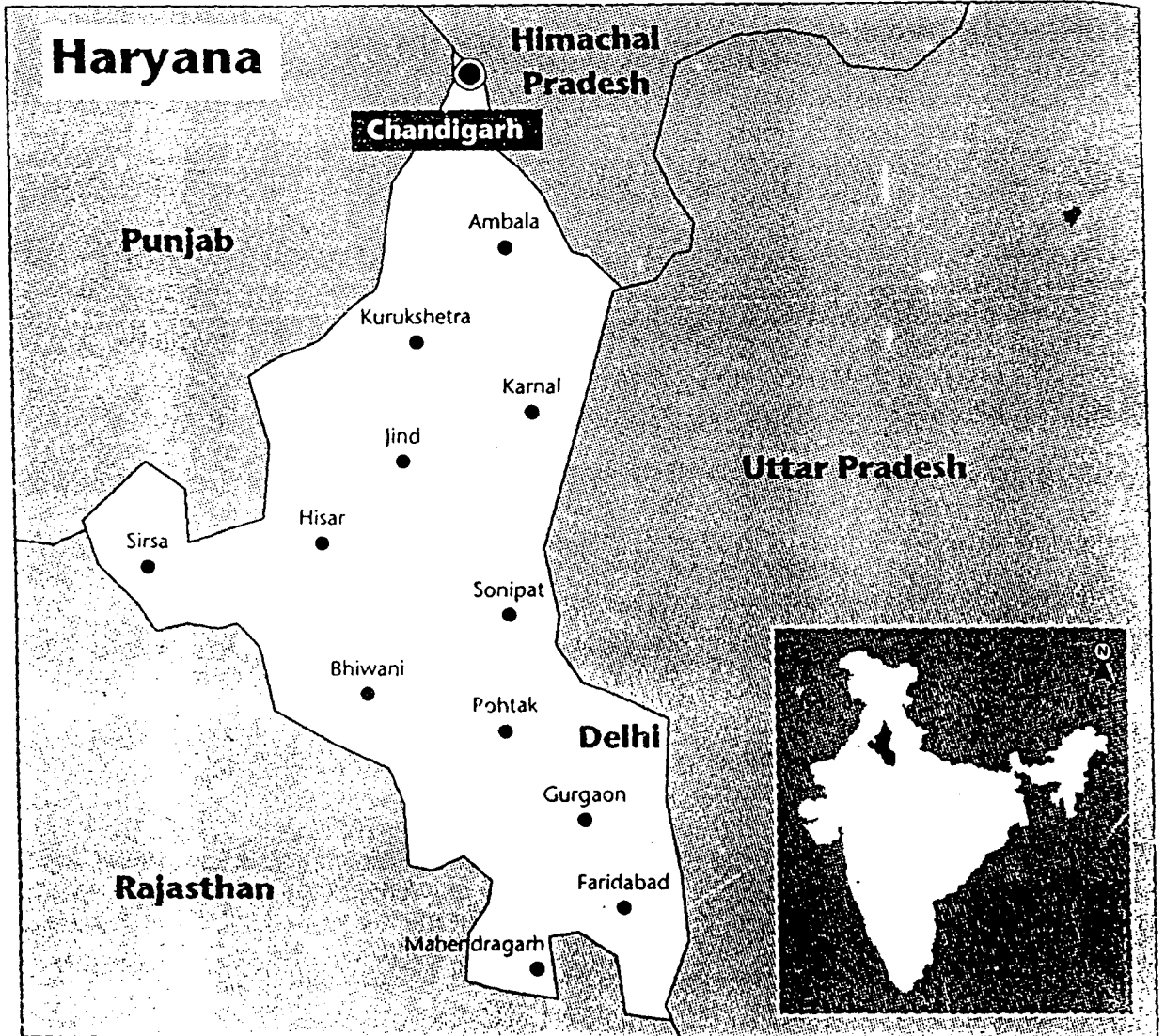


*A Sketch Map*

2

The Statehood for Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

Map 2.1



Source: *The Oxford Atlas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.

The separate statehood to Haryana and Himachal Pradesh may be described as the first attempt to reorganize the North India. Though, there were a long, peaceful and democratic movements for separate statehood, based on the distinct identities of these two states, the demands for the separate statehood in these two regions are closely related to the demand of the separate Sikh state in Punjab. Particularly, Haryana movement for separate state was never more than a weak sister, in terms of, popular support and organizational strength to the Punjabi Suba movement. Nevertheless, the Haryana movement was important in creating the necessary conditions for the division of the state. Himachal Pradesh also gained favourably due to the reorganization of Punjab, which strengthened the demand for the separate hill state. So, in one way or other, Punjabi Suba movement prepared the foundations for the creation of these two states.

### **Haryana.**

Haryana as a separate state, a separate political and administrative unit, though came into existence in 1966, the distinct identity of the region had been there, since the time immemorial. The people living in other parts of the country called the people of this region as Haryanavis, even before the creation of the state, due to distinct culture, and language of the people of this region. Though, the regional identity was there, the genesis of the process of regionalisation of politics in Haryana can be traced back only to the post-independence period.

At the time of independence, the present day Haryana region was divided into two parts – the areas ruled by the Princely States and the areas governed by the British directly. After independence, the areas governed by the Princely States were made the part of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union), and the area governed by Britishers were made the part of Punjab. After some time, when PEPSU was merged in Punjab state, by implication, this part also became a part of

the Punjab state.<sup>1</sup> But, in spite of, their geographical and political unity, the people of the region did not merge their identity with the people of Punjab. In socio-cultural and linguistic aspects, they always maintained their own separate identity.

After partition, there began a new phase in the history of Punjab. The historic province of Punjab was split into East Punjab and West Punjab. Further, due to large scale migration, there was a change in the communal composition of the state. With partition, the western Muslim majority districts went to Pakistan. The majority of Sikhs, who came from West Pakistan settled in Central Punjab, and the majority of Hindu refugees, from Pakistan, settled in the Eastern districts, the area now known as Haryana. The communal identity of the area inhabited by the Hindus, further strengthened by these settlements. Thus, Sikhs, who were a religious minority in the pre-independence period, continued to be a religious minority, while Hindus became a majority in the state. The fear of losing the Sikh identity, thus, got strengthened, in the post-independence India. After independence, the demand for a separate state of Haryana went on gaining momentum. On the other hand, the Sikhs maintained that in 1946, the British and the Congress leaders had promised that they would have the right to determine their own political status, the Sikhs were to be considered a sovereign community in independent India and in the Constituent Assembly of India.<sup>2</sup> The *Akali Dal* submitted a memorandum to the *Minority Sub-committee* on Fundamental Rights of the Constitutional Assembly and asked for some constitutional safeguards for Sikhs, but, it was rejected by the Minority Sub-Committee. The Akali Dal, which had emerged as a political force in Punjab, representing the Sikh community, now adopted a resolution on 29 May, 1948, for the creation of fully autonomous

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<sup>1</sup> Rai, Satya M., *Punjab Since Partition*, Durga Publications, Delhi, 1986, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Singh, Gurnam, *A Uni-lingual Punjabi State and Sikh Unrest*, Super Press, Delhi, 1960, pp. 28-29.

Punjabi speaking state on the basis of language and culture.<sup>3</sup> What they wanted was a state where the Sikhs would be in majority, so that, they could escape from Hindu dominance.

The Congress party and the Constituent Assembly, which were committed to the secular state and were against the communal politics, that had dominated pre-independence India, could not accept such demand. The Indian National Congress which was committed to linguistic states, changed its attitude over the subject after partition, specially in the case of Punjab and Sikhs. Even when the Constituent Assembly appointed a commission under Justice S.K. Dar to examine the possibility of redrawing the boundaries of the states on the linguistic basis, excluded Punjab, from its term of reference. The Akali demand for separate Punjabi Suba was interpreted as a strategy, designed to create a separate Sikh sovereign state. It was argued that a Punjabi Suba was prejudicial to the defence and security of the country, and it was pointed out that demand was for a Sikh-state based on religion and, thus, this communalism must be curbed in secular India.<sup>4</sup>

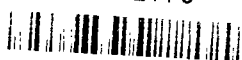
The first manifestation of separate identity for Haryana region was witnessed when the government of Punjab accepted it as a separate linguistic region. In 1949, the language issue assumed its political dimension, when Punjab was declared a bi-lingual state with both Punjabi and Hindi as its language, which was strongly opposed by the Sikh community in the state. Then, in order to settle the matter, the Punjab Government introduced the *language formula* popularly known as *Sachar Formula*. This formula divided the Punjab into two linguistic regions – Punjabi speaking and Hindi speaking and allowed Punjabi and Hindi to

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<sup>3</sup> Singh, Dalip, *Dynamics of Punjab Politics*, Macmillan Co. New Delhi, 1981, pp. 24-25.

<sup>4</sup> Lamba, Krishna, Gopal, *Dynamics of Punjabi Suba Movement*, Deep and Deep Publication, New Delhi, 1999, p. 92.

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be used as the medium of instruction in the respective regions and to be taught as compulsory language in the two regions. The Sachar formula was widely acclaimed by the Sikhs, however, the proposal met with severe criticism at the hands of Hindu organisations.

Hindus in the state, by and large, felt that it was not really the question of the Punjabi language, but, it was a demand calculated to carve out a separate Sikh state. As opposed to Punjabi Suba, they put forward their own demand for *Maha Punjab* which would include the territories of the Punjab, PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and some districts of Uttar Pradesh. It was widely recognized that the primary concern for the demand of Maha Punjab was to maintain the economic and political domination of the Hindus in Punjab.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the language issue soon took the shape of communal strife and antagonism among the Hindus and the Sikhs. Besides, the Hindu leaders of Haryana region opposed the formula on the grounds that they saw domination of Punjabi speaking area and felt that it would harm the interests of the Hindu community. This instant rejection of formula, however, suited Akalis. The protagonists of Punjabi needed such a situation to whip up the Sikh's feelings.

The creation of Andhra Pradesh, following agitation by the Telugu speaking people and further demand for a Marathi speaking state, encouraged the Sikh agitation for a Punjabi Suba. The Akali Dal, however, very wisely anticipated that the communal and non-secular demands had no place in the secular democracy of India, and based its demand of Punjabi Suba on the basis of Punjabi speaking state. Mr. Baldev Raj Nayar, in his study of the Punjabi Suba Movement,

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<sup>5</sup> Narang, A.S., "The Punjabi Suba Movement" in *Social and Political Movements*, (ed.) by H.K. Puri, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2000, p. 301.

concluded, *the linguistic argument is considered to be merely a camouflage for the eventual creation of Sikh theocratic state.*<sup>6</sup>

On December 27, 1953, the Government of India appointed the State Reorganization Commission (SRC) to go into the problems of redemarcating the states boundaries in the country. The Akali Dal submitted a memorandum to the Commission and urged the formation of Punjabi Suba or Punjabi speaking state by joining together of the Punjabi speaking areas of existing Punjab, PEPSU and the State of Rajasthan. It was emphasised that Punjabis have a distinct common culture and common mother-tongue and therefore, they should have their own state.<sup>7</sup>

A separate memorandum drawn by the *Maha Punjab Samiti*, on the other hand, made a case for greater Punjab by merging the territories of Punjab, PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and some districts of Uttar Pradesh. In the Haryana region, also, various persons and organizations put up the case of *Vishal Haryana* before the Commission. On October 23, 1953, the erstwhile Delhi Vidhan Sabha had passed a resolution, requesting the Delhi State Government to recommend the formation of *Maha Delhi (Vishal Haryana)* including the areas of Delhi, Agra division, Ambala division of Punjab, Hindi speaking areas of PEPSU, Alwar and Bharatpur district of Rajasthan. So, the Delhi State Government, Congress legislators of Haryana region, 97 Members of Legislative Assembly from Western Uttar Pradesh, and other numerous organisations submitted memorandum before the Commission to press for *Vishal Haryana State*.<sup>8</sup> But, the Commission

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<sup>6</sup> Nayar, Baldev Raj, *Minority Politics in Punjab*, Princeton University, New Jersey, 1966, p.98.

<sup>7</sup> *A Case of Punjabi Speaking State*, Memorandum to SRC by Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1954.

<sup>8</sup> Singh, Ranbir, "Genesis and Exposition of the Demand for Vishal Haryana", vol. II, *Kurushetra University Research Journal*, January, 1968, p. 213.

dismissed the demand, on the basis that the separation of Haryana from Punjab which was deficit area would be no remedy for any ills - real or imaginary. They further opined that the separation of 16 districts of Western Uttar Pradesh, as proposed by the protagonists of Vishal Haryana, was bound to lead to the dislocation of administration of the state which has remained a unit by itself for a long period.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, after considering all the important proposals regarding the future of Haryana, Maha Punjab, Punjabi Suba, and the PEPSU, the SRC in its report recommended the merger of existing state of Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh into one single integrated unit.<sup>10</sup>

The separation of Haryana region from the Punjab was rejected on the plea of economically non-viability of the proposed Haryana state. There was no real language problem in the state of Punjab as at present constituted. This is so because Punjabi and Hindi languages, as spoken in Punjab were akin to each other and both are well understood by all sections of the people of the state.<sup>11</sup>

The SRC also rejected the demand of the separate Punjabi Suba, on the basis, that it lacked the general support of the people inhabiting the area, and secondly, because it will not eliminate any of the cause of friction from which the demand of the separate Punjabi speaking state emanates. The proposed state, in view of the Commission, will solve neither the language problem, nor the communal problem, and far from removing internal tension, which existed between regional groups, it might further increase the existing feelings.

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<sup>9</sup> Government of India, *The State Reorganisation Commission Report*, Government of India Publication, Delhi, 1955, p. 147.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 244-246.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 246.

The Report of the SRC, thus, disappointed all the supporters of the Punjabi Suba, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Although, the report was approved by the Punjab Pradesh Congress at Amritsar, the Chief Minister of Punjab, Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar failed to persuade state Congress legislators to be unanimous in their approach to the SRC proposals, regarding Punjab. While, some members wanted the exclusion of Himachal Pradesh from the proposed enlarged state, those representing Haryana were critical of the rejection of their demand for a separate state. Besides, the Report met with strong protest from the Akali party for the rejection of the demand of the separate Punjabi speaking state.

In 1956, the Government of India reached a political settlement with the Akali Dal. The Government proposal for Punjab, PEPSU merger was accepted by the Akali party and they agreed to have bi-lingual state of Punjab by keeping the two distinct linguistic regions. Himachal Pradesh was to be remained a Centrally Administrative territory, which was also supported by the Chairman of the SRC, Justice Fazl Ali, in his dissenting note.

To safeguard the interests of each region in the Punjab state, a legal provision was introduced in the Seventh Constitutional Amendment Act, 1956. The Act made special provision by substituting a new article for article 371, of the Constitution, with respect to the states of Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, and Bombay.<sup>12</sup> Under clause (1) of the new article, a scheme was provided for the division of the reorganised bi-lingual state of Punjab into two regions – the Punjabi speaking region and the Hindi speaking region. For each region, there was to be a regional committee, consisting of the members of the State Assembly belonging to each region. Legislation related to specified matters will be referred to the regional

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<sup>12</sup> Government of India, *The States Reorganisation Act*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1956, Set II.

communities. The Governor was charged with special responsibilities to ensure the proper functioning of the regional formula.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Punjab was declared a bilingual state and the state was accordingly bifurcated into two language zones. The agreement also resulted in the merger of the Akali Dal with the Congress. In conformity with this decision, the Akali Dal did not contest the election of 1957 but retained its entity as a cultural body. The Congress was returned in sufficient strength to form the government under the leadership of Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon.<sup>14</sup>

The working of the regional formula did not satisfy the two communities. The leaders of the Hindi speaking area complained of the step-motherly treatment, during the period of four-five months after the implementation of the regional formula, which had given some kind of assurance and caused satisfaction to the people of Haryana. An agitation against the discriminatory formula was started by the people of Haryana. The *Hindi Raksha Samiti* was formed to protect the interests of the Hindi speaking people, who were concentrated in the Haryana region. They also complained that Haryana region had also been ignored in the formation of the ministry and allocation of the portfolios to ministers.<sup>15</sup> The Samiti convinced the people of Haryana that in the regional scheme, their areas have been ignored and they are not provided with the allocation of the preferential funds as were recommended by the SRC on the ground of their area being economically backward. The Samiti launched a movement known as *Hindi Satyagraha* with the slogan of *Hindi in Danger*. They opposed Punjabi in Gurmukhi script as a compulsory medium of instruction in the Punjabi region and as the second

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<sup>13</sup> *An Outline Of The Scheme For Regional Committee In The Punjab State*, in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, Appendix IV, 1966, pp. 63-64.

<sup>14</sup> Singh, Dalip, note 3, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Rai, Gulshan, *Formation of Haryana*, B.R. Publishers, New Delhi, 1987, p. 91.

language in the Hindi region. Soon, the regional formula became the victim of fissiparous and sectarian attitude, making it absolutely ineffective.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, the Akali Dal also declared that the regional formula had not been satisfactorily implemented and that it was compelled to re-open the demand for the Punjabi Suba. Disenchanted with the working of the regional formula, the Akali Dal convened the first Punjabi Suba Conference at Amritsar, on October 12, 1958 to revive the demand for a Punjabi Suba. The Akalis accused the Government of having backed out of its settlement with the Akalis and justified their demand for the creation of a Punjabi Suba. To press the government, Master Tara Singh launched a fast unto death, and called off only on the assurance from the Government of India, that Sikh grievances would be looked into. Following the 48 days fast of Master Tara Singh, ending on 1 October, 1961, the Government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Mr. S.R. Das, to examine the discrimination, if any, against the Sikhs.<sup>17</sup> The inquiry Commission carried out its assignment despite its boycott by the Akali Dal and submitted its report stating that it had found no evidence of discrimination against the Sikhs in Punjab, and, their representation in the legislature, cabinet and government offices is more than their percentage of population in the state.

During the communal strife and agitation, the Punjab Government gazetted the establishment of the *Haryana Vikas Committee* (HVC), to give suggestions for the socio-economic upliftment of the region. Sri Ram Sharma was appointed its chairman. It sent its recommendations after nine months. In the meanwhile, the latent desire of the people of Haryana to part company with Punjab began to

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<sup>16</sup> Mishra, Madhu Sudan, *Politics of Regionalism in India, with Special Reference to Punjab*, Deep Publication, New Delhi, 1988, p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> Other members of the Das Commission were Sh. C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyer, and Sh. M.C. Chagla.

express itself in a vocal agitation for a bifurcation of the state. The appointment of a inquiry commission gave a chance to the protagonists of the cause of the Haryanvis to collect relevant data to prove the truth of their stand that not only in the development activities, but also in the service, the Hindi region was getting a the poor representation.<sup>18</sup>

The HVC, popularly known as *Haryana Developmental Committee*, reported to the government, that the Haryana region was lagging behind in almost all the fields. The British policy of neglect and indifference to Haryana continued more or less even after the independence. Thus, the Committee, recommended that in future, an effective machinery to watch and ensure proper implementation of the developmental programmes to be undertaken in this area.<sup>19</sup> Because the Committee was of the view that even the schemes, which were actually sanctioned for the development of the region, were not speedily executed either for want of sufficient financial provisions or for want of allocation during implementation. It was claimed that the region of Haryana was neglected in all spheres of life at the hands of educated and rich Punjabis.

In Rohtak, an organisation called *Haryana Lok Samiti* was formed in 1961, to contest the general elections. Associated with Arya Samaj, its election campaign emphasised opposition of the imposition of Punjab in the schools in Haryana, promotion of Hindi and opposition to the alleged discrimination against the Haryana region by the Punjab Government in the allocation of the economic resources. Thus, in Haryana region, along with the linguistic factor, perception of relative economic backwardness contributed to the demand for regional identity.

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<sup>18</sup> Rai, Gulshan, *note. 15*, pp. 108-09.

<sup>19</sup> *The Report of the Haryana Development Committee*, Chandigarh, 1966, p. 91.

The emergence of the regional organisation – *Haryana Lok Samiti* is an example of search for Haryanavi identity. The movement for separate Haryana state, gathered further momentum through the Punjabi Suba movement which had been revived by the Akali Dal after the rejection of the regional formula.

However, due to Chinese aggression, in 1962, Sant Fateh Singh suspended the Punjabi Suba movement, and mobilized defence efforts in the state. The demand for the separate state remained under suspension for a while, but was not abandoned.

The exit of Mr. Prakash Singh Kairon, the main opponent of the Punjabi Suba, removed one of the major hurdles in the achievement of Punjabi Suba. Mr. Kairon had dominated the Punjab politics from 1956 to 1964 - a period in which he had the backing of Pandit Nehru. But, after the death of Pandit Nehru, Congress became a divided house in Punjab. The party was left without any powerful leader who could resist the demand for a Punjabi speaking state.

The assumption of power by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri also modified the tough line that had been adopted by Pandit Nehru. The change of regime, at the Centre, changed the climate as the new leaders were more receptive to regional demands. Meanwhile, the revival of the demand for Punjabi Suba gave boost to the demand for the separate state of Haryana. The leaders of Haryana asserted again that they were being discriminated at the hands of Punjabis. The *Haryana Lok Samiti* advanced the case of Haryana, spearheaded the movement with Mr. Devi Lal, Sri Mool Chand Jain, Sri Ram Sharma and others. The demand of the Samiti was to give fair representation to the people of this region in all walks of life or to bifurcate the state on linguistic basis. Many politicians condemned the leaders of Haryana as casteist and sectarians. However, contrary to such views, the popularity of separate Haryana movement gained whole hearted co-operation of all segments of the population of this region.



On the other hand, the agitation for Punjabi Suba started again. Taking into consideration, the mood of the people of Haryana region, Sant Fateh Singh declared that he wanted a Punjabi Suba purely, on linguistic basis and reiterated, *we want a Punjabi Suba purely on a linguistic basis and we are not concerned whether Sikhs are in majority or minority in that state.*<sup>20</sup> In the meantime, a convention was held at Rohtak on October 17, 1965, and presented a strong case for the formation of the separate state of Haryana consisting Hindi region of the Punjab state.

In view of the great pressure, the Government of India appointed a three member Cabinet Committee consisting of Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sri Mahavir Tyagi, assisted by twenty two members Parliamentary Committee headed by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha Sardar Hukum Singh. The Parliamentary Sub-committee was flooded with memoranda by the representatives of *the Haryana Lok Samiti, Haryana All Parties Action Committee, Haryana Arya Sammelan, Congress legislators belonging to Haryana region, and the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee* for the formation of *Vishal Haryana.*<sup>21</sup> The Committee, however, refrained from expressing opinion on the demand of Vishal Haryana. The Committee recommended that the state of Punjab should be reorganised on the linguistic basis as much as the other states of the country had been formed on the same basis. This would, in the opinion of Committee, not only satisfy the political and economic aspirations of the people of the respective regions, but, also provide for a lasting solution to the vexed questions. The Committee, further, suggested that the Punjabi region specified in the Regional Committee Order, 1957, should form a uni-lingual Punjabi state. The hill areas of

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<sup>20</sup> Rai, Satya, M. *note. I*, p, 173.

<sup>21</sup> *Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba*, Government of India Publication, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1966, p. 56.

Punjab, included in the Hindi region, which were contiguous to Himachal Pradesh and had linguistic and cultural affinity, should be merged with Himachal Pradesh. Further, the remaining areas of the Hindi speaking region of the Punjab should form a separate unit called the *Haryana State*.<sup>22</sup>

The Government of India, accepted in principle, the report of the Parliamentary Committee, recommending that Punjab should be reorganised on the linguistic basis and declared to appoint an expert committee to make necessary boundary adjustments. The decision of the Committee to create a separate Punjabi speaking state was welcomed by the Sikhs as well as Hindi speaking population of the state, only the Punjabi Jan Sanghis condemned the Congress decision as a 'blow to the forces of unity and integration of the country'.<sup>23</sup>

As suggested by the Parliamentary Committee, a commission was set up by the Government on 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1966 to make recommendations in the matters of the reorganisation of the Punjab state. The task of the Commission was to examine the Hindi and Punjabi regions of the present state of Punjab and to recommend changes, if necessary, in that boundary so as to secure the linguistic homogeneity of the proposed new states. The Commission was required to apply the linguistic principle, with due regard, to the Census figure of 1961 for deciding upon the linguistic homogeneity of the two states.<sup>24</sup> The Commission, after taking into consideration all factors, recommended districts of Hisar, Mahendragarh, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Karnal, and Tehsil Narwana and Jind of Sangrur and Kharar Tehsil (including Chandigarh Capital Project), Naraingarh, Ambala and Jagadhari to form the Hindi speaking state of Haryana. The majority of the Commission, by two to

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>23</sup> Lamba, Gopal Krishna. *note 4*, p. 174.

<sup>24</sup> Government of India, *Punjab Boundary Commission Report*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, Appendix – IV, Copy of Government Resolution, 1966, p. 60.

one, declared Chandigarh and also Kharar Tehsil to be part of the Haryana state. But, in his dissenting note, the third member of the Commission, Mr. S. Dutta, favoured inclusion of these areas in the Punjab state.<sup>25</sup>

The Akali reaction to the report was sharp and they started agitation to put pressure on the government for the inclusion of Chandigarh in the Punjab state. The recommendations of the Commission, therefore, accepted by the Government of India with minor changes and it decided to convert Chandigarh into a Union Territory. The recommendations of the Commission were incorporated in the Punjab States Reorganisation Bill, 1966. As a result of this Act, Punjab was trifurcated in such a way that the Punjabi speaking areas went to Punjab and the Hindi speaking areas to Haryana, and Hill areas were merged with Himachal Pradesh. Another notable feature of the Act was the creation of common links between the State of Punjab and Haryana like a Common High Court, University, Electric Board and other corporations.

The efforts of the leaders for the cause of Haryana bore fruit when the Punjab Reorganisation Act came into force. Consequently, the seventeenth state of the Indian Union, Haryana, was carved out by reorganising the Punjab, in accordance with the Punjab-Boundary Commission Report, with the singular exception of Chandigarh on November 1, 1966. In this way, the formation of the Haryana state marked the fulfillment of a long cherished desire of the people of this backward area. There is no denying the fact that there was an independent political demand for the formation of Haryana, though the movement was assisted by the Punjabi Suba movement to put the pressure on government for the division of Punjab. We can say that the period from 1947-1966 as the period of search for Haryanvi identity. This search for Haryanvi identity was partially the result of the developments associated with the demand of Akali Dal - for Punjabi Suba, and

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53.

partially with the growing consciousness and sense of relative deprivation in the minds of the people of Haryana. This resulted in the formation of a separate state of Haryana in 1966 from where the economic, cultural, and linguistic considerations got associated with political and administrative unit, named Haryana.

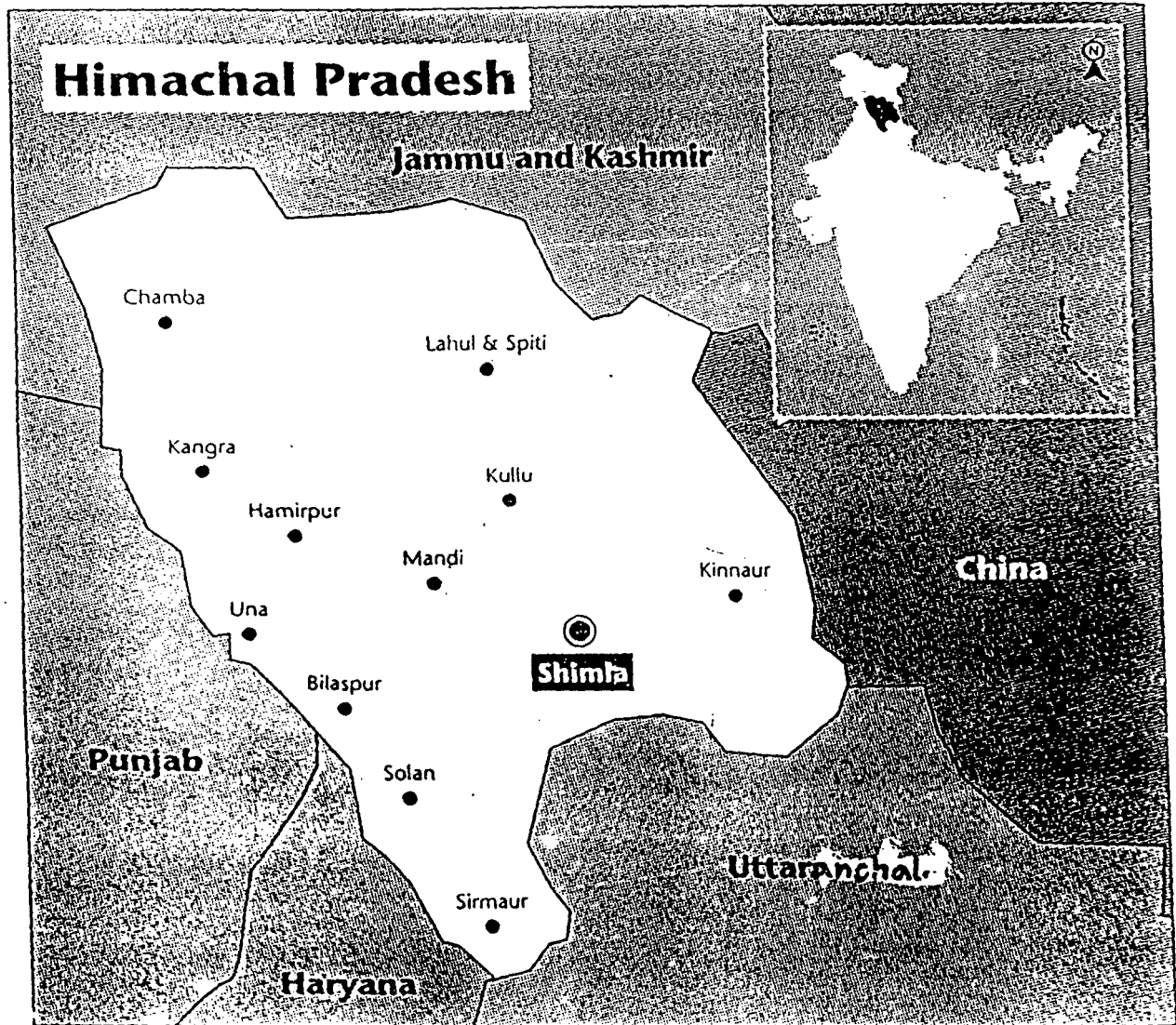
### **Himachal Pradesh.**

The Reorganisation of Punjab on linguistic basis, was, in many ways, favourable for Himachal Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh which was given the status of a Union Territory in 1956, by the States Reorganisation Act gained largely from the reorganisation of Punjab. The merger of the Punjab hill areas with Himachal Pradesh, gave impetus to the demand of the separate hill state by increasing the area of the union territory. The formation of present day Himachal Pradesh was, thus, the logical outcome of the reorganisation of Punjab on linguistic basis.

Till 1948, the Himalayan Princely States were all independent kingdoms not responsible to the people, but bound by the treaties to the British Government. During the British period, the chiefs of most of the petty hill states of Himachal Pradesh exhibited friendliness and a spirit of loyalty towards the British Government. The subjects of these hill states, however, suffered from the misrule of the autocratic hill chiefs. However, with the rise of democratic consciousness in the different parts of the country, the people of this region also began to mobilize, resulting in the organisation of various people's protest movements. The *Praja Mandal Movements* spearheaded these protest movements.

Thus, in the hills of Himachal, there were two types of movements going on simultaneously - the *Praja Mandal Movement* and the *Freedom Movement*. The rise and growth of the Praja Mandal Movement in these hills from 1938 onwards,

Map 2.2



Source: *The Oxford Atlas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.

gradually paved the way for the integration of Punjab and Shimla hill states into one unit.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, the independence of India brought a dramatic change in the thinking and outlook of the people in the hill states. The urge for freedom had set in motion the process of conflict - Praja Mandal vs Rulers. While, the former, organized agitation against the authoritarian rule, the later, began to think in terms of joining together with the twin objective of meeting the challenges to their authority, which emerged due to the lapse of British sovereignty and secondly, to become viable in order to maintain their identity and hold over the administration.

As suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, an assembly of the representatives of the rulers and the Praja Mandalists met at Solan in January, 1948 under the chairmanship of the Raja Durga Singh of Bhagat. It decided to constitute the union of states to be named as Himachal Pradesh. The move, however, was strongly opposed by a section of Praja Mandalists led by Sri Padam Dev and Mr. Y.S. Parmar, who understood the hidden design of the hill chiefs behind such a move. They refused to recognize such union of states, until the power was transferred to the people and the individual identity of the states was erased out. The rulers, as expected, refused to yield, and the nefarious attempt of the hill rulers did not materialize.<sup>27</sup>

Now, at the direction of the All India Peoples' Conference and with a nink from the Ministry of the States, the Praja Mandal leadership favoured the *Himalayan Prant Provisional Government* to carry on the struggle for the merger of the hill states and the creation of separate administrative unit under the direct

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<sup>26</sup> Ahluwalia, M.S., *Social, Cultural and Political History of Himachal Pradesh*, Indus Publications, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 31-32.

<sup>27</sup> Singh, Mian Goverdhan, *History of Himachal Pradesh*, Yugbodh Publication House, Delhi, 1982, pp. 24-25.

administration of the Central Government. The first shot was fired on 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1948. On this day, Praja Mandal workers marched into 'Suket' state territory to force the ruler to accede to the Indian Union. The success of the movement popularly known as *Suket Satyagraha* created greater awareness among the people of other hill states, whose rulers also took clue from the Suket Satyagraha and hastened to sign the merger agreements. The merger agreements were signed by all the rulers by March, 1948, with the exception of Sirmur, Mandi and Bilaspur, who nevertheless followed suit on 24 March, 5 April and 15 August, 1948 respectively.<sup>28</sup> A separate Centrally Administered Unit known as Himachal Pradesh, thus, came into being on 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1948.

Politically, however, the formation of the Himachal Pradesh, in April, 1948 may be regarded as pure adhocism, as no definite policy was followed by the Indian Government in the integration of these Princely States. Although, the merger of twenty one states and nine feudatories was of great historical and administrative significance. The new arrangement put the state under Chief Commissioner's Province, under the executive head of the Chief Commissioner, aided and advised by the princess and the few people's representative. It was, thus, for all practical purposes - a Centrally ruled state.

The constitution of Himachal Pradesh, as the first entirely hilly unit of Indian Union, gave the hill people an identity of their own. The initial years were busy period in providing a uniform administration. Different laws, varying institutions and variety of procedures were in vogue in the erstwhile principalities. To fashion uniformity out of diversity was no easy task. For a Chief Commissioner's Province, it was no easy achievement. But, what was lacking of the substance was the democratization of the administration. The merger of

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<sup>28</sup> Verma, V., *The Emergence of Himachal Pradesh, (A Survey of Constitutional Development)*. Indus Publication Company, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 123-124.

erstwhile Princely States into one unit was an act of administrative integration. It did not assure any democratic association of the people with the administration of the territory. The only resemblance of democracy witnessed in the constitution of an Advisory Council to assist the Chief Commissioner, fell far short of the natural aspirations and revolutionary urge of the people. The demand for democratization of the state apparatus in Himachal, was raised at the meeting of Himachal Provincial Congress Committee held at Chamba in May, 1949 to get its status as Lt. Governor's Province with a legislature and a ministry.

Meanwhile, with the commencement of the Constitution of India on January 26, 1950 Himachal Pradesh became a *Part 'C'* state. This naturally rekindled the hopes and aspirations of the people who had all the time been denied the democratic right of the self government.

Further, 'Government of Part 'C' States Act, 1951', constituted an important landmark in the progress of democracy in Himachal Pradesh. It introduced a partial democratic set up in Himachal Pradesh. Actually, it was a political experiment calculated to meet, in some measure, the political demand for the responsible government. The Act provided a legislature and a popular ministry to the state. However, the powers given to the legislature and executive were limited and hedged. Though, the ministers were drawn from the majority party and were collectively and individually responsible to the legislature, the Council was presided over by the Lt. Governor, who was not answerable to the House. He was made integral part of the Council of Ministers, thus, combining in him the dual, but, desperate functions of the Head of the State and of the Chief Minister. The position of the executive and legislature under the Government of Part 'C' States



Act, 1951 can be best compared with the provincial executive and legislature under the Government of India Act, 1919.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, the position that emerged in the Himachal Pradesh was not in any way a federal unit of the Union because, in the final analysis, the legislative powers were vested in the Parliament and those of executive in the President of India. The only favourable development during this period was the merger of Bilaspur State in 1954. The state had been under the Chief Commissioner as a part 'C' state as its ruler Raja Anand Chand was against the merger of his state with Himachal Pradesh. But, Bilaspur was finally merged in Himachal Pradesh through an Act of Parliament in 1954.

The year 1955-56, were one of apprehension, anxiety and unrest for Himachal Pradesh, when the State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) recommended the merger of the state with Punjab. The memorandum submitted to the Commission by the Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee envisaged Himachal Pradesh comprising of *present Himachal Pradesh, Kangra Tehsil Pathankot of district Gurdaspur, Tehsil Una of district Hoshiarpur, Tehri, Garhwal and Chakrata districts of Uttar Pradesh, Kohisan district of PEPSU*. All these areas joined together would form a compact, homogeneous and continuous tract with similar language, culture and social customs and similar problems of development.<sup>30</sup> The major political parties, pleaded for the continued existence of the Himachal Pradesh enlarged in size with the transfer of hilly areas from Punjab and PEPSU and, to elevate its status as Part 'A' state. But, unlike in other parts of the country, what was remarkable in Himachal Pradesh was the clear absence of agitational approach. Through and through, the views of the people were expressed

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<sup>29</sup> Verma, V., *note 28*, p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> *Rationalisation of Himachal Pradesh*, Memorandum Submitted to the SRC by Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee, Shimla, 1954, p. 8.

in a calm and controlled manner with due sobriety. No turbulence in the usual placidity of normal life was in evidence.

The formation of 'Vishal Himachal' by integrating the territories of Himachal Pradesh, the adjoining hill areas of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and PEPSU was dismissed by the Commission for the lack of reliable evidences of any desire on the part of the people of the areas claimed from other states to join Himachal Pradesh. Apart from this consideration, the Commission was of the view that if even a target unit was to be created, it would still be not an administrative viable proposition. In Commissions' view, therefore, the right course was to merge Himachal Pradesh with Punjab.<sup>31</sup>

The above recommendation of the two members, was not subscribed by the chairman of the Commission, who came up with his famed dissenting note, in which he suggested that the state should continue as a separate unit under the direct control of the Central Government.<sup>32</sup>

Himachal Pradesh Assembly debated the SRC Report and moved a resolution against the report, thereby, reiterated its stand that Himachal Pradesh be retained as a separate state with the integration of the enclaves and contiguous hilly areas and not be merged with Punjab. In order to negotiate with the Central Government with regard to granting of democratic set up to Himachal Pradesh, in terms of resolution, the House constituted a negotiating committee. The committee worked hard to save the state from merger with Punjab, but, it could not convince the Government to elevate Himachal Pradesh to Part 'A' state.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Government of India, *Report of the States Reorganisation Commission*, Government of India Publications, Delhi, 1955, para 564, p. 52.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 238-243.

<sup>33</sup> Ahluwalia, M.S., *note 26*, pp. 36-37.

Finally, State Reorganisation Act, 1956 (Seventh Constitutional Amendment) was enacted to implement the scheme of reorganisation. The state of Himachal Pradesh was *down-graded* in status to that of Union Territory. In November, 1956, Himachal Pradesh became a union territory under an administrator designed as Lt. Governor. It had to lose its Assembly and popular ministry. Politically and constitutionally, it was a great setback to the state because it had to start almost from a point from where it had began in 1948. But, the distinct identity did not fail to pay dividends. The popular struggle for restoration of democratic edifice continued unabated.

Keeping in view, these popular demands, the government enacted the 'Territorial Council Act of 1956'. Under the scheme of this Act, a Territorial Council was came into being. It was composed of 41 members chosen by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage. The Council was empowered to administer certain transferred subjects but this power was subject to such exceptions and conditions that the Central Government had the power to impose. In fact, Territorial Council had some ornate appearance, but no real power.

Thus, in 1956, Himachal Pradesh had to fight for its very existence. It retained its separate entity but at the great cost. The new structure, provided to the state, was in every respect far below the expectations of the people. The disenchantment started from the very start. The demand for the restoration of the democratic set up started gaining momentum from 1958 onwards.

In 1963, a new scheme, was announced by the Centre regarding the change in the nature of administrative set up of the Territorial Council, known as Government of Union Territories Act, 1963. Under the Act, a popular ministry was again formed in Himachal Pradesh and its Territorial Council upgraded to the Vidhan Sabha. But, the special responsibilities of Lt. Governor apart from being undemocratic, left little scope for the exercise of the power by the popular leaders.

The innumerable limitations on the powers of the executive and the legislature hampered the working of parliamentary democracy in the state. Though, it was a step forward, yet, it was no match with the popular demand of the separate hill state.

The Parliamentary Committee on the demand of the Punjabi Suba, recommended favourably for Himachal Pradesh. The Committee recommended to merge the hill areas of Punjab included in the Hindi region, which were contiguous to Himachal Pradesh and had linguistic and cultural affinity, with Himachal Pradesh.<sup>34</sup> This naturally raised the hope of the people of the area and they strengthened the movement for separate statehood.

Thus, the formation of Vishal Himachal Pradesh was necessitated by the Punjabi Suba agitation and it was considered as the gift to Himachal Pradesh by the Akali Dal.<sup>35</sup> The Punjab Boundary Commission headed by Justice J.C. Shah recommended the following regions of Punjab state to be merged with Himachal Pradesh -

- I. District Shimla, Kulu, Kangra, Lahaul, Spiti.
- II. The Development Blocks Gagret, Amb and Una (excluding village Kherabagh, Samipur and Kalseh and village Kasri from Tehsil Una)
- III. Tehsil Nalagarh (District Ambala)
- IV. Enclaves Dalhousie, Balu, Bukloh (in District Chamba).<sup>36</sup>

These territories were transferred to Himachal Pradesh, due to geographical contiguity and linguistic affinity of these areas, with the people of Himachal

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<sup>34</sup> Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Demand of Punjabi Suba, *note 21*, p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> Verma, V., *note 28*, pp. 230-231.

<sup>36</sup> Report of the Punjab Boundary Commission, *note 24*, pp. 48-49.

Pradesh. November 1, 1966, saw the fulfillment of the long cherished desire of the hill people when the hilly areas of Punjab were merged with Himachal Pradesh.

With the merger of the hill areas and the enlargement of the state in 1966, all the doubts regarding its separate identity and the fears for merger in Punjab were permanently set aside. Himachal Pradesh, now, became larger in size than some other part 'A' states, e.g., Haryana, Nagaland, or Kerala.

After the merger of the hill areas into Himachal Pradesh, the people of the merged areas, too, felt psychologically insecure under the Union Territory set up. They had already witnessed slow development perhaps due to changed priorities of the Punjab Government till 1966. The first priority, therefore, was to remove the uneven regional economic backwardness and to bring the full integration of the two regions. The main hindrance, in the proper planning, was due to the Union Territory status and meagre budgetary allocations from the Centre. Realizing the problem, the people of the area demanded the full statehood to Himachal Pradesh through democratic ways. The role of the *Lok Raj Party* in this regard is notable since it had been formed with the purpose of attaining the statehood for Himachal, which the party regarded as political rather than economic necessity.

The Himachal Pradesh Assembly, too, adopted various resolutions in 1967-68 and asked for the statehood, which was termed as the just demand of the Himachalis. The demand was justified in view of its proper area, economic viability, and above all, the impediments created by the existing Union Territory status in the way of social, political and economic development of the state.

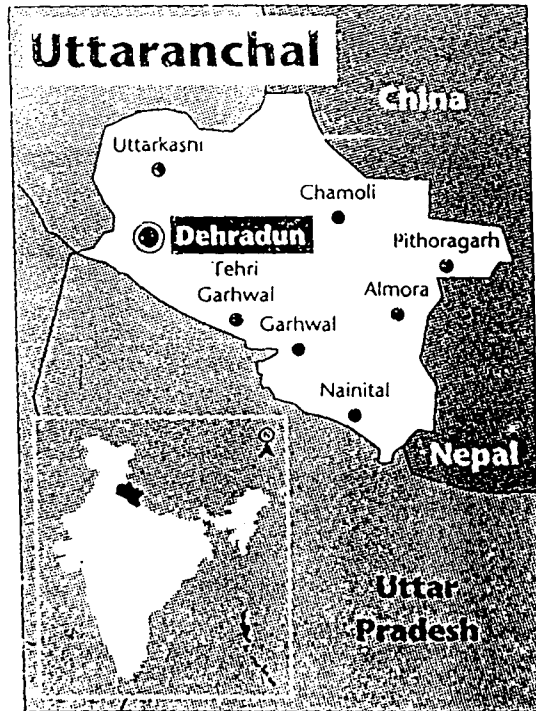
In defence to the wishes of the people of Himachal Pradesh, finally a bill to seek the statehood for Himachal Pradesh was passed in the Parliament and Himachal Pradesh was granted statehood on January 25, 1971.

Himachal Pradesh, which had so far experienced instability and frequent changes due to various administrative experiments, finally, got its long cherished goal of full fledged statehood.

3

The Creation of Uttaranchal.

Map 3.1



**Districts**

1. Dehradun
2. Uttarkashi
3. Tehri Garhwal
4. Rudraprayag
5. Chamoli
6. Hardwar
7. Pauri Garhwal
8. Bageshwar
9. Pithoragarh
10. Almora
11. Nainital
12. Champawat
13. Udham Singh Nagar



Source: *The Oxford Atlas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.



Uttaranchal, the twenty seventh state of the Indian Union, is the result of the reorganization of Uttar Pradesh. Uttar Pradesh has been a state, which never experienced strong regional pulls. The demand for Bundelkhand, Braj Pradesh, Poorva Pradesh and even Uttarakhand until, a decade ago, remained largely on the papers. This is because, the state has generally represented the 'dominant culture' of the nation, and consequently, has had its own compulsions against promoting any anti-Centre sentiments or forces. Of late, however, the Uttarakhand region has raised the banner of revolt against the Centre, as also against the State, demanding nothing short of a separate state.

Actually, the demand for Uttarakhand was not so much for a direct separate statehood but for its recognition and acceptance as an under privileged area and neglected entity of the country. Uttarakhand agitation was basically economic in nature, originating in the realms of paucity and poverty. No movement in the contemporary Indian politics has been able to generate so much popular support, that, too, in such a short span of time as the Uttarakhand movement in the UP hills. Though, the demand for a separate hill state was raised long back in 1938, at the time of Srinagar Conference of the Indian National Congress, it was actually massified only after the incidents of 1994 and 1995 (Khatima, Massoorie and Muzaffarnagar firings) by the Mulayam Singh Yadav Government of UP. These incidents amazingly massified the movement which had been so far, spontaneous, non-violent and democratic, finally culminated in the bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh, and creation of a separate hill state of Uttaranchal.

The hills of Western Uttar Pradesh have been known by the name of Uttarakhand for a fairly long time. Administratively, the region had two divisions, namely, Garhwal and Kumaun. Till as late as 1994, there were only eight districts, five in Garhwal and three in Kumaun. These included Dehradun, Tehri, Pauri Garhwal, Chamoli, Uttarkashi in Garhwal and Pithoragarh, Nainital and Almora in

Kumaun. Ms. Mayawati, during her tenure as the Chief Minister, created a new district of Udham Singh Nagar, out of the Terai belt of Nainital. Later, in 1997, two more districts were created in Kumaun, namely, Champawat and Bageshwar and one was created in Garhwal, namely, Rudra Prayag bringing the tally to twelve<sup>1</sup>. Except the district of Udham Singh Nagar, which is in the Terai regions of the hills, all other districts are mountainous with high and low altitudes mountains and river valleys.

The Uttarakhand region of Uttar Pradesh was one such case where the identity of the hill dwellers has been linked with their economic and social neglect for over fifty years of independence. The vast mineral, water and forest resources of the region have either remained unexploited or have been exploited by the outsiders for the benefit of outsiders, thereby resulting in the further “development of under - development” in the region.<sup>2</sup> Uttarakhand presents some very special ecological and social cultural features in the region. In spite of rich natural resources, it is one of the backward and neglected region of the country. The low level of development in the region can be attributed to the neglect of the region by the political authorities, the faulty planning and the lack of interest in the region, or due to the fact that it was a part of a very big unwieldy province.

Agriculture still remains the main profession, though, it can not sustain the people throughout the year. It is so weak, unscientific and backward in the region that it cannot become the basis of the economy. Further, no attention had been paid towards industrial development of the region. Out of the eight districts, six have been declared to be zero industrialized, the only exception being Dehradun, and Nainital. These two hill districts also figure among the most undeveloped districts

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<sup>1</sup> Kumar. Pradcep, *The Uttarakhand Movement: Construction of a Regional identity*, Kanishka Publication, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 33-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 80-84.

of UP and among 73 most backward districts of the country.<sup>3</sup> The increase in awareness and expectations after independence created a feeling of dissatisfaction among the people of the region. A feeling of having lagged behind or that, justice had been denied to them, had grown among the people over the years. At the same time, a form of awareness was growing regarding the need to preserve the environment and ecology to see that the natural resources are used in a proper way. The people of the region, thus, agitated by the fact that in spite of the vast natural resources and potential, they are lagging behind due to faulty planning and neglect. The widespread feeling of deprivation and lagging behind in economic development, logically, turned into the demand for a separate state of the hill regions of Uttar Pradesh. The demand assumed the character of a movement which caught the attention of not only the state but the nation as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

Though, the movement got momentum only in the last decade, its genesis goes back to pre-independence days. The demand figures for the first time, in the session of Srinagar Congress in 1936. The issue of the backwardness of the region, and peculiar social and cultural identity of region was discussed. It was here that for the first time, the demand for separate administrative set-up was raised, but did not get the support from the nationalist leaders. Between 1930 to 1946, the voice of separatism were lost in the din and clamours of the freedom struggle. People of the Kumaun-Garhwal region wholeheartedly participated in freedom struggle in the hope that they would be suitably rewarded after independence. Therefore, in 1947, when the freedom knocked at the Indian door, Sri Hira Ballabh Pande and Sri Har Govind Pant, two strong protagonists of the separate state, sponsored a resolution for the separate state of Uttarakhand before the Parliament, and thereby, brought

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<sup>3</sup> Kharka, S.S., "Socio-Economic features of Kumaun Himalayas", *Journal of Social and Economic Studies*, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 44-45.

<sup>4</sup> Dhoundiyal and Dhoundiyal, *The Separate Hill State*, Almora, Book Depot, Almora, 1993, pp. 36-37.

the question to the notice of the Constituent Assembly. The strongest opposition came from the Congress under the leadership of Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant. In the meantime, many of the early protagonists of the separate Uttarakhand passed away and the few, who were alive did not dare to challenge Pt. G.B. Pant's view point.<sup>5</sup>

Keeping in mind, the overall growth of the region and the aspirations of the people, the Communist Party of India (CPI) took up the demand in 1952, first time after the independence. In the hands of Mr. P.C. Joshi, the movement got the definite shape. He interpreted the crisis of the people of Uttarakhand in economic terms. The demand was also put forward before the States Reorganization Commission (SRC), in 1953. The arguments, in favour of, dividing the state of Uttar Pradesh were, that physically and geographically the hills and the plateau regions of Uttar Pradesh have little in common, there can be very little in common between the still nomadic tribes of Garhwal and Kumaun, on the one hand, and inhabitants of the fertile Gangetic plains, on the other.<sup>6</sup> However, the attempt did not materialize, as the issue did not find the support from its members.<sup>4</sup> The demand was turned down and one of the important ground given for this was that the prospects of economic development of the area would be better if it forms part of a larger state of Uttar Pradesh. Further, in view of the Commission, the economy of the state had become integrated, and dividing the state without any strong or compelling reason would have adverse effect on the economy of the state.<sup>7</sup>

Such decisions, were backed by the principle of economic viability, or economic determinism that was not sensitive to the regional contradictions latent in the political and economic relations between the plains and the hills. As a result,

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<sup>5</sup> Hussain. Zakir, "As old as the hills", *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, 9 September, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Government of India, *States Reorganization Commission Report*, Government of India Publication, New Delhi, 1955, p. 162.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

over half a century of independence and after the execution of several Five Year Plans, the discontent over political neglect and economic backwardness of the hill areas had grown constantly. The non-fulfillment of the economic aspirations of the people has been fuelling the demand for the separate state. Thus, the emergence of the demand for a new state can easily be linked with the popular impression that economic advancement of the hill areas, was not possible within the state of Uttar Pradesh, whose policies were dominated by the interests of the plains.

The aspirations for a separate state did not die with the rejection of the demand by the SRC and was raised on a number of occasions through various platforms, and associations. In 1954, the *Parvatiya Jana Vikas Samiti* was formed for the unity and development of the hill areas of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. In a general meeting of 'Parvatiya Jana Vikas Samiti' held in 1955, a demand was raised to merge the area with the proposed state of Himachal Pradesh. This was with a view, that the problems and solutions of both the regions were similar. In 1963, ex-ruler of Garhwal, Manvendra Shah Uniyal, kept alive the spirit of the demand. In Ramnagar Conference, which was the important gathering discussing the issue, he prepared a memorandum, which was presented to the Prime Minister. It was, here, for the first time, an organization named *Parvatiya Rajya Parishad* was formed with the aim of working for the creation of the separate state. On the second day, a large number of people from the region organized a rally and took an oath for formation of a separate hill state. In 1973, "Parvatiya Rajya Parishad" was reorganized, in which two MPs, Mr. Pratap Singh Negi and Mr. Narendra Singh Bisht were also included, who put a resolution for a separate hill state in the Parliament. The Parvatiya Parishad convened two days conference in January, 1998 in Delhi. It was the largest conference held so far, for the demand of the separate state. In addition to the people from eight districts, the Uttarakhandis living in other parts of the country also participated. In the same year, on 25 July, *Uttarakhand Kranti Dal* the (UKD) was formed under the Presidentship of Mr.

D.D. Pant, ex-Vice Chancellor of Kumaun University. Since then, UKD kept alive the spirit of the movement. The UKD played very important role in creating an awareness for the demand of a separate state.<sup>8</sup>

In 1987, in a conference of the representatives of the Uttarakhandis organized by C.P.I., the Uttarakhand Parvatiya Rajya Parishad was revived. A memorandum was presented to the President and for the first time, the demand to include Hardwar district, alongwith eight districts, put forward. A new regional organization *Uttarakhand Jan Sangharsh Vahini* was formed in 1987 which adopted the slogan, '*New Uttarakhand for New India*'.

By now, Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) changed its stance, sensing the involvement of the hill people, started supporting the demand from early 1990s. The statehood issue, in 1991 general elections, helped the BJP win most of the Lok Sabha seats in the region. It also got a resolution adopted in the UP Assembly urging the Central Government to create the new hill state. But, the Central Government did not take any action on the resolution.

Janata Dal, also, in its election manifesto, recognized the demand for the separate state, but after forming the government in the state, party ignored the demand. The Chief Minister, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, who in his election tour had supported the demand in various meetings, rejected the demand saying that Uttarakhand was the 'crown' of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>9</sup>

Being disappointed, the various regional political groups, e.g., *Uttarakhand Pragatisheel Yuva Morcha*, *Jan Sanghars Samiti*, *Uttarakhand Jan Parishad*, *Uttarakhand Jan Manch*, *All India Students Federation*, *Uttarakhand Yuva Shakti*

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<sup>8</sup> Tiwari, Indu, *Unity for Identity: Struggle for Uttarakhand State*, K.K. Pub., New Delhi, 2001, pp. 50-51.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 66.

*Manch*, united in a convention and for a joint struggle, they formed *Uttarakhand Sanyukta Sangharsh Samiti* which tried to put a joint effort for attaining separate state.

The movement got a fresh lease of life in 1992, when the anti-reservation agitation turned into a mass movement for a separate state. However, by now, state government had appointed a committee to look into the feasibility of the proposed state. The committee known as *Kaushik Committee* had submitted a lengthy report on various aspects of the proposed state. But, it was bagged down after the government's OBCs Reservation Policy sparked off a strong agitation with mass participation in the UP hills.

The demand for the new hill state expressed itself through a more widespread agitation when the state government of UP declared 27 percent reservation for other backward classes in government jobs and educational institutes. With the coming of this legislation, the urge of the mountain communities to separate from UP exploded in open. This was because a rough estimate put the percentage of OBC population in the hills around 3 percent, and people demanded that reservation should be in accordance with the social conditions of the region. There was no justification of imposing 27 percent reservation, when there was hardly any OBC population in the region. There was a widespread feeling that as long as hills remain the part of Uttar Pradesh, the OBC population from the plains could claim the reserved jobs and seats in educational institutions. This will directly hit the economic aspirations of the hill people.

The people felt that this imposition of 27 percent reservation policy clearly shows the ignorance of the policy framers about the region, they are indifferent to the problems, uniqueness and aspirations of the far flung backward region. The people also felt that this is the result of region being a part of a big state with which it has nothing in common. As a result, the demand for a separate state in the form

of open mass meetings or direct political action got organized throughout the hills. The comparison began to be made with neighbouring state of Himachal Pradesh, where the conditions were fairly similar to those prevailing in Uttarakhand.

◀ In this way, the demand had two overlapping undercurrents. First, the expectations of the hill communities for rapid transformation, that will be sensitive to the social, cultural and environmental peculiarities. Second, the overwhelming opposition to the new legislation in UP, reserving 27 percent jobs for the OBCs. This was seen as the further encroachment on the limited job opportunities of the region, and as an instrument for the larger control of mountain areas by the people coming from the plains.<sup>10</sup>

The anti-reservation stir gave an opportunity to the people of the region to unite and once again think about their long standing problems and demands. The anger against the decision of the government, brought back old resentment against the lack of development of the region and, demand for a separate hill state of Uttarakhand. 'Almost every political organization in Uttar Pradesh, except the Congress, supported the idea of the separate state.' The Congress was for an autonomous hill council as was in Darjeeling. One of the arguments given by the Congress Government at Centre, was that acceptance of such demand will lead to opening up of similar demands elsewhere in the country. The Government of India seemed to be not paying any heed to the demand, therefore, a feeling generated that no legitimate or just demand is considered without any agitation.

The agitation and public resentment gradually took momentum and on 7 September, 1994, a large number of people comprising from the neighbouring

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<sup>10</sup> Bandopadhyay, Jayanta, "Which way Uttaranchal?", *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 14 November, 2000.



villages marched in the procession on Khatima Road. The procession was totally peaceful and non-violent. It was reported that police opened firing on the procession, when it was passing through the police station. This continued for one and half an hour. The aim of the administration seemed to demoralize the agitationists, and create a feeling of terror and fear. This incident of police cruelty angered the masses and people came out to participate in agitation with renewed enthusiasm.

As a part of the agitation, it was decided to organize a rally in Delhi in October, 1994 and the people from all over the regions were encouraged to march to Delhi. The State Government disrupted their journey to Delhi at Muzaffarnagar on October, 2, by firing on unarmed and innocent volunteers. Many people were killed and there were many cases of police brutality and excesses against the volunteers particularly against women. The CBI Report, later on, confirmed it. This incident had great effect in igniting the fire, the people lost faith in the government. The situation changed drastically and there was hardening of attitude among the people after the incident. Various processions and silent marches were taken out against the police brutality. There was condemnation of this incident from all parts of the country. Finally, in February, 1996, Allahabad High Court held the UP administration guilty of human rights violation and an attack on the constitutional rights of the citizens.<sup>11</sup>

After this, the demand for a separate state encompassed every other demand. The movement broke all the barriers and became a mass movement. The agitation become very intense and, the students were joined by teachers, parents, public servicemen and others as everyone felt affected.

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<sup>11</sup> Tiwari, Indu, *note 8*, pp. 68-69.

In October, 1995, when the State Government lost majority due to the withdrawal of the support by the BJP, one of the cause was the Chief Minister's indifference to the Uttarakhand issue. This was followed by the imposition of the President's Rule in the state. Governor, Mr. Moti Lal Vora, announced three major decisions with regard to the Uttarakhand. These were-declaring the eight hill districts of the region as backward, decision to set up mini - secretariats at Nainital and Dehradun, and setting up of a commission for selection of hill candidates to Class III and IV posts. The state government also declared that it would open the 27 percent quota reserved for OBC's in Uttarakhand to all non-SCs and non-STs residents of the region. There was a great reaction to these announcements. It was interpreted that the announcements were just to divert attention from the incidents of Muzaffarnagar.

Realizing the seriousness of the issue, of late, Prime Minister Sri Narsimha Rao showed his readiness for negotiations to decide the nature of autonomy for Uttarakhand. He called for an amicable and mutually acceptable settlement to the Uttarakhand issue. The Centre urged various groups and organizations involved in the Uttarakhand agitation to co-operate for arriving at an amicable solution to the problem. 'The process of the dialogue between the various Uttarakhand supporting groups and the Union Minister began in the early January, 1996.' Thirty five major action groups had been invited through district administration.<sup>12</sup> The pick and choose policy adopted by the government, in inviting people and groups for talks, created further dissatisfaction and doubts among the people. The organization put forward the opinion that they needed an administrative mechanism separate from the State Government, to solve their problems. After the two rounds of talks, the movement leaders expected the Centre to come out with a definite solution to the

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<sup>12</sup> *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 12 January, 1996.

four decade old demand. The hopes had, yet again, been belied as the Centre did not come out with any definite announcement regarding the problem.

As a result, agitationists decided not to allow the holding of the Lok Sabha election 1996 in the region. This was the result of the failure of the Central Government to make any announcement after rounds of talks. The slogan *No Uttarakhand, No Election* became popular. Seeing the mood of the people none of the various party leaders, Mr. Narsimha Rao, Sri Atal Bihari Bajpayee, Sri L.K. Advani, Mulayam Singh or Ms. Yadav, Mayawati could address the meetings in support of their candidates. The voters' turnout was less than 25 percent<sup>13</sup> which was, however, the result of the candidates hardwork.

The period between 1994-1996 was important for the Uttarakhand movement because during this period the disorganized movement for separate statehood gained momentum, and even the Centre Government prepared to discuss the issue of the UP State Reorganization Bill in the Lok Sabha (prepared by the State Government in 1994). The United Front Government under Mr. H.D. Dewe Gowda, took up the issue again and a *Uttarakhand proposal* was prepared for the approval of the Cabinet. An all party meeting was also summoned to solve the issue. Almost every political party supported the cause of the Uttarakhand state. Finally, Prime Minister Mr. H.D. Dewe Gowda announced the decision for the creation of new hill state of Uttarakhand in his Independence Day speech. It was stated that the government was committed to implement the decision as soon as possible after fulfilling certain constitutional formalities. The state when created was to comprise the nine districts of Garhwal and Kumaun regions of Uttar Pradesh.

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<sup>13</sup> *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 25 April, 1996.

Though, the announcement regarding the creation of the hill state was a political tactics of the United Front Government, keeping in view, the UP State Assembly Election, yet, it was for the first time that the demand was accepted in principles by the Central Government.<sup>14</sup>

Generally, a wave of excitement was evident in the region, following the Prime Minister's announcement, though, there was an element of doubt in view of the Prime Minister's statement not being specific regarding time and process of the creation of the state. After the UP Assembly Elections, the government developed a cold feet over the Uttarakhand issue, because Prime Minister's announcement did not provide any gain to United Front in the UP hills. However, the absence of any active Assembly in UP was given the reason for the governments' inability to introduce the Uttarakhand statehood bill in the Parliament. It was reiterated that Centre can not initiate any action until the UP Assembly express a formal view on the subject. While setting the March, 1997 deadline in his speech, his Prime Minister had apparently not taken into account the possibility of hung assembly verdict. This delaying attitude of the government confused the hill people, and the majority felt that since the resolution for the separate state has been twice passed by the State Assembly, there is no need to refer the Bill again to the State Assembly.

After the general election of February, 1998 the BJP led coalition came to power in Delhi. In Uttar Pradesh also, the BJP formed the government, which had committed itself to the separate state of Uttarakhand. Aspirations of the hill people again revived, as both centre and state governments, started preparing grounds for the formation of Uttarakhand. The UP Cabinet constituted a six member Cabinet Sub- committee on Uttarakhand to examine the modalities with regard to the

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<sup>14</sup> Rahi, Prashant, "At Big Brother's Mercy", *The Statesman*. New Delhi, 12 August, 2000.

creation of the separate hill state. On June 29, 1998 the Central Government, in accordance with the decision of Union Cabinet, constituted a Union Sub-Committee<sup>15</sup> to decide the question of the geographical boundary of the proposed state of Uttarakhand. In a declaration, Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani announced that the state governments will sort out the geographical boundaries of the new states (simultaneously announcement for the creation of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh states had been made) and their names.<sup>15</sup>

Though, these proposals were, by and large welcomed, the proposed geography of the new state was rocked by controversy. There were agitations especially against the inclusion of the district of Udham Singh Nagar and Haridwar in the new state.

In Udham Singh Nagar, people wanted the exclusion of the district from the proposed state of Uttarakhand. Significantly, the agitation received support from not only the Samajwadi Party (SP), CPI (M), but also, from the Shiromani Akali Dal, which was the coalition partner of the BJP at the Centre and in Punjab. The Akali Dal's interest was derived essentially from the large Sikh population in Udham Singh Nagar district. Their opposition was based on the fear that the proposed Uttarakhand state would rigidly enforce the Land Ceiling Act, which would adversely affect the predominantly rich Punjabi and Sikh farmers in the district. The Centre took the stand that exclusion of the Udham Singh Nagar was not possible constitutionally. It maintained that since the district falls in the Nainital parliamentary constituency, it can not be excluded from Uttaranchal, as a single parliamentary constituency cannot fall in two states. In July, 2000 the three member committee constituted under the chairmanship of Mr. George Fernandes to resolve the crisis over the inclusion of the district into the proposed state as, Akali Dal declared that it would withdraw the support to the government at Centre, if

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<sup>15</sup> Tiwari, Indu, *note 8*, pp. 95-96.

Udham Singh Nagar goes to Uttaranchal. Finally, the crisis was resolved when the farmers of the district were assured that there would be a continuance of the present level of ceiling on land holdings even in the new state of Uttaranchal.

In Hardwar, too, the opinion was divided over the inclusion of the district in Uttaranchal. While the 'Uttarakhand Samyukta Sangharsha Samiti' wanted Hardwar to be included in Uttaranchal, other religious leaders wanted the district to be part of the residual state. Hardwar being a prominent Hindu pilgrimage centre, there was ample room for controversy on whether the town has cultural affinity with the people of plains or the hills. Finally, after a long negotiations *UP Reorganization Bill* was introduced in UP Assembly on 21 September, 1998. It was decided to retain Hardwar as a part of Uttar Pradesh, and Udham Singh Nagar was to be a part of the new hill state. The Bill proposed the name of Uttaranchal in place of Uttarakhand for the new hill state. This led to the introduction of UP Reorganization Bill in the Lok Sabha. The UP Reorganization Bill, 2000 was nothing but a slightly modified version of the 1998 Bill, in which, the Centre insisted on including all Hardwar district in the proposed state. Thus, finally, Hardwar formed part of the Uttaranchal state.<sup>16</sup>

Uttaranchal was finally created on November 9, 2000 as the 27<sup>th</sup> state of India. Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala was appointed as the first Governor of the state and Mr. Nityanand Swami of BJP as the first Chief Minister of the state. Dehradun became the capital of the new state. The high court of Uttaranchal located in Nainital also came into being on November 9.

With the emergence of Uttaranchal, a new era began in the UP hills, which brought to an end the half a century long peaceful agitation for a separate hill state. The formation of a separate state of Uttaranchal certainly a fruitful culmination of

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<sup>16</sup> *The Observer*, New Delhi, 7 August, 2000.

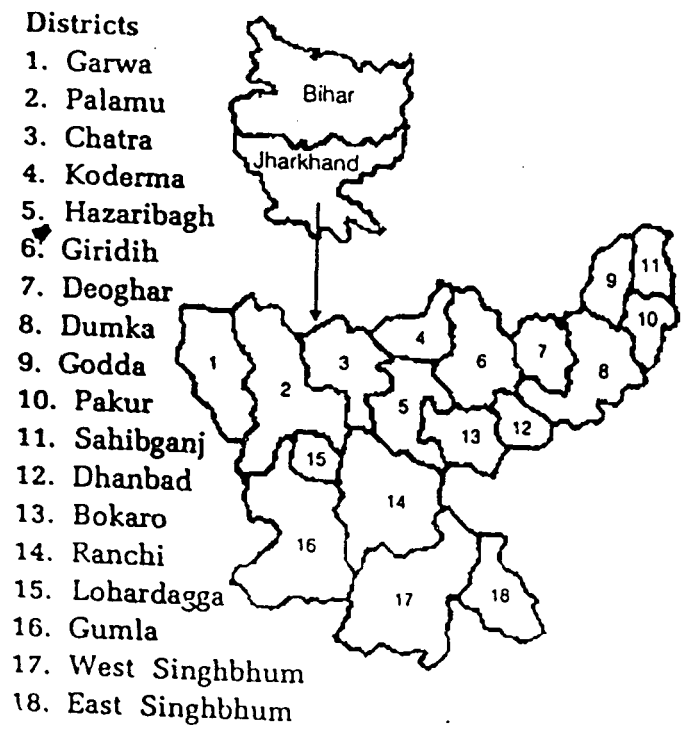
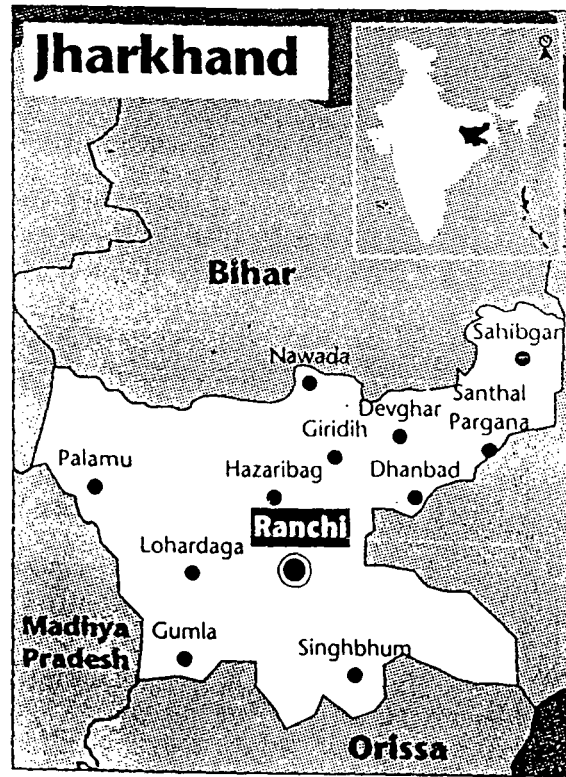
a long agitation carried out by the people of the region. There were two factors important in the Uttarakhand movement which make it distinct from other separatist movements. These were-largest participation of women, and the non-violent character of the movement. It was the fact that large parts of the new state were left to remain backward by the governments in UP, leading to the alienation of the people, from all aspects of the UP's political culture. For this very reason, there is bound to be a lot of expectations among the masses in the region from the new government. Thus, the new born administration of the state has some big assignments waiting.

4

The Formation of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.



Map 4.1



Source: *The Oxford Atlas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.

The formation of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, as the new states in the Indian Union, entirely changed the political map of Central India. It was for the first time, after the States Reorganization Commission (1955), almost a time period of 45 years, that an initiative had been taken to redemarcate the states' boundaries in Central India. It is important to mention here that, like Uttaranchal, in the formation of these two states also, language did not play any significant role. The basic considerations were mainly economic backwardness, under-development, the bigness of unwieldy administration of the parent states, which resulted in poor governance.

### **Creation of Jharkhand State.**

The newly created Jharkhand state, as 28<sup>th</sup> state of the Indian Union, carved out of Bihar – which accounts for 45 percent of former Bihar's geographical area and comprises 18 districts of erstwhile Southern Bihar. Having an area of 79,714 sq. km, Jharkhand has the potential to develop, as financially, most viable state of the country; owing to its mineral based resources and the available industrial infrastructure. The new state is bordered by Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal to its North, West, South and East respectively.

For Bihar, the reorganisation came for the second time since independence. Earlier, in 1956, some areas of Bihar were transferred to West Bengal. The formation of Jharkhand is considered a major achievement of the tribal people who have been agitating for a state of their own for almost hundred years.

The word 'Jharkhand' was in the beginning coined to give a cognitive value to the tribal lands of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas of Bihar. Actually, the word 'Jharkhand' combines two words of Hindi. 'Jhar' means 'thick clusters of forest' and 'Khand' means 'a tract of land'. Thus, Jharkhand suggests '*of a land mass quilted with forests*'. The plateau regions of Chotanagpur, Santhal Parganas

and some parts of West Bengal, M.P. and Orissa were known as Jharkhand, since ancient times, due to its geographical peculiarities. The area is mostly tribal populated. The prominent tribes are the Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Kharia, Mahali, Gour, Gond, Kankal and many others. This is the only area in the entire country where three major cultural streams Aryans, Dravidians and Austro-asians represented through various languages converged to create a cultural synthesis of its own kind.<sup>1</sup>

Before the arrival of the British administration, in the form of military collectorship, in the Ramgarh Hill Tract (1780), the area was an abode of peace for the migrants belonging to various language groups. With the introduction of the Permanent Settlement Regulation (1793) and imposition of land tax in the area, the tribal chiefs became agents for revenue collection for their new masters. This led to internal division and factionalism resulting in a series of uprising, ethnic in nature in the beginning, but, eventually becoming pan-tribal and regional in character.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the period of British ascendancy, the tribals of Jharkhand had rebelled time and again in their primitive ways against the socio-economic injustice meted out to them by the outsider land-lords introduced by the British administration. The present day tradition of political and economic protest predated by the several movements which took place in the Jharkhand region in the nineteenth century. Some of the important movements were - Tomar Revolt (1801-1820), Kol Revolt (1831-1832), Sardari agitation (1858-95), and Bhagat Movement (1914). All these movements basically centered around the issue of exploitation and deprivation of the indigenous people by the migrants and the ruling elite. This long tradition of

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<sup>1</sup> Das, Victor, *Jharkhand: Castle over Graves*, Inter India Publication, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> Dayal, M.R., "The Jharkhand Movement and Prospects", *Social Change*, vol. 18, New Delhi, June, 1988, pp. 28-29.

the protest carried further by the different socio-cultural and political organisations formed at various stages of development of the Jharkhand movement.

The long history of the Jharkhand movement is dynamic in nature and undergoes a series of changes over the years. These changes are brought about by the compulsions, arising from the nature of the movement itself, as well as by the efforts of political organizations and the state to undermine, co-opt and support the movement depending on the political contingencies.

The first organization, associated with the Jharkhand movement is '*Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj*' organized by Mr. J. Batholemen, with the objective of upliftment of the tribals of Chotanagpur. It sought to secure employment for educated tribals, reservations in the services and legislative bodies, and formation of a sub-state of Chotanagpur joined to Bengal and Orissa but detached from Bihar. The organization also submitted a memorandum to Simon Commission, in 1929, seeking special privileges for tribes and creation of a separate administrative unit in Chotanagpur for them.<sup>3</sup> This was the first attempt in favour of a separate administration for tribes in Chotanagpur. However, it remained unnoticed. When the reforms of 1935 were introduced, Chotanagpur was declared a 'partially excluded area' and put under the special responsibility of the Governor. *Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj*, and *Kishan Sabha* formed in 1931, passed a number of resolutions against the provision and held a number of meetings but the government stood firm. In 1937, *Adivasi Mahasabha* was organised to which the *Unnati Samaj* was merged. Mr. Jaipal Singh, an Oxford educated tribal, entered the scene and took the leadership of the movement. In the second session of the Mahasabha, in 1939, he gave a call for the separate province for the tribals. The

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<sup>3</sup> Rao, Ramashish, "Origin and Evaluation of Jharkhand Movement", S. Narayan (ed.), *Jharkhand Movement: Origin and Evaluating*, Nunes Publication, New Delhi, 1989, p. 99.

Adivasi Mahasabha contested the 1946 General Election on its own and was routed by the Congress at the polls. The defeat was largely because of the emergence of *Adi Jati Seva Mandal* a social reform organization formed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and *Sanatan Adivasi Mahasabha* formed by Mr. Theole Oraun, as a counterpoise to the *Adivasi Mahasabha*.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that in the formative phase of the Jharkhand movement many micro-level societies and organizations were formed which were divided among themselves. But, gradually smaller divisions was minimized to forge pan-tribal solidarity for realizing the political goal of the separate state.

However, the demand for a separate state was politically channalised in 1950, when the Jharkhand Party, a political outfit of *Adivasi Mahasabha*, was organized by Mr. Jaipal Singh based on the grievances against ethnic backwardness and regional economic deprivation. Mr. Jaipal Singh did not hesitate to arouse primordial loyalties of the tribals and even used the violent means to put an end to North Bihar's domination in the region. Ethnicity was gradually replaced by regionalism as the rallying point for the Jharkhand party. This was partly because of the recognition of the tribal's need for special protection under the Constitution of India and the provisions inserted under the Fifth and Sixth Schedule for their emancipation. In this phase, the concept of 'Jharkhand' was enlarged to include all the regions which formed part of the Chotanagpur plateau. Thus, the tracts inhabited by the Chotanagpur tribals, which formed parts of Bengal, Orissa, and M.P., were also included in the proposed Jharkhand, and a new phase of the constitutional participation based on regional sentiments, started.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Narayan, S., "Post Script of Jharkhand Movement", *Social Change*, vol. 24, New Delhi, June, 1994, pp 39- 40.

<sup>5</sup> Sharma, A.P., "The Jharkhand Movement: A Critique", *Social Change*, vol. 18, New Delhi, June, 1988, p.62.

The separatist movement in Chotanagpur became a party based movement in 1950 and it paid rich dividends in the election in 1952 as the Jharkhand party won 33 seats in the Jharkhand area, and become the main opposition party in the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

In 1953, when the SRC was formed, the party submitted a memorandum, signed by 34 legislators, demanding a separate Jharkhand state consisting of the districts of Chotanagpur and Santhal Paraganas and portions of Gaya, Shahabad and Bhagalpur in Bihar, Mirzapur district in UP, besides the portion of Rajgarh and Surguja in Madhya Pradesh and Sundergarh, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj in Orissa. The proposed area was bigger than West Bengal in area and thicker than Orissa in population.<sup>6</sup>

However, the SRC rejected the demand of the separate Jharkhand state on following grounds -

- the tribal population in the Chotanagpur division and Santhal Pargana was little more than one third of the total population of the area and that, too, linguistically divided.
- the separation of South Bihar will affect the entire economy of the existing state as the Commission argued that the industries of Chotanagpur and agriculture of North Bihar were complementary to each other and the separation of Chotanagpur will disrupt the entire economy of the residual state.
- the public opinion outside South Bihar was not in favour of dividing the state. Even in South Bihar politics other than the Jharkhand party were, in general, to opposed to the division.<sup>7</sup>

The goal of the Commission was to recommend the reorganization of the states with a view to satisfy regional aspiration, but at the same time, administrative convenience was also taken into account. The Commission did not see any ground

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<sup>6</sup> Memorandum Submitted by Jharkhand Party to SRC, Published in *Social Change*, New Delhi, June, 1988, Appendix A.

<sup>7</sup> Government of India, *States Reorganisation Commission Report*, Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1955, p. 169.

for a separate administrative set-up for the tribal population in South Bihar, as they were a numerical minority in the region. According to the SRC, there was no problem with the development profile of the region. Actually, the relative development profile of the Jharkhand region was better than that of Bihar as a whole in the 1950s. It was only 1960s onwards that the development profile of the region deteriorated or did not advance at the same rate as of Bihar as a whole due to discriminatory policies and administrative neglect on the part of the government.

Some of the members of the Commission even supported the claims of Orissa over Seraikela and Kharsawan, besides sizeable chunk of the Jharkhand area in Purulia, was given to West Bengal. The failure and style of the performance of leaders disappointed the tribals and the Jharkhand party lost its popularity in the general elections of 1957. The tribals of the region had become disillusioned mainly because of the non-fulfillment of their demand for the separate state. Some section of them had started thinking that the slogan of separate Jharkhand state was just a means to exploit the sentiments of the simple tribal people on the part of their leaders. The feeling grew all the more strong when Mr. Jaipal Singh joined the Congress party with almost all the elected members of his party in 1963. Thus, the Jharkhand party merged with the Congress surrendering its legal identity altogether.

The merger was a severe blow to the movement and started in an era of confusion in the politics of Jharkhand. Actually, the period after independence brought new set of problems for the tribal population of the region. Immediately after the independence, the National Government launched block development programmes in the region, which led to sudden influx of non-tribal population owing to government offices, staffed with outsiders and the almost overnight springing up of many large, medium and small scale industries and mining companies, which simultaneously introduced a large number of outsiders, which

caused frustration among the tribal population of the region, for at every step they had to compete with outsiders. Besides this, the alienation of tribal lands for the construction of industries and mining companies, that displaced a large number of tribals, who became unemployed due to competition with outsiders. This became the main propaganda material for the Jharkhand leaders, which helped them in creating an internal solidarity among the tribals.

The Jharkhand region became important in the development programmes of the nation after independence. The Jharkhand region of Bihar produces 27 per cent of the total mineral of India compared to 0.47 percent by the rest of Bihar. In course of time, the people of Jharkhand region realized that immense mineral wealth of Jharkhand had been used by outsiders without adequate compensation to the people of the region. The ecological balance of the region has been shattered by heavy industries, large dams and hydro-electric projects and commercial exploitation of forest resources. Worst of all, the indigenous people have been subjected to oppression and cultural humiliation forced migration, transportation to plantation and industries outside the region, chain ganging into hazardous work in mines and factories, alienation of land and conversion of the tribals into bonded or semi-slave agricultural labourers etc. had been features of the political economy of the region.<sup>8</sup>

The foregoing factors have all resulted in a discrimination in development between the two regions of the state. The Chotanagpur area was provided less opportunities than the Northern Plains area. This discrepancy was reflected in all areas of development, as for example, Jharkhand produced almost the entire electricity for Bihar but rural electrification in Jharkhand was meagre. People

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<sup>8</sup> Das, M. Arvind, "Jharkhand aborted once again", *EPW*, New Delhi, November, 1998, pp. 2827-29.



started making comparison with the other part of the state. which further increased their dissatisfaction.

However, the emergence of a middle class among the tribals, partly as a result of the statutory provisions of reservations for scheduled tribes in education and employment, qualitatively altered the nature of the Jharkhand movement. The various organizations involved in the movement realized that their particular grievance would not be heard until they articulate them with the issues of the general polity. This reflected in the movement shifting from the issues of ethnicity to regionalism in the broadest sense of the term. And, this change in the nature of the movement was discernable in the developments of 1960's onwards.

In the Fourth General Elections of 1967 an anti-Congress wave was evident in the region, because of the merger of the Jharkhand party with the Congress. The people supported only those candidates who opposed the merger and fought independently. The lack of any unified political group of the tribals, further, added to the confusion. There were number of splinter groups formed and factionalism was at the top. At this crucial period, Mr. Kartik Oraon, a Hindu tribal, appeared on the scene. He was rewarded with the vice-chairmanship of the Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas Development Authority. He also won the Parliamentary Election of 1967 and 1971. By this time, Bihar Scheduled Areas Regulation Act of 1969 put restrictions on the alienation of tribal lands to non-tribals. This was an important legislation in preventing further loss of tribal land to the outsiders and in restoring the confidence of the original inhabitants.

On May, 1968, Mr. David Munzani organized the All India Jharkhand Party which was dominated by the Christians. The party was soon divided into 'Bagun' faction and 'Horo' faction. In 1972, Horo, formed a new party known as *Jharkhand Party*, which submitted a memorandum to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then

Prime Minister, for creation of a new state.<sup>9</sup> Almost during the same period, a social reform organisation, namely, *Shivaji Samaj* appeared in 1969 under the leadership of Shibu Soren to fight the evils of liquor, money lending etc. Shivaji Samaj soon took the shape of a movement and spread over a large area of Jharkhand. The movement reached even remote villages, fought against the exploitation of land lords, and helped the poor tribals at the time of crisis. Shivaji Samaj was gradually transformed into *Jharkhand Mukti Morcha* (JMM) with Sri Binod Bihari Mahto as its President and Sri Shibu Soren as General Secretary. Some of the naxalite groups operating in the Dhanbad area also provided moral support to the movement. Thus, radicalism found a new expression under the banner of JMM and the movement got transformed significantly on many counts. The JMM projected itself as a radical party fighting against internal colonial exploitation of the tribals of Bihar. The JMM not only demanded a separate state but also promised better living condition for tribals.

During the Janata rule in Bihar, after emergency, all political parties, including the Congress created their own Jharkhand cell to appeal to the pro-Jharkhand sentiments of the tribals. The otherwise dead political movement started gaining ground again since 1978. Sri Shibu Soren emerged a true mass leader in Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana. During 1978-80, he organized violent rallies and mass demonstrations against moneylenders, landlords and mafia leaders. The combination of Mr. Sibhu Soren and Mr. Suraj Mandal of JMM started a vociferous demand for a separate Jharkhand state. In 1985, 52 members of Bihar Legislative Assembly representing the Chotanagpur region sent a joint memorandum to the Prime Minister demanding central administration in the region.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, the

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<sup>9</sup> Narayan, S., *note 4*, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> Basu, Sajal, *Jharkhand Movement: Ethnicity and Culture of Silence*, IAS, Shimla, 1994, pp. 68-69.

tribal students formed the *All India Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU)* on June 22, 1986 on the lines of students' movement of Assam, which provided new dimensions to the movement.

In a significant development, the Union Government formed a *Committee on Jharkhand Matters (COJM)* on 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1989. The COJM consisted of the representatives of Jharkhand movement, representatives of State and Central Governments, experts ranging from anthropologist to social activists. The COJM Report defined the Jharkhand movement in terms of development problems. The Committee, thus, felt that there was a political consensus about regional autonomy in the Jharkhand region due to widespread political neglect of the region in development. It did not, however, recognize the significant ethnic tribal component in the movement. Thus, while COJM found it salient to preserve and promote the cultural uniqueness of the region, it did not consider this uniqueness to be a pertinent promise for the creation of an autonomous state in the Jharkhand region.<sup>11</sup> Though sympathetic to the demand of autonomy for Jharkhand area, the Committee rejected the award of a separate state or a union territory, and recommended formation of the *Jharkhand General Council* with limited powers as per the wishes of Government of India. The representatives of Jharkhand movement did not accept it and gave a note of dissent in the report that experience of the past four decades had proved that adequate development of the Jharkhand region was not possible within Bihar.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the stalemate, the COJM report remained an important landmark in the chequered history of Jharkhand movement. The report amplified the clear correlation between the demand for a separate state of Jharkhand and the poor

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<sup>11</sup> Government of India, *Report of Committee on Jharkhand Matters*. Ministry of Home, May, 1990, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36.

performance of public policy since independence. The Committee rejected the demand for a separate state as it involved four states, and the four concerned states had out rightly rejected the demand for Jharkhand.

In response to the report of the COJM, the *Jharkhand Area Development Bill* (JADB), 1991 was passed in Bihar Assembly and was sent to the Central Government for approval. The Government of India, after several consultations with the Government of Bihar and the Jharkhand leaders, advised modification of JADB. An agreed statement on the formation of *Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council* (JAAC) was signed on 26 September, 1994 by Mr. Rajesh Pilot, Minister of State, Government of India, Mr. Laloo Yadav and other Jharkhand leaders. The JAAC Bill was adopted by the Bihar Legislative Assembly on 20 August, 1994. The territorial jurisdiction of the Council was restricted to the regions of the two divisions of Bihar, Santhal Pargana and Chotanagpur. The JAAC provides that the Council will consist of 162 directly elected members and 18 nominated members. The functions and powers of JAAC includes, preparation and implementation of long term and short term plans for the development of the region, and to suggest measures for the accelerated development of the region. However, the Council did not have any say in matters relating to land revenue, irrigation projects, excise and commercial taxes. Even forests and major minerals which are natural endowment of the region, remain under the control of either the State Government or the Centre.

Within the larger context of the federal nation building, the regional councils are considered as one of the structural adjustment through which the principle of self rule by a specific territorial community is made operational. However, the problem with JAAC was that necessary financial resources and administrative

powers had not been transferred to the JAAC.<sup>13</sup> The powers given to JAAC were extremely inadequate for solving the economic problems of the Jharkhand region. Though, the JAAC experiment was not satisfactory, yet, it was a significant milestone in the Jharkhand movement as it had given Jharkhand a legitimacy and recognition. The failure of JAAC gave greater strength to the Jharkhand movement for a separate state.

The emergence of the Bharatiya Janata Party, as a powerful national party, and its support to the demands of small states provided strength to the demand of the Jharkhand state. A direct co-relation between the autonomy and development was emphasized in a resolution regarding the creation of new states of Vananchal and Uttranchal tabled by Mr. Jagat Vir Singh Drona (BJP, MP from Kanpur) on 5 March, 1993, in the Lok Sabha<sup>14</sup>. The resolution sought to recommend the government that the two states, Uttranchal and Vananchal, should be created in order to facilitate the development process in these neglected areas. The BJP's support to the Jharkhand movement brought out two important improvements in the nature of the movement.

Firstly, the BJP was the first national party that offered a practical alternative to the demand for a Jharkhand state. It pointed out that the practical possibility of carving out a new state comprising twenty five districts spread over four states verged on improbability due to the difference of opinion among the four states concerned. Secondly, the BJP argued that in such a scenario of continuing disagreement, development work in the region would suffer. At the same time, the BJP was also able to alter the way in which the demand for a separate Jharkhand

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<sup>13</sup> Kumar, Ajay, "Jharkhand Movement: Assertion of Socio-Cultural identity and the demand for a separate State", in Rashiuddin Khan (ed), *Rethinking Indian Federalism*, Shimla, 1997, p. 249.

<sup>14</sup> Prakash, Amit, *Jharkhand: Politics of Development and Identity*, Longman, New Delhi, 2002, p. 312.

state had been articulated since independence. It postulated that the region of Santhal Pargana and Chotanagpur was, in some way, the real Jharkhand, dwelling upon the separateness and uniqueness of the region. The electorate, disgusted with the already poor development performance of the public machinery, was quick to understand this message. In a surprisingly short time all the major political opinions had accepted this approach.<sup>15</sup>

The debate on the resolution of 1993, for the creation of new states, led to the emergence of consensus about the nature and character of the Jharkhand movement. The emphasis on the development problems in the region by the Jharkhand groups, the government and political parties across the political spectrum altered the character of the demand of autonomy itself. There emerged consensus, in favour of decentralised development machinery in the region, if not for a separate state.

Of late, all the political groups in the country, including the Congress and the CPI (who had opposed the demand earlier) extended their support for the demand of the Jharkhand state. This sudden change in the attitude of the political parties was, perhaps, the realization of the slow pace of development in the region. They also seemed to believe that administrative reorganization of states ought to be made in a way that secure a faster and more efficient public policy implementation. It follows from this that the only objective and politically acceptable grounds for the creation of a new state in the Jharkhand region was the fact that within the existing arrangements, the development profile of Jharkhand had declined over the fifty years since independence. Therefore, some degree of autonomy for the region was essential. Only the Janata Dal government in Bihar showed a marked reluctance to agree to the demands of these tribals for a separate state. The obvious

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

reason was that Jharkhand had provided the life blood of Bihar. The resources of Jharkhand gave Bihar the forward thrust that enabled it to grow into becoming the heart of India. Without the rich mineral, forests and other resources of Jharkhand, Bihar would have little reasons to claim an important place in the Indian Union. No wonder then, that not only the Government of Bihar, but its very ruling consensus abhorred the idea of the creation of a Jharkhand state.

In the meantime, the involvement of JMM MPs, in the corruption scam, including Mr. Shibu Soren, had harmed party's position and the JMM gradually lost electoral and popular support to the BJP, which had been promising a separate state. The political dynamics of Bihar and Jharkhand region changed very rapidly since 1997. The Chief Minister, Mr. Laloo Yadav, who was so adamant against the creation of Jharkhand, was charged in corruption case and arrested, leading to the Janata Dal split and formation of a new party by Mr. Laloo Yadav. For this new party to survive, the support of Jharkhandi MLA's was crucial. Consequently, the JMM MLAs supported the new government and in return secured the passing of a resolution in Bihar Assembly which recommended to the Union Government that a separate state must be created in Jharkhand.<sup>16</sup>

The 1991 general election resulted in the BJP led National Democratic Alliance coming to power at Centre. BJP won 11, out of 14 seats, in the region while JMM could not win a single seat in the region. Owing to the strategic voting by the Jharkhand electorate, the NDA government fulfilled its electoral promise of creating a state in Jharkhand. Consequently, the Bihar Reorganisation Bill, 2000 was passed by the Lok Sabha on August 2, 2000 and after passage in Rajya Sabha and receiving the Presidential assent, the new state of Jharkhand was inaugurated on 15 November, 2000.

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<sup>16</sup> *The Times of India*, New Delhi, 24 July, 1997.

The creation of Jharkhand state satisfied the aspiration of the Jharkhand identity, the struggle of almost 100 years for the economic, political and socio-cultural justice, at last fulfilled their long cherished dream of a separate state. But, the degree to which it will improve, the performance of public policy in this new state remains to be seen.

Given the past record of the movement, there is no reason to believe that people of the region, can not utilize their strength, to make the government of the new state more responsible and accountable, to secure an efficient public policy performance and good governance. In fact, the nascent state of Jharkhand has an enormous potential to become one of the most important state of India.

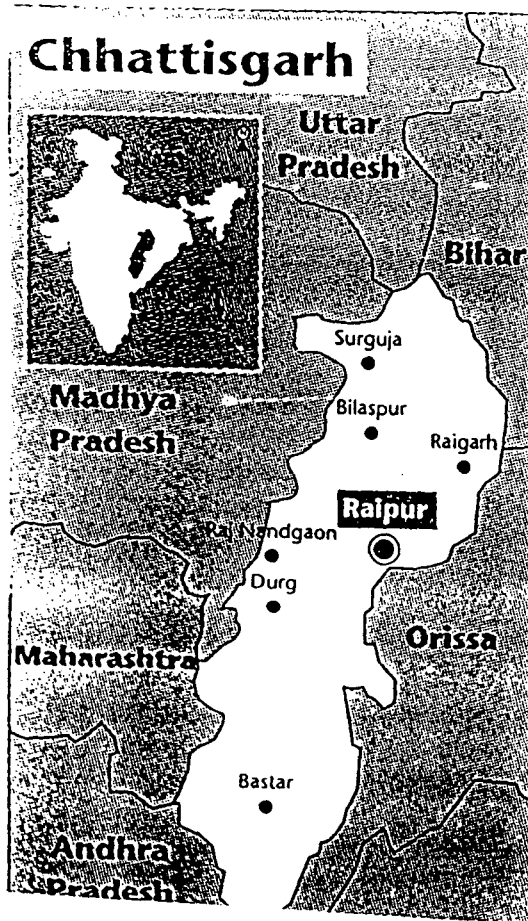
### **The Formation of Chhattisgarh.**

Chhattisgarh is situated in the Central part of India. It is bounded by Andhra Pradesh in the South, Orissa in the East, Maharashtra in the South-West and Jharkhand in the North-West. It got the statehood in November, 2000 with Uttaranchal and Jharkhand, thereby, changing the map of the Central India. Chhattisgarh carved out of Madhya Pradesh and it consists of about 30.47 percent of former Madhya Pradesh's geographical area and about 4.14 percent of the total area of the country. With the creation of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh left with 45 districts, out of 65 districts, spread over an area of 3,08,346 sq. km, thereby, lost the status of the largest state of the country. Sixteen districts of former Madhya Pradesh formed the new state of Chhattisgarh. These districts are Baster, Bilaspur, Dantewara, Korba, Koriya, Manasumund, Raigarh, Raipur, Rajnandgaon and Surguja.

The new state has an area of about 1,35,194 sq. km. and has a population of 1.76 crore, which is mostly tribal. Chhattisgarh is endowed with a thick forest cover. The area comprises some 44 percent of the forestland of erstwhile Madhya

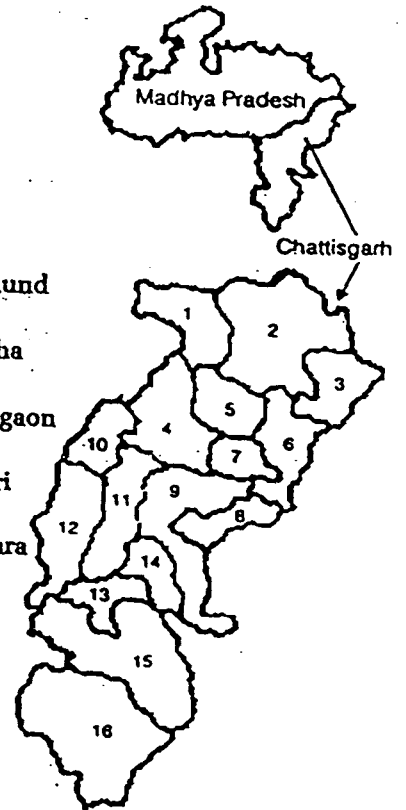


Map 4.2



**Districts**

1. Koriya
2. Sarguja
3. Jashpur
4. Bilaspur
5. Korba
6. Raigarh
7. Champa
8. Mahasamund
9. Raipur
10. Kawardha
11. Durg
12. Rajnandgaon
13. Kanker
14. Dhamtari
15. Bastar
16. Dantewara



Source: *The Oxford Atlas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.

Pradesh. It is richly endowed with mineral wealth, such as bauxite, corundum, dolomite, diamond, limestone and iron ore. The region is known as the *rice bowl* of the Central India, and accounts for the 99 per cent of the total rice production of Madhya Pradesh. This is in spite of the fact that only 18.6 per cent of the total irrigated land of MP is in Chhattisgarh.<sup>17</sup>

Originally, Chhattisgarh was a part of Central Province and Berar and it was merged with Madhya Pradesh in 1956. In fact, demand for a separate statehood for Chhattisgarh started way back in 1955 itself, when the State Reorganization Commission was formed. The then stalwarts of the region had forcefully raised the issues in the Vidhan Sabha and a Chhattisgarh Mahasabha was constituted in 1956 and launched a agitation for separate statehood. The SRC had refused to recognize their demands, as it felt, that being part of a larger economic unit would provide a greater depth to the development potentialities of Chhattisgarh.<sup>18</sup>

The Central Province, mainly comprised the British administered districts of Mahakoushal, Dharam, Jaigarh, Dandagarh, Sakti, Sarguja, Khairagarh, Baster and the other native states which joined the mainstream of Indian administration in 1948. In spite of these states having had their own dialects, were close to Hindi mainland, and their state language used to be Devnagari Hindi. This status had facilitated their easy merger, linguistically, with the Madhya Pradesh. While recommending reorganization of states, the SRC did give priority to the spoken language of a certain area and its script. The main emphasis was, however, an administrative convenience, culture, and economic viability. The chief objective of

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<sup>17</sup> Sharma. N.P., "Rich state with poor people", *Tribune*, Chandigarh, 1 November, 2001.

<sup>18</sup> Goyal G.D., "Now a Cry for a separate Chhattisgarh", *Blitz*, Bombay, 13 September, 1997.

the SRC was smooth administration with cultural homogeneity, in all the constituent units.<sup>19</sup>

The demand was not very strong at that time, partly because the first Chief Minister of MP, Mr. Ravi Shankar Shukla, hailed from Chhattisgarh. Some of his successors, namely, Sri Shyama Charan Shukla, and Sri Moti Lal Vora also belonged to Chhattisgarh. However, when the exploitation of the region continued without any reciprocal benefits, the demand for separate statehood gained strength.

The general grouse of the people from Chhattisgarh had been that the region had not been properly developed. Though rich in natural resources, Chhattisgarh was far behind the Madhya Bharat region in matters of irrigation, literacy, per capita income etc. A large area of Chhattisgarh was under the control of naxalites and at several pockets of Baster division, the writ of the state government did not run. It had poor educational facilities and communication network. Surprisingly, all the governments in Bhopal, admitted the charge of neglect of the Chhattisgarh region, but, they merely hoped that Central Government would release the maximum amount for infrastructure development of the region, and blamed Central Government for not providing proper grants.<sup>20</sup>

Gradually, the feeling of alienation got strengthened among the people of the region, and the formation of the separate state was considered vital for bringing an end to the exploitation and backwardness of the Chhattisgarh region. In the mid 1960s, the *Chhattisgarh Bhratir Sangh* was formed, and in late 1960s *Chhattisgarh All Party Munch* was established, which tried to make the local people aware of the advantages of having a separate Chhattisgarh state. In late 1970s, the *Chhattisgarh*

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<sup>19</sup> Mouli, Krishna Chander, "Chhattisgarh: pains of another Parlition", *National Herald*, New Delhi, 3 December, 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Goyal, G.D., *note 17*.

*Mukti Morcha* was launched which primarily championed the course of the industrial and agricultural workers of the area. The issue got prominence in 1977, when the demand of the region were inspired by Sri Pawan Diwan, a prominent and very popular person of the region, to fight for the cause of the separate statehood.<sup>21</sup>

The main grievance of the people of the Chhattisgarh region was that the area's economic development did not match its revenue income. A feeling, whether justified or otherwise, that step-motherly treatment of the region by the successive state governments was responsible for Chhattisgarh's backwardness had fueled the demand that the region should be made into a separate state. It was this sentiment which the political parties sought to exploit; and they made Chhattisgarh's statehood, main issue almost in every election. In 1993 Assembly polls, both the Congress (I) and the BJP promised statehood to the region in their respective election manifestoes.<sup>22</sup> Significantly, support for a separate state of Chhattisgarh cuts across party lines. It was evident from the fact that an all party committee known as *Prithak Chhattisgarh Andolan Samiti* was constituted for the establishment of a separate state of Chhattisgarh, at a meeting held at Bilaspur on June 1, 1992. Mr. Chandulal Chandrekar, a former Union Minister, was appointed its convenor and Mr. Vasudev Chandrekar, its President.<sup>23</sup>

In early 1990's what lent strengths to the case for Chhattisgarh as a separate state was spectre of famine haunting the region and the governments' failure to remedial measure. There had been drought in the region for three years. The mass

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<sup>21</sup> Kumar. B.B., *Small states syndrome in India*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 131-132.

<sup>22</sup> Herdemia. A., "Exploiting Chhattisgarh", in *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, 12 September, 1999.

<sup>23</sup> *Indian Express*, New Delhi, September 18, 1992.

migration of landless labourers from the rural to urban areas had already begun as there were no alternative avenues for employment. Further, the police firing in Bhilai on 'Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha' workers, in which 20 industrial workers were killed, had also added fuel to the fire. Upto this time, though the people were frustrated and disgusted with the state governments' performance, the popular movement for the separate statehood was not as strong as in case of Jharkhand and Uttrakhand.

The demand for Chhattisgarh got fresh impetus when the Union Home Minister, Sir S.B., Chavan, had come out openly in favour of a Jharkhand state. This was the most encouraging sign for the supporters of the separate state. They argued that the reasons justifying the creation of a separate Jharkhand state were applicable in case of Chhattisgarh as well. Besides, there was also a feeling that the issues of a separate Jharkhand state can not be settled in isolation. It is felt that the overall situation regarding smaller states will be taken into consideration, whenever the Centre takes the decision on Jharkhand, and at that time, it will be difficult to ignore claims of a separate Chhattisgarh.<sup>24</sup> Though, the demand for a separate state of Chhattisgarh had been in the air for long, it acquired fresh impetus after Union Home Minister's statement regarding Jharkhand. The *Prithak Chhattisgarh Andolan Samiti* was constituted by the former Union Minister Chandulal Chandrekar, and other organisations revived their activities to put pressure on government to bifurcate Madhya Pradesh into two states. As a result, the State Assembly of Madhya Pradesh unanimously adopted a resolution to approach the Centre for the creation of separate Chhattisgarh state, but, the Union

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<sup>24</sup> Sharma, Anil, "Chhattisgarh Pin's hopes on Jharkhand", *The Times Of India*, New Delhi, 21 September, 1992.

Government did not give much attention to it and kept the resolution pending for long.<sup>25</sup>

Now, the protagonists of separate Chhattisgarh, started exploring new justification for their demand apart from underdevelopment and administrative neglect. They argued, that the region was, too distant to be administered from Bhopal. To buttress their argument, it was pointed out that Bastar district of Chhattisgarh alone was equal in area of Kerala state. None of the seven districts headquarters of Chhattisgarh were located at the distance of less than 1000 kms from Bhopal. Obviously, such a long distance and huge area was difficult to administer from one centre.

Of late, Chhattisgarh had also been witnessing several militant movements and protagonists of the separate state argued that they are borne out of the general frustration and anger among the masses over being neglected and by passed. A section of the tribal population was under the spell of naxalism. They enjoyed the sympathy and support of the tribals, who saw them as saviours and fighters against the oppressive and exploitative establishments.

Yet, another dimension to the general turmoil in the region was added by *Chhattisgarh Berozgar Sangh* an organization demanding employment of only local persons in the industries. In its hey-days, the organization had succeeded eminently in uniting the vast army of unemployed people in the region. The organization was successful in increasing the feeling of dissatisfaction among the local people. The *Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha*, a trade union of the workers of the private industries in the Durg-Bhilai Belt, was another manifestation of the regions growing turmoil. The assassination of its firebrand leader, Mr. Shankar Guha

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<sup>25</sup> "Re-mapping the Country", *India Today*, 15 October, 1996, pp. 86-87.

Niyogi, had only served to enhance its base among the people of the region.<sup>26</sup> The demand for separate Chhattisgarh was, therefore, gradually getting strength through various organizations and committees. The demand enjoyed widespread support from every section of the population in the region.

The Prime Minister, Sri H.D. Deve Gowda's declaration on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1996, to grant statehood to Uttarakhand gave a fresh fillip to the demand for Chhattisgarh. The separatist movement which had been in a state of lull sprang the life again, particularly, in the wake of the rousing political acceptance for the formation of separate Jharkhand and Uttarakhand in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively. Several organizations espousing the cause of separate Chhattisgarh, had stepped up their activities. The leaders of Chhattisgarh movement formed *Azad Chhattisgarh Fauz*, for the struggle to attain statehood for Chhattisgarh. The Fauz urged all political parties to join their non-political movement. It also warned of an economic blockade in the region and intensification of its agitation, if, its demands were ignored any longer.<sup>27</sup>

While, all the political parties were agree on the creation of a separate state of Chhattisgarh, actually they did nothing to achieve it until the BJP took it up as an election plank. In 1998 Parliamentary elections, Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee declared his intention to form the new state of Chhattisgarh, during his campaigning. The promise was also in the national agenda for governance, and was also a part of the President's address to Parliament. The formation of Chhattisgarh became the centre point of political strategy of all political parties to entice the voters in the assembly polls also. The very fact that the BJP government gave utmost priority to the creation of Chhattisgarh state, though it had promised.

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<sup>26</sup> Herdania, Amrisha, "Chhattisgarh Issue to the fore", *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, 12 September, 1996.

<sup>27</sup> Goyal G.D., *note 17*.

the creation of Jharkhand and Uttarakhand as well, is ample proof of the party's desire to get electoral mileage, out of it. The government showed great alacrity in getting the Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Bill, 1998, dispatched to the State Vidhan Sabha for its approval. Not to be outdone, the Congress Government of the state, too, decided to display its keenness to see the measure through at the earliest. Within less than a week of the receipt of the draft bill, a special session of Vidhan Sabha was convened to discuss it. The session held on August, 31 and cleared the Bill unanimously on September 1. Though, the issue of the creation of Chhattisgarh did not help much to BJP to gain in Assembly elections, the BJP government at the Centre fulfilled its promise given to the people of Chhattisgarh, of providing the statehood to the region. The Madhya Pradesh Reorganization Act was passed by Parliament on 14 September, 2000. Chhattisgarh, the 26<sup>th</sup> state of the Indian union, came into existence on November 1, 2000. Mr. Ajit Jogi, who had been elected as the leader of 48 members Congress(I) Legislative Party sworn in as first Chief Minister of the state.<sup>28</sup>

Of the three new states created in November, 2000, Chhattisgarh, had the most uncomplicated birth. The 16 districts constituting the new state fulfil all the conditions laid down for the formation of a district state geographical contiguity, economic viability, cultural and linguistic homogeneity and administrative capacity. For all these reasons, Chhattisgarh has a very real potential to develop into a prosperous state as par with Haryana and Punjab.

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<sup>28</sup> "Birth of Chhattisgarh", *Front line*, Chennai, 24 November, 2000, pp. 32-34.



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Conclusion.

The reorganization of provincial boundaries, on the well accepted parameters, has been a crucial problem for Indian federal polity since the dawn of independence. Actually, the problem was bequeathed to the new government of India by the British regime. The principle of formation of states, received little attention in the past, whenever, any occasion arose, the states were taken for granted and no effort was ever made to look into the socio, economic or cultural needs and urges of the people, nor the aspirations of some segments within those states.

At the time of the independence, the country inherited a somewhat haphazard mixture of arrangements largely determined by the accident and circumstances attending the expansion of the British rule in India. It is, therefore, not surprising that the inheritance of this mixture had created dual problem of relations between these units and the Central Government, on the one hand, and among the units themselves, on the other. Besides, in view of all disparities among the structures of the states, the problem of reorganization of states was considered urgent as with large scale planning the country had to think, in terms of, enduring political units.

The question of reorganization of federal units, on the rational and well accepted lines, was the core of early political demands of the Indian National Congress. The demand was, actually, 'redrawing the provincial boundaries on the basis of language'. The Nagpur Session of the Congress 1920, the Nehru Report and the Calcutta Session of the Congress, in 1936, reaffirmed the case of language as the dominant parameter for the redrawing of the provincial boundaries.

When India became independent, the question of the formation of linguistic provinces was brought before the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly appointed *Dar Commission* to examine the demand of the reorganization

of the provinces on linguistic basis. The Commission, however, rejected language as the decisive or even the main factor in the reorganization of the states, and expressed the fear that linguistic 'sub nationalism' might grow at the expense of nationalism. The Commission expressed its opinion, in favour of, creating the provinces, primarily, on the basis of administrative convenience, and not a separate objective in itself. Dissatisfied with the report of 'Dar Commission' Congress subsequently appointed the '*JVP Committee*', comprising Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sri Vallabh Bhai Patel and Sri Pattabhi Sitara - mayya, at Jaipur Session to consider the question of linguistic provinces again in the light of new problems, that had emerged after independence. The Committee analyzed the problem from practical point of view and recommended that problem of reorganization of states should be postponed for few years as the country was facing many other important problems, like consolidation, the integration of Princely States, and the framing of the new Constitution. Though, the Committee, indirectly, recognized the principle of linguistic provinces, yet advised that the issue should be kept pending till an opportunate time to deal with it.

Thus, the problems arising immediately after the partition did not permit the Constituent Assembly to take up the issue of reorganization of states. The newly prepared Constitution just followed the scheme of the Government of India Act 1935, which had provided three categories of the states and added one more special category for Andaman and Nicobar Islands. After the merger of the Princely States in the Indian Union, a massive re-ordering exercise undertaken by the Constituent Assembly resulted in four categories of states. Nine British Indian provinces became *Part 'A'* states, the erstwhile princely states, after merger, became 8 *Part 'B'* states. The remaining of states were grouped into 11 *Centrally Administered Part 'C'* states. Besides, another category *Part 'D'* was provided for Andaman and Nicobar Islands and other acquired territories. The number of units at the time of commencement of the Constitution was 29. This was only a

temporary framework designed to meet the exigencies of the administration and to ensure the unity of the Nation. Realizing the fact, the Constitution left the scope for future to envisage any change in the state boundaries in the provision of Art. 3 and 4, which empower the Parliament to increase or decrease the area of any state, change the name of any state or create new state in the Indian Union. The first such change in the state boundaries was made in 1953, which resulted in the creation of Andhra Pradesh by separating Telugu speaking areas of the then Madras state.

The formation of Andhra Pradesh opened the Pandora's box of the demands for separate states based on language which forced the government to appoint the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) in 1953 to recommend the broad principles which should govern the solution of the problem.

The SRC sought a balanced approach between the regional sentiments and the national interest. The Commission rejected the principle of 'one language one state' but recognized linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to the administrative convenience and efficiency. Apart from the language and culture, it considered the requirements of national development plans, administrative efficiency, financial viability and national unity and security as relevant factors for the reorganization of states. With minor modifications, the Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Commission with few modifications and passed the 'States Reorganization Act', 1956 under which 14 states and 6 union territories were formed out of existing 29 units.

The language test proved quite practicable in the fixation of the state boundaries in South India. Four states Kerala, Karnataka, Madras and Andhra Pradesh were constituted as linguistically homogenous units. The exception of the language principle was permitted in the case of Punjab and Bombay. The implementation of the SRC report generated agitation for separate Marathi and Gujarati speaking states and finally, resulted in the bifurcation of Punjab in 1960.

However, even after this massive reordering exercise, the process of the reorganization of states did not end with the SRC. The language and other sentiments kept on re-surfacing time and again resulting in the formation of another 14 states in the Indian Union. And with the recent reorganization in 2000, the number of states has doubled in the period of last 44 years. The work of the SRC mainly changed the boundaries of South Indian states based on linguistic factor; and if we take into account the reorganization process, after the SRC, we can say, that it is mainly redemarcation of boundaries in North-East, Northern and Central India. In every zone, reorganization process was undertaken in a unique way, and the parameters laid down by the SRC also underwent a major change, sometime even new parameters replaced the old ones.

The North-East reorganization was significant, in a way, that linguistic principle as a basis of state formation was successfully challenged here. The North-East reorganization was also unique in a way that all the state except Nagaland elevated to the statehood, through 'Union Territory' or 'Associate state' status. It may be called the second phase of the reorganization process.

The reorganization process in Northern and Central India, has so far, resulted in the creation of five new states, namely Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Chhattisgarh. The process of reorganization, in the Northern and Central India, which may be termed as the third phase of reorganization has its own peculiar characteristics. The reorganization process in the region has evolved certain new parameters and new trends in the formation of the new states.

The reorganization process in Northern and Central India started with the creation of Haryana in 1966, out of existing Punjab state. Though, the Haryana movement for the creation of separate state was never more than a weak sister, in terms of popular support and organizational strength to the Punjabi Suba

movement. Nevertheless, Haryana movement was important in creating the necessary conditions for the division of Punjab. The search for Haryanvi identity basically emerged from the feeling of relative deprivation, and underdevelopment in the region, though the language factor also contributed to the consolidation of the regional identity. Bifurcation of Punjab, naturally, benefited the case of Himachal Pradesh as hill areas of Punjab were merged with the contiguous union territory of Himachal Pradesh, which was elevated to the status of full fledged state in 1971.

The statehood to Uttaranchal was the result of the bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh. It should be remembered that the division of Uttar Pradesh was also recommended by Sri K.M. Pannikar, a member of the SRC, in his dissenting note in the report. The argument for division of the state was that being very big in area and population Uttar Pradesh might create imbalance in the federal scheme of the country. At that time, the recommendation did not get the favour of national leaders, but the time has proved that the oversize of the state has resulted in the administrative neglect of some regions in the state. The demand for Uttarakhand as a separate state, in fact, to a large extent emerged from the monumental neglect of the region. The impetus came from the frustration of being administered by the government from the plains, which had no understanding of what development could mean in hills. Though, the movement was all peaceful and democratic, it took drastic turn after the Muzaffarnagar incident in 1994. This had great effect in igniting the fire, and there was hardening of attitude after the incident. Realizing the aspirations of the people of the region, the government granted statehood to Uttaranchal in November, 2000 by passing the 'U.P. Reorganization Act'.

In the same month, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh also got the statehood when government passed the Bihar Reorganization Act and Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Act in August, 2000. The demand for Jharkhand as separate

administrative unit was the old one, which got impetus after independence. Though, the original demand for the separate state of Jharkhand was consisted of districts of the tribal communities distributed into four states of Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. But, the Jharkhand state formed in November, 2000 is simply carved out of the Bihar state, consisting – 18 districts of Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana regions. The demand for Chhattisgarh was also an old one, and the region had opposed its merger in Madhya Pradesh by the SRC. The movement for separate state was weaker, if compared to Jharkhand movement, but got strength after the Union Government declared its intention for the formation of Jharkhand, in the hope, that the reasons justifying the creation of Jharkhand is also applicable in case of Chhattisgarh. The state has all the conditions necessary for the successful working of a political administrative unit, as financial viability, administrative capacity, geographical contiguity, cultural and linguistic homogeneity. Of the three new states created in 2000, Chhattisgarh had the most uncomplicated birth, because of the unanimous political acceptance of the case, across party lines.

A careful appraisal reveals some of the common factors of these recently formed states, for reasons of which they have been clamouring and fighting for separate statehood. All the three regions have been carved out of large and somewhat unwieldy states of Bihar, U.P. and Madhya Pradesh. These regions had been neglected in terms of development and were poorly governed. These regions had been exploited of their natural resources by outsiders without the local inhabitants getting their due share of the economic growth. The regions had separate geographical features like topography, climate, pattern of agriculture from the rest of the parent state. And last but not least, the regions are inhabited by people having their distinct socio-cultural, ethnic, identities, and socio-economic-cultural aspirations of the people of all the three regions had been suppressed even after the independence.

## **The Emerging Trends in State Formation.**

Although, the state formations, in the region including the latest ones, have always been largely influenced by political exigencies, but some rationale or other definitely had contributed to such exercise. By implication, it means that the Central Government had definitely been influenced, in its decision, for formation of these states, keeping some factors in mind. And, if we analyse these factors in the light of the parameters laid down by the SRC in 1956, it widely exposes the gaps in the reorganization scheme carried out by the Central Government in 1956.

First of all, in the recent formation of the states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, language did not play any significant role. The basic considerations were economic backwardness, under-development, the bigness or oversize of unwieldy administration of parent states, resulting in poor governance and the suppression of their socio-economic aspirations. Even, in the creation of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh the basic concern was the relative deprivation in terms of development. Though, the language was also a subsidiary factor in Haryana movement, the basic consideration was the discriminatory policies of the Punjab Government against Haryanvis in matters of development. Himachal Pradesh also demanded the statehood as people in the region felt that Union Territory status was not sufficient to carry out their planned development programme. Therefore, language which was the main factor in the reorganisation process in the first phase, has lost its importance in the present phase of the reorganisation process, which is basically guided by the considerations of the economic development.

Apart from economic development, another factor is administrative efficiency. Because of the large size of the states like U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, things became so unwieldy and unmanageable that administration became paralyzed, resulting in the law and order problems and administrative neglect of



these areas in the state. Recently, creation of states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh was also an attempt to provide efficient administration to these regions, which proved difficult in their respective huge parent states.

The consideration of economic, financial viability and integrity, as parameters in the formation of states, have in fact, never been seriously thought of, even at the time of formation of states in 1956. The SRC had rejected the proposals of the division of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, largely because the economy of these states had become integrated and division of the states would have adverse effect on the economy of the state. There were also, considerations that undeveloped and backward areas would have better development opportunities, if they are part of large and economically viable states. But, the very fact that most backward areas of these large states continued to reel under abject poverty, under-development and backwardness. The economic imbalance of investment in infrastructure, development planning and implementation of various state/central scheme is so glaring that one is forced to notice a step-motherly treatment. The failure of this parameter has been the most dominant cause and rationale behind the violent movements and subsequent formation of the states like, Haryana, Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

The factor of national unity has also been badly misinterpreted. Although, there had been demands of independence by some of the states whose boundaries touch international borders, e.g., Mizoram, Punjab and Kashmir and these were as such rightly labelled as “separatist movements”. But, in due course of time, every such movement for separate state is initially labelled as “separatist movements” by the Central and State governments and also by those who are politically opposed to the idea, which was also witnessed in the case of Uttaranchal and Jharkhand. The common refrain, while talking about any reorganization of states, is that it will lead to fragmentation of the Indian Union. This is misplaced apprehension based on a

notion of unity of the country, which sits uncomfortably with its multiple diversities. The present reorganization process reflects that recognition, preservation and promotion of multiple identities based on diversities will strengthen the process of national integration rather than dilute it.

And lastly, political considerations and manipulations have always been behind the formation of a new state. This is followed by the fact that anomic movements have always been at the back of evolution of the states in India and, thus, process of emergence of states has been, in a way, more forced than evolutionary. The Central Government which is endowed with the necessary constitutional authority to form a new state, has spurred to action only by the popular agitation. This point was true in the formation of all the five states in the Northern and Central India, as government was not taking the demand seriously till the time movement for separate states became intense.

Above discussions amply testifies that formation of states in Indian Union has not been on uniform pattern. In present circumstances, past parameters or factors have become obsolete, and have been replaced by the new parameters and considerations. The present phase of reorganization is largely based on the socio-economic-cultural development of the masses in a particular region. The reorganization process in North and Central India, to a large extent, revolved round this basic consideration, which gave birth to the five new states in the region. Here, the pressure for carving out new states from the existing ones had less to do with the assertion of linguistic, ethnic or cultural identity, than it did in the past in the first and second phase of the reorganization carried out in South India and North-East India. True, the campaign for Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh are founded on a sense of hills peculiarity or tribal singularity, but these were really struggle for greater control over resources and socio-economic development.

### Other Demands of the Region.

India is today a union of 28 states and 7 union territories. The geography of the Indian federal polity, however, has been the product of a long period of development. The redistribution of boundaries of the states has been a periodical exercise in the country. It would be, however, naive to assume that the exercise has come to an end. No one can say, with a degree of certainty, that the political map of the Indian Union has at last been drawn finally. In fact, of recent formation of three states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh in November, 2000 has once again re-kindled the hopes and aspirations of more and more socio-economic groupifications, clamoring for separate state. The recent reorganization has again ignited the latent, suppressed and simmering aspirations of various socio-economic-cultural communities in different parts of the country to agitate for separation from their parent states for various reasons. Specially, in the Northern and Central India, various movements for separate statehood are evident.

There is a demand for separate state of *Vidarbha* in Maharashtra state. The SRC had also recommended its formation and had categorized it, as most viable state. In 1960's, the movement had become violent at times. There were period of lull, but, the movement per se never died down. The movement got fresh impetus after the formation of three new states in November, 2000. There is another demand of *Harit Pradesh* consisting 17 western districts of Uttar Pradesh. The movement received a boost following the creation of Uttaranchal out of the state. *Bhojpur* is another statehood demand in Uttar Pradesh, demanding a separate state consisting Bhojpuri area of eastern UP, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The region is demanding separate statehood on the basis of intense backwardness and homogeneity of Bhojpuri language. Further, *Bundelkhand* region comprised of some districts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh clamoring for separate statehood. Bundelkhand is a development starved region of Madhya Pradesh and

Uttar Pradesh. The demand for statehood is casually raised. The public support was lacking in the past, but, gradually movement is getting strength. The demand for *Gorakhaland* in West Bengal is also growing strong day-by-day. *Mithilanchal* in Bihar and *Secmanchal* in North-Eastern Bihar and West Bengal borders also getting the strength for the separate statehood. Thus, with the formation of three new states in the region, the Government is said to have opened the Pandora's box for the demands of the new states. The central reason for the movement of separate states has been the neglect of these regions by the concerned state governments, resulting in the socio-economic backwardness. This had led to discontent and frustration among the people of the area concerned. The solution most commonly proposed is to form a separate state by breaking up the parent states. The small states also mean for them, better administration and more focused development programs, which would gradually begin to undo the damage done to these areas over time. Whether it is Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Bhojpur and Harit Pradesh in UP, Gorakhaland in West Bengal, or Mithilanchal in Bihar, the underlying theme of the agitation is exploitation and feeling of relative deprivation within their existing arrangements.

At this crucial juncture, the government needs to be cautious about such demands as all such present and future demand can not be justified and legitimised. At the same time, ignoring appropriate and rational demands would be injustice and insult of the aspirations of the people. In the light of changed circumstances, there is need to evolve fresh imperatives, based on the socio-economic-development for the future acceptance of any demand for reorganization of state boundaries.

### **Criteria for Accepting the Demands for Statehood.**

The ultimate aim of political, administration or governance is to achieve socio-economic-cultural development of the masses, and effective and good

governance is sine-qua-non for any aspect of development, on the contrary absence of effective governance will frustrate not only initiative for development, but also, aspirations and opportunities for self expression of the people. This objective also corresponds to the philosophy of the state formation. From this point of view, it can easily be argued that the creation of states in various stages within Indian Union have not addressed to these concerns, namely, decentralized socio-economic-cultural development. Consequently, the governance has been ineffective and development distorted, and there has been clamour all over the country, they often, for more and more states. The common urge underlying this clamour is “better governance and greater development”. It is high time, especially when the recent reorganization of state has given birth to plethora of statehood demands, to critically and constructively look at this basis for creation of new states. Otherwise, the formation of new states would open a Pandora’s box – leading to demands for more states – some even ill conceived and irresponsible. There is also a danger that, it could give rise to politically manipulated demands based on electoral and political interests. The government needs to take a careful approach about all such future demands or else political manipulation will become the *raison d’être* for the formation of the new states.

It is clear from the above analysis that past grounds of the states organization have proved incomplete and as a result serious feeling of neglect, and injustice emerged and tension continued in the various regions. The situation demands formulation of fresh imperatives for the formation of states, which will also unite, harmonize and sustain the diversities in the country. While accepting any demand for the formation of a new state, the government should consider these parameters -

- similar economic problems and potentials, and available resources, where people share common economic destiny.

- identical topographical attributes which again create a sense of bonding by the way people live and relate to their physical surroundings.
- ethnic identity and common cultural tradition which mean shared sentimental legacy.

As all round development of the region based on above factors, these parameters will ensure the fulfillment of the aim of political administration and governance, that is, decentralized socio-economic development.

What is the need of the hour is to set up a new States Reorganization Commission with above parameters in mind, so that the whole issue could be examined carefully with a view to redefine norms of state formation and to study dispassionately the claims of various regions for the separate political identity.

According to above criteria, if a deep study bears out that the carving out of a new state would spur development and would, thus, be an economically viable proposition, there is no reason why it should not be conceded. At the end, a State, although by definition a federal unit, is supposed to deliver development, social justice, good governance, all subsumed into providing better life to its people. Any imperative for the creation of a state should meet these objectives.

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