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INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

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INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

BACKGROUND

- British India was divided into 2 parts:
 - **British Provisions:** 11 Provisions along with 4 Chief Commissioner's Provinces directly under British control.
 - **Princely States:** More than 550 small and large states which were ruled by native princes who enjoyed internal autonomy as long as they accepted British paramountcy.
- As it was becoming clear that the British would leave in some years many Princes began to dream of independence. Their ambitions were fuelled by:
 - The British Prime Minister Clement Attlee's statement on 20th February 1947 that the "British paramountcy over Princely states would also lapse when the British will leave India."
 - Jinnah's declaration in June 1947 that "On lapse of British paramountcy, Princely states may choose to remain independent."
- In this, background Sardar Patel, who was the then home minister, was assigned the task of integrating Princely states into the Indian Union. It was a 2 stage process-
 - Accession of Princely states
 - Administrative/Political integration

STAGE -1: ACCESSION OF PRINCELY STATES

- Throughout February – April 1947, Patel held a series of meetings with princely rulers and dewans to send their representatives to Constituent Assembly, constituted of frame the Constitution of India. He wrote to influential dewans such as K.M. Pannikar (dewan of Bikaner) urging them to ask their rulers for the same.
- As a result of these efforts, by April 1947, few states such as Bikaner, Baroda etc. sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Their early compromise was the result of patriotism, wisdom and compulsion. However, several others states especially in the hinterland had stayed away.
- On 27th June 1947 the interim govt. set up a new **States Department**. Patel assumed additional charge of this dept. with VP Menon as his secretary. They followed a policy of carrot and stick and due to their efforts, all States (around 550), except **Junagadh, Hyderabad and J&K**, signed the instrument of accession by **15th August 1947**.



Steps Taken By Patel: Reasons For Accession

1. **British government's support:**
 - a. Their first act was to urge British government, not to support Princely States' claims to independence. Thus, the option of independence was not given, the Princely states had to join either India or Pakistan.
 - b. Mountbatten persuaded the Princes that British would no longer protect them and that independence for them was a mirage.
2. **Instrument of Accession:** 'Instrument of Accession' was drafted. If Princely states signed it then they would accede to Indian Union by only surrendering 3 subjects viz. defence, foreign affairs & communication. Patel made them realized that-
 - a. These 3 matters are out of their jurisdiction even under British paramountcy.
 - b. They are geographically surrounded by India on all sides. So in any way, they are dependent on India for the administration of these subjects.
 - c. Government of India (GOI) is not interfering in their internal matters.
3. **Rising popular sentiments:**
 - a. Patel played diplomatically by making them realize that national sentiments have risen in the States also as seen during Quit India Movement.
 - b. Thus, the princes won't be able to resist for long the demand of people to interfere.
 - c. Also, under the Congress umbrella was the All-India States' Peoples Movement and affiliated to it were the Praja Mandals of the States.
 - d. States were aware of Patel's reputation for firmness and even ruthlessness.

STAGE – 2: ADMINISTRATIVE/POLITICAL INTEGRATION

- With accession of states almost complete (with the exception of Junagadh, Kashmir and Hyderabad), the next step was **administrative and political integration**. This was even more difficult than the first stage.
- It was necessary because –
 - There were more than 550 Provinces and Princely states. Thus, it was difficult to manage them. Also it would have led to problems of coordination.
 - Many were so small that they wouldn't be able to sustain themselves.
 - In most of the States, there was no element of democracy. There was no popular representation of any kind.
 - The land revenue and judicial systems in these States were archaic. Also, the condition of citizens was bad as they lived in poverty.
- For achieving integration of States, Patel used the following strategies –



- The principle bait offered was a generous **privy purse**. i.e. in exchange for their territory, Patel offered a 'privy purse' in perpetuity (annual allowance) to the princes, its value determined by the revenue earned by their respective State. To reassure the Princes, a constitutional guarantee of privy purses was given to the Princes.
- Some princes were made Governors and Raj pramukhs in free India.
- Rulers were also allowed to retain their titles, palaces and other personal properties.
- Patel cleverly used the threat of popular protest from within the States against the Princes if they refused to comply. Praja Mandals became active once more and a movement was launched for a full democratic government in those States.
- He also made them realize about the problems of lack of integration.

END RESULT

- The process of integration was completed in 1 year. Whereas the British directed partition had exacted such a heavy toll of lives, integration of Princely states was done smoothly with minimum loss of life.
- These princely states were –
 - Either integrated with existing neighboring Provinces or States;
 - Few States were mutually combined to form new Provinces like Rajputana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh; and
 - Mysore, Hyderabad, Bhopal, and Bilaspur became separate Provinces.
- Finally, the Constitution of India, which came into force on 26th January 1950 distinguished between three main types of States and a class of territories:

Part A States

- These were the former Governors Provinces of British India, ruled by a Governor appointed by the President and an elected state legislature.
- The nine Part a States were Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh (formerly Central Provinces and Berar), Madras, Orissa, Punjab, (formerly East Punjab), Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces), and West Bengal.

Part B States

- These were former Princely states or groups of Princely states. The only practical difference between the Part A States and the Part B States was that the constitutional heads of the Part B States were the Rajpramukhs appointed under the terms of the Covenants of Merger, rather Governors appointed by the central government.



- The eight Part B States were Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Saurashtra, and Travancore-Cochin.

Part C States

- These included both the former Chief Commissioners' Provinces and some princely states, and each was governed by a Chief Commissioner appointed by the President of India.
- The ten Part C States were Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Cutch, Manipur, Tripura, and Vindhya Pradesh.

Part D Territory

- The sole Part D territory was the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which were administered by a lieutenant governor appointed by the central government.

ABOLITION OF PRIVAYE PURSES

BACKGROUND

- With the passage of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the British Government granted independence to the areas that were ruled directly by them and left the choice to the princely States to decide their future course of action.
- Thanks of leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his able civil servant VP Menon, most of the princely states, had signed Instruments of accession with India.

PRIVY PURSE:

- In consideration of such Princely states signing the instruments of accession, the Government of India granted to them a 'privy purse'. It was a specified sum of money that was payable annually to the former princely rulers and their successors.
- **Objective:** The sum was intended to cover all expenses of the former ruling families, including those incurred for religious and other ceremonies, and would be charged on the Consolidated Fund of India.
- **Protection:** Such payments were free of tax and were guaranteed by a provision in the Constitution of India (Article 291 of the Indian Constitution).
- **Criteria:** The quantum of the 'privy purses' payment was determined by the States revenue – the gun salutes it was entitled to etc.



- **Amount:** The quantum of the 'privy purses' ranged from Rs 5,000 per annum to Rs 26 lakh per annum. States such as Mysore (26 lakh), Hyderabad (20 lakh), Travancore (18 lakh), Jaipur (18 lakh) and Patiala (17 lakh) were amongst the highest recipients, while several small Princely states got amounts as low as Rs 5,000 annually.

ABOLITION OF PRIVY PURSE

- In 1960s, it was decided to do away with this system of payment.
- The motion to abolish the 'privy purse' system in India and the official recognition of the titles was brought before Parliament in 1969 and passed in the Lok Sabha. But it did not get the required two-third majority in the Rajya Sabha, 149 voted for it and 75 against.
- The abolition of 'privy purse' had to wait till 1971 and was successfully passed as the 26th Amendment to the Constitution of India in 1971.
- Many former Royals tried to protest against the abolition of the Privy Purse, primarily through campaigns to contest seats in the Lok Sabha elections of 1971.

REASONS FOR ABOLISHING IT

- 1) Payments of 'privy purse' to the former rulers as often questioned as a relic of the past.
- 2) The then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, argued the case for abolition based on equal rights for all citizens. The concept of rulership, with privy purses and special privileges unrelated to any current functions and social purposes was **incompatible with an egalitarian social order**.
- 3) The privy-purse payments constituted a significant outlay of government funds. Abolishing them was seen as a step towards reducing the Government's revenue deficit.

JUNAGADH

ABOUT:

- Junagadh was a state on the southern-tip of Gujrat within a region called Kathiawar.
- It was an important state, with a population of 700,000, 80% of them Hindus and, ruled by a Muslim prince, the Nawab of Junagadh.
- However, the actual governing of the Junagadh was carried out by his dewan (Chief Minister).



DECLARATION OF ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN

- In the last month of British India his dewan was a **Muslim League politician named Shah Nawaz Bhutto** (father of future Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar and grandfather to Benazir Bhutto), who had close ties with Jinnah.
- Shah Nawaz Bhutto, advised Nawab to stay out of Indian Union. On 14th August 1947, Nawab announced Junagadh would accede to Pakistan.
- A few days later, Pakistan declared that it was accepting Junagadh's accession.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST ACCESSION

- Through Nawab was legally allowed to accede to any of the 2 dominions, but accession to Pakistan made little sense as –
 - a. Geographically, Junagadh was surrounded by India on its three sides and coastline on the fourth. It had no connection with Pakistan by land.
 - b. Culturally, 82% population of Junagadh was Hindu. So, it was against Jinnah's 2-nation theory itself.
 - c. Junagadh's accession to Pakistan was against the wishes of its people.
- However the dewan reasoned that
 - a. Junagadh and Pakistan are connected by the sea (300 miles between port of Veraval and Karachi).
 - b. It was only a matter of time before communists took over Congress and it was in the best interest of Junagadh to stay away from such trouble.

STEPS BY INDIA

- However, people of Junagadh were in no mood to accept Junagadh's accession to Pakistan. It was decided in New Delhi to pressurize Junagadh into reversing their decision.
- This began by putting an embargo on the state by stopping the supplies of essential items like food and coal.
- Indian troops were deployed around the region as a show of strength.
- A **provisional government of Junagadh** was set up under **Samaldas Gandhi (a nephew of the Mahatma)**. It carried out popular agitations within Junagadh.
- The whole drama also acquired communal overtones and risk of Hindu-Muslim riots in Kathiawar heightened. As the situation worsened, the Nawab decided to flee to Pakistan.



- Bhutto was left in charge of the state. Bhutto kept on asking Pakistan for military and financial assistance, but the help never came.

ACCESSION TO INDIA

- In November 1947 Shah Nawaz handed over Junagadh administration to Indian government.
- To establish its own legitimacy, Indian government later organized a plebiscite in Junagadh. 91% of electorate voted for accession to India.

JODHPUR

'I refuse to take your dictation' – Maharaja of Jodhpur to VP Menon

BACKGROUND:

- In June 1947, with the transfer of power and the Partition of India looming on the horizon, Maharaja Hanvant Singh ascended the throne of Jodhpur.
- His predecessor had been very clear about joining India and Jodhpur had taken its place in the Constituent Assembly. But the new king was young, inexperienced, and naïve.
- Seeing things only from Jodhpur's point of view, and forgetting the larger picture – India – Maharaja Hanvant Singh began to falter in his commitment to the new Union of India being forged by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and VP Menon.
- Plus, Jodhpur was contiguous with Pakistan. The Maharaja reckoned that Pakistan might give him a better deal.

PROPOSED KARACHI JODHPUR BHOPAL AXIS:

- This was just the cue Mohammed Ali Jinnah wanted. Here religion suddenly made no difference.
- A Karachi, Jodhpur, Bhopal axis was planned "a dagger thrust into India's heart", as described later by Patel. The Nawabs of Bhopal and Junagadh were known partisans of Jinnah and his two-nation theory.
- Lured by the Nawabs, Hanvant Singh met Jinnah a few days later at Delhi who promised him
 - Free access to the Karachi port,
 - A railway line stretching from Jodhpur to Sindh,
 - Permitting Arms manufacturing and importing
 - Sending a large supply of grain to Jodhpur in case of famine.



IMPLICATIONS OF ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN:

- Patel could see the risks in Jodhpur acceding to Pakistan.
- It was a border state. It was the third-largest Princely state, and smaller ones like Jaisalmer and Bikaner might be induced to follow suit if Jinnah succeeded here.
- Worse, there could be an India-wide ripple effect.

CARROT AND STICK APPROACH:

- **Carrot:** Sardar Patel met Hanvant Singh and assured him that importing arms would be allowed. Further, India would take responsibility for supplying grain if needed. Plans of linking Jodhpur to Kathiawar by rail were also discussed. Thus, Jinnah's blank cheque was quickly negated.
- **Stick:** The Sardar Patel warned the young king that if there was to be any communal trouble in the Hindu-majority Jodhpur after its accession to a Muslim majority Pakistan, or if Pakistan tried to interfere in Jodhpur's internal affairs, India would be in no position to help.
- Hanvant Singh could now see that his best interest lay in joining India.

ACCESSION TO INDIA

- On August 11, merely four days prior to independence, Jodhpur signed the instrument of accession. Even on that fateful day, there was drama – The Maharaja took out his revolver and pointed it at Menon and said 'I refuse to take your dictation'.
- Menon told him that he would be making a very serious mistake by threatening him and would not be able to get the accession abrogated in any case. Fortunately, he calmed down.
- After this, Maharaja Hanvant Singh became a vocal supporter of Patel and aided in the peaceful merger of many other Rajput states.

TRAVANCORE

First To Declare Independence

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRAVANCORE:

1. Travancore, present day Kerala, was one of the biggest and well-administered Princely states of British India. The state was very progressive in the fields of education, trade, political administration and public affairs.
2. The state had the status of 19 gun salute when 21 gun salute was considered the highest in prestige.



3. It had the most educated populace in India. When Jawaharlal Nehru visited the area in the 1920s, he remarked that the education there was superior to British India.
4. Travancore was located at southern tip of India and it had naval routes to foreign countries.
5. It was the only Asian state which could inflict a naval defeat upon a European Army (the Dutch suffered a loss at the hands of Travancore Army in 18th century).
6. The state also had recently found rich reserves of thorium, used in production of atomic energy. This was when all European countries were looking forward to invest into atomic energy.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:

- Soon after the announcement of the 3rd June Plan by Lord Mountbatten, Sir C P Ramaswami, the prime minister of Travancore, was the first to declare to set itself up as an independent State with effect from the date of withdrawal of the British power from India.
- His announcement was not without the consent from the Hindu Maharaja of Travancore Sri Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma, who was keen to have his independent nation founded on the American system.
- Mohammed Ali Jinnah was quick to write to Sir C P, a wire welcoming Travancore's decision for independence, emphasizing keenness in establishing a lasting relationship between Travancore and Pakistan.

MERGER WITH INDIA:

- The announcement came to the country as a bombshell. Sardar Patel was furious and determined if necessary, to deal severely with Travancore.
- On 21st July CP Ramaswami met Mountbatten and Menon, but he refused to sign the Instrument of Accession and said that the treaty with India would be more preferable.
- He was told that if he acceded, he would get some advantages; if he did not, he would have to fight a hard battle with some help from Jinnah in the civil war that India would surely face within six months.
- The state had also strong presence of Congress and CPI. The people of his state were furious over the decision in next couple of days, C P Ramaswami, was even attacked by K C S Mony, a Kerala socialist party worker.
- Ultimately, the Maharaja gave in. on 30th July 1947, the Maharaja telegraphed to Lord Mountbatten his acceptance of the Instrument Of Accession and Standstill Agreement.



AFTERMATH:

- Only July 1, 1949, Cochin and Travancore merged to form the state of Travancore-Cochin or Thiru-Kochi.
- The States Reorganization Act of 1956, reorganized the states on linguistic lines. So, Kerala was created by merging Thiru Kochi with the Malabar district of Madras State and Kasaragod Taluk of South Canara district.

HYDERABAD

ABOUT:

- Hyderabad similar to Kashmir and Junagadh posed complexity in accession to the Indian Union after independence.
- Seated along the Deccan plateau occupying close to 80,000 square miles and consisting of the population belonging to three linguistic zones- Telugu, Kannada and Marathi- Hyderabad's location in the Indian territory was not just strategic but also conducive to a self sufficient sustenance.
- The military of Hyderabad was some 24000 strong. Besides, Hyderabad also had 'Rezakers', some 200,000 strong paramilitary force recruited from among the Muslim aristocrats and controlled by the civilian leader Qasim Razvi.
- Hyderabad had a majority Hindu population with the Minority Muslim controlling the administrative and political affairs of the state.

EXPLOITATIVE AGRICULTURE:

- Under the Nizam, an exploitative and communal agriculture structure had come to be established.
- Forty per cent of the land was either directly owned by the Nizam or given by the Nizam to the elites in the form of Jagirs (special tenures).
- The remaining 60 per cent was under the government's land revenue system that gave immense power to the landlords, and left those cultivating the land vulnerable to forced labour, forceful evictions, illegal exaction of taxes from peasants and also forms of economic exploitation.



- By the 1920s, a movement of resistance was taking shape among the peasants against the Nizam and his policies, and it would reach its zenith by 1946.
 - In the 1920s, the agitation against the Nizam was more at a cultural rather than political level. It emerged as a linguistic struggle for Telugu, in the form of a group called the Andhra Jan Sangham.
 - By the mid-1930s, the nature and objective of the struggle had changed remarkably and was now demanding for reduced land revenue rates, the abolition of forced labour as well as the introduction of Telugu in local courts.
- By the 1940s, the Andhra Jan Sangham had transformed into the Andhra Mahasabha (AMS) and was soon a space where the Communist started exerting their influence.
- The AMS and the CPI came together to mobilise a strong peasant movement against the Nizam and soon found a strong holding among the poor tenants and small landholders.
- Only July 6, 1946, a powerful peasant movement erupted in response to a case of a forceful land acquisition on the part of a hereditary tax collector named Visnur Ramachandra Reddy.
- In the course of the next couple of months, it spread across 3000-4000 villages and took a violent turn. In October 1946, the Nizam banned the AMS and a spurt of arrest and military raids were made.

ATROCITIES BY RAZAKARS:

- On the other hand though, the Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen, an Islamic fundamentalist organization within the state, had undergone a newfound radicalization under its new leader Kasim Razvi, an Aligarh based lawyer and a passionate believer in the idea of 'Muslim pride'.
- Under Razvi the Ittihad had promoted a paramilitary body called the 'Razakars' whose members marched up and down the roads of Hyderabad, carrying swords and guns.
- The Razakars were instrumental in carrying out the Nizam's efforts to suppress the peasant movement by raiding and plundering villages and killing anyone who appeared as a potential agitator.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:

- At the time when discussions around independence and accession to the Indian Union were underway, the seventh Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, along with the nobility had resolutely backed idea of a free Hyderabad.
- Hyderabad having its own army, railway, airline network, postal system and radio network only fostered his thought of having an independent autonomous state. On the



day of India's independence, i.e. 15th August, 1947, the Nizam declared Hyderabad an independent nation.

- Negotiations between the then Home minister of India Sardar Patel and the Nizam resulted in no solution. The Nizam tried unsuccessfully to get the British to intervene, he even lodged a complaint with the UN but to no avail. After unsuccessful negotiations, Nehru agreed to a standstill agreement.
- Status quo was maintained with the Hyderabad state giving the guarantee that it would not accede to Pakistan and the Indian union giving the guarantee to not use military force against the state for one year.
- **“An independent Hyderabad constituted a ‘cancer in the belly of India.’”** Sardar Patel is famously noted to have said this about what was perhaps the most complicated challenge among the Princely states of India.

OPERATION POLO:

- The eventualities of the next 13 months would pave the way for the ensuing military action of the Indian government to annex Hyderabad into Indian Union.
 - There were reports from the ground that the Nizam's irregular force 'The Razakars' were committing atrocities on the innocent civilians.
 - There were retaliatory measures which resulted in the state and the neighbouring villages in the Indian territory boiling up in communal flames.
- At this juncture of time, Nehru and Patel decided to intervene and send in military forces to merge Hyderabad into the Indian Union.
- Operation Polo referred to as 'Police Action' was the 5-day long military action that the Indian Union took against the state of Hyderabad. The battle between India Hyderabad began on 13th September 1948 and ended on 18th September 1948.
- The Indian forces heavily outnumbered the Nizam's forces. After the 5th day the Nizam's army surrendered to the Indian Army and Hyderabad became a part of the Union of India.

PANDIT SUNDERLAL COMMITTEE:

- There were allegations against the Indian Armed Forces of negligence and in some instance participation in the violence that was meted out to the minorities in the State.
- In the wake of these allegations, Pandit Nehru constituted a mixed faith committee led by Pandit Sunderlal to probe such allegations.
- It also states explicitly that Indian soldiers were involved in crimes against minority Muslim population. However, it also reports that in many instances the Indian Army had protected and saved Muslims. The report is also critical of the Razakars.



OTHER COLONIAL TERRITORIES

LIBRETIION OF GOA

BACKGROUND:

- The Portuguese were the first Europeans who landed in India and occupied Indian territories. The Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama had come to India in 1498 and by 1510, the present day Goa was under the Portuguese grip and it remained so till 1961.
- Unlike the Indian freedom struggle against the British, in which many heroes rose and stood against the British rule, Goan freedom struggle was overtly brief.

SATYAGRAHA BY RAM MANOHAR LOHIA:

- Its struggle for freedom saw its advent in 1946 when socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia visited Goan academician and writer Dr. Juliao Menezes for a medical examination in Bombay where Menezes invited Lohia to his house in Assolna, Goa.
- The two stalwarts discussed the Goan scenario and decided to defy the ban on public meeting imposed by the Portuguese rule started.
- While Lohia was arrested and movement was quashed, Goans got inspired by this and people began to meet, strategies and organise.

INDIA'S NEGOTIATIONS:

- Post-independence, India's new government wasn't willing to get into conflict with a European power. Portugal was a part of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), a US-led group. Therefore, it didn't want to irk the US by using force against the Portuguese in Goa.
- However, it kept pressing the Portuguese diplomatically to leave Goa. But the Portuguese continued to defy India's request and claiming and ruling Goa.
- On 15th August 1955, 5,000 non-violent demonstrators marched against the Portuguese at the border, and were met with gunfire.
- In 1960, the **United Nations General Assembly rejected Portugal's contention** that its overseas possessions were provinces.

1961 AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE:

- Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's non-violent policy toward in Goa liberation movement came under severe attack from Afro-Asian countries at the Belgrade



conference in 1961. The African leader opined that the Indian Policy of inaction in Goa enabled Portugal to take advantage in Africa. Freedom of Goa was linked to liberation of other countries under the Portuguese.

- The Portuguese suppression of a revolt in Angola in 1961 radicalized Indian public opinion, and increased the pressure on the Government of India to take military action.

OPERATION VIJAY:

- On 18 December 1961, following the collapse of an American attempt to find a negotiated solution, India decided to use force and PM Jawaharlal Nehru led government ordered action.
- Around 30,000 Indian troops with full air and naval support launched offensive and within 48 hours, the nearly 450-year-old rulers of Goa gave up and Goa was liberated. The “armed action” was code named Operation Vijay by the Indian Armed Forces.

AFTERMATH:

- Goa was incorporated into India is a centrally administered union territory. **Goa, Daman, and Diu** was a union territory of India form 19 December 1961 to 30 May 1987.
 - The union territory comprised the present-day state of Goa and the two small coastal enclaves of Daman and Diu on the coast of Gujarat.
 - The territory, along with Dadra and Nagar Haveli, comprised Portuguese India.
- Administratively the territory was divided into three districts, Goa, Daman and Diu, with the capital at Panjim. In 1987 Goa was granted statehood and Daman and Diu was made a separate union territory.

PONDICHERRY

TIMELINE

- At independence, the regions of Pondicherry, Karikal, Yaman, Mahe, and Chandernagore were still colonies of France.
- An agreement between France and India in 1948 provided for an election in France’s remaining Indian possessions to choose their political future.
- A plebiscite held in Chandernagore in 1949 resulted in merger with India.
- In the other enclaves, however, the pro-French camp used the administrative machinery to suppress the pro-merger groups.
- Popular discontent rose, and in 1954 demonstrations in Yaman and Mahe resulted in pro-merger groups assuming power.
- A referendum in Pondicherry and Karikal in 1954 resulted in a vote in favour of merger.



- The agreement for the de facto transfer of the four remaining French settlements to India was signed on October 21, 1954 and came into effect on November 1, 1954.
- A treaty was entered into between France and India, establishing the cession by the French Republic to the Indian Union of the French establishments of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yaman. The French government passed legislation in Parliament ratifying the Treaty of cession and Puducherry became de jure free on August 16, 1962.

FACTORS THAT LED TO MERGER:

- **Very small territorial and population size:** The total area of the settlements was well under 2,000 square miles, whereas that of the Indian Union well over 1,000,000 square miles. Also, the total population of the settlements was less than 500,000 inhabitants on the eve of merger.
- **Lack of clear-cut frontiers with India:** Very few of the settlements had clear-cut frontiers with India. There were many enclaves entirely surrounded by Indian territory, especially in Pondicherry district.
- **Indian Nationalism:** With the Independence of India in 1947, there was rise of nationalist local parties in those regions. Their increasing dominance in the politics of French India created an anti French feeling in people.
- **Decolonization phenomenon:** Due to Nationalism and socialism, Decolonization was a global phenomenon which was predominant in the colonial world between 1940 and the 1960s. This was reflected in Pondicherry also.
- **Shift of Socialist:** the members of the French India Socialist Party shifted their stance towards pro-merger nationalist groups. This gave a devastating effect to the French rule in India. This was the most important factor that led ultimately to the liberation of French colonies in India.

NORTH-EASTERN STATES

SIKKIM

BACKGROUND:

- Sikkim as a state came into being in 1642 under the rule of Chogyal dynasty and in 1890 it came under British rule and became a protectorate State of the British.
- It meant that it came under the jurisdiction of the British and acted as buffer state between China and British India which also included Nepal and Bhutan. Its status was similar to that of the other Princely states, and was therefore considered to be within the frontiers of India in the colonial period.



- Sikkim did not become a part of India when India became an independent Union in 1947. On independence, the Chogyal of Sikkim resisted full integration into India.

PROTECTORATE OF INDIA:

- Given the region's strategic importance of India, the Government of India signed a treaty in 1950 with the Chogyal of Sikkim which in effect made it a protectorate which was no longer part of India. i.e. India had responsibility for defence, external affairs and communications and ultimate responsibility for law and order but Sikkim was otherwise given full internal autonomy.

ANTI – CHOgyAL DEMONSTRATIONS:

- But Sikkim's monarchs' always shared a tense relationship with India. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Chogyal supported by the minority Bhutia attempted to negotiate greater powers, particularly over external affairs.
- Then the big problem came up when the State's last monarch Palden Thondup Namgyal married a US citizen Hope Cook. Some say she was a CIA agent. It is believed that she took over the Sikkim governance in her hands which not only undermined the government operating in Sikkim, but also India's role in the state.
- These policies were opposed internally and in April 1973, an anti-Chogyal agitation broke out; the agitators demanded the conduct of popular elections.
- Many believe Indian agencies were also involved in fuelling unrest in the state. In 1975, the 1967 batch IPS officer Ajit Doval, who is also the present National Security Adviser went from Mizoram to Sikkim and handled the entire operation.

ELECTIONS:

- Elections were held, and chogyal's opponents won an overwhelming victory. They requested India to admit Sikkim to the Union of India; a new Constitution was drafted providing for Sikkim to be associated with the Republic of India. This resolution was endorsed by 97% of the vote in a referendum held in 1975, following which Sikkim was made a part of India after the 35th Constitutional Amendment and was made as its 22nd State.
- China did not take very kindly to this and it was only in 2003, during Atal Bihari Vajpayee's tenure that China acknowledged Sikkim as part of India.



NAGALAND INSURGENCY

NAGAS

- The term 'Naga' is a rubric for a host of over 25 district tribes inhabiting the Nagaland State and adjoining areas of north-eastern India and Myanmar.
- Each tribe is culturally distinct and linguistically unintelligible to the others. In the not so distant past, contacts between two tribes were, more often than not, marred by bloodshed.
- Modern state, modern education and the Gospel have had a somewhat sobering influence on their world view.

BACKGROUND:

- The British annexed Assam in 1826, and in 1881 the Naga Hills too became part of British India.
- The first sign of Naga resistance was seen in the formation of the Naga club in 1918, which told the Simon Commission in 1929 "to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times".

NAGA-AKBAR HYDARI AGREEMENT:

- In 1946 came the **Naga National Council (NNC)**, which, under the leadership of **Angami Zapu Phizo**, declared Nagaland an independent state on August 14, 1947.
- Almost simultaneously with the resistance. On June 29, 1947, **Assam Governor Sir Akbar Hydari signed a 9-point agreement** with moderates T Sakhrie and Aliba Imti, which was almost immediately rejected by Phizo.
- **The Agreement:** "That the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their freely expressed wishes is recognized."
- **The Catch:** "The Governor of Assam will have a special responsibility for a period of 10 years to ensure the observance of the agreement, at the end of this period the Naga Council will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of Naga people arrived at."

RESISTANCE BY ANGAMI ZAPU PHIZO:

- The NNC led by Phizo resolved to establish a "sovereign Naga State" and conducted a "referendum" in 1951, in which "99 per cent" supported an "independent" Nagaland.



- In 1952, Phizo formed the underground Naga Federal Government (NFG) and the Naga Federal Army (NFA). The Government of India sent in the Army to crush the insurgency and, in 1958 enacted the **Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act**.
- The Naga Hills, a district of Assam, was upgraded to a state in 1963, by also adding the Tuensang Tract that was then part of NEFA.
- But the NNC/NFG/NFA continued to indulge in violence, and after six rounds of talks, the Peace Mission was abandoned in 1967, and a massive counter-insurgency operation launched.

SHILLONG ACCORD:

- On November 11, 1975, the government got a section of NNC leaders to sign the **Shillong Accord**, under which this section of NNC and NFG agreed to give up arms.

THE AGREEMENT

- The representatives of the underground organizations conveyed their decision, of their own volition, to accept, without condition, the Constitution of India.
- It was agreed that the arms, now underground, would be bought out and deposited at appointed places.
- Details for giving effect of this agreement will be worked out between them and representatives of the Government, the security forces, and members of the Liaison Committee.
- **The Catch:** “It was agreed that the representatives of the underground organisations should have reasonable time to formulated other issues for discussion for final settlement.”

NATIONAL SOCIALIST COUNCIL OF NAGALAND (NSCN):

- A group of about 140 members led by Thuingaleng Muivah. Who were at the time od China, refused to accept the Shillong Accord, and formed the **National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)** in 1980. Muivah also had Isak Chisi Swu and S S Khaplang with him.
- In 1988, the NSCN split into NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) after a violent clash. While the NNC began to fade away, and Phizo died in London in 1991, the NSCN (IM) came to be seen as the “mother of all insurgencies” in the region.

DEMAND OF GREATER NAGALIM:

- NSCN (IM) demanded a “Greater Nagalim” comprising “all contiguous Naga-inhabited areas”, along with Nagaland.



- That included several districts of Assam, Arunachal and Manipur, as also a large tract of Myanmar. The map of “Greater Nagalim” has about 1,20,000 sq km, while the state of Nagaland consists of 16,527 sq km. the claims have always kept Assam, Manipur, and Arunachal Pradesh wary of a peace settlement that might affect their territories.
- The Nagaland Assembly has endorsed the Greater Nagalim demand – Integration of all Naga-inhabited contiguous areas under one administrative umbrella – as many as five times: in December 1964, August 1970, September 1994, December 2003 and as recently as on July 27, 2015.

NAGA FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT:

- In 2015, Government of India and NSCN-IM signed a framework agreement, under which NSCN-IM have agreed on a settlement within the Indian federation with a “special status”. The agreement was signed nearly 18 years after government’s ceasefire 1997 deal with Naga armed groups.
- **Agreement details:**
 - **Boundaries:** Boundaries of any states will not be touched. It is a departure from their demand for ‘Greater Nagaland’.
 - **Special status:** Government of India Center recognizes uniqueness of Nagas history and some special arrangements would be made for them, wherever they are.
 - **Surrender & Rehabilitation:** NSCN-IM cadres will surrender as per the Agreement. A parliamentary standing committee has asked Govt. to prepare a rehabilitation scheme for them.

PRESENT STATUS:

- Though unification of Naga-inhabited areas without disturbing the existing boundaries of the north-eastern states is viewed as a viable option, the non-Nagas remain apprehensive of the idea in view of lack of clarity and also given the historical and socio-political complexities involved.
- Moreover, other ethnic groups too are likely to be tempted to demand a similar arrangement. Likewise, the suggestion to extend Article 371(A) of the Constitution – a special provisions with respect to the state of Nagaland – to the Naga-dominated areas of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam as well is viewed with skepticism by the non-Nagas.
- As the latest initiative taken by the government is still a work in progress, not much can be stated about its exact status at this juncture.
- Given the conflicting/divergent perceptions prevalent among key stakeholders in the region, one cannot expect concrete irreversible outcomes in a short span of time. Any



attempt to rush into a peace accord without proper groundwork is bound to prove counter-productive.

ANGAMI ZAPU PHIZO:

- Angami Zapu Phizo (1904-1990) was a Naga nationalist leader who belonged who belonged to Angami Naga tribe.
- He had collaborated with the Japanese army in Burma in pre independent India. He grew distrustful of the newly independent Indian government. Under his influence, the Naga National Council (NNC) inclined towards seeking secession from India through armed revolution. The Naga secessionist groups regard him as the “Father of the Nagas”.
- Phizo escaped to East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh) in December 1956, from where he went to London. He continued supporting the secessionist movement in Nagaland until his death in exile, in London in 1990.

ASSAM

TIMELINE

- **Illegal immigration(1971)**
 - Bangladesh independence movement led to significant increase in the flow of illegal migrants into Assam. This inflow of illegal immigrants did not stop after the formation of Bangladesh.
- **The Assam Agitation (1979-85)**
 - It was a popular movement in Assam led by All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) and All Assam Students Union (AASU). Their demand was that illegal immigrants should be identified and expelled.
 - It started when an abrupt increase in the number of voters was observed by election officials before the Mangaldai by-poll for Lok Sabha in 1979.
- **The Assam Accord (1985):** The agitation ended in 1985 and Assam Accord was signed by the Indian Government and the AASU-AAGSP leaders. According to this,
 - Those who had entered Assam between 1951 and 1961 were to be given full citizenship including the right to vote.
 - Those who had entered after 1971 were to be deported.
 - Those who came between 1961 and 1971 were to be denied voting rights for 10 years but given all other citizenship rights.
 - I did not contain any specific mention of updating the NRC.
- **Union Government’s response:**



- In the absence of any expressed demand for updating the NRC of 1951 (a charge denied by AASU leaders), the Government of India took no initiative in this regard.
- Instead, it constituted a number of Tribunals and Appellate Courts under both the legal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act of 1983 and the foreigners Tribunal Act of 1964 to detect illegal Bangladeshis.
- **Tripartite meeting (2005):**
 - In a tripartite meeting of 2005 between the Center, AASU and the Assam Government, it was decided that the Assam Government will complete the process of updating of the NRC within two years.
 - However, subsequently no serious efforts were taken in this regard.
- **Supreme Court intervention (2009):**
 - The Supreme Court then took up the matter.
 - In 2009, while hearing a writ petitions Supreme Court ordered government to begin the updation of the NRC in Assam.
- **NRC updation begins (2014):**
 - The Ministry of Home Affairs then issued the notification in this regard in 2014.
 - The date for publication of the final draft of the NRC was set as on or before January 1, 2016 initially. But later the Court extended the deadline by two years.

UPDATING NATIONAL REGISTER OF CITIZENS (NRC):

- **NRC 1951:** It is a register which covers person enumerated during the 1951 Census. It includes houses or holdings in serial order and also contains the names and number of people staying in these.
- **Objective behind updating and publishing the 1951 NRC:**
 - To compile a list of the names of genuine Indian citizens residing in Assam and
 - In the process, detect foreigners (esp. Bangladeshis) who many have illegally entered the state after march 24, 1971.
- **Criteria:** NRC in being updating to include person or their descendants whose manes were in
 - The National Register of Citizenship 1951
 - In any of the Electoral Rolls up to the midnight of 24th March 1971
 - In any other admissible documents issued up to the midnight 24th march 1971.
- On December 31, 2017, the first draft of the updated National Register of Citizens (NRC) of Assam was published by the Office of the State Coordinator of NRC. 3.29 crore residents of Assam applied for the inclusion of their names in the NRC by submitting legacy documents. Of this 1.9 crore names have been included as citizens in the initial list.



- **Signification**
 - The publication of the first draft of the updated NRC is an important milestone.
 - It will put to rest wild speculations about the extent of the illegal migrants in the state and will be used to deal with influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh into Assam. It will prevent the demographic change in Assam due to influx of illegal immigrant.
 - It will help in addressing the security challenges arising from illegal immigrant and the consequent insurgency in Assam.
 - It can also put an end to the resulting polarization that political parties have been exploiting to make electoral gains.
- **Identification Concerns?**
 - The fact that only some of the names of the members of a single family appeared on the list while others did not has also raised doubts about the verification process.
 - Due to lack of proper documentation system in the country, establishing one's citizenship is fraught with difficulties. This is particularly so in the case of many settlers who have come to Assam from other parts of the country.
- **What after identification?** An even more important issues is what happens to those people whose names do not figure in the final NRC and are declared illegal migrants into the state.
 - **Deportation?** The popular rhetoric is to deport them to Bangladesh. But this is easier said than done. Bangladesh has consistently denied that its citizens have illegally emigrated to India. In the absence of any agreement under which Bangladesh agrees to take back its citizens, the Government of India cannot do much except push a few illegal migrants across the border.
 - **Residents instead of citizens?** Since the deportation of illegal migrants is not feasible, the only option before the government is to let them reside in the country on humanitarian grounds but after stripping them of all citizenship rights. But this will be opposed by people of Assam who are at present protesting against the Citizenship Amendment Bill.

CITIZENSHIP (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2019:

- In January 2019 Lok Sabha passed the Citizenship Amendment Bill, 2019. The bill has led to protests across the Northeast, particularly Assam.
- **Salient features of the Bill:**



- It amends the **Citizenship Act, 1955** by selectively relaxing the eligibility rules of immigrants in getting Indian Citizenship.
- **Minorities covered:** The Bill seeks to facilitate acquisition of citizenship by 6 identified minority (non-Muslim) communities (namely Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Christians and Parsis) from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh who came to India before 31st December, 2014.
- **Minimum residency period for citizenship:** Under the exiting Act, an immigrant must have lived in India for “not less than eleven years”. The Bill relaxes this to “not less than six years” for above-mentioned immigrants.
- **Arguments against:** The Bill has led to protests across the Northeast, particularly Assam, from citizens, influential groups such as the all Assam Students’ Union (AASU), civil society organizations, leading intellectuals, opposition parties and even BJP leaders and their allies.
 - **Illegal migration:** Communities in Assam fear that it would pave the way for granting citizenship mostly to illegal Hindu migrants from Bangladesh, who came after March 1971.
 - **Shift in Demography:** Demography will change across North-Eastern states as witnessed in Assam and Tripura over decades of migrants.
 - **Impact on Culture:** Due to demography shift, Assamese could become the second language. There is also fear of loss of political rights and culture of the indigenous people by making the indigenous population to become a minority in their own state.
 - **Assam accord, 1985:** The Bill is violation of the 1985 Assam Accord which has set March 25, 1971 as the cut-off for citizenship, irrespective of religion. But according to protesters the Bill proposes to protect illegal Bangladeshis who have come after 1971.
 - **National Register for Citizens (NRC):** It negates the ongoing update of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) which has also set March 25, 1971, as the cut-off for citizenship.
 - **Religious discrimination:** The bill proposes to grant citizenship on the basis of religion by discrimination against non-Muslim. The protesters have called it unconstitutional as Article 14 clearly lays down that no one can be discriminated against on grounds of religion.
 - In this background opposition parties have demanded that it should be sent to a select committee.
- **Arguments by Union Government in Favour:**



- Union Home Minister said the six communities faced “discrimination and religious persecution” and they “have no place to go, except India.” Prime Minister Narendra Modi described it as an “atonement” for mistakes committed during Partition.
- The Bill is not just for Assam and the Northeast, but will apply to all States and Union Territories of the country. The regularized immigrants would not be settled in Assam alone but be distributed among various states. There is no specific report on whether the refugee migrant population from Bangladesh is causing unexpected demographic changes of certain North-eastern States.
- It wouldn’t affect the demography in large numbers. According to Home Ministry, it would only benefit around 30,000 persons belonging to such minority communities from these countries who are staying in India on Long Term Visa.
- **Concluding Remark:**
 - Such confrontation would undermine a hard-won peace in Assam and in neighbouring states that has come after many years of bloodshed and negotiations.
 - The rise of fresh anger against the Center could damage not just one party, but also enable the rise of those very forces that had lost credibility and been long dormant.
 - Thus, pragmatism should prevail. Government of India should read the warning signs and put passage of Citizenship Amendment Bill on hold and offer talks. Since dialogue is the key, those agitating also would need to come to the negotiating table.

JANUARY 2019: CLAUSE 6 COMMITTEE

- In January 2019, The Union Cabinet cleared a proposal to set up a high-level committee headed by M.P. Bezbaruah, IAS (Retd.) to look into the implementation of Clause 6 of the Assam Accord of 1985.
- **Clause 6 of Assam Accord, 1985:**
 - Assam Accord of 1985 came at the culmination of a movement against immigration from Bangladesh.
 - Clause 6 was inserted to safeguard the socio-political rights and culture of the “indigenous people of Assam”.
 - Clause 6 reads: “Constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards, as may be appropriate, shall be provided to protect, preserve and promote the cultural, social, linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people.”
- **Indigenous/Assamese people as mentioned in Clause 6:**



- Most stakeholders agree that the NRC of 1951 should be taken as the cut-off for defining “Assamese people” eligible for the proposed safeguards.
- 1951 cut-off was the conclusion reached by a sub-committee constituted in 1988 headed by G K Pillai, then joint secretary (Northeast) in the Home Ministry.
- **Safeguards:**
 - These are what the proposed committee would seek to define.
 - Experts view “safeguards” as reservation of electoral seats, land and political rights, rights over natural resources and protection of the culture of the indigenous people.
 - Others are also demanding a Legislation to ensure that only citizen in or prior to 1951 can purchase land. Similar laws should be put in place for jobs. Arunachal Pradesh entrusts rights over natural resources on the basis of ethnic community. Manipur passed a Bill in 2018 to define “Manipur
- **Opposition to the recent step:**
 - According to Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh, this step has been taken because clause 6 “wasn’t fully implemented”.
 - However, critiques have described it as an effort to mislead people before pushing the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016.
 - The Bill, which proposes to grant citizenship to non-Muslim immigrants from three countries including Bangladesh, has divided residents of Brahmaputra Valley (mostly anti-Bill) and Barak Valley (pro-Bill).
- **Later developments:**
 - Most of the members of the high level committee refused to be part of it as a mark of protest against the Centre’s move to pass the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016
 - In this background, in February 2019, NDA government said that the **Clause 6 committee for implementation of the Assam Accord will be re-constituted.**

MIZORAM INSURGENCY AND PEACE ACCORD 1986

ABOUT:

- The mizo is a generic term, which includes several tribes. The major tribes are Lushai, Hmar, Paite, Lai, Mara, Chakmas and Reangs. The most popularly known Lushais have dominated the Mizo society for over three centuries.
- Mizoram (Mizo-Hill) was a district within Assam until 1972 when it became a Union Territory.



REASONS FOR INSURGENCY:

- A perceived sense of loss of identity to their Assamese domination together with discrimination in various fields contributed to the Mizo alienation.
- Delay in abolition of chieftainship, imposition of Hindi and Assamese languages, lack of financial empowerment to the District Council further heightened the alienation.
- But the spark that lit the flame of insurgency was is major famine called Mautam which resulted in deaths by starvation, while the Central and state Governments appeared unconcerned.

OPERATION JERICO:

- Laldenga, the former army soldier led the rebellion against india and the **Mizo National Front (MNF) was formed in 1966.**
- The MNF declared its aim for the creation of a sovereign state of greater Mizoram, which would be independent from India. The MNF wanted that Greater Mizoram should include the borderline territories of Tripura, Manipur, and cachar districts of Assam.
- Strengthened by arms and training provided by East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) the MNF launched "Operation Jericho" on February 28, 1966.
- However, due to the sustained counter insurgency operations, the MNF, which was outlawed in 1967, was weakened severely.

MIZORAM ACCORD 1986:

- Subsequently, Laldenga expressed his willingness to discuss a solution to the problem within the Indian Constitutiton.
- Finally, the two decades of insurgency ended on June 30, 1986 when leader of the MNF, Laldenga signed a Memorandum of settlement with the representatives of Government of India and Government of Mizoram which is also known as Mizoram Accord 1986.

Summary of Memorandum of Settlement:

- The MNF agreed to a timeframe, to bring all their underground personnel with their Arms, ammunitons and equipment, out of their hideouts to ensure their return to civil life, abjure violence and to help in the process of restoration of normalcy.
- The MMF assured that it would not extend any support to the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV), People's Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA) and any other such group by way to training, supply of arms, providing protection or in any other matter.



- The central government assured that it would take steps for the settlement and rehabilitation of the MNF underground personnel.

AFTERMATH:

- With the surrender of arms by the Mizo National Front guerrillas, the Indian government conferred statehood on the territory of Mizoram on August 7, 1986.
- Elections for the first Mizoram Legislative Assembly was held in February, 1987 and Mizoram became a full-fledged State from 20th February, 1987.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

- Signed on 30 June 1986, between the Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Government of India, the Mizo Accord so far remains the only successful peace accord of its kind in independent India's history.
- The Mizoram Accord is also rightly referred to as 'the only insurgency in the world which ended with a stroke of pen', by Security experts all over the world.
- Thirty years after the Mizoram Accord was signed, the peace has been sustained and has only happened because of the determination shown by a highly knowledgeable and educated public, the church, the governments of different parties and civil society.

GORKHALAND

ABOUT:

- Gorkhaland region consists of Nepali-speaking people of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong, and other hilly districts of West Bengal.
- The crisis in Gorkhaland has been brewing for many decades and stems from language. The first demand for Gorkhaland was submitted in 1907 to Morley-Minto Reforms panel. Since then from time to time the region has witnessed various violent protests for creation of separate state.
- **Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA):** GTA is a semi-autonomous administrative body for the Darjeeling and Kalimpong hills in West Bengal, India. It was created by West Bengal Legislative Assembly by passing a bill in 2011.

REASONS SIGHTED FOR CREATION OF GORKHALAND STATE:

- The demand for Gorkhaland owes its origin to the flawed report to the language census of 1949 that preceded the creation of linguistic states. The census found only 49,000 people in Darjeeling hills spoke Gorkhali. The Gorkhas say this number did not reflect the reality.



- Residents of this region have hardly any connection with the Bengali community which are different in ethnicity, culture and language.
- Due to decisions like imposing Bengali language, residents of the region fear that their culture, language and thus, their identity is under threat.
- Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) has been a failure because substantial administrative & fiscal authority has remained with the state government's district heads, i.e., district magistrates. There is also constant Interference by the state government.
- The region continues to suffer from backwardness. A smaller state will ensure better governance and development.

OPPOSITION TO THIS DEMAND:

- If their demand is accepted, then other regions and groups like Bodoland Tribal Area Districts of Assam and the Indigenous Peoples Front of Tripura will intensify their demands for separate state. We can't betray the efforts of Sardar Patel of consolidating India.
- West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee has clearly stated that "**Bengal cannot suffer the pain of yet another partition**".

CONCERNS FROM CONTINUING UNREST IN GORKHALAND:

- **China:** The agitation if not resolved can create internal security challenges as Darjeeling is strategically located close to Sino-Indian border.
- **Army:** It can also create resentment to the Gorkha regiment (majority of whom are recruited from the region). We should remember the mutinies of 1857 and revolt of 1946 (Royal Indian Navy (RIN) Mutiny).

WAY AHEAD:

- Thus, state government should resolve the underlying grievances by respecting their culture, not imposing Bengali on them, trying out various political alternatives to ensure that GTA functions smoothly and creating jobs so as to remove backwardness in the region.

NEFA TO ARUNACHAL

INDO-CHINA DISPUTE



- Arunachal Pradesh (claimed by China as South Tibet) is a full-fledged state of India. **India's sovereignty over the area is internationally recognized and its residents have not shown any inclination to leave India. The majority of the international maps puts the area in India.**
- China has some historical claims through its ownership to Tibet, but the geography primarily favours India. The primary controversy is over the ownership of the Tawang tract (northern part of the state) where India's biggest monastery and an ancient trading town lies.

BACKGROUND:

- In the 16th century, the most important heritage of the state – Tawang Monastery was built. This is one of the most important sites for the Tibetan Buddhists. The area is assumed to have been populated by the Tibetans at the point.
- Until 1912, the border between Tibet and India was not quite delineated. Very few people lived there for it to matter. Neither the Mughals nor the British were controlling the region.
- Eventually, British discovered the Tawang Monastery and in 1914, the representatives of Tibet, China and British sat together to draw the borders.

NEFA AND MACMOHAN LINE:

- In 1912-13 the British Indian government made agreements with the indigenous peoples of the Himalayas of north-eastern India to set up the Balipara frontier tract in the west, the Sadiya frontier tract in the east, and the Abor and Mishmi hills and the Tirap frontier tract in the south.
- **Together those tract became the North East Frontier Agency, which is now Arunachal Pradesh.**
- The northern boundary of the territory (now of the state) determined at the time became known as the **McMohan Lin**; it is about 550 miles (850 km) long and has been a lasting point of contention between India and China.
- The boundary takes its name from Sir Henry McMahon, secretary in the Indian foreign department and representatives of Great Britain at the conference held in 1914 in Simla (now called Shimla) to settle frontier and other matters relating to Tibet.
- To the British, the line marked the geographic, ethnic, and administrative boundary between the two regions, and delegates from Great Britain, China, and Tibet agreed that the frontier between Tibet and north-eastern India indeed should follow the crest of the high Himalayas.



CHINESE CLAIM:

- China never recognized Tibet's independence nor the Simla convention. In 1950 China would completely take over Tibet. Thus, according to China, Tawang region belongs to her. China especially wants to hold on to the monastery as that is a leading center of Tibetan Buddhism in India.
- It argued that the McMahon Line never been accepted by China and was the result of British aggression.
- According to India, most of the state had ancient Indian influence from Assam and in 1914 Tibetans signed an agreement to give the state of India. Also, from an Indian perspective, keeping the Tawang monastery within India is the best way to protect whatever is remaining of Tibetan culture.
- In 1962, India and China warred over the region. But, the geography clearly favours India and China had to pull back from Tawang.

UT STATUS AND STATEHOOD:

- Since then, efforts have been made to more fully integrated the region into India.
- Arunachal Pradesh gained the Union Territory status on January 20, 1972 and was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh.
- On August 15, 1975 an elected Legislative Assembly was constituted and the first council of Ministers assumed office. The first general election of the Assembly was held in February, 1978.
- Arunachal became full-fledged State on February 20, 1987.

STAPLED VISA:

- The practice of issuing stapled visa instead of proper visa by the Chinese embassy to Indian citizens from Arunachal Pradesh have been a contentious issue between the two nations.
- When the stamps of the country you are visiting, not placed on the passport, but on pages staple to it is called Stapled Visas. When the visitor leaves the country, his visa and entry and exits stamps are torn out, leaving no record on his passport.
- Stapled Visa is issued to countries which are hostile to each other. China issues stapled visas to residents of Arunachal Pradesh as it claims that the state is "disputed," even as Indian continues to denounce the stance.
- In 2009, China also started giving stapled visas to the residents of Jammu and Kashmir.

TRIPURA



INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATE:

- Tripura was princely state until the merger with Indian union on 15th November, 1949.
- The last King Bir Bikram was in the throne, immediately before India's Independence. But he died on 17th May 1947, at Agartala. After his demise, his minor son Kirri Bikram Mannikya took the throne of Tripura kingdom, but he could not rule as he was minor.
- So his widow queen Kanchan Prabha took the charge of regency of Tripura and took over the administrative charges. She was instrumental for merger of Tripura kingdom in Indian union. Ultimately the merger agreement was signed by her and came into effect from 15th Nov. 1949, and Tripura kingdom ceased to exist and was included in Class C Indian states.
- Tripura became a Union Territory on 1 July 1963, and attained the status of a full-fledged state on 21 January 1972.

AFTERMATH:

- After the accession of Tripura in Indian Union, there were large scale migrants of Hindu Bengali refugee riot victims from the erstwhile nascent state Pakistan (East).
- This created a deep and long lasting impact on the political, social, economical, and racial aspect in Tripura. The native Tripuri people, who were majority had a ruling king and administrative control over thousands of year had been reduced to minority.
- The pivot of power shifted from native Tripuri people to recently migrated refugee Hindu Bengalis. This development created resentment among educated Tripuri people, as the annoyance piled up gradually, it reached a threshold in the 1980, resulting in Tripuri-Bengali riot, which saw killing of many innocent people, mainly of minority native Tripura people.

BIR BIKRAM KISHORE DEBBARMAN:

- Bir Bikram Kishore Debbarman (1908-1947) was the king of Tripura state till 1947.
- He played an important role in the development of Tripura:
 - **Father of modern agriculture in Tripura:** During his rule the entire planning of present day Tripura was initiated.
 - **Pioneer in land reforms:** In 1939, he reserved land for the local Tripura tribals. Later, this step was instrumental in the creation of the Tripura autonomous district council.
 - **Airport development:** He built the first airport in Tripura o

MANIPUR



“THE FIRST EVER ELECTION HELD IN INDIA BASED ON ADULT FRANCHISE WAS HELD IN THE STATE OF MANIPUR BEFORE IT ACCEDED TO INDIA”

ABOUT:

- The recorded history of kingship started from 33 A.D, which marked the coronation of Pakhangba. After Pakhangba, a series of kings ruled over the kingdom of Manipur. The independence and sovereignty of Manipur remained uninterrupted until the Burmese invaded and occupied it for seven years in the first quarter of the 19th century (1819-25).
- Then came British paramountcy in 1891, The British then dissolved the Manipur ruling dynasty by killing both the crown prince and the general.
- The British then established absolute dominion over the state of Manipur, though they placed another member of the Manipuri royal family Meidingngu Churachand on the throne.

MANIPUR CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS:

- On 15th August 1947, with the lapse of paramountcy of the British Crown, Manipur became briefly independent.
- The Maharaja had acceded to India on 11 August, whereby he ceded the central subjects to the Union government but gained internal sovereignty over the state.
- Hijam Irabot, a communist leader of Manipur, was one of the forerunners in mobilizing people and formed a political party of Manipur called “Praja Sangh”.
- Irabot wanted an independent Manipur with its own parliament, constitution and cabinet. Instead of the monarchical system, he wanted the representatives of the people to administer the state formed base on socialistic pattern of society.
- **The Constitution of Manipur was framed in 1947** by the constitution making body under the initiative of the president of Manipur State Durbar, Pearson, although this did not become known in other parts of India owing to the relative isolation of the kingdom. **The Government of India did not recognize the Constitution.**
- Under the provisions of the Manipur Constitution Act, 1947, assembly election was held in 1948. **This election in Manipur was the first ever election held in India based on adult franchise.**
- A few Manipuris favoured integration with India and established the Manipur India Congress.

ACCESSION TO INDIA:

- The Maharajah of Manipur was invited to Shillong in September 1949 for talks with regard to integration.



- An already prepared “Merger Agreement” was placed before the Maharaja on the first day of the meeting by Akbar Hydari, whereby Manipur would be merged into the Indian union.
- The Maharaja stood firm that he could not sign the agreement without prior consultation with the Council of Ministers. The Maharaja was placed under house arrest and debarred from any communication with the outside world.
- Under such circumstances the Maharaja was forced to sign the “Merger Agreement” with India on September 21, 1949, and Manipur become “Part-C state” of the Indian Union.

AFTERMATH:

- The manner in which the merger was brought about has left a residual bitterness that the insurgent groups successfully tap into. A number of insurgent groups regarded the merger as illegal and unconstitutional, and many among the Manipuri intelligentsia are bitter about the way it was effected. In 1972, Manipur became a separate state within India.

UTTARAKHAND

BACKGROUND:

- When Uttarakhand was carved out of Uttar Pradesh in November 2000, it was the successful culmination of 70-year-old struggle of the people of the hilly region for a separate state. It all started in 1930 when residents of the hill region had moved a resolution by majority vote claiming for a separate state of Uttarakhand.
- The demand took shape of an agitation in 1957. Demonstrations were held under the leadership of erstwhile ruler of Tehri – Manvendra Shah.
- However, it was nearly 15 years later that the agitation became a common cause of the people of the region after formation of Uttarakhand Rajya Parishad in 1973. The Parishad became a platform for statehood struggle.
- The movement gave birth to a political party – Uttarakhand Kranti Dal in 1979 under the chairmanship of former vice-chancellor of Kumaon University Dr DD Pant. BJP then joined the movement with full force and took over from the UKD to spearhead the Movement.

KASHYAP COMMITTEE AND MUZAFFARNAGAR FIRING, 1994:



- In 1994, chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, Mulayam Singh Yadav who was against the formation of the hill state, set up Kaniskya Committee for evaluating demands for Uttarakhand.
- On June 21, 1994, the committee submitted its report in favour of the new state.
- It was following the committee's report that students launched a massive movement all over the hill region. The movement was joined by the state government employees who went on a strike.
- The agitation turned violent as police opened fire on protesters in Khatima killing many on September 1, 1994 forcing the administration to impose curfew in Haldwani and Khatima. However, the situation turned for worse and the violence spread until Delhi.
- Demand for a separate hill state was pending for nearly 60 years, but it gained momentum after firing on Uttarakhand activists in Muzaffarnagar in 1994. They were going to take part in a protest in Delhi.
- It was after this incident that major political parties, including Congress and BJP, came out in open support of a separate Uttarakhand.

STATEHOOD:

- In 1988, the NDA government sent an ordinance for the formation of Uttaranchal state through the President to the UP assembly. After several amendments, the government headed by Atal Behari Vajpayee led the passage of the Uttar Pradesh Reorganisation Bill-2000 in Parliament. The Central Government fixed 9th November 2000 for the formation of the Uttaranchal state, the 27th state of India. Nityanand Swami was appointed as the first chief minister of the state.
- In 2006, Union Cabinet assented to the four-year-old demand of the Uttaranchal state assembly and leading members of the Uttarakhand movement to rename Uttaranchal state as Uttarakhand.

REASON FOR THE FORMATION:

- **Culture:** "Pahari Identity" was the core ideology behind the Uttarakhand movement. There was little common ground between the culture, traditions, deities, festival and language of Kumaon and Garhwal and that of the rest of Uttar Pradesh.
- **HISTORY:**
 - In the past, Kumaon and Garhwal were ruled by the Panwar, Chand, Sah and Katyur dynasties for many years, whereas the whole of North India, including Uttar Pradesh was under the Mughals. Even under the British Raj, the Tehri Garhwal region was not a part of the Northern Province.



- But after independence, the whole of Uttarakhand became a part of Uttar Pradesh for governance. This was similar to the arrangement when a major part of lower Himachal used to be a part of Punjab.
- **Geography:** The region was geographically unique (93% of the area in the state is hill region and 64% of the total area is forest) as compared to the rest of the Uttar Pradesh (plains).
- **Distance from Capital:** Corroborating the state of affairs in the region, there was time-taking distance from hills to Lucknow in case one has to approach officials in the state capital.
- **Economy:** Lack of development in the area and rising unemployment were other reasons. However, Unlike Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, economic backwardness in Uttarakhand was not much prominent.

JHARKHAND

ABOUT

- The establishment of the State is considered a major achievement for the tribal people who have been agitating for a State of their own for 50 years.
- The movement for a separate state of Jharkhand is traced back to the early 1900s, when Jaipal Singh, an Indian Hockey captain and Olympian, suggested the idea of a separate state consisting of the southern districts of Bihar.
- The idea however became a reality on August 2, 2000, when the Parliament of India passed the Bihar Reorganization Bill to create the state of Jharkhand as the 28th state of India by carving 18 districts out of Bihar to form Jharkhand state on 15 November 2000.

TANA BHAGAT MOVEMENT:

- In 1914 the Tana Bhagat resistance movement started in the region against exploitation of the original inhabitants by non-tribal landowners and money lenders. This movement gained the participation of more than 26,000 adivasis, and eventually merged with Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha and civil Disobedience movement.
- A landmark in the movement was the formation of the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj in 1915, which acquired political overtones with the demand for a sub-state for the adivasis. The demand was however, turned down by the Simon Commission.

ROLE OF ADIVASIS MAHASABHA:

- The next important step was the formation of the Adivasis Mahasabha, which saw non-tribal coming out openly in support of the movement for the creation of a separate



state. Among those who spearheaded the Jharkhand movement was Jaipal Singh an Oxford – returned tribal Christian who helped the regional aspiration gain national recognition.

- The Adivasis Mahasabha was rechristened the Jharkhand party here in 1949 under the leadership. It was with the emergence of this party that the Jharkhand movement became purely political. The Jharkhand party became the largest opposition party in the Bihar Assembly winning all the 32 seats from south Bihar and giving fresh impetus to the government for a separate state. Considering its growing strength, the Congress started efforts for engineering a split in the Jharkhand party. As a consequence, Jaipal Singh joined the Congress with his followers in 1963 and thus the remaining pro-statehood forces steadily eroded in successive elections since 1969.

ROLE OF JHARKHAND MUKTI MORCHA (JMM):

- The movement again received a shot in the arm with the emergence of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in 1972. The growing strength of the JMM was reflected in the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections.
- This led the then prime minister of India Mr. Rajiv Gandhi setting up a Committee on Jharkhand matters (CoJM) to look into the demand for a statehood for the first time.
- In the light of the recommendations by the CoJM and prolonged negotiations led to the setting up of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) in 1995. It was hailed as a major step towards the creation of Jharkhand.
- Buckling under pressure from the JMM members. With whose support the RJD had a majority in the state Assembly, the Bihar government 1947, adopted a resolution for the creation of a separate state.
- Finally, with the support from both RJD and Congress, the ruling coalition at the Centre led by the BJP which made statehood its main plank in the region in successive polls earlier, cleared the Jharkhand Bill thus paving the way for the creation of a separate Jharkhand state.

ANALYSIS:

- The formation of Jharkhand, constituting the 18 districts of southern Bihar, is the fulfillment of a fifty year struggle for creation of a heavily tribal state.



- The boundaries of the new state are less extensive than the originally-conceived Jharkhand, embracing tribal hill areas of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and West Bengal, in addition to southern Bihar.
- **The new state took 35 percent of the population of Bihar-India's second most populous state-but, with its coal mines and steel mills, 65 percent of the state's revenue.**
- The division of Bihar was possible because the state's ruling party, **the Rashtriya Janata Dal (led by Laloo Yadav found it politically advantageous. The RJD had little support in southern Bihar, and the loss of the south (however costly to the state exchequer) enabled Laloo to secure his majority in the state legislature and strengthen his position in the state relative to other parties.**

CHHATTISGARH

EARLY DEMANDS:

- Demand for a separate Chhattisgarh state was first raised in the early twenties. A demand for separate Chhattisgarh was raised in 1924 by the Raipur Congress unit and was also later discussed in the annual session of the Indian Congress at Tripuri.
- In 1955, a demand for a separate state was raised in the Nagpur assembly of the then state of Madhya Bharat.
- When the state Reorganisation Commission was set up in 1954, the demand for a separate Chhattisgarh was put forward to it but this demand was rejected on the grounds that the prosperity of Chhattisgarh would compensate for the poverty of other regions of Madhya Pradesh.
- The eighties were a comparatively quiet phase in the demand for Chhattisgarh.

CREATION OF CHHATTISGARH:

- However, 1990's saw more activity for the creation of a new state. **Chandulal chadrakar formed a political forum known as Chhattisgarh Rajya Nirman Manch.** This forum successfully organized region-wide bandhs and rallies, which were supported by major political parties including the Congress and the BJP.
- The Congress Government of Madhya Pradesh took the first institutional and legislative initiative for the creation of Chhattisgarh. On March 18, 1994, a resolution demanding a separate Chhattisgarh was tabled and unanimously approved by the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha.
- In 1988, the BJP led Union government drafted a bill for the creation of a separate state of Chhattisgarh from sixteen districts of Madhya Pradesh.



- Later the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government sent the redrafted Separate Chhattisgarh Bill for the approval of the Madhya Pradesh Assembly, where it was once again unanimously approved and then it was tabled in the Lok Sabha.
- This Bill for a separate Chhattisgarh was passed in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, paving the way for the creation of a separate state of Chhattisgarh. The President of India gave his consent to The Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Act 2000 on August 25, 2000 and on November 1, 2000, the state was bifurcated.

REASONS FOR CREATION:

- Madhya Pradesh was reorganized with the creation of Chhattisgarh, constituting the seven eastern districts of the old state.
- The new state has a substantial tribal population but the Chhattisgarh movement was not driven by tribal demands, as was the creation of Jharkhand.
- The division here is rooted in caste distinctiveness, with upper peasant Brahmins and Kurmis leading the movement for a separate state.
- There was clear acceptance, within Chhattisgarh and outside that Chhattisgarh had a distinct socio-cultural regional identity that had evolved over centuries.
- Rich, in mineral wealth and an important rice-producer, Chhattisgarh has resented its disproportionate contribution in revenues to any return it has received from the state.

TELANGANA

STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION:

- The seeds of Telangana struggle were sown in 1955 when the **recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission to retain Hyderabad as a separate State went unheeded.**
- Telangana leaders accused the people of Andhra of “colonizing the region” by grabbing their jobs and land, and the government of not investing in the region’s infrastructure.
- **On November 1, 1956, Telangana merged with the state of Andhra,** carved out of erstwhile Madras, to form Andhra Pradesh, a united-state for the Telugu-speaking populace.

1969: RENEWAL OF DEMAND



- The State witnessed a violent ‘separate Telangana’ agitation in 1969 and a ‘separate Andhra’ agitation in 1972. The 1969 stir was primarily started by social groups, students and government employees.
- Following the agitations, **a six-point formula was evolved by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi** for “accelerated development of backward regions and preferential treatment to local candidates in employment.”

FORMATION OF TELANGANA RASHTRA SAMITHI (TRS):

- Thereafter, the Telangana movement took a political turn. In 1947, the BJP supported demand for Telangana State and in the subsequent year, which saw an election, the party promised ‘one vote two states’.
- But the push intensified in 2001, when **K. Chandrasekara Rao (KCR) foated the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) to revive Telangana movement.**
- Many believed it was the **creation of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal (now Uttarakhand)** states that spurred that spurred the demand for Telangana. Others argued that KCR was **furious over denial of Cabinet berth in the Chandrababu Naidu government.**
- TRS started gradually building the movement for a separate state.

TELANGANA MOVEMENT (2009):

- Events started to turn dramatically in favour of Telangana statehood after **Andhra Pradesh chief minister Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy (YSR) died in a helicopter crash in 2009.** YSR’s death left a leadership vacuum in the State Congress party.
- In 2009, Karimnagar district was the main stage for the Telangana statehood movement with the TRS President deciding to take up a fast-unto-death protest demanding Telangana.
- However, KCR who was on his way to launch the fast, was arrested by the police and that led to mass protests with several youngsters committing suicide for the causes.
- In 2010, **a panel headed by Justice (Retd.) B.N. Srikrishna** was formed to “bring about a permanent solution” to the statehood demand. It recommended that “The united Andhra option is being suggested for continuing the development momentum of the three regions”.



- Meanwhile, the struggle continued in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana. The movement claimed hundreds of suicides, strikes, disturbances to public life.

CREATION OF TELENGANA:

- Following the continues agitations, the Congress Working Committee unanimously passed a resolution in 2013 to recommend the formation of a separate Telangana state.
- **The A.P. Reorganisation Bill was passed in 2014**, listing out the specifics involved in the process of bifurcation. Some of the salient features the Bill were:
 - The Bill envisages Hyderabad as the common capital. Centre shall form expert committee to suggest a new capital of Andhra Pradesh within 45 days.
 - 25 Lok Sabha seats to be allocated to residuary Andhra Pradesh and 17 Lok Sabha seats to Telangana. Residuary Andhra Pradesh will get 175 Legislative Assembly seats and Telangana 119.
 - The Polavaram Irrigation Project will be declared as a national project.
- Telangana was officially formed on 2 June 2014 as the 29th and the youngest state of India with K. Chandrashekar Rao getting elected as the first chief minister of the state with TRS securing majority of the votes in the elections.

LINGUISTIC ORGANIZATION OF INDIA

EVOLUTION

BACKGROUND:

- **1920 (Nagpur session):** Provincial congress committee organized on linguistic basis.
- **1928 (Nehru Report):** Provinces should be organized on a linguistic basis.
- **1947-48:**
 - Princely states integrated into provinces.
 - But the provinces were organized by them for their own administrative convenience. So now it was felt that after this integration of states, states needs to be organized on a more scientific lines for the welfare of people.

DAL committee:

- **Also known:** Linguistic provinces committee.
- **Appointed in:** 1948.
- It was appointed to examine the demands for creation of linguistic states.
- **It opposed the creation of linguistic states on the ground of regionalism might threaten nationalism.**



- The report was opposed by supporters of linguistic states and agitations started in many places.
- However, public opinion was not satisfied especially in the South. Therefore, **JVP Committee** was appointed in Dec. 1948 to examine the question afresh. JVP committee also advised against creation of linguistic states.

CREATION OF ANDHRA PRADESH:

- Against the recommendations of Dhar Commission and JVP Committee popular movements for state's reorganization on linguistic basis began all over the country. One such movement was Vishal-Andhra Movement – a movement for separate Andhra; it was led by Potti Sriramulu.
- The vishalandhra movement demanded that Telugu speaking areas of Madras province should be separated and made into a separate Andhra province.
- But the Central govt. vacillated.
- Its leader Potti Sriramulu went on an indefinite fast in oct 1952 and died after 56 days.
- This unleashed unrest and violence in Telugu speaking regions.
- The govt. finally gave in and agreed to the demand for a separate Andhra state which came into existence in 1953. Simultaneously, Tamil Nadu was created as a Tamil speaking state.
- After this demand from other states started coming.
- And for this purpose **States Reorganization Commission** was appointed in 1953 by Nehru.

States Reorganization Commission (Fazl Ali Commission):

- Appointed in 1953; submitted report in 1955.
- **Headed by:** Fazl Ali.
- It broadly **accepted language as the basis of reorganization of states. But it rejected the theory of 'one-language, one-state'.**
- **Factors to be considered:** in it's report, it suggested that the following factors should be taken into account in any scheme of reorganization –
 - Main consideration should be **Linguistic and cultural homogeneity**, (But it rejected the theory of 'one-language, one-state'),
 - Preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of the country in the primary aim
 - **Fiscal, economic and administrative considerations,**
 - Promotion of welfare of the people in each state as well as of the nation as a whole.



- State reorganization act was passed in 1956 to implement its recommendations. This act provided for linguistic reorganization of states.

Subsequent events:

- Kerala was created by merging Malabar district of Tamil Nadu with Travancore-Cochin.
- Certain Kannada speaking areas of states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, and Coorg were added to Mysore district.
- Telugu speaking areas (i.e. Telangana) of Hyderabad state were merged with Andhra state to create Andhra Pradesh.
- The bi-lingual Bombay and Punjab were subsequently bifurcated to form unilingual Maharashtra and Gujarat, in the west in 1960 and Punjab and Haryana in the North in 1966.
- In 1972, UTs of Manipur and Tripura got statehood. Manipur 19th state, Tripura 20th state.
- Through 22nd constitutional Amendment Act, 1969 Meghalaya was given full-fledged statehood and it became 21st state of Indian Union.
- In 1972, UTs of AP and Mizoram were formed out of the state of Assam.

Detail of splitting of Bombay:

- State reorganization commission was against splitting of Bombay.
- In Jan. 1956 (before enactment of SRA, 1956) widespread rioting broke out in Bombay in reaction to SRCs recommendations against splitting Bombay. These protests were led by Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujrat Janata Parishad who demanded division of Bombay state into 2 linguistic states of Maharashtra (for Marathis) and Gujarat (for Gujaratis). However, Gol stuck to its decision and passed SRA in Nov. 1956.
- However, popular agitation continued for nearly 5 years. Gol finally agreed in 1960 to bifurcate Bombay state into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Thus Gujarat became the 15th state.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

Advantages:

1. **Preserving cultural diversity:** Language is the most integral part of culture. By way of supporting local language and culture, it helps to preserve the cultural diversity of that region w/o compromising national unity.
2. **National integration:**



- a. And by preserving cultural diversity, it strengthened territorial integrity of the country.
- b. Otherwise we would have met the fate of our neighbours. Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan on issue of language (Bengali) and Sri Lanka there was ethnic conflict on lines of languages only.
3. **Education:** imparting primary education in the local language has greatly helped in increasing literacy levels.
4. **Polity:**
 - a. It created homogenous administrative and political units which created a sense of security among the people and also ensured political stability at state level as homogenous population is more likely to elect majority govt.
 - b. Democracy can become real only when politics and administration are conducted through language that people can understand.
 - c. It has helped the political process to reach down to the grassroots level.
 - d. It has the advantage of ease for people's interaction with the government.
 - e. Entry of new people – **The path to politics and power was now open to people other than the small English speaking elite.**

Disadvantages:

1. **Regionalism:**
 - a. It has led to emergency of regionalism in Indian politics i.e. sons of the soil theory + demands of creation of more states or secession on line of languages.
 - b. Example – Belgaum border dispute between Karnataka and Maharashtra. (Belgaum, currently a part of Karnataka is claimed by Maharashtra on linguistic grounds).
2. **Hindi language:** It delayed the emergence of Hindi as the official language of India.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE DEBATE

'NATIONAL' LANGUAGE:

- First issue was which one was to be the 'national language' of a multilingual India?
- This issue was resolved when the Constitution makers accepted all the major languages as 'India's national languages'.

'OFFICIAL' LANGUAGE:

- The second issue was which one should be the official language. It was a complex issue because the official work couldn't be carried out in so many languages. There had to be



'one common link language' in which central govt. would carry out its work and also communicates with states.

- So the following 3 candidates were available – English, Hindustani and Hindi
- **English:**
 - Our leaders were against the use of English as the all India medium of communication in free India.
 - Acc. to them masses can grow educationally only through the medium of their own language.
- **Hindustani:**
 - Nehru and Gandhi also opted for Hindustani as the official language of India. It was because it was the most widely spoken language + Hindustani, being an amalgam of Hindu and Urdu, would strike a golden mean between the two and could unite Hindu with Muslim.
 - But once Partition was announced and Pakistan made Urdu as their national language, Hindi speakers in India branded Urdu as a symbol of secession and advocated Hindi in Devanagari script to be made the national language.
 - As a result, the case for Hindustani got killed.
- **Hindi:** Hindi was now the sole contender for being the official language of Union and the link language. However, if Hindustani was not acceptable to South Indians, Hindi was even less so. Their argument was:
 - This would give disproportionate advantage to north Indians in central education institutions.
 - This would give disproportionate advantage to north Indians in central civil services.
 - In fact in social, economic, administrative and political spheres, they would be at disadvantage.
 - Hindi is also less developed as compared to other languages. Even Ambedkar rejected the case for framing Indian Constitution in Hindi for the reason that the technicalities in the Constitution could be better taken care of by framing it in English.
 - They preferred English as an official (and link) language of Union.

CONSTITUTION:

- The Constituent Assembly finally arrived at a compromise. The Constitution **U/A 343** provided that:
 - Official (and not national) language of Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.



- For 15 years since the commencement of Constitution, English shall continue to be used for all official purposes of Union. At the expiration of that period, English shall cease to be used for official purposes.
- However, Parliament was empowered to provide for the use of English even after 1965.
- The Constitution makers had hoped that by 1965:
 - The Constitution had laid upon Gol the duty to promote the spread of Hindi and provided for the appointment of a commission and a JPC to review the progress in this respect. With the efforts of Gol, the education of Hindi would spread and resistance to it would weaken and even disappear.
 - Gol was also duty bound to:
 - Overcome the weaknesses of Hindi.
 - Make it a simple standard language so that it would get wide acceptance.
 - Secure its enrichment by drawing upon forms, styles, expressions from other languages in the 8th Schedule.

TRANSITION PERIOD:

However, the chances of Hindi's success as the sole official language were spoilt.

- Hindi protagonists, instead of taking a slow and gradual approach towards allowing the non-Hindi speakers to learn and accept Hindi, preferred imposition. In 1957, Lohia's Samyukta Social Party and the Jan Sangh launched a militant movement for the imposition of Hindi. The movement continued for 2 years.
- Instead of developing a simple standard language, Hindi protagonists tried to Sanskritize Hindi in the name of 'purity' of language. This made it more difficult for non-Hindi speakers to learn the new version.

COMMITTEES:

- And all this led to opposition by non-Hindi speaking regions. So in this background govt. constituted the first Official Language Commission in 1955. The commission recommended a number of steps to eventually replace English with Hindi. But the report was not unanimous and had dissenting notes from non-Hindi speaking Members of the Commission from Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.
- The report was further reviewed by a parliamentary committee which also recommended that Hindi should be made the primary official language with English as a subsidiary one.
- To implement the recommendations of JPC, Gol took a series of steps to promote Hindi:



- Setting up of Central Hindi Directorate.
- Compulsory training of Central govt. employees in Hindi.
- Translation of major texts of laws into Hindi.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT, 1963:

- Now all these steps (i.e. imposition, Sanskritisation, committee's report and govt steps), aroused the suspicion and anxiety of non-Hindi people.
- Allaying fears of non-Hindi people, Nehru passed **Official Languages Act, 1963**. The Act provided that English 'might' continue to be used for official purposes of Gol and for communication between Centre and States, along with Hindi, for an indefinite period.

ANTI HINDI MOVEMENT:

- However, the following 2 developments increased the apprehensions of non-Hindi people.
 - Death of Nehru in June 1964. Nehru had clarified that 'may' meant 'shall'. However, after his death, pro-Hindi Congress politicians voiced that it actually meant 'may not'.
 - Insensitivity of LB Shastri towards non-Hindi speakers. Shastri was also committed to make Hindi the sole official language of India.
- As a result, a strong anti-Hindi movement began in TN. The movement was led by DMK (its leader was CN Annadurai).
- Students joined the movement in large numbers. They feared that imposition of Hindi would put them at disadvantage in, among other things, civil services.
- They raised and popularized the slogan '**Hindi never. English ever.**'
- The protests involved strikes, processions, bandhs and dharnas.
- The Congress govt. instead of negotiating with non-Hindi leaders attempted to suppress the movement.
- On 26th Jan. 1965 few students immolated themselves, claiming to have done so in the cause of Tamil. This sparked several more violent protests.
- Eventually, the Union govt. was forced to reverse its stand. Finally, Shastri agreed to continue the use of English, along with Hindi, for official purposes of Gol and as a link language.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT AMENDED:

Indira Gandhi, in 1967, moved an amendment to 1963 Act providing for the following –



- Use of English would continue until a resolution is passed by all State Legislature providing for the discontinuance of use of English for official purposes of Gol and link language.
- Public Service Examinations were to be conducted in English and Hindi and in all the regional languages provided in 8th Schedule provided that candidates should have additional knowledge of English or Hindi.
- States were to adopt a **3 language formula** acc. to which:
 - In non-Hindi states, mother tongue, Hindi and English was to be taught in schools.
 - In Hindi states, apart from Hindi and English, a non-Hindi language – preferably South Indian language – was to be taught in schools.
- The above solution was widely acceptable.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

- Since 1967, the problem of Official Language gradually disappeared from Indian political scene, thus demonstrating the capacity of Indian political system to deal with contentious problems of a democratic basis.
- Hindi has been making rapid progress in non-Hindi states through education, trade, tourism, films, radio and television.
- Use of English has been spreading fast, including in Hindi states. This is visible from the number of private English schools, increasing circulation of English newspapers, spread of English movies etc.

TAMIL NATIONALISM

BACKGROUND:

- The concept of “Tamil nationalism” was initiated at the end of the 19th century mainly to protect the separate identity of the Tamil language. When a false impression was created that the pan Indian culture was Sanskrit, a section of educated Tamils asserted the point that Tamil culture was distinct from Sanskrit culture and demanded its independent recognition.
- This was followed by the **non-Brahmin movement** of the non-Brahmin upper castes (who identified Brahmins with Sanskrit) against Brahmin monopoly in education and employment in the first three decades of the 20th century and by **E.V. Ramasamy Periyar’s Self-Respect Movement since 1925 and the Dravidian movement thereafter.**

TIMELINE:

The Dravidian nationalist movement may be summarized as follows:



- The non-Brahmin movement of the Justice Party was founded in 1916. The Justice Party rose to power in the 1920 elections to the Madras Legislative Council through the “communal electorates”-a major outcome of its non-Brahmin movement.
- The **Self-Respect movement was founded by Periyar** in 1925 with his long-term goals of establishing a rational egalitarian society.
- C.N. Annadurai accepted Periyar as his leader in 1935. They worked together for the next 14 years when they changed the course of Tamil culture, politics and society, with Periyar more on the campaign side and Anna on the culture side. Anna took over as general secretary of the party in 1940;
- Anna and Periyar together transformed the Justice Party into the Dravidar Kazhagam (D.K., or Dravidar Federation) in 1944, laying the foundations of Tamil cultural and political nationalism in the province.
- 1949 witnessed rift between Anna and Periyar when Anna left Periyar and the D.K. and founded the DMK (Dravidar Munnetra Kazhagam, or Dravidra Progressive Federation).
- Anna was elected to the Rajya Sabha in 1962, even as the DMK graduated to become the principal opposition party in the Madras legislature. In his maiden speech in the Rajya Sabha he expounded his **goal of an independent Dravida Nadu (Dravidian country), which Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru Rejected in the House later;**
- DMK rose to power in 1967 and after he became Chief Minister, he used power to achieve the goals of the Dravidian movement, of Dravida Nadu.
 - He named Madras State Tamil Nadu,
 - Enacted the progressive legalization of self-respect marriages, which was central to Periyar’s Self-Respect Movement,
 - Encouraged inter-caste marriages by awarding gold medals to such couples, and,
 - Abolished Hindi as a mandatory subject in government schools.
- Anna’s DMK pioneered the advent of regional parties in India’s polity, providing a safe and democratic outlet for regional aspirations within a united India and the espousal and accommodation of linguistic cultural nationalism in India’s complex plural ethnic and religious mosaic.
- Periyar’s D.K. and Annadurai’s DMK were genuine Dravidian parties. The general perception is that they treated all non-Brahmin castes with equal respect. But after the demise of Annadurai, the DMK continued to be dominated by Karunanidhi and his clan.
- After the breakup of the DMK in 1972 when film actor-turned-politician M.G. Ramachandran formed the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhaga (ADMK), later renamed the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), the political landscape of Tamil Nadu spawned many new parties, each for the promotion of a single caste, manily too have



- Public office,
- Share in the State's caste-based power play and
- Larger slice of the cake in its caste-based reservation politics.

PUNJABI NATIONALISM

PUNJABI SUBA MOVEMENT (CREATION OF PUNJAB)

- Post – independence, Punjab was a tri-lingual state – Punjabi, Hindi and Pahari.
- Now is the Punjabi speaking part, Akali Dal under the leadership of Master Tara Singh launch Punjabi Suba movement during the 1950s and 1960s for a separate Punjabi state.
- They argued that since Sikhs follow a separate religion and speak different language, they should get a separate state.
- Akali Dal's strategy during the Punjabi Suba movement included
 - Constitutional means like memoranda, rallies and marches;
 - Penetration into the Congress organization in order to influence the party in favour of a separate state; and,
 - Agitational means which included marches to shrines, intimidation and force.
- Nehru refused to concede the demand because of its communal underpinnings. He felt that it was a communal demand dressed up as a language plea.
- However in mid 60's following developments occurred
 - Pahari speaking district of Kangra was merged with HP (then a UT).
 - Eastern Hindi (& Hindu) majority areas constituted a new state (17th) of Haryana.
 - Left behind was Punjab that had majority of both Punjabi speakers and Sikhs.
 - Chandigarh was made a UT and a joint capital of Punjab and Haryana.
- And that's how Punjab was created as separate state on November 1, 1966.

PRESENT STATUS:

- Although agricultural growth has slowed but industrial and trade sector are flourishing and thus Khalistan problem has been solved to a huge extent.
- There are isolated members even now and the problem ainly emanates from sections living abroad. **(See Referendum 2020 topic given later)**
- Sikh youth are being trained in ISI facilities in Pakistan. Sikh youth based and settled in Europe and US are also being motivated in this regard.



- A large quantity of arms, ammunition and explosives, including RDX have managed to find its way into Punjab through the borders.
- Pro-Khalistan terrorist outfits namely, Babbar Khalsa International, Sikh Youth Federation, Khalistan Commando Force and Khalistan Zindabad Force continue to be listed as Terrorist Organizations in the schedule to the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Act, 2004.

KHALISTAN MOVEMENT:

- The Khalistan movement is a Sikh separatist movement, which seeks to create a separate country called Khalistan (“The Land of the Pure”) in the Punjab region of South Asia to serve as a homeland for Sikhs.
- The territorial definition of the proposed country Khalistan consists of both the Punjab, India along with Punjab, Pakistan and includes parts of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Rajasthan.

SUMMARY TIMELINE:

- Operation Blue Star was carried out between June 1 and June 8, 1984, in Amritsar. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, ordered the military operation to remove Sikh militants who were accumulating weapons in the Harmandir Sahib Complex (Golden Temple).
- Official reports put the number of deaths among the Indian army at 83 and the number of civilian deaths at 492, though independent estimates ran much higher.

JARNAIL SINGH BHINDRANWALE:

- Operation Blue Star took birth after the rise of Khalistan movement in India. The Khalistan movement was a political Sikh nationalist movement which aimed at creating an independent state for Sikhs inside the current North-Western Republic of India.
- Even though the Khalistan movement started in the early 1940s and 1950s, it gained popularity between 1970s and 1980s.
- Bhindranwale was the leader of Damdami Taskal and was one of the main reasons behind Operation Blue Star. As a leader, Bhindranwale had a influence of Sikh youth. He persuaded many people to follow Sikh rules and tenets.
- Bhindranwale in the past had made his political claims very clear. He wanted the Indian government to pass the Anandpur Resolution, and thereby agree to the formation of a separate state of Khalistan for Sikhs.



- Since 1982, the radical leader of Sikhism had managed to gain enough support for his cause and by mid-1983 had set up a base inside the Golden Temple Complex, with ammunition and his followers.
- Operation Blue star specifically was aimed to eliminate Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple complex and regain the control over Harmandir Sahib.

LIST OF OPERATIONS:

- **OPERATION SUNDOWN:** It was the aborted mission which was planned by the RAW agency to abduct Bhindranwale.
- **OPERATION BLUE STAR:** It was divided into two parts:
 - **Operation Metal:** It was limited to Golden Temple but it also led to Operation Shop – the capturing of suspects from outskirts of Punjab.
 - **Operation Woodrose:** It was launched throughout Punjab. The operation was carried out by Indian Army, using tanks, artillery, helicopters and armoured vehicles.
- **OPERATION BLACK THUNDER:**
 - Operation Black Thunder was the second phase of Operation Blue Star. The first phase was carried out on April 30, 1986, while the second Operation Black Thunder began on May 9, 1988.
 - It was carried out by Black Cat commandos of National Security Guards (NSG) to remove Sikh militants from the Golden Temple.

CRITICISMS:

- **Timing:**
 - Operation Blue Star was planned on a Sikh religious day – martyrdom day of Guru Arjan Dev, the founder of the Harmandir Sahib. Sikhs from all over the world visit the Temple on this day. The government is in turn blamed for the inflated number of civilian casualties by choosing to attack on that day.
- **Media censorship:**
 - Before the attack by the Army, a media blackout was imposed in Punjab. The main towns in Punjab were put under curfew, transportation was banned, a news blackout was imposed, and Punjab was “cut off from the outside world”.
 - The press criticized these actions by government as an “obvious attempt to attack the temple without the eyes of the foreign press on them.” The media blackout throughout Punjab resulted in spread of rumours.
- **Human rights:**



- The militants used pilgrims trapped inside the temple as human shields, to prevent the attack by the army. The civilians were prevented from leaving the complex during the ease in curfew. This led to large number of civilian deaths.
- There were also accusations of highhandedness by the Army and allegations of human rights violations by security forces in Operation Blue Star.
- **Strategy:**
 - Five years later, the Army's strategy was criticized by comparing it with the blockade approach taken by KPS Gill in Operation Black Thunder, when Sikh militants had again taken over the temple complex. It was said that Operation Blue Star could have been averted by using similar blockade tactics.

AFTERMATH:

- Though the Golden Temple was restored and made free of militants and arms, the operation was criticized by Sikhs the world over, since it was carried out the their holiest site of worship. The military assault led to tensions across members of Sikh community worldwide.
- Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards on October 31, 1984, for giving permission for the Operation Blue Star which triggered the 1984 anti-Sikh riots.
- The wide speared killing of Sikhs, principally in the national capital Delhi but also in other major cities in North India, led to major divisions between the Sikhs community and the Indian Government. The 1985 bombing of Air India Flight 182 is thought to have been a revenge action.

INDIRA GANDHI ASSASSINATION:

- Indira Gandhi, India's first woman prime Minister was assassinated on October 31, 1984, by two of her bodyguards at her residence in Safdargunj Road, New Delhi while she was on her way to be interviewed.
- Indira Gandhi was assassinated few months after she ordered the Operation Blue Star, which left the Golden Temple in Amritsar heavily damaged.
- Two of her bodyguards – Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, fired 33 bullets at her from a Sten gun and a revolver. Beant Singh was killed within minutes of attack and Satwant Singh was arrested by other bodyguards. He was then sentenced to death along with conspirator Kehar Singh on 6 January 1989.
- Beant Singh and Satwant Singh were declared martyrs of Sikhism in 2008 by Amritsar-based Akal Takht considered to be the highest temporal seat of Sikhism.



ANTI-SIKH RIOTS 1984:

- The anti-Sikh massacre of 1984 refers to a series of organized pogroms against members of the Sikh community across India by anti-Sikh mobs in response to the assassination of then prime minister (PM) Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards at her residence.
- After the assassination of Indira Gandhi on October 31, 1984, anti-Sikh riots erupted in some areas for several days, killing more than 3,000 Sikhs in New Delhi and an estimated 8,000 across India.
- Many Congress leaders were believed to be behind the 1984 anti-Sikh massacre. Several cases were registered against congress leaders HKL Bhagat, Sajjan Kumar, Dharamdas Shastri, Lalit Maken, Babu Ram Sharma and Jagdish Tytler for alleged criminal conspiracy to engineer riots.
- Human rights organizations and newspapers across India believed that the massacre was organized. The riots are cited as a reason to support the creation of a Sikh homeland in India, often called Khalistan.

ROLE OF KPS GILL IN ENDING KHALISTAN INSURGENCY:

- KPS Gill, the 1957 batch Indian Police Service officer from the Assam cadre began his first stint in Punjab in 1985. He was brought in as the DGP for the first time in May 1988 after the civilian killings in the state had peaked.
- He achieved immediate success through Operation Black Thunder which completely liberated the Golden Temple from the militants without the kind of killings that Operation Blue Star witnessed. He ordered water and electricity to be cut off and finally forced the terrorists to surrender in the full glare of television cameras.
- While in 1989 there was a relative decline in terrorism, the statistics rose in 1990. He was transferred to Delhi to facilitate negotiations with Khalistan groups in December 1990. It was in 1992 when militancy in Punjab peaked the most, with more than 5,000 reported killed.
- **In 1992, the Indian government, “intent on retaking Punjab from terrorism”, appointed Gill as Chief of Police in Punjab.** The Police and army instituted a crackdown, and in 1993 the reported death toll was less than 500.
- In 1993, The New York Times reported, the people of Punjab no longer feared the Sikh “rebels or gangs”, but instead feared the army and police.
- It is said that Gill was having a “goal to eliminate, not merely arrest, militant Sikh leaders and members. KPS Gill also **expanded a bounty system of rewards for Police** who killed



known militants, a practice that encouraged the Police to resort to extrajudicial executions and disappearances.

- India's central government created a special fund to finance Punjab's death squads, to pay the network of informants who provided information about militants and those suspected of supporting militants, and to reward police who captured and killed them.
- **Under Gill the scope of tracking down and arresting militants went beyond Punjab to other parts of India.** There were several reports during 1993 that Punjab Police "hit teams" were pursuing alleged Sikh militants in other parts of India. He was called a "supercop" as a result of his work for restoring normalcy in Punjab.
- Thus the insurgency gradually faded out in the 1990s due to several reasons.
 - Heavy police crackdown on the separatists under the leadership of Punjab Police chief KPS Gill.
 - The confidence building measures adopted by the Sikh community later on.
 - Lack of a clear political concept of Khalistan even to the extremist supporters. It only represented their revulsion against the Indian establishment and did not find any alternative to it.
- The present situation in Punjab is generally regarded as peaceful, however, information is surfacing about the revival of the Khalistan Movement by Sikh extremist groups operating from other countries.

REFERENDUM 2020?

- Referendum 2020 is being spearheaded by a New York-based organization called Sikhs for Justice (SFJ).
- The referendum has called upon Sikhs across the world to vote in favour of Khalistan in "Indian occupied Punjab". It has declared 2020 as the year for a referendum for a separate Sikh nation.
- Punjab Leader of Opposition Sukhpal Khaira has said that though he does not support the "Referendum 2020" campaign, the demand for an independent Sikh homeland stems from numerous grievances of the community from the unfair treatment at the time of Partition to Operation Blue Star and the massacre of 1984.
- **Incidence of revival:**
 - In April 2017, Canadian PM Trudeau addressed a parade for "Khalsa Day" in Toronto, an occasion where Sikh militants were glorified by the organizers.
 - There's been anger in India, too for efforts to have the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 designated a 'genocide' by Canada's parliament.
 - Not just abroad, but within Punjab too, the influential Sikh Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee has recently decided to allow the photographs of Bhindranwale and



others killed with him during Operation Blue Star to be displayed at the memorial inside the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

REASONS FOR REVIVAL BY SIKH DIASPORA

- The Sikh Diaspora has always maintained a solid connection with Punjab since the first migrants left the Indian subcontinent in the 19th century through economic and emotional support.
- However, after the 1980s (due to Operation Blue Star and anti-Sikh riots in 1984) the Diaspora also became involved in Punjab's political affairs.
- As elsewhere in a vast multicultural country like India, regional sentiments tend to come before national sentiment, and Sikhs also see themselves as definitively more Punjabi than support.
- International organizations like World Sikh Organisations and the Council of Khalistan have also played a key role in promoting the cause of Khalistan.
- Espousing the Sikh cause in countries with Sikh Diaspora is a big money spinner for political parties.
- Also most of the Sikh migration to these countries happened in the 1970s and 1980s and those who left Punjab at the peak of militancy continue to believe that the situation here is the same.
- In Punjab, an unsustainable agro-economic model is depleting subsoil water, creating indebtedness and rural distress and poor job growth for youth. This creates a fertile ground for mobilization.
- Also there is anxiety among the Sikhs due to the perceived rise of Hindutva.
- Money coming from gurdwaras abroad has provided much needed fuel to separatist efforts in Punjab.
- Not surprisingly, Pakistan, which has been sheltering many senior khalistan leaders for a long time, has also sensed an opportunity.

WAY AHEAD:

- Take steps to counter drug abuse and agrarian distress in Punjab along with countering mobilization over social media.
- Money-laundering and Round Tripping steps should be strengthened. Proactively engage with foreign governments with a view to facilitate and enhance the exchange of information under Double Taxation Avoidance Agreements (DTAAs)/Tax Information Exchange Agreements (TIEAs)/Multilateral Conventions.





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