CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

There has been a growing academic and political concern with the problem of regionalism since the end of the Second World War. Today there is hardly any country including the developed ones which has escaped this problem. Even the states widely considered to have passed the threshold of national integration, like Great Britain, the USA, France, Belgium, Italy and Canada, have been suddenly confronted with basic issues relating to the fundamental unity and integrity of their constituent national components. On the other side, the socialist world including the Soviet Union, Poland and Yugoslavia, which claimed to have resolved the complex "national question" by eliminating national oppression, ensuring equality among various nationalities and other ethnic groups, and creating conditions for their free development, have suddenly been threatened by a resurgence

of regional identities to the extent that the very existence of their political systems has been put into doubt. The situation is still worse in the old societies and the new states of Asia and Africa which, as Rupert Emerson has pointed out "are not yet nations in being but only nations in hope." 2

The older States of Latin America, which have had more than a century to establish some form of accommodation with the forces of socioeconomic change, in fact, tried to consolidate their real independence after the collapse of colonial system and the change in the global realignment of political forces. Many of these countries like Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Peru and Ecuador suffer from the lack of


feeling of national identity on the part of the inhabitants of the whole territory.  

What follows from the above arguments is that the emergence of regional consciousness or concern with regional identity, appears to be a nearly universal phenomena, across Europe and North America, indeed around the globe. Put differently, the regional problems of each country have their own specific character; and in each period of historical development they may assume a different significance and content.

In order to understand the problem in a right perspective, a brief look at the problem of regionalism in various countries where this phenomenon is more alarming, is desirable. Such an analysis becomes more important at the present point of time when regionally based ethnic, tribal, cultural or religious sub-groups, have begun to make demands which at time border on separation. This form of group mobilization has wide spread political repercussions for a world in which, according to one survey, only 9 per cent of all states can be considered homogenous from ethnic point of view and nearly 40 per cent are divided into at least five major ethnic components.  


Let us first take the case of developed Western Countries. In the United Kingdom regionalism has re-emerged in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, which were once considered politically as well as economically integrated with England. The political expression of alienation of these regions from England can be seen in the shift of voters to the Labour Party after the displacement of religion by class started in 1890's and in the emergence of the Scottish Nationalist Party after world War II. The guerrilla struggle being carried on by the Irish National Army in Northern Ireland is an extreme form of this alienation.

Regionalism is not altogether unknown in the United States of America. The vastness of its size and multiplicity of cultural groups have engendered regional cleavages on many occasions. The civil war between the northern and southern states which was fought for a long period of time was one of the most remarkable inter-regional cleavages in the history of the USA.

The south still retains a distinct regional flavour distinct from the north. The German immigrants have imparted a distinct cultural touch to the life and politics in Nebraska and two Dakotas.


In Spain the problem of regionalism is still more alarming and the integrity of the country remains contested because of the conflict between economically dominant regions of Basques and Catalans on the one hand and the politically more dominated Castile region on the other. Each of these regions retains many of the institutions and practices they had when the crown of Castile ruled the whole Iberian Peninsula.  

In France, in spite of the polarization of politics between left and right which has helped to moderate the process of the emergence of regional consciousness, in many less developed regions like Lorraine, Occitania, Corsica, and Catholic regions like Brittany, regionalism is re-emerging and getting a foothold.  

In Italy also the conflict between northern regions like Lombardy and Piedmont which took the lead in industrialization and the relatively less developed southern areas, especially the Frulia, though not so strong yet, has definitely

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some impact on the Italian politics.  

In West Germany though politics is dominated by issues that cut across all regions, Bavaria still retains the strong regional identity and is conscious of economic and political dominance by the Rhine-Westphalia region. The Union of the two Germanys after 45 years of separate and mutually hostile existence is likely to add another dimension to regionalism in United Germany.

At its Separation from Holland in 1830, Belgium was dominated, both politically and economically, by the French speaking Wallonia. But the developmental process changed the whole structuring of society in the 20th century, when the Flanders acquired a leading role in the economic development, though the former region still controls the political power. Hence, due to the fact that the economy and the polity are dominated by two different regions, the regional conflict is a natural consequences of such a configuration of political and economic forces.


The regional problem has been very much on the surface in Yugoslavia since its creation on December 1, 1978 when the kingdoms of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with their distinct and separate historical experiences were integrated. President Tito was temporarily able to moderate and reconcile the differences among the various regional groups. But in the late sixties and early seventies, the traditional conflict between the Croats and the Serbs, has surfaced again and the attempt by the Croats to secure greater economic and cultural autonomy is an indicator of the future trend in the post-Tito Yugoslav policies. The recent changes in Yugoslavia as a result of perestroika have further complicated the regional conflicts in Yugoslavia.

In Canada, the problem of regionalism is very serious in Quebec where economy is controlled by the Anglophones but numerically the region is dominated by Francophones. The Quebecois have charged the Ontario government controlled by the Anglophones for the bias in the industrial development and consider the cause of their economic problems as a consequence of cultural division of the country and Anglophone dominance.

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The question of regional identity in the Soviet Union involves non-Russian groups which constitute more than half the Soviet population residing in different geographical regions. These include small tribal groups in remote areas, non-western peoples with ancient literary and artistic traditions such as the Uzbeks, large Slavic groups such as the Ukrainians, small but highly educated and advanced populations as in the Baltic state which are closer to central Europe or Scandinavia than to Moscow. The Soviet Union claimed to have resolved the vexed problem by granting cultural autonomy to these regions but the unilateral declaration of independence by Armenia and Ukraine threaten the unity of the Soviet State. 14

Regionalism is one of the most common features of the politics of most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries where lack of integration is evident among the several religious cultural, ethnic or tribal groups which are generally regionally based and are relatively autonomous, self-contained and traditionally hostile towards one another. Frequently, these groups are stratified within the state along

social, economic and political lines, further complicating the problem of nation-building because the different identities both cross cut and converge. Above all, the problem of regionalism also assumes special importance in the context of the third world countries because of the low level of socioeconomic development, the incompleteness of the processes of class formation, the mixed character of the economy characteristic of most of the developing countries, the continuing dominance of foreign monopolies and the retention of many of the archaic forms and traditional institutions of pre-capitalist society. Hence a brief survey of the problem in the setting of the third world becomes all the more important.

It is in Africa, with its still fluid lines of community, that the emergence of national consciousness is most likely to cause a search for distinct identities which might bring drastic changes in any presently foreseeable political ordering of the continent. To counterbalance pan-Africanism on the one side, at the other side are found the surviving realities of tribal and other primordial communities which are intimately linked to the African past.

James S. Coleman, while surveying the emergence of political parties in Africa, observed a tendency for broad and loosely knit nationalist coalitions to disintegrate into religious, tribal, or socio-economic parties as independence approached. The process of democratization which was initiated in most of these newly emerged nations brought increasing
numbers of people into the political arena by mobilising the masses both in urban and rural areas. The result was that with the advance of mass Nationalist movements primordial communities also gained importance which was earlier denied to them and dying tribalism got extra strength. Moreover with the impact of modernization and emergence of many urban centres, the process of detribalization also gained momentum. It resulted in the loss of the feelings of security among the uprooted masses and their was a search for other forms of community which would fill the void created by the situation. Hence the formation of regional groupings which Georges Balandier termed 'association d'originaires' can be seen in this context of the sweeping influence of modernization.

In many African states regionalism has taken the form of 'tribalism' a permanent feature of the politics of the continent. The regional factor in Uganda is playing no minor role in its political system which is inhabited by 28 ethnic (tribal) groups. The problem assumed crucial dimension in May 1966 when some feudal elements of the former kingdom of Buganda, economically the most developed part of the country called for the secession of this kingdom from Uganda. Though this revolt was suppressed the situation still remains tense.

16. Quoted in Rupert Smerson, From Empire to Nation, op.cit., p.352.

The regional conflict in the Republic of Zaire is between the more developed people of Bantu tribe who constitute an overwhelming majority and the people living in the northern and north-eastern areas which differ from them in language, and in the level of socioeconomic, cultural, and ethnic development. 18

The problem in Congo is more complex due to the peculiar ethnic structure and the considerable differences in the level of development of different regions and the "devide and rule" policy of imperialism which succeeded in splitting the anti-imperialist movement into inter-tribal struggle. The result was that immediately after the proclamation of independence, secession of the Katanga region was declared and similar attempts were also made in Kasai, Kivu and Eastern Province. 19

In Sierra Leone, the Mende people of southern region occupy a dominant position in both party and government bodies which has evoked a hostile attitude particularly among the Temne northerners, who complain of the predominant position of Mende. 20


In Chad the conflict can be seen between the Bagirmi and other people who live in the Southern areas— in the Mesopotamia of the Shari and Logone rivers on the one hand and the Negroid people of the northern part of the country who differ from the southern in terms of occupation, way of life and customs. The uprising in June 1965 against the discriminatory policy in favour of south is an indicator of the antagonism of the northerns against the southerns.²¹

Let us take the case of Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, there is not only a conflict between eastern and western regions occupied by different ethnic (tribal) groups but intra-regional conflicts are equally evident. The political expression of the macro level conflict between East and West can be seen in the dissatisfaction with the major political parties of the country, the National convention of Nigerian citizens dominated by Ibo community of the east and the increasing strength of the Action Group, the political party of Western Nigeria. Within each region there are also conflicts between sub-regional groups consisting of the Ibo, and Efic and Ibibio in the eastern Nigeria and Yoruba and Edo in the Western Nigeria.²²

In Ghana the state had to forge bonds of cohesion, unity and identity among geographically divided ethnic groups

²¹ R.N.Ismagilova, op. cit., p.66.
which during the pre-colonial period, had comprised more than two hundred states without having shared common political structure and spoke 34 distinct and mutually unintelligible languages. The problem of integration became all the more complex due to the uneven impact of British colonialism. The numerous states comprising Ghana were occupied in stages resulting in the regionally based ethnic conflict between the groups inhabiting southern regions (Fanti, Ashanti, Akim, Boron and other sub-groups who follow Akan heritage) on the one hand and the people inhabiting the Northern and Upper regions (Mole-Dagbani, Ga-Adangble and Eve) on the other. Moreover, the feeling of distinct identity is emerging in Tongoland and the formation of the Tongoland Congress for the unification of Eveland which was divided by Britain and France, is a manifestation of their feelings. 23

In Philippines the regional problem has found its expression in the religious conflict between the Christian dominated north and the Moro dominated Southern islands. The formation of Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to realise the demand for separate Moroland is posing a challenge for nation-builders of Philippines. 24


The break up of Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 provides a very good example of how the regional economic imbalance supported by the linguistic and cultural differences can undermine the integrative role of religion. Even in the present day Pakistan different regionally based ethnic groups, namely, Pakhtuns, Baluchis, Sindhis and Punjabis have distinctive racial, linguistic and cultural identities. If these groups are not accommodated within the existing framework, the regional movements like the Jive Sindh can develop in other area of the country also.

The regional problem in the island of Sri Lanka is due to the plurality of language, religion and ways of life coupled with the alienation and, to some extent isolation of many groups of people from one another. But the most important conflict at present is between the Sinhalese majority community and the Tamil minority, who are culturally, linguistically and religion-wise distinct from each other. By and large the two groups inhabit different geographical regions. The current army struggle by the LTTE for the separate Elam is a matter of great concern for those who stands

for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.  

The Republic of Sudan, the largest country in Africa and lying astride the umbilical cord of the Nile, also suffers from the "southern problem" posed by the largely animistic christian Negroid tribes of the southern Sudan who find it increasingly intolerable to live under the rule of the more populous, better educated, arabic peoples of the North. Largely ignored, and intermittently persecuted, the Southern peoples have taken to violence several times to dramatize their dissatisfaction and the simmering revolt in the South has not only plagued every Sudanese regime since 1954, but also it has influenced the increasing polarization of Arab and Negro groups in many of the countries in the vast Savanna regions of north central Africa.  

In Peru and Ecuador, the conflict between the "coast" regions and the less developed "Sierra" regions is a major

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element of the national political pattern. In Argentina there is a clash of interests between the land owners and the church in the "interior" regions which have been pitted against the developed metropolitan region of Greater Buenos Aires. Some pattern is evident in Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil.

However, peculiar combination of geographical factors interacting with historical forces have marked out India as a distinct socio-political entity. Because of the multiethnic character of Indian polity, many western scholars have raised doubts about the very survival of India as a nation state. Observations such as; India is "a society of the same magnitude as our western civilization..... a world in herself", "There is not and never was an India, no Indian Nation, no 'people of India'"; and India is a mere geographical expression like Europe or Africa, lead to the pessimistic conclusion about the gravity of the situation.


The development of regional forces in India is a natural consequence of the given tremendous heterogeneity of Indian Society which is "a continent of many communities united through shared experiences but powerfully motivated by parochial and regional considerations." Hence, this problem can be seen as one dimension of the unresolved "national question" which, of late, has assumed mounting importance in the context of regionalization of Indian politics particularly after 1967. This process of regionalization is both the cause and effect of indigenization and democratization of politics, especially at the provincial level which gave "a strong impetus to the development of diverse regional political cultures." The political manifestation of such cultures is evident in the emergence of regionally based political parties and movements amidst a multiplicity of political identities at the different levels of Indian polity.

Moreover, India, unlike many developing countries, sought to solve the problem of transforming the socially and politically fragmented society into a comprehensive whole, without accomplishing the unfinished task of 'democratic Revolution,' by adopting a peculiar and unprecedented model of simultaneously achieving the goals of nation-


building and modernization and try to create a "comprehensive framework of consensus" by following the 'democratic' path without dealing with distributive justice, which it was presumed, would automatically follow. Undoubtedly the Indian political system is passing through a 'multiple crisis stage' and simultaneously facing all the crises such as "crisis of identity, legitimacy, penetration participation and distribution". 35

This strategy of gradual and necessarily uneven development which suited the system created regional awareness among the masses and new groups emerged at different levels, which in a situation of scarcity of resources resulted in the competition among regional groups to get the maximum share of the limited economic cake produced by the modernization. 36

This competition, a by-product of modernization, resulted in the politicization of primordial "givens" like caste, language, religion and region, which in many cases superimposed one another. In a society characterised by diverse regional political cultures these givens of social existence become the symbols of groups identity. 37


manifestation of this competition is evident in the emergence of regionally based political parties and movements amidst the multiplicity of political identities at the different levels, of the Indian polity. This trend can be noticed in many state of the country from Jammu & Kashmir in the North to the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in the South which have been ruled by regional parties. Other regional parties like the Akali Dal in Punjab, the Rashtrya Congress in Gujarat, the Kranti Ranga in Karnataka, the Tripura Upjati in Tripura and the Lok Dal in Uttar Pradesh and different splinter groups of the congress in many states like the Kerala Congress, the Utkal Congress, the Bangla Congress and other regionally based political parties operating in North-Eastern region, have played and are playing crucial role in their respective state politics. 38

The problem of transforming culturally and socially discrete groups together into a single territorial unit and creating a sense of loyalty to it is not confined to the national level only. A closer analysis of State politics in India reveals the existence of the problem at the state level as well. Within most of the states regionally based divisions exist which find their expression in different forms based upon language, caste&religion depending upon the suitability at any particular point of time. 39


To sum up the whole argument we can conclude that culturally India is a continent rather than a country. The rich myriad of languages and dialects, foods and dresses, and folk-ways and folk cultures baffle an outsider. This is, however, not to say that India possesses no cultural unity just as it would be wrong to say that Europe possesses no cultural unity. There is an Indian culture as there is an European culture. The wide variety of cultures and languages gives rise not only to different identities but also to a multiplicity of identities that an Indian generally possesses. What gives a particular significance to these identities is the fact that most of them are spatio-cultural, meaning thereby that most of cultural identities are associated with specific regions. The spatio-cultural identities became a vehicle for political phenomenon called regionalism and subregionalism both of which are sub-group phenomena, the main difference being of the level at which they manifest.

40. For the cultural unity of Europe see Karl Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (New York: Wiley, 1953).

41. This aspect in the context of Burma has been analysed in detail by Lucian Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation-Building-Burma's Search for Identity, op.cit.,


If we situate the Indian problem in its historical context we find that integration of India at the political level was accomplished within less than a year and half after independence and the number of state units were reduced from 571 to 27. The integration of various provinces and princely states was a difficult process because during more than 4,000 years, India developed self-contained linguistic and cultural units with their own identities due to limited transportation and communication facilities, physical barriers like the Vindhyas, the dense forests, and the river systems in the north and the south, linguistic, cultural, caste and regional heterogeneity, historical evolution and economic imbalances. Therefore, in such a situation the cultural regions acquired homogeneity and asserted their independent personality over a period of long history. The successive rulers tried to put all the regions together but no one could establish the central authority throughout India. However, the diverse regions, though maintaining their separate identities, were all the time conscious of their cultural unity throughout India.

When India got freedom after a long struggle in 1947, political federation was sought to be super-imposed over a classic socio-cultural federation of continental dimension with social complexities, and cultural diversities which make it the world's oldest, largest and most persistent plural

44. Separating the Aryan and Dravidian cultures in the North and South respectively.
society, the like of which the human being has never known. Moreover, India has also experienced the rise and fall of many dynasties and subsequent shifting of political boundaries and in many cases these political boundaries coincided with geo-cultural regions. Therefore, even after four decades of Indian independence, regional identities and their differences have tended to shatter internal unity and still pose a major problem to the nation-builders of present day India.

It is pertinent to note here that it is a remarkable coincidence that the boundaries of major linguistic groups, are by and large, coterminous with the historically evolved geographical regions. In such a situation in the absence of a common language which could be a very strong basis for national unity, the multiplicity of regional languages and sometimes dialects, became the basis for the formation of regional identities. 47

The problem becomes more complicated when language issue inter-mixes with the caste structure which is essentially regionally based local phenomenon and loosely threaded together within the hierarchy of overwhelming Hindu society. It was feared that linguistic reorganisation of society would intensify caste struggle within each unit as was evident in Andhra Pradesh where the


47. According to 1951 census there were 844 languages and dialects in India. Moreover, a linguistic group seldom includes in any large area a majority of more than 75 to 80 percent, and it often has not been possible to form states with minorities smaller than 20 to 25 per cent. See Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., "The Riots in Tamil Nadu: Problems and Prospects of India's Languages Crisis," Asian Survey, Vol.V August 1965, p.403.
conflict between Kamas and Reddys though belonging to the same linguistic group, poses problem for creating unity at the regional level. A similar pattern could be seen in Tamil Nadu where the anti-Brahmin movement has resulted in the capturing of state power by the DMK and its offshoot AIDMK by exploiting the Anti-Brahmin and anti-Hindu sentiments of non-Brahmin castes. Hence the formation of states on linguistic basis created a new identity and consciousness among the people regarding their language, culture and territory leading ultimately to the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis.

However, once the linguistic re-organisation of the States was completed, the emotional unity based upon common language collapsed under the interacting group interests of caste, class, economic disparities, levels of development, regional distribution of political power—factors which play dominant role at the level of state politics in India. The new state system which emerged created adjustment problem between old and new units in several states. The reorganisation could not make all the states linguistically homogeneous. For example Bihar has two major linguistic zones, speaking Maithili and Bhojpuri; Maharashtra has Konkani and Kannada minorities, and there are substantial differences between Telgu spoken in Telengana, the ceded districts and the delta—the three distinct regions of Andhra. And there are pockets of substantial linguistic minorities and tribal groups in other states. It is not likely that they would remain content with being neglected
politically, socially, and economically without claiming for some form of autonomy. 48

Thus the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis in India could only moderate the regional conflict to a large extent but not fully, because by an extension of the argument of the uneven development, even within these states, when the unevenness coincided with a series of contiguous districts or areas made up of distinct population or with historically defined socioeconomic regions, it complicated the regional problem by giving strong impetus to sub-regionalism. 49 Regionalism, which can be described as the extension of nationalism at the regional level, has become a powerful loyalty and integrative force within most of the states of Indian Union and has resulted in a degree of assimilation of many social groups under its framework. But the existence and persistence of cultural identities of historically demarcated sub-regions which are at different level of socioeconomic and political development, still poses a threat to the processes of integration at the State level. This sub-regional assertion in regional conflict has added a fresh dimension which rejected the linguistic basis of political reorganisation and projected the significance of geographical, historical, and socioeconomic factors and accompanying political sub-cultures.


as more important criteria of political existence which not only do not correspond but conflict with the larger unity of language, culture and cast represented by the linguistic states. This trend is reflected in the fact that regional political parties or even national parties which draw support mainly from a smaller area within a region/state, are concerned and confined to that area only. The Lok Dal, the National Conference, the Muslim League, the Telangana Praja Samiti, the Ganatantra Parishad, The Jharkhand Party, the TUJS and the MES etc. are cases in point.

Hence the sub-regional conflict which was mostly dormant during the movement for linguistic states, came into surface in the changed context. Put differently, sub-regionalism becomes a politically significant force in the absence of strong regional consciousness.

What follows from the above argument is that while regionalism in general is a product of India's diversity, sub-regionalism in particular is the result of geographical, historical and socioeconomic factors in it. The linguistic


51. In some cases sub regional conflicts appeared even during the reorganisation of states. The demand for the creation of Vidharba is a case in point. See Paul Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, op.cit.

principle of reorganisation of states was negated when five states viz, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam were created. It marked a departure from the policy of forming linguistic state on the basis of the Eighth Schedule alone. These states were created on the basis of the grievances expressed by comparatively backward hilly regions against the exploitation of the plainsmen, particularly the Assamese.  

The emergence of regionalism is a reflection of the fact that planning has failed to develop all the regions of the country. "One of the most striking experience of planned development in India has been that economically backward areas have gained little from planning. In many states though the development efforts have increased in every successive plan period, its benefit has percolated more to the already developed areas". It has resulted in economic imbalances between states, regions and sub-regions. 

Thus not only do we find inter-state disparities, but also intra-state or sub-regional disparities in most of the Indian States which have their socio-economic and political dimensions. "The Telegana agitations, the language riots in Assam, agitations in the Vidharba region of Maharashtra the Chhatisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh, the eight hill


districts of Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Ladakh regions of Jammu and Kashmir, the Jharkhand movement, the conflict between the people of old Mysore and integrated part of Karnataka and the local patriotism of the Shiv Sena are only a few examples of manifestation of such tendencies which are pressing for a fresh look at the existing scheme of reorganisation of the constituent units of the Union of India". If we have a brief look at the state politics in India we find that though language has played the principal role, many a times dialects served the purpose of creating a group identity along with other factors like "ethnic, historical, cultural or sub-cultural and economic ties".

Telegana is an interesting case of sub-regional conflict. The main grievance of the people of Telengana is the economic backwardness of the region and subjugated position in which they are placed by the people of Andhra having a superiority complex. The failure in the implementation of Gentleman's Agreement which was arrived at to safeguard the interest of Telengana region sparked the agitation for the formation of the region into a separate state. This revolt has already cost the peace, property and many human lives.

56. Ibid., p.18.
The sub-regional problem in Maharashtra is not of less importance where economic and historical considerations divide it into four subregions viz., Vidharba, Marathwada, Konkan and Western Maharashtra. Even the SRC had recommended the creation of Vidharba state which was not accepted by the Government of India. This led to the demand for the creation of separate Vidharba and formation of Sangharsha Samiti for this purpose which has been constantly pressing the government to accept their demand.

In Karnataka the situation is different and more complicated as the problem of integration of some areas with the Mysore is interlinked with caste problem. The Vokkaligas and Lingayats which are the two dominant castes in the state are inhabited in two different regions viz., the former in the old Mysore and later in the Karnataka region. In this region-based caste conflict, the Lingayats dominate the field of politics, economy, administration and education in the state. The Vokkaligas in the old Mysore region feel that they can end this exploitation and develop only after they are granted some autonomous status.

60. Ibid.
62. See H.D. Suteri, op. cit., p.128.
Madhya Pradesh is another example of intra-state or sub-regional conflict. Broadly the state can be divided into three regions, namely Mahakoshal, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat. The Chhatisgarh area which comes under Mahakoshal region is demanding a separate state on the basis of their distinct historical, dialectical and tribal identity and backward economic position in which they are placed.  

Another demand for the creation of separate state is put forth by the twenty million tribals of Jharkhand region which comprises sixteen districts of the states of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. The leaders of the movement also raised the demand for a separate state before the SRC but the demand could not be considered because the region lacks any common language. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha has been articulating the demands of region since its formation and continuously raising the voice for the creation of a separate state for tribals so that the exploitation of tribals by the non-tribals could be prevented.

Uttar Pradesh, the largest state of Indian Union, is also facing the problem of integrating its various regions into a unified state. The demand for Uttrakhand in the north and Bundelkhand in the south and the move to join the adjoining

state of Haryana in the west show that lot is to be done to narrow down the growing gap in the different regions of the State. Though the situation has not taken ugly form as yet, but the possibility of any large scale mass movement for the creation of more states out of present U.P. cannot be ruled out. 66

The whole north-east region does not escape from the problem of sub-regionalism. Assam which is the largest state in this region, is not linguistically homogeneous state and has three linguistic groups. Assamese speaking population is concentrated in Brahmaputra valley and a majority of Bengalis reside in Cachar region. The rest of the hilly region is inhabited by large number of people speaking many dialects. The dominance of Assamese in the Brahmaputra valley and the dominance of Bengalis in the state administration and other important positions, created tension in the state which ultimately let to the prolonged agitation led by the All Assam Students Union and Gana Sangram Parishad to restore the dominance of Assamese. The tribal people have suffered the most in this conflict and they are also demanding separation from Assam. The current agitation for separate Bodoland spearheaded by the All Bodo Students Union is taking a dangerous turn. Though the conflict among the various regions appears to be based on language but "they are manifestation of a deep seated social and economic malady which unfortunately have afflicted the people of Assam." 67


67. See Sushil Kumar, op.cit., p.41.
In Jammu and Kashmir, the problem of sub-regionalism is a little more complex. The whole state is politically, linguistically and religion-wise divided into three different regions. Whereas Jammu is Hindu dominated Dogri-speaking area, Kashmir valley is dominated by Kashmiri speaking Muslim population and Budhists numerically dominate the Ladakh region. The people of Jammu and Ladakh have not been getting due share in political power and economy of the state and therefore, a feeling of discrimination persists among them.68 The demand for more autonomy by the people of Ladakh and Jammu ultimately compelled the State Government to set up an enquiry commission to look into the grievances of these people which also recommended more developmental facilities to these regions and also suggested that more ministers from these regions should be incorporated in the State Cabinet so as to remove the feeling of deprivation which has grown up over a period of time. Even the Kashmir Valley which dominate the politics of the state is already in the flame where separatist forces have already found their foothold.

The brief survey of the problem of sub-regionalism in many states of the Indian Union shows that the problem has persisted even after the re-organisation of states on linguistic basis. Even the states which we have not covered in our analysis have not escaped the problem, but it has not taken alarming shape. The existence and persistence of intra-State

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68. See *Time of India*, 7th March, 1970.
disparities and corresponding problems emerging from it have mostly gone unstudied. Therefore, a systematic study to analyse the problem of sub-regionalism is required to fill this gap. Though we find the some good works are coming out on the state politics in India by eminent political scientists, they have only provided a theoretical frame which could be a starting points for the further research.69 The study of state politics in India becomes more important because many of the developmental processes and problems experienced by nations throughout the developing world can be observed within the Indian States. Moreover, since the Indian States function within a common political system and operate within the same constitutional framework, we have a rare opportunity to observe these developmental changes.70

For the purpose of present research the State of Himachal Pradesh which represents a sub-system of Indian political system and a distinct hilly region in North-West India, has been chosen for study. The study is important not only from the academic point of view but it also has some social and political relevance for politicians and policy makers as it is an attempt to trace the socioeconomic bases of the problem of sub-regionalism and highlights the crisis of integration at the level of state politics in India.

69. The references is to pioneering work on state politics by Myron Weiner (ed.), State Politics in India', (Princeton University Press), 1968) and Iqbal Narain, ed., State Politics in India, op.cit.,

70. Myron Weiner, op.cit., pp.3-17.
Ever since the merger of hilly areas of Punjab with Himachal Pradesh, the State has been facing an 'integration crisis' in the form of sub-regional conflict between the 'Old' and the 'New' areas which has surfaced in successive elections to the State Assembly since 1966.

The dormant regional sentiments came to surface during the recent agitation (July-August 1990) spearheaded by the vegetable and fruit growers of Shimla region against the anti-growers policy of the newly elected State government headed by Shanta Kumar. The agitation which began with certain economic demands like support price for the various cash crops, took the regional dimension when people of Kangra origin residing in the apple belt became the target of the agitators. Some shops belonging to the people of Kangra were reported to have been looted or burnt. Some of them had to leave the region out of the fear for their life. Though the agitation was curbed by the state government with the help of police force, it has already done irreparable damage to the emotional integration in the state. Now the sub-regionalism has become an established fact of State politics which may manifest in any form in the times to come.

We believe that the conflict at the political level is a manifestation of the conflict at socioeconomic level. The present study is a humble attempt to understand the interplay of socioeconomic and political forces in the emergence of sub regionalism in the empirical setting of Himachal Pradesh.