

INTRODUCTION

The political system that exists at present in India is the handiwork of the Indian National Congress, the party that won independence for the country and gave its Constitution.

From 1947 until it broke-down in 1967, this 'system' was at the centre of Indian politics spanning 3 distinct stages in its post-independence development. The 1st phase (1947-1967) was the period of the Congress system; the 2nd phase (1967-1977) was characterised by the decline and disintegration of the Congress system and the consolidation of power by a small oligarchy; and the 3rd and current phase (from 1978 on) witnessed the development of the new system, which because of its domination by Indira Gandhi became known as Indira Congress or Congress (I).

A dramatic change we can find in the Congress Party in its 2nd phase (1967-1975). The 2nd phase extended from 1967 to the imposition of the internal emergency in 1975. In the 1967 assembly election INC lost power in 6 states.

Important changes were set in motion owing to the split in the Congress in 1969, leading to the formation of the Congress and Congress (O). The split produced conditions that altered the shape of party system. The Congress controlled by Indira Gandhi faced largely United Opposition Party in the general election of 1971. Despite the strong opposition, it was with a thumping majority. A significant aspect of election was the elimination of Congress (O). The major reason for victory was the delinking of the Lok Sabha election from the State Assembly elections. The parliamentary election campaign was tried to avoid some word from the state assembly elections. The parliamentary election campaign was delinked from state level politics and the state leaders could not exercise the same influence as they had done in the past. Rather the campaign concentrated national issues such as development policy, particularly the

removal of poverty and foreign policy. Mrs. Gandhi's injected a powerful element of ideology by revising the issues of social change and by calling upon the electorate to support her endeavour to initiate new government policy for the benefit of the poor.

During this phase, the central role of the Congress party persisted. The dominant party model had given way to the differentiated structure of party competition.

Mrs. Gandhi's conflict with state leadership of the Congress party as well as that of the opposition parties created a style of politics which laid great stress on centralisation in decision making. The new 'political process' based on a centralised decision-making structure in party and government created an overly personalised regime. Institutional decline accompanied by decline of state based leaders and the replacement of regional structure of support by the central-leadership adversely affected the federal scheme of Indian politics.

After 1969 split, the Congress followed a broad-based strategy consisting of redistribute policies, such as nationalisation of banks, abolition of Privy Purse and garibi hatao, all geared towards widening its support. However, this did not happen for the variety of reasons. One reason was the failure of the Congress to alleviate poverty. Another was the depending crisis of the economy in 1970s. The economy was marked by a serious rise in inflation, followed by acute food shortages and massive unemployment. This was followed by a series of opposition led agitations against the various state governments.

In the party system as it has been developing in India, a single party has without any doubt attained the position of domination. The election of 1967 did change the pattern and the dominance of Congress was re-established in 1971's mid term election.

The role of the Congress party since 1967 to till date we can examine through working of this party in domestic politics (economic policy, national developments also include in this domestic politics) and through the assessment of the result of the foreign policy.

The 1969 split helped Congress led by Mrs. Gandhi to sweep the 1971 Lok Sabha elections and 1972 assembly elections in most of the states.

The mid time of Congress system's 2nd phase known as the 'Emergency Phase'. The imposition of an authoritarian emergency regime in June 1975 was the most marked feature of this period. The 19th month emergency regime accelerated the process of institutional decline and the weakening of the party by suspending civil liberties, particularly freedom of the Press and representative government. Relation between the Congress and opposition worsened. Concentration of power in the party, the government and in the office of the Prime Minister was the critical feature of the new pattern of party system. No criticism of the government was allowed or tolerated. Any attack on the Prime Minister's authority was considered to be an attack on the party's as well as nation's unity. Cabinet was also not be able to take any important decision in regarding the nation's current problem such as, the declaration of the Emergency, the postponement of general elections in 1976 and the decision to hold them in 1977.

We can't ignore the question, which was raised by the people of India during the Emergency period, and also demand of the new generation of nation to that the answer whether the Emergency was needed or not. All left, democratic and patriotic forces of our country were agreed that the proclamation of National Emergency on June 26, 1975, saved India from serious and imminent danger.

It was the fact that the 20-Point Economic Programmes of the Prime Minister and the steps which are being taken in pursuance of the same will bring substantial reliefs to the common people, especially in rural areas. It will help to mobilize them actively against counter-revolution. The Emergency has also led to the creation of a healthier atmosphere in the country which can be utilised for effective implementation of the anti-feudal economic programmes and to go forward to other basic, including anti-monopoly structural reforms.

Emergency has obviously hurt us imperialism and the entire pro-imperialist western press which has let loose a dirty anti-India campaign.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (CPI):

The Communist Party of India is usually dated from 26 December, 1926. It remained effectively an illegal organisation until 1942 when British accept its support for the Allied War effort. After 1947, there were a number of changes in the party tactics and the period was marked by the splits. The first split in 1964 coincided with the Schism in international communist and the new party (CPI (M) again underwent a split in 1968. The Maoist Communist Party was formed on 22 April 1969, which was Lenin's 100th birthday. It styled itself of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and claimed Mao as its guide.

The CPI membership is concerned in four states. Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal. The other states have significant supporters: Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Punjab.

Professor Rashiduddin Khan observes "The CPI (M) differ in their policy perspective on a few important aspects of Indian politics such as the nature of the Indian state, the role of the national bourgeoisie and big bourgeoisie, the evaluation of the democratic revolution, the strategy for achieving the goal of socialism and in the tactics to be followed towards other parties at this stage of political development for the progressive socio-economic transformation of India.

The basic difference between CPI and CPI (M) is the adaptation of different communist ideology. The CPI (M) was linked with China and the Marxists were viewed as pro-Peaking while the CPI was considered as pro-Soviets. For the CPI India's independence was a historic event and India was now on the path of independent development. For the CPI (M) the transfer of power was only a 'settlement' between British imperialism and Congress and what had happened since were the efforts of the Indian bourgeoisie to establishment a compromise with feudalism and imperialism at the expense of the people. The CPI's slogan was the establishment of democracy of national democracy; the CPI (M)'s slogan was people's democracy.

If we study the ideology and programme of CPI and CPI (M) we can find that CPI is committed to unparliamentary road to socialism. In its manifesto the CPI reiterated its demands for wheeling out of criminals and corrupt men from body politic tilting the

centre-state relations in favour of the latter, ending indifference to the welfare of the working class, agricultural labour, SC and ST, generating more jobs, implementing radical land reforms, reducing foreign debt by restricting imports, reversing the trend of handing over public sector units to private industrialists and above all, arresting the steep rise in price.

The CPI favours co-operation with all democratic and progressive forces including 'the centre' and 'the left' of the Congress party.

CPI (M)'s ideology and programmes are different in few grounds because of CPI (M)'s pro-Chinese stance. This party favoured to tactic of United Front from below, of alliance with peasants and workers to defeat the Congress, which it regarded as a party of the bourgeoisie and landlord classes.

Today the CPI (M) is characterised as a radical-democratic party. Its emphasis is on the preservation of democratic institutions. It lays emphasis on the unity and integrity of India and favours the restructuring of centre-state relations.

On the basis of ideology and party programme Left parties find its support base from the peasant class and the agricultural working class. Difference on ideology between the Congress and Left parties also makes difference in support base of main demarcation is the people who are the main supporters of the INC on the other hand rural peoples hands are Left parties.

Left parties main role is prominently can be visualised by the study of Left dominated state, where lefts not only worked for strong state government but their target has always set on the chair of Delhi. We consider the Left as a national party here we find that left workers in Indian politics as an opposition. A turning point in the history of the CPI came when in 1957 they won an absolute majority in the Kerala assembly and formed the first communist government in India. They retained the position as the largest opposition group in the Lok Sabha after 4th general election in 1967. In 1971 it secured 4.7% of the popular vote as its rewards for the support it gave to the ruling

Congress. In 1977 it secured only 7 seats with 2.8% votes. The following data is given below:

Year	Wining Seats	Contesting Seats
1980	11	48
1984	6	66
1989	12	49
1991	14	42
1996	12	43
1998	9	58
2000	-	
2004	-	

At present CPI (M) is in power in the state of West Bengal. It has a solid base in Tripura and Kerala.

CPI (M) Election Table

Year	Wining Seats	Contesting Seats
1967	19	62
1971	25	85
1977	22	53
1980	36	63
1984	22	64
1989	33	64

1991	35	60
1996	32	75
1998	32	71
2000	-	-
2004	-	-

There is no controversy in the opinion that Congress ideology is believed in Gandhian ideology. M Gandhi had mainly emphasised on the villages of India. He liked Kant and Rousseau, accepted the slogan 'back to nature', and was the only person among the prior Indian who realised the importance of village to make stronger the Indian economy. And it is very unacceptable that INC had really concerned about the villages. They did not exclude village improvement from their programme and at the same time they even didn't include the agricultural class in their policy programme with the goal of improvement of Indian economy through agriculture.

Though the Left parties were seriously impressed by the Chinese revolution and Marxist ideology and drew a programme of economic policies on the basis of it but their main trust is organizational improvement. Generally, the communist believes that rapid industrialization will automatically lead to the necessary transformation of the social structure. But the poverty theoreticians did not ignore the great distortions that might occur in the course of development.

Emphasis on the development of agrarian economy is the common point for both the left parties. But their approve ness differs on issue of international policy. In the fundamental pro the CPI praised Nehru's policy on non-alignment and offered only a mind criticism. According to the CPI the weaknesses on the non-alignment must be traced to Anglo-American blackmail.

The CPI (M) on the contrary declared in its election manifesto that an independent foreign policy could be followed only in alliance with the camp of peace and socialism and all freedom loving anti-imperialism.

Both the parties agreed in their attitudes towards Pakistan. This was not surprising because Moscow and Peking both are interested in the establishment of close relations with Pakistan. It was demanded that the Indian Government should strive for a peaceful settlement of all the differences and disputes with the neighbouring countries.

After the split of the CPI one could assume that the communist would suffer heavy reverses in the election of 1967. The Socialist parties had such experience in the past. But the election of 1967 introduced quite a few new elements into the political situation which the communists were called upon to answer. If the post-election situation leads its great positive possibilities for the communist parties, its dangerous potentialities could not be overlooked. As the National Council of CPI put it:

As the discredited Congress Party disintegrates and goes downhill and as its moral political authority slums more and more, a political vacuum is being created in the life of the nation which forces are going to find this vacuum is the most challenging question of the post election situation.

It is interesting to observe that the Communist Party in India try their utmost to project a positive image of their own by championing the cause of democracy and individual freedom. But these demands for democratic rights are primarily to be used for legalising their agitations and political activities.