CHANGING PERSPECTIVES OF INDIA'S FEDERAL SYSTEM :

A STUDY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCE OF COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA (SINCE 1977)

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
(Ph. D) in Arts of University of North Bengal

PAPIA DEB

SUPERVISOR
PROFESSOR PRADIP KUMAR SENGUPTA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL
RAJA RAMMOHUNPUR, DARJEELING, WEST BENGAL - 734013

PREFACE

The present study is an attempt at the exploration of the changing dimensions of India's federal governance. It may be submitted that federal arrangement of any country is dependent on and the result of many factors-historical, contextual, political or economic. Federal arrangement, as structurally conceived at a particular point of time,undergoes changes ,sometimes peripheral and sometimes,central,due to changes that take place in the environment within which it operates .So ,the federal experience of any country ,in a general way should be considered from the perspective of political dynamics of a country.

India's experience in federal governance stretches over a period of more than 50 years.But as said,like many other political issues and arrangements,federalism in India has a long historical past.The federal structure that was evolved in the Government Of India Act,1935,is considered to be the immediate predecessor of the federal structure adopted in the Constitution of India after independence.

Viewed historically and contextually,there had been reasons to believe that there is centralizing tendency in the federal set-up of
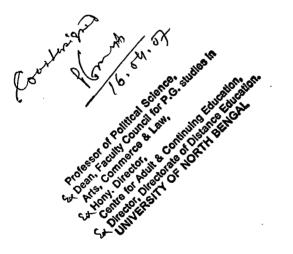
India.The constitution has been modeled accordingly which marks a deviation from the American federal system.States or the constituent units of Indian federation cannot exercise,except in some limited area,any independent authority.

Apart from this structural arrangement,there are areas where political dynamics have enabled the states to play a very crucial role in the federal governance of the country.The emergence of coalition politics has, in a substantial way, altered the federal equation in the practical sense of the term.A look into the nature and extent of developments in the sphere of political process since late 1970S will substantiate this position.

Coalition politics ,for that reason, has added new dynamics in the field of federal experiments in India.States and regional political parties are taking active part in the national politics.It has far-reaching consequences on the functioning of the India's political system. In fact, one may not be totally wrong to suggest that regionalisation of Indian politics has a direct relationship with the coalition politics in general.

Thus the present study is an analytical assessment of the nature and quantum of changes that the India's federal system has been witnessing since the late 1970S.As it is an ongoing process, no

one can draw any final conclusion on it. There might be changes in the course of political process with the emergence of new forces. But there seems to be an agreement among the scholars on the issue that there is no or little chance of returning to the pre-1977 position as there have been new political alignments among the political parties both at the national and regional levels. However tentative the conclusions may be, it can be stated that such changes signify the importance of dynamism in the political process. After all political process presupposes dynamism. And India is no exception.

Papia deb

(Papia Deb)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To begin with the section on 'Acknowledgment' I cannot deny the fact that it is difficult to put into words my gratitude and emotions.

The preparation of this thesis would not have been possible without the active support and co-operation of my supervisor, Professor Pradip Kumar Sengupta, former Dean, Faculty of Arts, Commerce and Law, North Bengal University. I am indebted to him for providing me every intellectual insight and valuable suggestions to understand the area of research both conceptually and operationally. His sense of humour has always given me the energy to move ahead. I also express my gratitude to 'Boudi' (wife of my supervisor) for her ever smiling affection, hospitality and generosity.

I am greatly indebted to my teachers, Department of Political Science, North Bengal University, for their support and encouragement.

Last but not the least I cannot forget to embrace my daughter 'Titas' through my words for her sacrifice and co-operation. I love you baby.

The limitation, however if any, are of mine.

(Papia Deb)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER – I

<u>INTRODUCTION - THE</u> <u>PROBLEM- CONCEPTUAL</u> <u>FRAMEWORK</u>

I

It is said that in the middle of 1950s, there was a revival of interest in what Arend Lijphart has referred to as non-majoritarian democracy, most particularly federalism and consociationalism, as distinctive forms of political organisation with their own rules which are to be understood on their own terms and not as incomplete or deficient expressions of majoritarian democracy.[1]

In the opinion of Daniel J. Elazar, "The exploration of both federalism and consocioatinalism proceeded along parallel tracks for the next two decades"[2]

With a view to situating the concept of federalism in the proper perspective (and also to making a distinction between federal

arrangements and consociational arrangements), new concept like "non-territorial federalism" began to find its place in the discourse on federal arrangements.

Lijphart, while explaining his ideas on the relationship between federalism and consociationalism, has identified eight characteristics of consensus democracy.[3]

These are : (1) Executive power- sharing; (2) balanced executive – legislative relations; (3) strong bicameralism; (4) multi – party system; (5) multi – dimensional party system; (6) proportional representation; (7) federalism and decentralization and (8) a written constitution and minority veto.

Moreover, five secondary attributes of federalism are generally cited. These are :[4]

a)   a written constitution which specifies the division of powers and guarantees to both the central and regional governments that their allotted powers cannot be taken away;

b)   a bicameral legislature in which one chamber represents the people at large and the other, the component units of the federation;

c) over-representation of the smaller component units in the federal chamber of the bicameral legislature;

d) the right of the component units to be involved in the process of amending the federal constitution and to change their own constitutions unilaterally; and

e) decentralized government, that is, the regional governments' share of power in a federation is relatively large compared with that of regional governments in unitary states.

Besides these five characteristics, the following eight features have been identified as the foundations of a federal democratic system:[5]

1) Executive power – sharing : instead of one – party, a federal democratic set up tends to have coalition governments of two or more parties that together have the support of a broad majority in parliament. The most far reaching form of executive power – sharing is a grand coalition of all the important parties.

2) Balanced executive – legislative relations : instead of an executive that dominates the legislature, a federal democratic system is characterized by an executive and legislature that are in a rough balance of power with each other, which may be reinforced

by a formal constitutional separation of powers an in the U.S.A. and Switzerland.

3)   Strong bicameralism : instead of concentrating all legislative power into the hands of the majority in a unicameral legislature, legislative power may be shared with a second chamber in which certain minorities enjoy special representation. Two conditions have to be fulfilled if this majority representation is to be meaningful : the second chamber has to be elected on a different basis than the first chamber; and it must have significant power – ideally, as much power as the first chamber.

4)   Multi-party system : a condition where more than one party seek to have share in the process of power holding.

5)   Multi – dimensional party system : in addition to the socio-economic issue dimension, the parties tend to differ from each other along one or more issue dimensions, such as religion, language and ethnicity.

6)   Proportional representation : in contrast with the plurality method of election, the basic aim of proportional representation is to divide the parliamentary seats among the parties in proportion

to the votes they receive.

7)   Federalism and decentralization : instead of centralizing power at a single centre, it is distributed between the centre and the constituent units in such a manner as may be convenient for the both sets of governments to play their respective role within the prescribed limit.

8)   Written Constitution : instead of the flexibility of an unwritten constitution, federalism is characterized by a more rigid written constitution which can be amended only by following the prescribed provision of the constitution – a process where both the Houses enjoy equal powers and the constituent units have their role in special circumstances.

Robert G. Dixon,[6] while contrasting majoritarian with consensus democracy lists these components to be essential in this regard : "Federal structure, separation of powers, the bicameral structure of legislatures, with each house representing a somewhat different electorate and requiring a double scrutiny of all measures…….The state-based rather than nation – based party system, requirements for extra – ordinary majorities to enact certain kinds

of measures.

Keeping the American model in view, Robert A Dahl while summarising the Madisonian theory, points to a very set of constitutional checks and balances : "The separate constituencies for electing president, senators and representatives, ... a bicameral congress; ..... federalism .... judicial review ; decentralized political parties".[7]

Herman Finer holds that both a rigid constitution and bicameralism are "Part of federalism".[8]

Another authority on federalism, William H. Riker, puts emphasis on the "Problem of the second chamber" is one of the "Special constitutional features of federalism".[9]

Ivo D. Duchacek indentified ten "yardsticks of federalism", two of which are a "rigid constitution" and "bicameralism and equal representation of unequal states". [10]

K.C. wheare holds that "the supreme constitution and the written constitution" are "essential institutions to a federal government". Moreover, he adds : 'Many people regard it as essential to a government if it is to be federal that the regional should have

equal representation in the upper house of the general legislature".[11]

Daniel J. Elazar,[12] while analysis the nature of federalism, has identified "six ambiguities" associated with federalism as a theoretical and operational concept :

1) Federalism involves both structures and processes of government;

2) Federalism is directed to the achievement and maintenance of both unity and diversity ;

3) Federalism is both a political and social phenomenon ;

4) Federalism concerns both ends and means ;

5) Federalism is pursued for both limited and comprehensive purposes ;

6) There are several varieties of political arrangements to which the term "Federal" has properly been applied.

Federalism has been generally considered as "a form of governmental structure" [13] In the opinion of Elazar,[14] 'If a political

system is established by compact and has at least two 'arenas', 'planes', 'spheres', 'tiers' or 'levels' of government, each endowed with independent legitimacy and a constitutionally guaranteed place in the overall system, and possessing its own set of institutions, powers and responsibilities, it is deemed to be federal."

He further holds : "Proponents of federalism properly argue that this structural dimension is a key to the operationalization of the federal principle because it creates a firm institutional framework for the achievement of the goals for which federalism was instituted in the first place". [15]

One may notice that in the early stages of the study of modern federalism, emphasis was laid on the structural considerations as these were deemed to be "essential" for federal arrangement. The underlying assumption behind this approach was that the introduction of a proper federal structure would create 'a functioning federal system'. But gradually the limits of such an approach became clear as many polities with federal structures were not federal in practice – "the structures marked a centralized concentration of power that stood in direct contradiction to the

federal principle. [16]

Federalism is as much a matter of process as of structure, particularly 'if the process is broadly defined to include a political cultural dimensions as well'.[17] Thus, a federal process should include :

a)   a sense of partnership on the part of the parties to the federal compact ;

b)   manifestation of negotiated cooperation on issues and programmes ;

c)   commitment to open bargaining between all parties to an issue for achieving consensus ;

d)   spirit of accommodation which protects the fundamental integrity of all the partners.

Federalism, in the truest sense, must combine both structure and process. Where a federal structure exists with any support from the federal process, the operational aspect of federalism is bound to be weak. On the other hand, if there may be cases where federal process works with out there being any federal structure, but in

the ultimate analysis it will be seen that such a federal structure should gain the support of federal process in order to become both theoretically and operationally acceptable. But whatever may be position, it can be concluded that structure alone is not sufficient in determining the federal character of any particular polity.

Elazer is right when he asserts : "With regard to federalism, this ambiguity is reflected in a certain terminological confusion. The terms 'federalism', 'federalist' and 'federalize' are commonly used to describe both the process of political unification and the maintenance of the diffusion of political power."[18]

In this sense, federalizing involves both the 'creation and maintenance' of unity and the 'diffusion of power' in the name of diversity. Federalism is not to be located on the 'centralization – decentralization continuum' but on a different continuum altogether, one that is 'predicated on non-centralization, or the effective combination of unity and diversity'.[19] It has been very correctly observed by Elazer : "When discussing federalism, it is a mistake to present unity and diversity as opposites. Unity should be contrasted with disunity and diversity with homogeneity, emphasizing the political dimensions and implications of each."[20]

In modern sence, federalism is both a political and social phenomenon. Apart from being a structure of political relationships among different political units, it also studies relationships among people as individuals in families or groups to cover every aspect of life, not just in the political realm. The French and Russian thinkers had tried to find solutions to their social problems through the achievement of harmonious social relationships as well as appropriate form of political organizations. To many, Federalism is not merely a tool for achieving other goals but embodies the goals themselves as well the means for their attainment or realization. Thus the basic question is : Is it possible to examine federalism in its limited or comprehensive scope?

Morton Grodzins holds that federalism like all forms of government, must be judged as a means of fostering democratic ends.[21] Again, Aritai Etzioni views federalism as a means to attain political integration of different forces and factors prevailing in a polity [22].

Going beyond this debate, there is an opinion which argues that federalism is simply one of several means to attain certain political ends, perhaps even a valuable one, but no more than that. That is

why, Elazer concludes : " Clearly, there is a close relationship between those who see federalism as a comprehensive end and those who perceive it as having both political and social dimensions. Similarly, those who see federalism as one comprehensive end may be more likely to emphasize the strictly political character of the federal principle – which is almost certain to be the case for those who see federalism as a limited means for achieving certain other goals".[23]

Thus viewed, it may be said that federalism is "a matter of the form of a polity" Which "permeated and shapes every aspect of the polity and is constitutionally anchored" [24]

Regarding the nature of the federal polity, Elazar has identified three models which are designed around the concept of power and its concentration or distribution : [25]

(1)   One such model is the hierarchical one in which power is organized in a pyramidal fashion and is, accordingly, concentrated at the top.

(2)   A second model involves a strong centre with an appropriate periphery, where power is concentrated in the centre although

the centre itself may be composed of representatives of the periphery.

(3)   Finally, there is the cybernetic model in which power is distributed through a matrix of centres and in which the general government provides the frame for the matrix.

At the end of this theoretical formulation, Elazar concludes :[26]

"It is true that there are two kinds of federal systems – those in which the purpose of federalism is to share power broadly, pure and simple, and those in which the purpose of federalism is to give individual national communities a share in the power of the state. The former is more simply devoted to advancing the cause of popular government, while the latter may rely upon other mechanisms for securing popular government and merely add federalism as an extra device".

Herman Bakvis,[27] admitting the importance of the concepts of structure and power in federal polity as identified by Elazar, points to its "limitations" and "misleading" nature. He has argued that under certain circumstances, political structure can play an important role in defining or promoting federal arrangements, even

if such structures are originally the result of social forces.

An additional point to be noted is that in federal arrangements, the relationship between structure and process is essentially reciprocal. It is suggested that more attention should be paid to the differences in the kinds of structures found in the federal system of governance.

It appears that Elazar's scheme ignores the role of structure is society generally. Philip Selznick[28] has shown the extent to which social life is institutionalized and how this institutionalization affects both social and political behaviour. Secondly, Elazar's definition ignores the highly organized nature of sub-cultures through which religions and other social values are propagated and maintained. Moreover, in this context, the problem of elite accommodation becomes a major problem in creating "a cohesive and powerful social entity."[29] In the words of Bakvis[30]. "Initial social economic and political considerations give rise to federal arrangement; the political rules and structures governing the distribution of powers and resources then often have the reciprocal effect of reinforcing indentities and character of the sub-culture blocs in question, frequently in combination with entrepreneurship

on the part of political and social elites. These identities and activities, in turn, will affect the formal structures and so on."

The foregoing leads one to look the issue of federal governance from another perspective - the relationship between ethnicity and the federalizing process. It is argued that ethnicity, as an aspect of political process, should be viewed "dynamically" as "ethnic heterogeneity is a pervasive feature of the contemporary world."[31] The problem of ethnicity becomes more complete in a plural society which is divided from within because of many segmental social cleavages. The problem is one of "reconciling ethnic diversity with overarching loyalty to the state". This is more problematic because "the state is not neutral force in mediating political conflict ; A plural society is thus "One in which Politics is ethicized, in which Political Competition is overtly drawn along ethnic lines".[32] Jinadu thus holds : "Ethnicity par se need not generate conflict ; but once it is situated in a particular type of social or plural diversity, it assumes political conflict significance."[33]

It appears to be a correct assessment by Duchacek when he asserts, "we should be reasonably close to an acceptable answer to the question what constitutes real federalism – but we are not". The

concept brings before us "infinite variety of the federal theme in different times and different national environments." He agrees with William Livingstone who holds. " The essence of federalism lies not in the institutional or constitutional structure but in the society itself. Federal government is a device by which the federal qualities of society are articulated and protected."[34]

Thus it is seen that the concept of federalism has many meanings, manifestations and mechanisms depending upon the nature and context of political dynamics of a particular governing system. It has been very correctly stated: "Federalism is difficult to define. It is also inadvisable to consider federal system in any particular country as the model of federalism... A Federal system, whether centralizing or peripheralizing during any particular period, always remains in tension, or in a mode of 'intransigent cooperation'. Too much of centralization is as damaging for it as too much of peripheralization."[35]

Any study regarding the nature of India's Federal Governance brings to fore a number of issues which had been hidden or did not come to the surface at the time of the framing the constitution for free India. An examination of the debates that took place in the

Constituent Assembly of India will establish the fact that the Founding Fathers were mostly concerned with the idea of Providing a stable and workable governing system based on the federal structure. In fact, that was the demand of the hour. A newly independent nation with a dilapidated and shattered economy could not afford to have a loosely framed federal type of democratic system. Needless to mention, that was one of the reasons why the Founding Fathers preferred the term " Union of states" to be incorporated in the Constitution.

Thus a system as envisaged by the framers emerged as something, which, strictly speaking, does not conform to any set pattern of ideal federal governance of any federation of the world. It is interesting to note that this system backed by a virtual one party dominance worked smoothly upto 1966. But the total scenario underwent significant changes since 1967 with the coming into power of some non-congress parties at some State Government level. In fact, it marked the beginning of a new power equation both at the centre and at the State levels. It may not be incorrect to say that the 1967 Fourth General Elections can be seen as the 'watershed' in the course of the political process in India and

(17)

the emergence of coalition politics in India.

Since then qualitative changes have taken place in the working of the federal system. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the process which began in 1967 found its culmination in 1977 when, for the first time, a non-congress coalition government was formed at the centre. The demand for more power, particularly in the field of financial authority almost changed the nature of power-equation. In place of dominance of Power holding, there emerged a new sense of sharing of Power by all the federating units. In place of conciliation, there appeared policies of conforntation. In place of fedration by direction from the above, there emerged a fedration based on bargaining and ultimately this led to what is called co-operative federalism. Such were the changes in the federal governance which calls for an in-depth analysis of the causes and consequences and probable impact on the Political dynamics of the country.

Generally speaking, there are two views about these charges: one such view holds that the issues involved are more political than legal-institutional in nature and this may help, in a meaningful way, unfold the nature of forces at work since 1967 in general and

1977 in particular. The second line of thinking proceeds on the line that the present maladies in the federal governing system in India can be suitably corrected by judicious and conscious rearrangement of the institutional structure by formal alterations of revisions in the governing rules so that greater legitimacy is brought to bear on those structures which have to respond to the challenges and systematic crisis.

It is further held that both the centre and the states have, over the years, failed in developing a pattern of relationship based on mutual cooperation, broad understanding and satisfactory working arrangement and the fault, if there be any, does not lie with the constitutional system. Centralisation of authority and resources can not be the answer to India's gigantic problems. Political decentralization seems to be an absolute necessity, since the constituent states are charged with heavy responsibilities for plan implementation and development administration, their willing partnership and autonomous enterprise, rather than a paramount, paternalistic position of the centre, should be the pre-condition for the discharge of such responsibilities.

The states in India are historical entities. Here lies the difference

between the Indian situation and the position found in many Western states. Regional diversities in India can not be overlooked or oversingled on the plea that there are heavy doses of centralization of authority in the institutional arrangements that the constitution envisages. Since there have emerged new areas of both conflict and cooperation between the centre and the states, the entire notion of India's federal governance demands a new approach making sufficient space for the regions to play their distinct roles.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PROPOSED STUDY.

The proposed study seeks to analyse the causes and impact of the emergence of coalition politics in India and the nature of federal governance in post 1977 political scenario. It has been accepted by all these developments have changed the nature and working of India's federal system both qualitatively and quantitatively. A new power equation emerged and the nature of coalition politics allowed the states to play more effective roles in managing the federal affairs. The non-congress governments in states began to demand for greater financial power that was reflected in the meetings of the planning commission and the National Development Council. Its impact was profound, the changes could be seen in the

scope and functioning of the Finance Commission - the instrument primarily responsible for making financial allocations among the states.

Besides these, another development became very evident, with the demolition of the Congress hegemony both at the centre and the states which Rajni Kothari could describe as 'One -dominant party system', smaller parties, mostly regional in nature began to make their presence felt in the national politics. The process of regionalization of Indian politics began simultaneously with the emergence of coalition politics in India.

The rise of regional political parties has brought with it two important changes. In the first place, the national political parties were forced to depend on these regional political parties while forming a coalition government. Secondly, politics of domination was replaced by what is called politics of bargaining. Local issues began to find important places on the national agenda. Moreover, it has also been noticed that some regional parties in a coalition government could form their own 'regional lobby' which became small centres of powers within a broad coalition system.

All these phenomenon and other related issues exerted tremendous influence on the federal pattern in India. A clear departure was visible from the federal arrangement that was made by the framers of the Constitution. New terms began to appear in the vocabulary to describe the emerging federal pattern like co-operative federalism, bargaining federalism, competitive federalism and the like.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The proposed study seeks to answer the following questions in order to explain the phenomena already outlined. These are:

a)   What had been socio - economic compulsions which prompted the makers of the Constitution to opt for a federation largely based on the Government of India Act, 1935?

b)   What kind of changes have taken place in the working of the federal governance since 1967 as a prelude to developments since 1977?

c)   To what extent, has the coalition politics been responsible for changing the nature and extent of federal system in India?

d) How far has the emergence of coalition politics in India changed the nature of India's federal governance both quantitatively and qualitatively?

e) What have been the general trend in Indian politics since 1967?

METHODOLOGY

The study is primarily analytical in nature. It is dependent on the examination of both primary and secondary source materials. References will be made two Constituent Assembly Debates and correspondences of the framers of the constitution. Besides other primary sources like government documents and other related papers will be taken into consideration. Any study of this nature calls for a thorough analysis of secondary sources as well. Books and papers on India's federal governance provide many clues to the understanding of many subtle issues which lie beneath the normal institutional arrangemance, issues of federal governments in India as viewed by political parties as the main actors of the game will also be considered. These are mostly revealed through the publication of party documents containing the position a party

takes on this vital issue. In a word, the study would not only highlight the historical aspect of the federal governance in India but also identify and analyse the nature of political factors governing the federal political dynamics in India.

OVERVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE

There have been a good number of works on the nature and functioning of India's federal system. Generally speaking, most of these studies tried to explain the nature of India's federation strictly from the legal-constitutional perspectives. As such, these included literal and strict meaning of the constitutional provisions without going beyond the scope of the requirements of the constitutional dictation. The section dealing with the "Select Bibliography" will show that experts began analysing these issues within the pattern of Centre - State relations under "one-dominant party system" as was rightly pointed out by Rajni Kothari.

But since 1967, phenomenal changes have taken place in the nature of Centre - State relations with the disintegration of the Congress System. A new power - equation began to be visible where non-Congress state governments began to demand for greater power,

mainly financial powers. A new situation emerged where the states began to play "active" rather than "passive" role in the game of the federal power politics. A clear shift was visible where it became imperative for the observers to look beyond the formal working of federal system by taking into account the areas of "conflict" and " cooperation" among the partners of the game. Attempts were made to identify the forces at play and understand the actual nature of political dynamics.

Thus a new shift of emphasis from mere formal - constitutional - legal framework to the actual working of the system brought to the fore a number of issues which did not attract the attention of the scholars for a long time. A new kind of multi - dimensional approach began to substitute the uni-dimensional approach in the field of the study.

Broadly speaking, studies relating to federal governance made so far cover major dimensions which included, among other things, constitutional framework, finance and planning, the role of the governors and the emergency provisions, administrative and judicial relations and some aspects of informal politics. For better understanding , the whole gamut of such studies can be brought

under the following sub-themes :

a)   Political Process and Centre - State Relations.

b)   Political Parties.

c)   Language Politics.

d)   President's Rule.

e)   Coalition Politics and Centre - State Relation.

f)   Inter State and Centre - State Disputes.

Mention should be made on the work by Amal Ray under the title "Tension - Areas in India's Federal System". The work puts emphasis on the changing political process and the interplay of various forces. According to the author, the breakdown of one - party dominance in 1967 resulted in a profound alteration of the political setting of Indian federalism. A new pattern in the decision - making process emerged where the states were given due place to play their roles. He is of the opinion that the only possible way to regain consensus in place of conflict and orderly operation of the center - state relations is through genuine accommodation and compromise and speedy implementation of egalitarian economic

programmes. At the end of the study Ray holds that the other alternative, the violent and radical method, if employed, might weaken the very foundation of the federal system. The work is unique in the sense that it seeks to highlight the inter-connection between constitutional and political forces in the federal process in India.

Another very important work has been done by Subrato Sarkar under the title "The Centre and the States". Sarkar has forcefully brought out the defects in the constitutional provisions where the centre has been made more powerful as against the states. To him, this positional disadvantage of the states is the root cause of the conflicts between the centre and states.

"State Politics in India" edited by Prof. Iqbal Narain is considered to be the very first attempt by the Indian Scholars to analyse the nature of state politics in the general backdrop of the nature and scope of Indias federal governance. The major part of this study has been devoted to the exploration of the working of the federal system during the period between 1967 and 1971. But a closer look at the papers included in this volume would show that the contributors have thrown very little light on the various forces

and factors that lie behind the operation of the federal governance in India.

There are many works done on the basis of institutional approach which include "The Indian Federal System" by K. Subba Rao, "The Republic of India" by Alan Gledhill, "The System of Grants-in-Aid in India" by P.P. Agarwal, "Foundations of Indian Federalism" by K.R. Bombwall.

Another type of works, mostly on the analytical approach was undertaken in consideration of the post -1967 developments in India. "Language and politics in India" by Prakash Karat, "Agony of West Bengal" by Ranojit Roy, "Internal Colony" by Sachidananda Sinha and "The Centre and The States" by Subrato Sarkar fall in this category.

"India's Static Power-structure" by J.D Sethi and "The Politics of Defection : A Study of State Politics in India" by S.C. Kashyap and "Party Politics in an Indian State" by K.L. Kamal set a trend of discussing the nature of federal governance from the perspective of the role of the political parties.

Atul Kohli has been a keen researcher on the nature and direction

of Indian politics. His works which include "The Success of Indian Democracy" (2001) or "Democracy and Discontent : India's Growing Crisis of Governability" cover many dimensions and issues on the nature of India's society, economy and polity. These works touch upon issues like Centre - State relations and demand for autonomy, regional movement and the like which are very relevant for any study of India's federal governance.

"Federalism in India : Origin and Development" a edited book by Nirmal Mukherjee and Balveer Arora is a very significant contribution in the field of any study on India's federation. It contains a good number of papers relating to the nature and changing dimensions of federal governance in India. The introduction to the book is a valuable addition and it has detailed out the entire problem of the study. Likewise, the work entitled "Federalism without a Centre : The Impact of political and Economic Reforms on India's Federal System" by Saez Lawrence analyses the impact of political and economic reforms on the nature and working of the federal governance in India in the post-globalization scenario. This work is, in fact very much topically relevant as very attempts have so far been made to assess the impact of globalization on the working

of the federal pattern in India.

Schoenfeld, Benjamin N. in his 'Federalism in India' has examined the nature of federalism in India strictly from the position of power distribution. In that way, the focus is primarily on institutional aspect and very few words have been said about its the functional dynamics of federal pattern in India.

Sharada Rath in her book 'Federalism today: approaches, issues and trends' deals with the approaches to the study of federation in the contemporary world. As the title suggests, the works highlights other factors like issues and trends in the working of the federal system.

Asok Kumar Chanda's work 'Federalism in India: A Study of Union-State Relations' is significant because a scholar like Chanda has analysed the entire fields of federal pattern from the perspective of centre-state relations. The work was published at a time when there were signs of federal restructing as India was to enter into a period of confrontation among the various units of the federation.

Tarun Chandra Bose in his book 'Indian Federalism: Problems and Issues' seeks to identify the problems and issues of India's federation. The work is the outcome of a Seminar where speakers

tried to analyse various dimensions of both the nature and functioning of the federal system.

Granville Austin in his celebrated work 'The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a nation' has dealt with in details the story behind the framing of the Indian Constitution. He has made extensive survey of the debates of the Constituent Assembly to show how the framers of the Constitution tried to accommodate different views in the body of the Constitution.

C. H. Alexandrowicz in his 'Constitutional Development in India' has discussed the history of constitutional development in India. The study is primarily historical and deals with the analysis of various important legislative acts passed leading to the creation of the new Republic of India.

S. Bhatnagar and Pradeep Kumar in his book 'Regional Political Parties in India' has analysed the nature of regional parties and their impact on the political dynamics. The author have very categorically stated that the process of regionalization in India is the outcome of new party configuration where one can notice the interplay of many forces both political and non-political in nature.

H. H. Das and B. C. Choudhury in their work 'federal and state politics in India' have discussed the issue of federal governance in the backdrop of state politics . It is admitted that with the changes in the nature and extent of state politics in India, there have been substantial changes in the nature of federal governance.

Babulal Fadia's book 'State Relations in India' 2 volumes, is a very good contribution to the field of state politics in India in general and that of federal politics in particular. This is, in fact, to be read along with two earlier publications by Iqbal Narain and Myron Weiner published under the title 'State Politics in India'. These two works, in that sense, marked the beginning of the study of state politics in India in a general way.

Rasheeduddin Khan has approached the problem of federal governance from a new perspective. He has tried to focus on the dimension change in the federal set-up in India and in that respect, the work is a distinct one with its emphasis on the methodological orientation.

Chandra Pal's work on 'State Autonomy in Indian Federation' is another important work in this field. The problem of autonomy

and regional assertions arising out of the demand for autonomy has added new dimension to the federal governance in the country.

The entire issue of center-state relations in India and for that matter, the nature and working of federalism in India has been studied by Bhaskar Dutta in his work 'Coalition Governments and Fiscal policies in India'. The issues of economic relations, grants-in-aid and the problem of resource allocation have been discussed in this work.

Majeed Akhtar in his edited volume 'Federalism Within the Union: Distribution of Responsibilities in the Indian System (2004) has tried to analyse the working of India's federation from the point of view of distribution of resource allocation.

In a similar way , Akhtar in another edited volume 'Coalition Politics and Power-Sharing'(2000) has discussed the issue of coalition building, coalition-maintenance and holding of power through coalition power-sharing.

Mahendra Prasad Singh and Anil Mishra in their edited volume 'Coalition Politics in India: Problems and Prospects' (2004) have discussed the major issues in coalition-building in India. The

authors also have tried to indicate the future trend in Indian politics.

Harihar Bhattacharyya in his book 'Federalism in Asia: India, Pakistan and Malaysia'(2006) has discussed the issue of federalism from the Asian perspective with special reference to three federations of three countries. In that respect, it offers a comparative perspective on a pan-Asian basis.

D. J. Elazar in his edited volume 'Constitutional Design and the Power-Sharing in the Post-Modern Epoch' (1991) has discussed issues relating to power-sharing in a constitutional frame. In this volume, the contribution by I. D. Duchachek under the title 'Comparative Federalism' deserves special mentioning.

Some other works with different titles deserve special mentioning as these touch upon the federal governance while analyzing the nature of India's democracy. These are :

"Democratic Governance in India : challenges of Poverty, Development and Identity" by Niraja Gopal Jayal and Sudha Pai (ed).

"Indian Democracy : Meanings and practices" by Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed).

"Democracy and Social Change in India : A Cross National Analysis of the National Electorate" by Subrata Kr. Mitra and V.B. Singh (ed)

"Gods of power : Personality Cult and Indian Democracy" by Kalyani Shankar.

"Democracy in India" by Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed).

"State Politics : New Dimensions" by Sudha Pai.

This list can not, by any means, be an exhaustive one. It is not possible to scan the vast sea of literature on this field. Only some of the important works of representative nature have been discussed and analysed. However, the section on 'Select Bibliography', though illustrative by nature, can present a glimpse of the entire storehouse of knowledge on federal governance in India.

<u>Notes and References :</u>

1.   Arend Lijphart, "Consociation and Federation : Conceptual and   Empirical Links", Canadian Journal of Political Science, 12 September 1979, pp. 499-515.

2.   Daniel J. Elazar, "Federalism", International Encyclopedia

of the   Social Sciences, Vol.5, ed, David M.Sills, Macmillan, N.Y, 1968, PP   353 – 367.

3.   Aresed Lijplart, op-cit

4.   I bid. Also his "Non –Majitarian Democracy : A comparison of Federal   and Consoiational Theories, publius, spring 1985, Vol. 15, No. 2,   Temple University, Philadelphia.

5.   Ibid. PP 8-9.

6.   Robert G. Dixon, Jr., Democratic Representation: Reapportionment in   Law and Politics, OUP, N.Y 1968, p.10.

7.   Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic theory, University of Chicago   Press, 1956, P.P. 14-15

8.   Herman Finer, The Theory and Practice of Modern Government, Rev. Edition, Holt, New York, 1949, PP 135-399.

9.   William M.Riker, "Federalism", Handbook of Political Science, Vol.5 :   Governmental Institutions and processes, eds. Fred I. Greenstein   and Nelson W. Polsby, Reading,

Mass; Addison-Wesley, 1975, P. 145.

10. Ivo D. Duchacek, Comparative Federalism: The Territorial Dimension of Politics, Holt, Rinchart and Winston, New York 1970, PP. 230, 244

11. K.C Wheare, Federal Government, 4th. Edn. OUP, N.Y. 1964, PP. 55,87.

12. Daniel J. Elazar, Federalism and Consociational Regimes, Publius, Vol. 15, No. 2, Spring 1985, Temple University. p.20.

13. For a theory of federalism emphasizing its structural character, see, K.C Wheare, Federal Government, OUP, New York, 1964.

14. Daniel J. Elazar, Op. Cit. P. 22.

15. Ibid

16. Ibid

17. Carl J. Friedrich Considers Federalism as a process. See. his Trends of Federalism in Theory and Practice, Praeger, New York, 1968.

18. Daniel J. Elazar, op. Cit., P.23.

19. For further Discussion, See, Daniel J. Elazar, American Federalism : A View from the States, 3rd Ed., Harper and Row, New York, 1984, p.2

20. Daniel J. Elazar, Federalism and Consociational Regimes, op. cit. P. 23.

21. Morton Grodzins, The American System : A New View of Government in the United States, Rand Mc Nally, Chicago, 1956.

22. Aritai Etzioni, Political Unification, Holt, Rinchart and Winston, New York, 1965.

23. Daniel J. Elazer, Federalism and Consociational Regimes, Op. Cit. P. 29.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid, P. 32

26. Ibid, P.33.

27. Herman Bakvis, Structure and process in Federal and

Consociational Arrangements, Publins, Vol. 15, No. 2, Spring 1985, Temple University, Philadelphia.

28.   P. Selznick, Leadership in administration, Harper and Row, New   York, 1957.

29.   Herman Bakvis, Federalism and the organization of political life :   Canada in Comparative Perspective, Institute of Intergovernmental   Relations, Kingston 1981.

30.   Herman Bakvis, Structures and Process in Federal and Consociational   Arrangements, op. cit. P. 62.

31.   L. Adele Jinadu, Federalism, The consociational State and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria, Publins. The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 15, No. 2   Spring, 1985, Temple University, Philadelphia, P 72.

32.   Ibid.

33.   Ibid

34.   Ivo D. Duchacek, Comparative Federalism, Op. cit P P. 274-275.

35. R. Chatterjee, Introduction to Comparative Political Analysis, Levart Books, Kolkata and Sarat Book Distributors, Kolkata, 2006, PP 273-274

Making of India's Federation- Historical Perspective

India's federation constitutes to be a topic of great academic as well as historical interest. It is argued in several times that the federal denouement in contemporary India has evolved through a long process of development. A brief review of various monarchies or state administration of ancient India show how some features of these states had certain interesting characteristics that facilitated their transition into a federal polity. Interestingly, it can be seen that almost all significant periods in Indian history were marked by a three level structure, namely- central, regional and local. But, of course a mere demarcation of these three levels do not make them federal . It may be used for these levels the devolution of powers from the centre to the regions and which is based on contractually demarcated jurisdictions. However, it has been seen in India that the devolutionary decentralization may gradually develop into a federal decentralization.

Between 321 and 185 B.C. in Magadh the Mauryan for the first time integrated a number of kingdoms and republics which might be the first sub-continental state in Indian history. As Romila Thapar observed :

"The economic condition of the time and its own requirements gave to the Mauryan Government the form of a centralized bureaucracy. The nucleus of the Mauryan system was the king whose powers had by now increased tremendously."[1] Again Romila Thapar has observed that "the geographical extent of the Mauryan state can be inferred from the fact that Asokan inscriptions have been found as far and wide as Kandhar and Shahbazgarhi in the north-west, Kalsi and Nigali Sagar in the north, Mahasthan and Kalinga in the east, Girnar and Sopara in the west and Jatinga-Rameshwar in the south. It, therefore, appears that the entire subcontinent, with the sole exception of the Southern Peninsular tip, was ruled by the Mauryan"[2]

Percival Spear and Wolseley Haig, two renowned British historians, have traced federal administrative elements in India as far back as the Mughals, beginning with Sher Shah's land revenue system and taking shape with Akbar's division of his empire into

12 Subahs or Provinces.[3] Both of them held that Mughal rule moved between local assertiveness and strong central dominance, thus standing in the way of extremely centralized or decentralized administrative structure.

But V. R. Dikshitar suggested that the concept of federal structure of India was a creation of Mauryan. He viewed the Mauryan state as a federal state.[4] On the basis of Arthashastra J. C. Heesterman argued that its author may have intended to prepare a blueprint for a centralized bureaucratic monarchy, but did not really succeed in this respect, as the accounting and audit system prescribed in it shows that the king and the mahamattas were co-shares in power.[5]

The post- Mauryan period witnessed the development of feudalism in India into a very complex system. Viewing Indian feudalism D.D.Kosambi suggested two related aspect- 1) feudalism from above which refers to a state in which the king collected a tribute from subordinates who independently ruled in their own territories, and 2) feudalism from below denotes the second stage where a class of land owners was interposed in the village between the state and the peasants. [6]

A brief survey of state systems in Indian history suggests that the feudalism may be regarded as the historical predecessor of federalism. The basic difference between feudalism and federalism is that the former was essentially a traditional pattern of authority whereas the latter presupposes a democratic authority structure.[7] The Mughal Empire was an example of such kind of system where we can see that the Mughal administration was essentially feudal rather than federal. John F. Richards added that "The division of functions established at the Centre was duplicated in the provinces. At each provincial capital a governor, responsible directly to the emperor, shared power with a fiscal officer or diwan reporting to a wazir; military pay master and intelligence officer or bakshi, reporting to the central inspector-general of the army; and a sadr, reporting to the minister for religious and charitable patronage. The governor was responsible for the overall peace, security, and tranquility of his province. In this capacity, he supervised the military intendants or faujdars and the commandos of military check points (thanas) who were deployed with contingents of heavy cavalry and musketeers throughout each province. The provincial diwan managed imperial revenues, expenditures, and the provincial treasuries. The separation of

powers between the governor and diwan was especially significant operating principle of imperial administration."[8]

The last stage of the Mughal Empire has been characterized as the dectining stage of a vast administrative system. During this period a process of disintegration started which saw the size of a number of small forces of Marathas , Sikhs and Afgans. But it is interesting to note that all these small state followed almost the Mughal pattern of administration, that is an administrative system which was more fendal in nature rather than federal in character.

It was in fact a turning point in the evolutionary process of federalism in India. The advent of the British Colonial rule brought with it a number of changes with far reaching consequences .It may not be out of place here to mention that the coming of the East India company in 1600 marked the beginning of western domination in the Indian administrative system. In fact, from the administrative and political points of view the year 1857 appears to be most important because in that year the administration of India was taken over by the British Crown under the Proclamation by the British Queen. This was the beginning of the direct rule by the British Crown and the Indian states were brought under the

administrative authority of England. The British system had been able to establish a centralized system of bureaucratic administration with a control of the British cabinet as well as the British Parliament.

With a federal character the development of administrative institutions in India will start with the expansion of British rule after 1857, after the British Crown assented to take over the duties and treaty obligations of the East India Company and assumed direct responsibility for India's 'protected' states.[9] In 1861 the British realized that Indian complexity required a federal arrangement of government. Since 1773 till Independence in 1947, India accumulated a strong unitary memory because of India was unitarily governed. Indeed, the whole body of Indian administrative folklore was unitary as thus strongly favourable to the central government.

Since 1857, the British government had taken a number of steps through successive Acts to consolidate its power over India. The culmination of this Process can be seen in the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935 on the nature of the steps taken to strengthen the administrative structure which was ultimately

transform into a federal Polity, the following observation seems to be an accurate presentation :

Sovereignty in Indian history was crystallized in the main but was also partly diffused. Strong states were appreciably centralized but with some decentralizing features in parts. This pattern of Sovereignty not only allowed appreciable autonomies to groups and regions within the state but also visualized a complex inter-state alliance system in the subcontinent in which the allies were the constituents of the sub-continental state. This was true of even strong sub-continental states like the Mauryas , the Mughals and the British. Feudal autonomies of the past as well as the earlier tradition of ganasanghas may be seen as precursors of the autonomy of state governments under the Parliamentary Federal Constitutional System in India today.[10]

In this process of evalution the most important step that the British Government took was the Passing of The Indian Councils Act 1861. What was important in this Act was that the British Government could realize that a vast country like India, the Policy of decentralization would be appropriate. In fact, the Act of 1861 laid emphasis on two important elements of any federal governance

: regional diversities and local specificities. Theoretically speaking, any legislative process seeks to satisfy local aspirations by maintaining regional demands as well as a sense of having national unity. It was realized that for better governance in India devolution of legislative powers was the only answer. Not only that the Act further created some positions for representation by Indians who were nominated by the administration for that purpose. Apparently the Principal of nomination does not fit into any elective process, but given the condition, this limited scope of association of the Indians with the administrative process became very crucial. It opened up a channel of communication between the administration and the Indian People. Although the system of nomination was not liked by the Indian people at large. Moreover, the Governor General was given the supreme power to create new provinces and also appoint Lieutenant Governors. From another perspectives the Act of 1861 was important . The Act was passed almost immediately after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. It had its profound impact on the process of passing this Act.

The next landmark event in this process was the enactment of the government of India Act, 1909, popularly known as Morley-Minto

Reforms. The Act made some advancement in expanding the nature of the Councils, both Central and the Provinces. It brought within it some of the representative elements but at the same time provisions were made for religion-based separate electorate for the Muslims. This particular provision evoked much criticism from the people. As this was seem as an attempt at creating a sentiment for division among the people on religious basis.

The Indian Councils Act, 1909 increased the strength of the legislative councils. The number of the additional members of the central Legislative Council was increased to a maximum of 60. The additional members consisted of two categories : official and non-officials. The officials comprised the ex-officio members of the councils and the nominated officials. The non-official members comprised the elected and nominated members. Thus the electorates created by the Act were divided into 3 main classes : general, class and special.

These regulations under the Act created for the first time the principle of communal electorates for Muslims. These was the first attempt which officially accorded to Muslim Community a position of separate identity. In fact that was the demand from the

Muslim Community. In other words the Act assured that for any system of representation either at the local bodies or legislative councils the Muslim Community would be represented as a community.

The 1909 Act did not make any changes in the functions of the councils but it expanded them. The expansion took place in three respect : (a) discussion of the Annual Financial Statement ; (b) discussion on any matter of general public interest ; and (c) the asking of questions. But this expansion did not in reality, enlarge the functions and powers of the councils. Moreover, the resolutions of the councils were not binding of the government. In a word , it did not create any constitutional obligation for the government.

What the Act of 1909 did was to divide the Indian community on communal basis . It was a deliberate attempt by the British Government to create a division within the Indian society. It was very correctly observed by Nehru when he said, "A political barrier was created round them (Muslims) , isolating them from the rest of India and amalgamating process which had been going on for centuries".[11]

The Morley Minto Reforms of 1909 has been looked upon as a process of concessions which, to some extent, were acceptable to the Moderates in the Congress who actually opposed to any kind of extremism. The principle of responsible government did not find any place in the scheme of these reforms. In fact every attempt was made to discourage the policy of devolution.

The limitations of the 1909 Act became visible very soon. A series of important development took place between 1909 to 1917 which included deep disappointment of the Indians, the policy of repression, the agitation of the Indian National Congress and the political conditions created during the first world war. The first world war generated some kind of hope in the winds of the Indian people because they thought that the British power would have to face serious challenges. It was also noticed that the British policy of divide and rule could not work well because of mounting pressures both from outside and within.

All these factors compelled the British Government to go for another reform which was passed through the government of India Act 1919. The government of India Act 1919 brought about some important reforms. The provincial subjects were divided

into two categories : Reserved and Transferred . This was commonly known as 'Dyarchy'. The transferred subjects included such matters which afforded the most opportunity for local knowledge and social service. Reserved subjects included among other things land revenue, finance and law and order. The most important transferred subjects were local government, public health, medical administration, education, public works, agriculture, development of industries and the like. This division of powers between Reserved and Transferred subjects was describe by Sir Friedrich Whyte as "Federation in embryo"[12]

The demand for further constitutional reforms by the Indians led the British Government to go for another very important constitutional reform which is known as the Government of India Act, 1935. It is generally said that the 1935 Act created a stage for federal governance of India. The Act made provisions for demarcation of jurisdictions between the centre and the units. In the words of M.V. Pylee, "The federal system which the Act of 1935 end to establish was perhaps the most complex ever known in the history of federalism."[13]

The most important features of the Act were :

a) Its centralised nature which authorized the centre to take over the administration of the provinces under certain circumstances;

b) The division of legislative powers in three lists : central, provincial and concurrent; and

c) The assigning of demarcated sources of revenue to the centre and the provinces.

The 1935 Act sought to reconstitute the Indian polity by establishing a federal system with a highly centralizing tendency. The executive power and authority of the federation was vested in the Governor General who was the representative of the British Crown. The ministers were chosen by the Governor General from among the members of the federal legislature. They held their offices so long as they could enjoy the confidence of the Governor General. The Act also vested in the Governor General extra-ordinary powers of legislation. If at any time the Governor General was satisfied that a situation had arisen in which the government of the federation could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Act, he was authorized to declare the breakdown of the

constitutional machinery. Dyarchy was abolished in the provincial autonomy was introduced in its place. The Governor was to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers. He had also certain discretionary powers.

Under the Government of India Act 1935, a federal court was established. It was to consist of a chief justice and not more than six other judges who remained in office till the age of 65.

Thus in essence the Act of 1935 can be considered a step towards federalizing process in India. But it failed to satisfy the general sentiment of the Indian people because in reality the Act of 1935 provided the British Government wider scope for central intervention. However, the subsequent developments such as Cripps Mission or the Quit India Movement created conditions for the transfer of power to the Indians through the Indian Independence Act 1947.

The next phase in this process is related with the making of India's constitution by the Constituent Assembly. It may be noted that the Objectives Resolution moved by Nehru on December 13, 1946 envisaged a confederation where in the confederating states "shall

possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary power and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom."[14]

In a meeting of the Union Constitution Committee on June 6, 1947, headed by Nehru categorically declare that the Constitution should be a federal structure with a strong centre.[15]

In a separate note in May, 1947 to the Union Constitution Committee, Pannikker stated that "the Declaration of Union and Provincial Powers which federalism involves, is, to my mind a dead issue, and the idea which has gained prevalence that the Indian Constitution must be of a federal type is definitely dangerous, to the strength, prosperity and welfare of India. Federalism is a fair weather constitution and in the circumstances of India it is likely to be a dangerous experiment leaving the national government with but limited powers, weak and consequently incapable of dealing with national problems."[16]

A study of the debates in the Constituent Assembly will established

the fact that on the issue of federal structure as well as governance, many members expressed their opinion in support of a greater degree of state autonomy with a view to accommodating the interests of various regions and communities in the process. Most of them highlighted that India, being a huge country with diverse interests demands greater accommodative spirit which can only be achieved through a federal arrangement. It is relevant to mention what one of the Prominent Muslim members, Ismail Sahib said :

"Ours is a vast country of a great distances and huge population. However much the Centre may be anxious to accord uniform treatment to the various parts of the country, still, in the very nature of things, there will be drawbacks and shortcomings. This will naturally lead to discontent and conflict..............a federal type of government is more suitable than anything else for such a country as ours."[17]

Theoretically speaking, the drafting of a constitution of a country like India which, after a long struggle, attained independence, is conditioned by and dependent on a number of forces; historical, sociocultural, economic and political. The debates that took place in the Constituent Assembly reveal that the spirit of accommodation

and compromise worked at the centre of any discussion. The members also had the idea that the proposed constitution should have sufficient quality of adaptability and responsiveness to the outword challenges. Besides this, the makers of the constitution also paid attention to the disrupting forces which might undermine the very unity of the nation at that critical period of history. This sentiment has been expressed by Paul Brass when he observed:

"Indian's Constitution makers thought that they had good reasons to be fearful of disorder, even chaos, in the subcontinent as a consequence of the actions of a multiplicity of dangerous forces arising out of political movements associated with Muslim Communalism, secessionism and revolutionary communism. Moreover, some of those forces were associated with acts of violence, revolutionary insurrection, extensive communal killings and war. The response of India's Constitution makers to these threats and dangerous was to use them as a basis for framing a Constitution with numerous provisions designed to deal effectively with the threat of disorder through the creation of a strong centralized state."[18]

The makers of the Constitution, right from the beginning, were

engaged in providing a clear direction for making a strong Indian Republic. Consequently they laid emphasis on two important tasks : state-building and nation-building. While admitting the necessity of having a federal arrangement, they could not neglect the issue of keeping India unified and strong India. That was the reason why in sharing of powers between the centre and the states, the centre has been made more powerful.

The prevailing social, economic and political conditions of India immediately after the attainment of independence can be referred to. The state was totally shattered, social relations underwent drastic changes and the political environment was full of distrust and despair. In such a situation, it was quite natural for the makers of modern India to create a condition of faith, belief and commitment of the people towards democratic principles and ethos. Infact, this had been the compulsions with all nations all over the world who could attained independence after a long process of struggle for freedom.

A reference to the federal arrangement in India will show that it has broadly drawn ideas from the Government of India Act, 1935. For that reason, in the sphere of legislative relations, the centre

has been made more powerful. Not only that,in the sphere of administrative relations the commanding position of the centre has been established. Excepting a small number of areas, the states have been made more dependent on the centre.

Since political dynamics undergo changes with the changes in the environment in which it works, the federal experience in India has also witnessed changes both in qualitative and quantitative terms. The developments that took place since the Fourth General Elections, 1967 can be cited as the beginning of a process of further decentralization of powers, going beyond the structural frame of the constitution of India . After all, a constitution like that of India's one, is to acquire the character of, what Austin has correctly said, "A vehicle for Social Revolution. " If that is the aim, and rightly so, the constitution of India has to be not only flexiblebut also responsive to outwards changes.

The emergence of Coalition Politics in India has opened up new areas in federal governance where states are playing crucial roles and a restructuring of federal relations has become a necessity. With the decline of "One-dominant Party System" as Rajni Kothari has correctly described during "Congress System", a new power

configuration has emerged wherein the regional and local forces are at a greater position to demand share from the national resources.

The history of the evolution of India's federal system has passed through different phases. Needless to mention, the formative period after independence saw a process of centralization of powers. Although the system was modelled on a federal basis. This period of dominance by the centre lasted till 1966 when in the subsequent year there had been changes in the electoral verdict in some of the states. So a climate of 'Politics of Confrontation' emerged. But this was replaced by, what is known as, 'Politics of Burgaining' between the centre and the states. Interestingly, the era of coalition politics created a sense of cocperation between the Centre and the States which has led scholars to describe it as 'Cooperative federalism'. The current phase offers an example where the regional or state governments hold the driving force and a new idea of devolution of authority even at the grass-root level has emerged.

To conclude, the history of the evolutionary process in India offers some unique features of its own. Being essentially modeled on the West minister Pattern, India did not accept the unitary system of

governance. Here the federal arrangement has been largely modeled on the Canadian and marginally on the American system. But it should not be forgotten that each country has its own contextual and historical compulsions. Given that conditions, it can be stated that the evolutionary process of India's federal system is essentially India-Pacific and hence any similarity with any other system is bound to be outwardly superficial and not inwardly central.

Notes and References

1) Romila Thapar, A History of India, Vol.1, Penguin : Harmondsworth, 1966, p.82

2) Ibid., pp.80-81.

3) Wolseley Haig, The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, S. Chand and Company Ltd : New Delhi, 1979 . Percival Spear, A History of India, Vol. II, Penguin Books : Baltimore, Maryland , 1965, pp. 40-52

4) V.R. Dikshitar, Mauryan Polity, University of Madras : Madras, 1932, cited in Rekha Saxena, Situating Federalism:Mechanisms of Intergovernmental Relations in

Canada and India, Monohar : New Delhi, 2006, p.99.

5) J.C.Heesterman, The Inner Conflict of Tradition : Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society, OUP : Delhi, 1985.

6) Hermann Kulke, ed., The State in India 1000-1700, Oxford University Press : Delhi, 1995, p.7.

7) Cited in Rekha Saxena, Situating Federalism : Mechanisms of Intergovernmental Relations in Canada and India, Monohar : New Delhi, 2006, p.100.

8) John F. Richards, The Mughal Empire : The New Cambridge History of India, Foundation Books : Delhi, 1993, p.58.

9) Cited in Lawrence S'aez, Federalism Without a Centre : The Impact of Political and Economic Reform on India's Federal System, Sage : New Delhi, 2002, p.22.

10) M. P. Singh, 'Indian State : Historical Context and Change', The Indian Historical Review, Vol. XXI, Nos.1-2, January 1995, p.52.

11) Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India, pp.295-296.

12) Cited in K. R. Bombwall, Foundations of Indian Federalism,

Asia Publishing House : Bombay, 1967, p.120.

13) M.V. Pylee, Constitutional History of India (1600-1950), S. Chand : Delhi, 1984, p.82.

14) Constituent Assembly Debate, Vols. I -VI, Lok Sabha Secretariate, 1999, p.59.

15) B. Shiva Rao, ed., The Framing of India's Constitution : Select Document, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, Vol.2, 1967, p.553.

16) Cited in B. Shiva Rao, ed., Ibid, p.534.

17) Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, p.330.

18) Paul R.Brass, 'The Strong State and The Fear of Disorder', paper presented at the conference on Democracy and Transformation : India 50 years of Independence, New Delhi, November 16-19,1997,cited in Rekha Saxena, Situating Federalism:Mechanisms of Intergovernmental Relations in Canada and India, Monohar : New Delhi, 2006, p.110.

CHAPTER –3

EMERGENCE OF COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA- CAUSES AND GENERAL TRENDS

I

Any study of the trend in India's federal governance will reveal a number of features which are typically Indian in nature .

That is to say , these features cannot be found in any other federal experiments all over the world . India's federal experiment , it is admitted , is based on the model outlined in the Government of India Act, 1935. So far as distribution of power is concerned, there is heavy tilt towards the centre, thereby making the centre more powerful in relation to the states. Besides the political equations that emerged after the attainment of independence was the predominant position of the Congress Party in an essentially musty-party system. This was a novel feature which has led Rajni Kothari to described it as "One – dominant party system".

Moreover the position of the Congress Party was so strong that it could exert influence over all other political parties and the Congress Party was able to develop a pattern of governance which no other political party could do. The term "The Congress System" used by Rajni Kothari was an attempt to describe the situation.

II

One of the convenient ways of studying Indian politics is to make periodisation, however tentative it may be. From the point of view of party position and power equation, the periodisation can be as follows :

Phase 1	:	1950-1967
Phase 2	:	1967-1977
Phase 3	:	1977-1989
Phase 4	:	1989-Till Date.

It may be noted that in the first phase, it was the Indian National Congress which was in power both at the centre and the state levels. It was essentially a one-party dominance. But it is equally

interesting to note that the Congress as a unit of political power was also a combination of many interests and issues. So structurally it was a one-party affair, but inwardly it was a coalition of many interests issues, and objectives. So, it may not be incorrect to say that coalition of political interests was there in Indian politics right from the beginning.

The course of Indian Politics underwent substantial changes after the Fourth General Elections in 1967. For the first time some non-congress government were formed in some states. This was the beginning of coalition politics in India. It had its impact on the functioning of the federal system. It not only destroyed the congress system but also brought forth a new kind of politics-bargaining politics. A sense of competition emerged as the non-congress government began to demand more financial power. From the institutional point of view, two authorities were revitalized-the Planning Commission and the National Development Council. In a word, a climate of competition and confrontation in the field of sharing of federal power appeared and the emergence of coalition politics at the state level sowed the seeds of coalition politics at the national level, the culmination of which was seen in 1977

with the formation of the Janata Government of the centre.

Table showing the voter turnout and percentage of votes
polled by ruling and opposition political parties

Year	Electorate	Turnout	Percent voting	
			Ruling	Opposition
	(In millions)	Percentage	Party	Parties
1952	173.2	46.6	45.00	55.00
1957	193.7	47.1	47.78	52.22
1962	217.7	55.1	46.02	53.98
1967	250.1	61.1	40.73	59.27
1971	274.1	55.3	43.68	56.32
1977	321.2	60.5	43.00	57.00
1980	355.6	56.9	42.66	57.34
1984	375.8	63.4	49.16	50.84
1989	498.6	59.9	17.73	82.27
1991	510.2	60.3	37.00	63.00

Source : Press Information Bureau, The Government of India.

Cited in : S.S. Tiwana, Crisis in Indian Parliamentary democracy: The
Indian Journal of Political Science. Vol. – 55, No. 1 January – March,
1994

The overall impact of coalition politics on the nature of India's political party structure has been correctly assessed by Baldev Raj Nayer. Considering the social diversity and the method of mass mobilization pattern of the national political parties, he observes:

"India's immense social diversity and the considerable institutionalization of its democratic political framework have had a significant impact on the party system. This social heterogeneity has made the reaching of concrete policy decisions difficult. However, under its impact India's political parties have tended to become centrist. More recently, they have tended to enter into alliance - building, which has moderated the extreme ideological positions of individual parties. Social diversity has had a double effect. In the arena of political mobilization, it has accentuated appeals to ethnic identities. At the same time, it has attenuated tension by advancing a centrist agenda. No national Party appears to be immune from either tendency.[1]

Thus the emergence of coalition politics in India made the national parties realized the fact that henceforth, no single party can dominate the national as well as state level politics. Thus in place of

competitiveness, a new force began to appear which is known as "Dialogue, Debate and Discussion." In place of majority-minority syndrome, a new sense of equal Partnership emerged which led Rajni Kothari to remark "issue of federalism is gaining importance after a long period of ups and downs........the reality of growing regionalisation in politics. "[2]

This led to the concept of "governance through consensual approach." A number of issues that attracted attention of the Political Parties and which demanded national consensus were electoral reforms, centre-state relations, settlement of inter-state water dispute, welfare or the weaker sections and above all issues relations to economic reforms. In this connection an interesting point can be sited where major national parties came to agreement on vital issues like constitutional amendments and making adequate room for the regional parties to play major role in the governmental policy making process.

A look into the political scenario at the state level will show that regional political parties could capture power in states like Assam, Haryana, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and others. To the observers, this development was a healthy sign for the

prospect of cooperative federalism besides ensuring national unity.

So there were changes not only in the nature of federal process in the country but also infused dynamism which was very essential for the smooth functioning of the federal system. Side by side there was the need for alliance making by the national parties and in this process the regional parties became, in many cases the balancing factor. This process of coalition making has been described by Balveer Arora as "electoral federalism."[3] A new electoral arithmetic compelled the national political parties to see that proper seat – sharing between the national party and the regional parties is made.

This change scenario also pointed out that the demand for restructuring of centre-state relations and reevaluation of federal governance was justified. Although it is accepted that in the process of state building, nation building and development, the national parties should play a dominant role but it does not suggest that local or regional political parties should have more role to play. In fact, the changed political conditions established the fact that the success of coalition building is very much dependent on a harmonizing process between the national and state interests.

The emergence of coalition politics in India has released centrifugal forces in the political system and in this respect, constitutional scheme may not be helpful. One may not be incorrect to suggested that the demands for autonomy can be linked up with the release of this forces, so long lay beneath the political surface. There have been attempts at reconciling the issues of national unity and regional autonomy on a grand scale.

II

It is observed that the working of federal system in India since independence has shown both its strength and weakness. That the growing overcentralisation of power became inconsistent with the new realities of political climate became evident. It can be concluded that the conflicts between the centre and the states over federal governance were more political than legal-constitutional. There has been conflict of political ideologies, policies , issues, approaches and above all priorities. To suggest that this conflicts were mainly the conflicts between different institutions or personalities working at central and state levels will be an over-simplification of the problem. It becomes clear from the steps

taken by the centre to reconstruct the present federal set-up. The best example in this regard is the institution of the Sarkaria Commision and its recommendations on centre-state relations. Even the acceptance and subsequent implementation of some of the recommendations of the commission could not remove imbalances at the level of federal governing system. Reforms and changes cannot, therefore, be exhaustive and definitive because of fast changing political scenario of the country.

It is now believed that, given the Indian situation federalism should be a means for reconciliation between nationalism and regionalism. So long as regionalism is constructive and conforms to national demands, this should be encouraged. The politics of inclusion, as said earlier, should replaced the politics of exclusion and the political system should be so flexible as to accommodate divergent interests, operating at the local levels.

III

Coalition making has become a growing reality and it is gaining acceptability at all levels. That the pattern of coalition politics

will dominate the Indian situation has been widely accepted by the observers on Indian politics. In this context, one cannot ignore the forces like historical context, the social structure and the cultural environment of India. Here adopting a Western model of coalition building may be inadequate in explaining the historical reality. Coalition politics has emerged in India out of a number of factors, contextual and functional.

One may argue whether India's democratic experience and power sharing fits into what Arendt Lighphart called "Consociational pattern of democracy". Consociationalism proceeds on the assumption of what is known as "grand alliance"-an alliance of diverse forces and interests.

Without growing into this debate , it can be said that democracy or for that matter, federal democracy is nothing but the existence, interaction and formation of alliance of many forces.This had been and still is the feature of India's governing system . And coalition politics in India should be placed against this general backdrop.

The federal pattern in India as, has been evident from the preceeding discussion, shows that in the Indian context federal

governance has been a combination of many forces and factors, thus leading to the formation of some kind of coalitions both at the theoretical and at the operational levels. It can be recalled that even during the period of Congress hegemony, which Rajni Kothari called 'the Congress system' were examples of coalition making within the Congress Party itself. Coalition at the leadership level or coalition at the functional level relating to centre-state relations was quite evident. A look into the correspondences between the central leadership and the state leadership can substantiate these position There had been numerous occasions when Congress Chief Ministers came into direct conflict with the central leadership. It may not be out of place here to refer to the difference of attitude between Prime Minister Nehru and Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B.C. Roy over many economic issues relating to the development problems of the state. But these issues could be resolved and consensus reached because of the interplay of many other forces which were not visible or tangible at the first instance.

Since the inception , India's federal governance has shown remarkable degree of flexibility through which it could accommodate emerging forces and factors . Here a reference can

be made to the debates held at the Constituent Assembly. While debating on the future pattern of federal governance, members expressed not only different views but also took conflictual positions. The central issue was whether the union government should be made stronger and the federal units would be made dependent on it . But the conclusion that the Assembly could derive was that India's complex situational variation demanded a federal governance with a strong centralizing tendency.

But one should not ignore that political process of any polity does not and can not follow a single straight line. This is true for all countries of the world-be those federations or unitary systems. India's experience in federal governance has shown that with the changes in the party configurations, newer and newer forces emerged and federal governance had to be organized, restructured or modified with a view to either accommodating or absorbing those forces .

Because of these changed situations, there have been both qualitative and substantive changes in the federal operations in India. This can be considered as the justification for instituting a good number of commissions to look into the changes in federation

and recommend certain wage and means for enabling the federal governance to work in the change situation.

Thus a study relating to the emergence of coalition politics and the nature of federal governance should take into account not only political factors but also factors which are not strictly political but having their impact on the political process. A good example in this regard may be the ethnic or the linguistic considerations and their impact on the federal system in India. One may not be wrong in suggesting that the need for states reorganization on the basis of language was felt just to accommodate the linguistic aspirations of people at different regions. But had it been comprehensive and final in nature, there would have been no necessity for further reorganizing the federal polity on the basis of ethnicity or other considerations.

So in the context of political dynamics federalism can not be viewed merely as a governing structure but as a political process. With the changes in time and context, the nature of federalism is bound to undergo changes. In this process , many factors may contribute but it is not possible to single out one particular factor or issue responsible for it.

Viewed in this context, it is convenient to conceptualise federalism as a flexible notion. Even in the U.S.A , There have been qualitative changes in the federal governance over the years mainly in the economic field. Same is true about Canadian or Australian federation. A line of similarity between Canadian federation and the Indian federation can be drawn when the role of language or ethnicity is taken into consideration. In the same way the role of the judiciary, its attitudinal positions and the nature of judicial decision making can be cited as one of the possible explanations in this process.

IV

In the backdrop of these discussion the issues relating to coalition politics and its impact on the federal governance can be examined. For the sake of convenience a tentative periodisation as has already been made clearly shows that the nature of federal dynamics in India has not followed a uniform pattern ; rather there have been many turning points in the course of political developments in India. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the federalizing process is closely linked up with the changing dimantions of party position since 1950.

Seats contested and won and percentage of vote share in

Seats Contested :

Party Year	Parameter	BJP	INC	CPI	CPM	JD	BSP	DMK	AIADMK	TDP	SP
1989	A	227	510	49	64	243	246	32	11	33	-
	B	86	197	12	33	142	3	0	11	2	-
	C	24.4	40.9	25.6	53.8	38	1.91	39.5	72.1	52.7	-
	D	11.5	39.5	2.6	6.6	17.7	2.1	2.39	1.5	3.3	-
1991	A	168	492	42	60	307	231	30	11	35	2
	B	120	232	14	35	59	2	0	11	13	0
	C	19	37.4	29.4	52.7	17.5	1.58	36.3	76.7	44.2	.004
	D	20.1	36.5	2.5	6.2	11.8	1.61	2.1	1.6	3.0	-
1996	A	471	529	43	75	196	117	19	10	36	64
	B	161	140	12	32	46	11	17	0	16	16
	C	23.4	29.7	24.9	37.1	23.4	18.9	53.7	29.4	38.2	27.3
	D	20.3	28.8	2.0	6.1	8.1	3.6	2.2	0.6	3.0	2.9
1998	A	368	477	58	71	191	251	18	23	35	166
	B	182	141	9	32	6	5	6	18	12	20
	C	39.5	29.0	16.2	33.7	9.1	9.7	42.3	45.4	38.0	15.9
	D	25.6	25.9	1.7	5.1	3.2	4.6	1.4	1.8	2.8	4.9
1999	A	339	453	54	72	96*	225	19	29	34	151
	B	182	114	4	33	1*	14	12	10	29	26
	C	38.8	33.3	15	34.6	-	9.8	46.9	33.7	48.6	14
	D	23.8	28.3	1.4	5.4	-	4.1	1.7	1.9	3.7	3.8

*Figure represent the seats contested and won by JD(S), a Principal fragment of JD.

A.B – Seats contested/won, C-% vote in seats contested, D-% of all India vote.

It may be relevant to suggest that the rise and growth of coalition politics in India has a direct link with the breakdown of the 'Congress system' or the system better known as 'One dominant party system'. It will be too simplistic to suggest fall of the Congress system was the result of changes in the political environment only. Many other factors of economic or social nature contributed to its downfall. That is why, attempt should be made to look at the problem from a larger perspective , covering all dimensions of the political system. In other words, a multi-dimensional analysis of political and socio-economic issues becomes a necessity in order to situate the problem in the right contextual setting.

India's federal governance and the consequent emergence of new power configuration should be examined in the context of economic development , the policy of which has been adopted to overcome the crisis of development . In other words, it calls for the study of the respective rolls of the state and the market in the conduct of economic arrairs. Since Indian state represents democratic set-up , such a study should take into account the role of the societal

demands within a specified period . In the context of the economic liberalization period in 1990s, the democratic structure of the Indian state emerges as a key factor in analyzing the steps taken to solve economic crisis both at the national and regional levels.

A convenient way of explaining this economic factor in the federalising process can be made by referring to :

a)   the fundamental issues that emerge from the interaction of economic policy reform and the needs for federal restructuring;

b)   the nature and content of the Indian development model;

c)   the content of adaptation of the federalizing process in the context of emerging economic and political issues;

d)   the nature of response of the federal structure and the manners of either accommodating or rejecting the political compulsions.

That the nature of planning and overwhelming centralizing power of the central authority have been the areas of conflict can be traced back in the formulation of the national planning and its implementation during Nehru's regime. The consolidation of

political power enabled the Congress Party to adopt a comprehensive national planning which was later on challenged by the regional governments and which has been considered as one of the reasons behind the rise consolidation and manifestation of regional forces. In a general way, the Indian development pattern until the beginning of 1990s can be characterized as a highly centralized and unidirectional development model which failed to consider regional aspirations. This development pattern has been considered to have three dimensions :

a) the kind of industries accorded prominence ;

b) the orientation of these industries to the world economy ; and

c) the economic agents chosen for development.[4]

VI

The development pattern that India followed during this regime can be called a model towards heavy industrialization. It is interesting to note that this model and the pattern of development

had been followed during the period between 1956 and 1965 . From the point of view of political dynamics , this period witnessed a system where Congress as a political party dominated both the center and the state . One may even suggest that the 1956 industrial policy declarations set the trend of development process during this period . but subsequent developments have proved that changes in the political scenario has their direct impact on the federal functioning of a country and India was no exception. The central question that is generally advanced is : what were the economic and political compulsions that led the government to adopt a new strategy for economic development ? Closely following this comes the next question : what has been the nature of political configuration at the regional level which could be described as the factor responsible for bringing about such changes both at the structural and the functional levels ?

These two questions are , in a sense interrelated and can be fitted into, what is called the 'Power Theory' where political and economic forces interact with each other. One may recall the essence of the model developed by the Father of Indian Planning , P. C. Mahalanobis which can be stated as :

"In the initial stage of development, the larger the percentage [of] investment on consumer goods industries, the larger will be the income generated. But there is a critical range of time and as soon as this is passed, the larger the investment in investment goods industries the larger will be the income generated. Hence, it would be desirable to invest relatively more on the consumer goods industries: provided we are interested in the immediate future. If, on the other hand, we are interested in the more distant future, relatively larger investment on investment goods industries would give distinctly better result."[5]

It suggested that the model would consider 3 types of industrial productions—a) the basic goods, b) factory consumer goods, c) house-hold goods. In such a scheme more emphasis was placed on manufacturing sector which was intended to serve on a national scale. In fact, more emphasis was placed on industrialization and the agricultural sector did not receive adequate attention from the policy planner.

The history of subsequent economic developments show that the developmental model during Nehru's regime could not provide any answer to the emerging questions relating to the regional

autonomy and self-sufficiency. The bias towards public sector appeared to the policy planners to be a correct answer to the pressing questions. This was criticized in the scholarly statement which categorically stated:

"How to explain the Government of India adopting a strategy which turned out to be one for building State Capitalism in the name of Socialism but which was initially opposed by the bourgeoisie itself? .... This is one more instance in history of leaders of a ruling class being much more farsighted than individual members of the same class. This distance between the understanding of ruling class interests as perceived by ordinary individual members of the class and their representatives in the state can be so big that the former may actually oppose the actions of the state until they come to understand the real motive behind the state policies....... Nehru and his closest cabinet colleagues were alone crystal clear about what was happening –they alone did not suffer from any delusions."[6]

It is interesting to note that the Communist Party of India in 1977 supported the important features of the plan –frame since it put emphasis on the basic industries which in their opinion, might

reduce the dependence of India on foreign countries. It was clearly stated when the party observed :

"The proposals to build basic industries , if implemented , would reduce the dependence of India on foreign countries in respect of capital goods, strengthen the relative position of industry inside India and strengthen our economic position and national independence. The party, therefore, supports these proposals and also the proposal that these industries should be mainly developed in the public sector. It supports the proposal that the demand for consumer goods should be met, as far as possible, by better utilization of the existing capacity and by development of small-scale and cottage industries so that jobs are provided for an increasing number of people and maximum possible resources are available for the development of basic industries . The party not only supports these proposals but will expose and combat those who want them to be modified in a reactionary direction."[7]

Inspite of the opposition from the capitalist class, Nehru's commitment to socialism enabled him to go forward with socialist ideas where he wanted to put emphasis on equal distribution of resources through out the country. It may be recalled that in 1957

Nehru himself declared:

"The Picture I have in mind is definitely and absolutely a Socialistic Picture of society .I am not using the word in a dogmatic sense at all. I mean largely that the means of production should be socially owned and controlled for the benefit of society as a whole. There is plenty of room for private enterprise there, providing the main aim is kept clear. "[8]

In the same way the Second Five Year Plan declared :

"The basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain………. The public sector has to expand rapidly……….it has to play the dominant role………the public sector must grow not only absolutely but also relatively to the private sector. "

The same process continued till the stage arrived for liberalization in the context of globalization. The Nehruvian model of development, according priority to public sector has been replaced by a policy of liberalization, free market economy and deregulation where the state has been given a very marginal role to play. Since 1991 with the announcement of new economic policy, there have

been both qualitative and quantitative changes in the policy and performances of the government under democratic coalitions. It has been found that the practice of coalition at the center has been under the constant changes of government policy because a coalition government exists on the support of the coalition partners either from outside or from within the government. That is why it is held that coalition experience must be very temporary in nature. Moreover, the coalition government, in most cases, can not pursue a very consistent and uniform social, political and economic issues for a longer period. That is why, Lawrence Lowell observed long back that,...... "except under very peculiar circumstances, coalition ministers are short-lived compared with homogenous ones."[9]

This position has been analyzed by the scholars with the help of the theory known as "prisoners dilemma" in which case the coalition partners see the merit of cooperation and demerits of opposition.

The Indian experience with coalition governments has brought about many changes both at the structural as well as operational planes. During the 1996 elections, there appeared an anti-Congress

wave and a move for rejection of the Congress Party. Although in the 1996 elections the Congress could capture 162 seats out of 546 in the Parliament. In the elections of 1996, the United Front Coalitions consisting of major regional parties and the Left Front assumed office on June 1, 1996. The basic thrust of this attempt was to ensure secularism and socialism among the 13 constituent Groups of the United Front Coalition, the key political parties were : The Janata Dal [46 seats]; the C.P.I.(M) [32 seats]; the Tamil MaanilaCongress [20 seats]; the D.M.K [17 seats]; the Samajwadi Party [17 seats]; the Telugu Desam Party [16 seats] and the Communist Party of India [13 seats]. However, the C.P.I.(M) remained outside the government but continued to offer support from outside.

An analysis of the United Front will show that it was primarily a centre-left coalition which was formed on the basis of two principles : Secularism and anti-Congressism . The government tried to negate the economic policies adopted during 1950s , 1960s and 1970s. Moreover , efforts were directed toward creating a condition for rejecting the policies of the B.J.P.

The formation of the United Front Coalition was considered to be

an attempt against Congress Party and the rejection of the economic policy during Congress regime. It was clearly stated by the C.P.I.(M) that no privatization will be allowed and the state would have to play more proactive role in the development process.

The coalition partners agreed to adopt 'A Common Approach to Major Policy Matters and a Minimum Programme'. The Common Minimum Programme that was adopted tried to provide direction to the Government Policy.

It is important to note that the United Front acknowledged the role of the corporate sector in creating 'a strong and modern India' with a view to enabling her to face global competition. It fixed a target of 7% annual growth rate in GDP and 12% annual growth rate in industry. At the same time the United Front acknowledged the importance of public sector and suggested policy's for its strength and competitiveness.

The Common Minimum Programme (CMP) also declared the policy of 'growth with social justice' with regard to employment, public distribution system and education. It also admitted the fact that the Coalition Partners which were mostly state-based parties, should

be given adequate space for forwarding their demands. The CMP received support from all quarters. Even the media analyzed the points of strength and weakness of this declaration . The Times Of India in its 6th June 1996 edition held the view that the CMP "reads a lot like manifestos of the two major political formations, the Congress Party and the Bharatiyo Janata Party.......It is reassuring to see the vast common ground between all the national and regional parties on issues of central concern to the people of India ."[10]

The Economic Times of June 6 , 1996 in its editorial under the title, "Good Script , Act on It" observed : " The United Front has just supplied Dr. Manmohon Singh's answer to those who raised skeptical eyebrows at his assertion of broad national consensus on economic reform continuity is the hallmark of the United Front Government's economic policy as enumerated in the Fronts Common Minimum programme."[11]

VII

Phenomenal changes have taken place in the course of federal

dynamics over the years. The culmination of this process can be seen in the Tenth General Elections when the regional/local political parties found adequate space in the game of national power-sharing.The local players were seen very much eager to play key role in national politics. This was quite visible from the electoral success of different regional parties is indicative of this situation. It can be understood in the context of the following observation when the scholar holds :

"In the 10th General Election it was for the first time forcefully asserted that regional Parties did not simply mean state Politics; that these parties were not only state-level players but were seeking a share in central power in order to renegotiate their Position within the nation. In the Eleventh General Election in 1996, In performance of regional Parties was striking. In Assam the AGP and other smaller groups polled 39.3% of the vote; in Andhra Pardesh the TDP (Naidu), the TDP (Parvathi), and others polled 49.4%; in Bihar the combined vote of the Samata Party. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, and others was 37.6% apart from the 25.7% for the Janata Dal, which is now no more that a regional Party. In Haryana the vote won by regional Parties was a hopping

53%. In Maharashtra the Shiv Sena and others polled 25.8%; in Punjab the two Akali Dal and the other groups got 41.5%; in Tamil Nadu the Combined vote of the DMK, the ADMK, the breakaway MDMK, the PMK, and the Metamorphosed Congress breakaway came to well over 60% and if we include other smaller groups the total was a phenomenal 71.9%. In Uttar Pradesh the combined vote of the JD, the SP, the BSP, and others was 53.9%. In the event, many of these parties became coalition parties in he subsequently formed United Front Government that is now in Power at the Centre."[12]

That the states in India in this changed political environment began to assume a character almost identical with the Pan-Indian perspective, has been highlighted in the following observation when the author has very correctly observed :

"It has been said that the entire post, independence period can be read on the one hand as a constantly threatened and fragile attempt to reinvest in a Pan Indian identity on behalf of he state and the various all-India Political Parties, including the Lift Parties and the Communists. On the other side, Pan-Indian identity was being constantly renegotiated through the 'locality'. The local space was

never well-defined, either geographically or socially, or even culturally. Regionalisation in a Problematic Category when used in the Indian Political Context, for it immediately brings to mind an entity or ret of entities distinct from the national and usually well-defined in geographical and linguistic cultural terms. I use the term locality to distinguish it not just from the national space but also from the regional in the above sense. It is meant to connote location of specific social groups almost any of the grids of identity linguistic, religious, caste, ethnic - the amchal (as district from the state, e.g. Bundelkhand, Bhojpur, Uttarakhand, Rohilkhand). It is quite clear that if we examine the development of this period, those identities were fluid and fuzzy, and therefore could potentially take on any shape."[13]

Going back to the days of freedom struggle movement, it had been noticed by scholars that the mediating role of local identities was very much present there, of course, with a different objective in view:

"It can be argued that such local identity has always mediated the sence of "being Indian", and that since the days of the national movement, the Swaraj of the Indian identity was the precondition

of the Swaraj of so many local identities. What is happening now is not that the nation is distingrating but that in the discursive shift that has taken place, it is that relationship that is being reversed: the Swaraj of the local is a Precondition for the "real" Indian Swaraj.[14]

It appears to be very difficult to characterize the nature of Indian politics in one single statement. That is why a better way to understand it is to study its course of development in different clearly separate phases. The following observation given by Sudipto Kaviraj deals with this aspect in greater details. :

"It is, therefore, necessary that we reconceptualize Indian Politics in fundamentally different ways. Indian Politics has been understood so far in terms of "Who governs and "how is order maintained." Various concepts such as the congress system, coalition era, and that Post-Congress polity focus only on one aspect of the situation. What happens, however, if we shift our page from the questions of order and governance to those of mass movements and popular protest ? What sort of a picture do we get of the Indian Polity ?"[15]

A federal Governemance in Indian has been viewed phase-wise by many scholars, Sudipto Kaviraj, for instance, has made clear decision of this Process highlighting the distinctive features of each Phase, In has elaboration, he has noted the interaction between Political process and the Political environment, keeps into consideration the forces and factors that have determined the course of development .

The period upto 1979-80 can be further subdivided into two phases. The first was when attempts were being made to settle disputes over insure like the linguistics reorganization of states, mainly in institutional forms. There were movements for the creation of states like the Andhra Mahasabha, the Samyukta Mahrasthtra, and the maha Gujarat movements. By and large, the fact that many leaders of the nationalist movement generation where still at the helm of affairs provided the legitimacy that was required for an "orderly" settlement of disputes. This period could actually be said to have began in 1952 rather than 1947 since, as sudipta Kaviraj suggests, the early years were ones of realignment and the metamorphosis of the Congress.[16]

Aditya Nigam has elaborated this point by referring to the

problematic areas in explaining the distinctiveness of this analysis:

"In any case, it is important to remember that when we are defining the overarching tendencies, they were not the only ones present, even during this period. There were also the problematic areas, such as the entire Northeast and Kashmir, that defined any solution within the given institutional frameworks. The second phase, beginning around 1966 and going on to late 1970's, was a period that saw the rise of militant, radical protests: famines and widespread food riots, movements against price increases and corruption, the Gujarat and Bihar movements, the Naxalite movement, and the railway strike of 1974. The rise of left-wing movements and governments was symptomatic of these times, which continued for a brief period after the emergency (1975-77). While these movements were radical in the ideological sense and in the forms of protest they adopted. Often going outside the available institutional forms of redress, they continued to operate within the inherited consensus. They sought redress within the form of nation-state without even remotely challenging the idea of the 'Indian nation', as if it were immutable"[17]

By following Aditya Nigam it can be said that the 1979-80 and

1989 period sees the first split in the secular nationalist discourse that grew out of the freedom struggle. It was the first time when the overarching Indian identity gives birth to various ods and ends identities. Aditya Nigam suggested that there are "four major strands which can be discerned in this period [18]:

1) Subnational assertions of identity and movements for autonomy, ranging from Punjab and Assam to Jharkhand, Gorkhaland, and Uttarakhand. It is this situation that also opened the political space for the assertion of the Hindu right; indeed, many of these movements and assertions of identity took on anti-democratic and sectarian forms.

2) Struggles around issues of gender oppression, with questions like dowry, rape/ custodial rape, and sati occupying centre-stage. These struggles, even through they remained self-consciously within the secular- nationalist framework, took on a different character in practice. The fact that they were privileging the identity of the woman over all other identities, in effect brought all other institutions from the family to the state into question. To that extent, these struggles belong to this moment of rupture

of the secular-nationalist discourse.

3) Ecological movements centering largely on the displacement of people by large dams and mega-development projects, as well as on people's access to natural resources. Such movements also focused on questions of tribal and local cultural identity and its erasure by the homogenizing processes of development. Therefore, they emphasized local sovereignty. Here, too, it is necessary to keep in mind that within these movements there also were strands that preferred to remain within the consensus, demanding only the rehabilitation of the displaced.

4) Issues of caste oppression starting to come to the fore in a major way in many northern states."

In 1990, three important events have characterized the political scenario of India-

a) The anti-Mandal Commission agitation.

b) The dramatic initiation of the structural adjustment programmes from July 1991 onwards.

c)   The demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in December 6, 1992.

Following Aditya Nigam it can be said that these three features "mark a discursive rapture along a common grid symbolically overturning the discourse on privilege and oppression. The anti-Mandal agitation transforms the upper-caste elite into the "victim" and the "oppressed", just as structural adjustment transforms the organized worker into a privileged being and the investor/ entrepreneur/ capitalist into a harassed "victim of socialist tyranny". The third event transforms the majority Hindu community into the 'besieged victim', outflanked on all sides by the Muslim minority-turned-oppressor. This could be termed the second moment of rupture; if the first ruptured the secular-nationalist discourse 'from below', the second could be said to have done so 'from above'. The socialist welfare state becomes the target of criticism- through policies of affirmative action, an interventionist economic role, and a pseudo-secularist appeasement of minorities- for having created new privileged classes/groups.[19]

The causes behind the break-down of the 'Congress System' has been detected and twin reasons have been identified : centralization

and de-institutionalization. The result of this breakdown has been tremendous and exerted a far reaching influence in the federal governance in India. The decline of Congress System began in the late 1960s and it was the 1980s which witnessed the breakdown of the Congress party both at the centre and in the states. As Sudha Pai observed that 'under Indira Gandhi there had been a gradual erosion of inner-party democracy, increasing use of centralizing institutional devices, and interference in the working of state governments, leading to loss of autonomy and even atrophy of the party organization in the states.[20] Rajiv Gandhi, during his prime ministership, failed to reverse these trends and revitalize party structures, leading to a total shift from a 'mediatory' to a 'plebiscitary' model in which the leader overshadowed the party, weakening it.[21]

In spite of the fact the Congress regained its dominance in 1980 elections but there was difference between pre-1980 position and post-1980 positions both from the quantitative and qualitative perspectives. Sudha Pai described that "Although the Congress Party achived massive victories in the 1980 and 1984 parliamentary elections, this did not restore its structure of

dominance that had been undermined by its defeat in the 1977 elections by the Janata Party. And its dominance was only 'partially restored' in its traditional bastion of the Nehru era, the six northern states in the Hindi heartland. As a result the party leadership began a southern strategy, entering into an electoral alliance with the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, which enabled it to win 25 parliamentary seats in 1984. In Kerala the Congress won 13 of the state's 20 seats, improving its performance over 1980 when it won only 5 seats, while in eastern India it improves its position due to its gains in Orissa where it won 20 of 21 seats. However, in the upper South, regional parties- the Telugu Desam and the Janata party................The all-India opposition parties now had space to build regional bases in states where Congress support began to decline rapidly."[22]

The roots of regionalization can be traced in the socio-cultural and historical settings of Indian polity. There were and still are "poly-centre" situations where local authority comes into conflict with national authority and the federal system is largely a combination of a number of power-centres either at the regional and national levels. Following Sudha Pai it can be stated that

'The party system since 1947 has simultaneously undergone a process of broadening and regionalization, that is, a steady movement away from a single centre toward multiple poles in the states. The emerging region-based multy -party system as reflected in the results of the 1996 Lok Sabha elections is largely an outcome of this process. This is a logical development in a federal society with diverse cultural and linguistic regions, and is also part of the wider process of democratization since independence. The seeds of this development were present in the immediate post-independence period because the process of regionalisation began in the colonial era as a product of the historical-cum-geographical configurations of the subcontinent-the way in which nationalism arose and the modern nation-state was formed here, and consequently, the organizational structure and manner of working of the Indian National Congress.'[23]

In this respect, a brief reference has been made to the circumstances leading to the birth of the Indian National Congress. The historical setting and compulsions of that time can be held instrumental in creating an all-India forum to ventilate the grievances of the people of India. Sudha Pai further developed her view as "The reason for

the development of the Congress into an all-India party, dominant both at the centre and in a number of states, lie in the peculiar circumstances under which it was formed . Due to the presence of the imperial power, the first aim of all nationalists was to attain independence, leaving all other social and economic problems to be solved later. Hence, the Congress developed into a broad movement that enabled it to be identified with the Indian state after independence, while opposition parties were unable to claim such a legacy and could not challenge it. But with the establishment of a democratic polity, the process of regionalisation began to operate actively; the linguistic reorganization of states in 1956 and later the redrawing of some state borders brought territorial boundaries into close alignment with their sociocultural coordinates. [24]

In this respect, D.B.Forrester argued that the consequence was an "indigenization and democratization of provincial politics which gave a strong impetus to the development of political cultures, enhancing the political significance of caste and educated regional elites".[25]

The reasons why other opposition parties such as Jana Sangha,

Socialist, Swatantra and Marxist failed to develop an all- India base in all major regions due to the great diversity among the regions. The nature of one- party dominance consequent on the emergence of the Congress Party and its impact on the over-all party-configuration has been well explained in these following observation :

Rajni Kothari observes that 'in the post independence period, the concept of one-party dominance was formulated to describe the workings of the Congress Party.[26] Following the same way Pradeep Chibber and J.R. Petrocik have raised the question 'whether there has ever existed anything that can be called a central party system. First the Congress Party in the post-independence period has been a coalition of state units held together by the central leadership, thereby reflecting the federal society in which it is situated.[27] In the same way Sudha Pai observes that "the parliamentary elections have represented simply a sum total of the distinctive results in each of the states, the common feature being the existence of the Congress as the largest or second largest party in every state. The party has always operated through local networks of social workers and entrepreneurs, and as a result the regional base of the

Congress has shifted to reflect changing configurations within the states. Second, beneath the apparently strong position of the Congress, distinct state party systems have developed in all the states since independence. Third, there has been not one but many distinct Congress 'parties' at different points in time : the Congress party of the Nehruvian era, the party under Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, and so on, each with its own system of predominance, ideology, organizational structure, and membership. In fact, 'structural consolidation' of a one-party dominant system remained incomplete, which explains the rapid electoral decline of such a large and old party. Thus the notion of a stable, continuous, and unchanging one-party system is incorrect".[28]

The rapid process of regionalization in the political process of India can be explained with referenceto the post-1980 developments which witnessed two important currents of political dynamics : rapid increase in politicization and democratic consciousness in the states. A. Ghosh and R.Chakraborty in their edited book and Prabhat Datta in his writing argued that regional disparities and political mobilization on the basis of territorial

identities also generated fresh demands for decentralization and the formation of separate states by non-congress parties in power in many states.[29]

The 1996 elections and its aftermath can be cited as the culmination of the process already visible in the political dynamics of the country. A new set of regionalized multi-party system emerged thereby replacing the old multy-party system at the national basis. In her writing Sudha Pai has described the reason for the emerging party system as 'the result of the 1996 Lok Sabha elections point to the emergence of a new regionalized multy-party system in the Indian polity. Although the contours of this new system are not yet clear, some of its features can be identified- a) there has been a shift from a hegemonic to a competitive multi-party system at the national level consisting of the three all- India parties ......b).In India today, the all-India parties are limited to specific regions and are competing for power at the centre ....c)The multi-party system at the national level is moving toward 'federalization', a process visible in the 1989,1991, and particularly the 1996 Lok Sabha elections.[30]

The courses of political developments in India suggest that during the dominant position of the Congress Party, there has been sharp decline in the territorial pluralism working with the party system at the state level. It is generally believed that the factors of charismatic leadership of Nehru and Indira Gandhi, transformed the nature of the working of the Congress Party into a highly personalized and centralized affair. L. Neumann Franz argued that "the Congress party which was monolithic lacking democratization and dominated by Indira Gandhi, subsequently baptized in her own name and the disarrayed and truncated opposition created a political environment in which the charismatic personality structure of Indira Gandhi staged a dramatic role for the manifestation of a unitary centre.[31]

As Duchacek described, 'With the party, whatever its members and supporters commitment to federalism or Unitarianism, there may emerge a charismatic leader of exceptional talent and skill whose personal bias against, or in favour of, a territorial dispersion of power may give a new orientation to the party and to the political system.[32]

With the decline of the monolithic nature of the Congress Party, there had been rise and growth of regional parties with assertions of regional demands thereby changing the very nature and functioning of the federal process in India. During 80s, in Indira Gandhi's reign Chief Ministers of non-congress states and opposition leaders formed coalition conclaves at various places like Kolkata, Bangalore and New Delhi not only demonstrating centre's negligence of state's development programmes and eroding of states autonomy but insisting upon a need to review the centre-state relationship.(33) The example of such kind of Council for centre-state relations for ensuring a more equitable distribution of resources is Council for the Southern Region headed by Chief Ministers like Ramkrishna Hegde of Janata Party in Karnataka, M.G. Ramchandran of AIADMK IN Tamil Nadu, N.T. Rama Rao of Telegu Desam in Andhra Pradesh. (34)

The nature and impact of coalition politics in India can better be understood with reference to electoral politics. In a democratic process, electoral politics not only signify the percentage of people participating in the voting process, it also indicates the support

base of each of the political parties. After all, the primary task of a political party participating in the election process is to gain maximum number of seats. In a situation where individual political parties can enlist support from the electorate on their own strength, the picture becomes clear. But in a coalition politics where a combination of political parties seeks to gain maximum supports, the picture becomes rather hazy and the process of politics becomes fluid. Even within this structure, when pre-election coalitions are made, it is easy to understand the nature and quantum of support that a particular group can achieve. But the calculation becomes complicated when post-election coalitions are made. In such a situation, the electoral arithmetic follows a very difficult path because the constituent parties in such a coalition seeks to take advantage of the fluid political situation.

The following table dealing with all- India Lok Sabha results, 2004 will ellastrate this point, because in this election, pre-electoral alliances were made and the result was very clear both in terms of alliance making and seat capturing.

All- India Lok Sabha Results 2004

Party	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Change from 1999	Vote (Per cent)	Change from 1999
Congress allies	**535**	**222**	**69**	**36.53**	**-0.39**
Congress	414	145	31	26.44	-1.85
TRS	6	5	5	0.60	0.60
IND (Congress)	6	1	1	0.16	0.16
RJD	28	24	17	2.39	-0.38
LJNS	11	4	4	0.66	0.66
NCP	22	9	2	1.78	-0.36
JMM	7	4	4	0.41	0.20
PDP	3	1	1	0.07	0.07
MUL	2	1	-1	0.19	-0.03
KCM	1	0	0	0.05	-0.04
JDS	1	0	-1	0.05	-0.03
RPI	2	0	0	0.04	-0.09
RPI (A)	1	1	0	0.09	-0.04
PRBP	1	0	0	0.06	0.06
DMK	16	16	4	1.81	0.08
MDMK	4	4	0	0.43	-0.01
PMK	6	6	1	0.56	-0.10
PDS	2	0	0	0.02	0.02
AC	1	0	0	0.62	0.60

Party	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Change from 1999	Vote (Per cent)	Change from 1999
NDA	**543**	**189**	**-89**	**35.88**	**-2.39**
BJP	364	138	-44	22.16	-1.59
TDP	33	5	-24	3.04	-0.61
JD(U)	33	8	-13	1.94	-0.99
IND(BJP)	1	1	1	0.18	0.18
IFDP	1	1	1	0.07	0.07
SHS	22	12	-3	1.77	0.24
BJD	12	11	1	1.30	0.10
SAD	10	8	6	0.90	0.21
AIADMK	33	0	-10	2.19	0.27
TRMC	31	2	-6	2.06	-0.51
MNF	1	1	1	0.05	0.05
SDF	1	1	0	0.04	0.01
NPF	1	1	1	0.18	0.18
LEFT	**112**	**61**	**18**	**8.01**	**0.13**
CPI	33	9	5	1.32	-0.16
CPI(M)	69	43	10	5.66	0.26
JDS (Left)	1	1	1	0.09	0.09
KEC	1	1	0	0.09	-0.01
IND (Left)	1	1	1	0.08	-0.07

Party	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Change from 1999	Vote (Per cent)	Change from 1999
RSP	4	3	0	0.43	0.01
FBL	3	3	1	0.35	0.01
BSP	435	19	5	5.33	1.16
SP +	247	39	11	4.93	0.79
SP	237	36	10	4.31	0.55
RLD	10	3	1	0.61	0.24
OTHERS	3563	13	-14	9.32	0.69

NET EFFECT OF CHANGE IN ALLIANCES

	Congress Alliance (UPA)		National Democratic Alliance	
	Seats	Vote (Per Cent)	Seats	Vote (Per Cent)
New allies added in 2004	49	6.32	4	2.53
Alliances of 1999 dropped	3	2.80	31	3.96
Net Gain/Loss (+/-)	+46	3.52	-27	-1.43

Notes :   *New allies of the Congress are : NCP, TRS, DMK, MDMK,*

PMK, LJNP, PDP and JMM

Old Congress allies now dropped include : RLD and

AIADMK.

New allies of the NDA are AIADMK, SDF, MNF, IFDP and

NPF.

Old NDA allies now dropped include : DMK, MDMK, PMK,

INLD, and LJNP*.

*LJNP (Lok Janshakti Party) was formed after the 1999

Lok Sabha Elections and in 1999 it was a party of the JD

(U) [Janata Dal (United)].

Source : CSDS Data tables.

Thus it may be concluded that the 2004 elections show the emergence of Congress-led alliance as the coalition having greatest number of seats. It should be mentioned that the Congress alliance (UPA) gets support of the Left Parties who have not joined the government and the alliance and its supporters work on the basis of Common Minimum Programme.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1) Baldev Raj Nayar, BJP'S Economic Nationalism in Theory and Practice, in Ashutosh Varshney, ed., India and the Politics of Developing Countries; Essays in Memory of Myron Weiner, Sage Publications, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London, p.253

2) Cited in M.G. Khan, Coalition Government and Federal System in India, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol-64, No.3-4, July- December, 2003, p.186.

3) Ibid, p.187.

4) Gereffi, Gary and Donald L. Wyman, eds., Manufacturing Miracles : Paths of Industrialization in Latin America and East Asia, Princeton University Press, 1990, p.17.

5) P.C. Mahalanobis, 'Some Observations on the Process of Growth of National Income', Sankhya, Xii, Part-4, pp.307-312, 1953, Cited in Baldev Raj Nayar, Globalization and Nationalism : The

Changing Balance in India's Economics Policy, 1950-2000, Sage, 2001, pp.54-55.

6) Ashok Rudra, 'Planning in India : An Evaluation in Terms of Its Models', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-XX., No.17, 1985, pp.758-764.

7) C.P.I resolution 1977, cited in Baldev Raj Nayar, opcit, pp.75-76.

8) Jawaharlal Nehru, Planning and Development : Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru-1952-1956, New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India.

9) Lawrence Lowell, Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol.I, Harvard University Press, 1986, pp.73-74.

10) Cited in Baldev Raj Nayar, 'Policy and Performance under Democratic Coalition : India's United Front Government and Economic Reforms, 1996-98', Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Vol.37, No.2, July 1999, p.29.

11) Ibid.

12) Aditya Nigam, India After The 1996 Elections : Nation, Locality and Representation, Asian Survey,

Vol.XXXVI, No.12, December, 1996, p.1165.

13).   Ibid, pp.1165-1166.

14)   V.B. Singh and Yogendra Yadav, 'The Maturing of a Democracy', India Today, August 31, 1996, cited in Aditya Nigam, India After The 1996 Elections : Nation, Locality, and Representation, Asian Survey, Vol. XXXVI, No.12, December 1996, p.1166.

15)   Sudipto Kaviraj, 'A Critique of the Passive Revolution', EPW, Special number, 1988, cited in Ibid, p.1166.

16)   Ibid.

17)   Aditya Nigam, India After The 1996 Elections : Nation, Locality and Representation, Asian Survey, Vol.XXXVI, No.12, December, 1996, p.1166-67.

18)   Ibid, p.1167.

19)   Ibid, p.1168.

20)   Sudha Pai, 'Transformation of the Indian Party System : The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections,' Asian Survey, Vol-XXXVI, No.12, December 1996, p.1171.

21) L.I. Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph, "Organisational Adaptation of the Congress under Rajiv Gandhi's leadership", R. Sisson and R. Roy, eds., Diversity and Dominance in Indian Politics, Vol.1, New Delhi, Sage, 1990, pp.85-103.

22) Sudha Pai, 'Transformation of the Indian Party System : The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections,' Asian Survey, Vol-XXXVI, No.12, December 1996, p.1171-1172.

23) Cited in Ibid, .p-1172.

24) D.B. Forrester, "Sub-regionalism in India : Case of Telengana,"Pacific Affairs, No.1 (Spring 1970), pp.5-21.

25) Rajni Kothari, 'The Congress System in India', Asian Survey, December 1964, and Politics in India (New Delhi : Longman,1970).

26) Pradeep Chibber and J.R. Petrocik, 'Social Cleavages and the Indian Party System', in Sisson and Roy, Diversity and Dominance, p.3.

27) Sudha Pai, 'Transformation of the Indian Party System : The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections,' Asian

Survey, Vol-XXXVI, No.12, December 1996, p.1173.

28) Sudha Pai, 'Transformation of the Indian Party System : The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections', Asian Survey, Vol-XXXVI, No.12, December 1996, p.1174.

29) A. Ghosh and R. Chakraborty, eds., 'Ethnonationalism : The Indian Experience', Calcutta : Chatterjee Publications, 1991; and Prabhat Datta, Regionalisation of state politics in India, New Delhi : Sterling Publications,1993.

30) Cited in Sudha Pai, 'Transformation of the Indian Party System : The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections', Asian Survey, Vol-XXXVI, No.12, December 1996, p.1182.

31) Neuman Franz L., Approaches to the Study of Political Power', The Political Science Quarterly, Vol.65, No.2, June 1950, p.162.

32) Duchacek, Ivo D., Comparative Federalism : The Territorial Dimension of Politics, Holt, Rinehard and Winston, New York, 1970, p.336.

33) Cited in Narottam Gaan, 'Conceptualising Indian Federalism : A Matrix of Dynamics of Power : Omnipotence of Centre A Myth ?' , The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol.52, No.1, January-March,1991.

34) Ibid, p.100.

35) Times of India (New Delhi), March ,1983.

IMPACT OF COALITION POLITICS ON THE WORKING OF THE FEDERAL SYSTEM IN INDIA – MAJOR CHANGES IN THE ADOPTED PATTERN OF FEDERAL GOVERNANCE

I

The nature of Political Process in India has undergone qualitative changes since 1967 when after the 4th General Elections, some non-Congress governments where formed in some states of the Indian Federal System. It is considered to be a water-shed in the federal governance as it brought to the surface a number of issues of profound socio-political and economic implications which could not be visible earlier. Not only that it brought a new Power configuration and new equilibrium in the political and administrative Process in India.

Needless to mention, it had its impact on the "Congress System"

as expressed by Rajni Kothari in his construction of "one dominant Party System" model. With the emergence of some non-Congress parties, mostly regional in character and a process of regionalisation in Indian Politics began to appear.

From the functional point of view, there had been changes in the federal governance in so far as the newly installed non-congress governments began to claim for greater share from the national resources both political and economic. The immediate result was the call for a total restructuring of the centre-state relations, particularly in the field of financial relations in India.

II

In this context, a look into the nature of stresses and tensions may help understand the general course of federal process. For convenience, the tensions which had their impact on the functioning of the federal system may be broadly classified into two (i) Political tensions both within the ruling party and with the ruling party and other opposition parties and (ii) Economic tensions arising out economic power bases and the attitude of

the political parties towards them. It is accepted that so far as economic dimension of the tension is concerned, it is mostly due to the conditions of unevenness, leading to instability of the social base.[1]

With the changes in the economic scenario and shift in economic priorities, there had been signs of movements and displacement of the working class from labour intensive to capital intensive production. This had resulted in a vast expansion of labours both in the organized, unorganized and marginal sectors, causing further weakening of the basis of work-force. The total impact of this change has been described as an intensification of the horizontal contradiction within the dominant class during these periods.[2] Whether this was a conflict between the industrial bourgeoisie and the rising rich and middle peasant classes is still a matter of great debate. But one thing was clear that due to this process a new kind of tension and conflict developed between the rich and the middle peasants on the one hand and the poor peasants and landless labourers on the other hand.

Besides these political and economic dimensions, cultural and linguistic differences have also contributed to the emergence of

a new kind of environment which had its impact on the general nature of federal governance in India. There had been sharp differences between Hindi-belt which mostly covers the heartland of India and non-hindi-belt mostly representing the South. The tension became so complex that the entire nation seemed to be on the verge of a vertical split which in turn had their impact on the federal process. The Three Language Formula as adopted is nothing but a working mechanism to solve this pressing problem to save the polity from further cleavage.

Another issue in the study of coalition politics in India calls for greater attention. The emergence of coalition politics has brought forward a new power equation in which smaller states have found important position in the federal governance. Without going into the theoretical position of "greater nationalism", "lesser nationalism", "little nationalism", and the like, one can draw the conclusion that in the newly created political arrangement, smaller states with greater political capability in the field of power manipulation can play a very decisive role in the federal process. The reorganization of states on the basis of language, it is now admitted, could not produce the optimum result. Had it been so, there would have been no signs of further

demand for creation of new states on the basis of language and ethnicity. The experiences that the Indian state has gained over the years show that all types of regional or local issues create situations for the emergence of new types of demands – sometimes demand for 'autonomy' and sometimes the creation of the state. The experiences of recent movements in the North-Eastern region as well as in some parts of India will establish the fact that regional assertions or demands may appear for a number of reasons. It should be noted that not all the demands will culminate in the creation of a state but there are some instances where new states have been created in order to satisfy the local aspirations.

From the functional point of view it may be noted that there have been sharp changes in the relationship between the Congress Party and other non-Congress regional political parties. It is true that in most of the cases, before the emergence of coalition politics and because of the dominant position of the Congress party, the local or the regional parties did not enjoy any influential authority in the total political process. But there have been significant changes since 1967 and a climate of bargaining

politics had taken its roots and in this process local or regional parties have been able to come forward with their agenda of action.

For a better understanding a tentative periodization can be made. Following T.V. Sathyamurthy, the periodization may be as follows : a) the era of linguistis cultural differentiation within a framework of unchallenged unity and integrity of the Indian State (1947-67); b) the era of centralization following the challenge from the states (1967-77); c) a brief interregnum of attempts to redress the balance of influence in favour of the centre (1977-84); and d) the era of coalition and co-existence between the centre and the states (from 1985).[3]

III

It is generally understood that the actual functioning of the federal system in any country does not depend on the nature of the constitution or the general-legal framework but on the various factors that influence the political process in the country. Of all these factors , the role of the political parties assumes great

importance and it would therefore be of considerable relevance to examine to what extent and in what way political parties in India have been able to influence the working of Indian federalism. Any discussion on this aspect may start by referring to Art.1 of the Indian Constitution which describes it a "Union of States". This term rests on the assumption that the concept of power is 'one dimensional' and 'one directional'. The whole idea proceeds on the assumption and paradigm that power is to be understood in a 'possessional' or 'capability' sense . But the working of India's federal system over the last few decades has proved that the term used in Art.1 was to convey the general trend of the federal governance in India . Moreover, there are two areas which call for further analysis. These are : 'dispositional' and 'control over systemic outcome' which were meant to solve major political and social crisis. To elaborate this point one may cite the problems faced by the political system in various parts of the country like Kashmir, Assam or the entire North-East. What appears is that the center in these areas , when failed , had to look for alternative support structure which could be provided only by the local or regional authorities.

Some interesting studies have been made with regard to a number of social-issues like language or even ethnic-considerations. These issues exert direct pressure on the functioning of the federal system as a whole . It has been correctly observed :

"It is no wonder that controversy on this point has often absorbed the passionate interest and energy of a developing nation more than any other aspect of nation building and modernization."[4]

In a similar way, scholars have led emphasis on to other issues ,namely, social mobilization and consolidation of states. To quote, Karl W. Deutsch :

"The stage of rapid social mobilization may be expected, therefore, to promote the consolidation of states whose peoples already share the same language.........while the same process may tend to strain or destroy the unity of state whose population is already divided several groups with different languages or cultures or basic way of life."[5]

The same was stated by the States Reorganisation Commission

in its report :

"Linguistic homogeinity provides the only rational basis for reconstructing the states , for it reflects the social and cultural pattern of living obtaining in well-defined regions of the country."[6]

Historically one may recall that Nehru believed that such 'provincial expansionism' might destroy the unity of the nation.[7] On this issue , one scholar has correctly observed that *"the effect of reorganization was to give state-politics a more intensely regional character and to make the states a much more important level of power."*[8]

The nature of the central allocation to the states is another area for serious debate in the country as it has often been alleged that the Planning Commission has been instrumental in aggravating rather than bridging the differences among states. Moreover, it can not be ignored that what has been achieved so far in economic field, has been in response to the needs and demands of states to some extent.[9]

In this connection , the following observation by one of the

leading authorities on federalism seems to be quite relevant :

"Invariably in the area of economic policy, the founders of the

federation have found it impossible to divide the functions of

general and regional governments into two isolated

compartments and have been forced to recognize the

independence of governments . Generally, as a reselt of the

placing of major fiscal instruments for economic policy in

central hands , the regional governments have become heavily

dependent upon the former for their financial resources . At

the same time , however, the central government tended to be

heavily dependent for the implementation of national

economic and social programmes upon autonomous regional

ministers and legislatures directly responsible to their

electorates. This situation of mutual dependence of each level

of government upon the other has characteristically produced

a proliferation of institutions and arrangements for

consultation and cooperation in a wide variety of economic

fields."[10]

The actual pattern of Union-States relations in India is one of "Coalition administration",or a high degree of "Collaborative Partnership" both in political decision making and in implementing the operation of plan projects.[11]

It may be quite relevant to state that the same idea had been stated by Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly when he observed :

"The basic principle of federation is that the legislative and executive authority is partitioned between the center and states not by any law to be made by the center but by the Constitution itself . This is what the constitution does. The states in our constitution are in no way dependent upon the centre and states are co-equal in this matter".[12]

The Indian situation offers an example where one can find both strong centralizing and decentralizing tendencies. What has been stated in the context of American federalism can also be helpful in understanding the Indian situation :

"However , everywhere it basically means a new form of federal –state – district –municipal sharing in revenues and administration of national programmes.................such a federation is called 'co-operative', 'interdependent',or 'marble-cake'.[13] To put it in a more lucid way :

"A far more acqurate image is the rainbow or marble-cake,characterized by an inseperable mingling of differently coloured ingredients, the colours appearing in vertical and diagonal strands.......As colours are mixed in the marble –cake , so functions are mixed........."[14]

This can be true of Indian federalism where resource or power is not uni-dimensional. There can be variation of influence or dependence but too much dependence of the state on the center may put an obstacle in the proper functioning of a more participatory and interactive federation . The emergence of new regional forces calls for wider decentralization of power and resources and better scope for the states to play in the federal governance. In a word the new power configuration that has

emerged with the rise of coalition politics has altered the balance of power between the center and the states with a definite tilt towards the state power so far as partnership pattern of federal relations is concerned in contemporary India.

It is a common observation that the actual functioning of the federal system in any country depends not only on the general-legal framework but on the nature and impact of the political parties .It will therefore be of some importance to examine to what extent and in what way political parties in India have been able to exert influence on the working of the Indian federalism. So far as the Congress party is concerned it had been generally in favour of a strong center with sufficient powers to control the policies in regard to matters assigned to the states. The economic and social reconstruction for the purpose of creating a socialist society had been on the agenda of the Congress party and for that reason it favoured a centralised federalism

Party Competition in the Major States

State	Major Parties
Andhra Pradesh	Telugu Desam, Congress
Assam	Asam Gano Parishad, Congress
Bihar	Janata Dal, BJP, Congress
Gujarat	BJP, Congress
Hariyana	Haryana Vikas Party, BJP, Congress
Karnataka	Janata Dal, BJP, Congress
Kerala	United Front, Left Front
Madhya Pradesh	Congress, BJP
Maharashtra	BJP, Shiv Sena, Congress
Orissa	Congress, Janata Dal, Biju Janata Dal
Punjab	Akali Dal, BJP, Congress
Rajasthan	BJP, Congress
Tamil Nadu	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, All-India Dravida Munnentra Kazhagam, Tamil Maanila Congress
Uttar Pradesh	BJP, Samajawadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party
West Bengal	Communist Party of India (Marxist), Congress

Cited in Democracy without Associations : Transformation of the Party system and social cleavages in India – Pradeep Kr. Chhibber, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi, 1999.

(133)

Among other parties the erstwhile Jana Sangh (later on B.J.P.) has also stood for a centralized federalism. It propagated the idea that in the interest of nation and preserving national unity it stood for some kind of a decentralized unitary system in place of federal set-up. The Left Parties wanted a system of governance which would ensure substantial autonomy to the states. At the initial phase since 1967 the Left Parties in West Bengal and Kerala adopted a policy of confrontation with the center for greater autonomy.

Of all the regional political parties, D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K., the Akali Dal and later on AGP in Assam demanded more devolution of authority for the regions. The changes brought about since 1967 have created a situation where there have been radical changes in the party positions all over the country. With the emergence of the Non-Congress government in several states and reduction in the Congress strength in Parliament after the 1967 General Elections, the position of the states vis-à-vis the union was strengthened. However, the spectacular success achived by the Congress in 1971 Lok Sabha Elections had once again established the dominance of the center.

A reference to the Congress policy may be helpful in this respect. The Congress party after independence proceeded to achieve a "Socialist India" and "a Socialistic pattern of Society" through peaceful and constitutional means. It therefore, adopted a planned economic development for the country. Planning in one way helped the process of centralization and "*super-seeded the federation and our country is functioning almost like a unitary system in many respect*".[15] Both the Planning Commission and the National Development Council were dominated by the central government and states were to rely more and more on the center for their financial resources . As the states were heavily indebted to the Union , they lost their independence so far as borrowing was concerned ; they lost their financial autonomy substantially.[16]

As has been observed the Indian National Congress had always stood for a united India in which the writ of the center is made to run the states so that "*the matrix is strong enough to withstand the occasional squalls and tempests.*"[17]

The Indian National Congress had reaffirmed its belief in a strong center controlling the divisive forces in the country through

constitutional mechanism.[18]

In 1968 , the Communist Party of India stood for *"changes in the federal constitution of the country so as to divest the union government of its overriding powers to interfere in the affairs of the states and in order to widen the autonomy of the states especially in the matter of finance and state economy."*[19] It favoured the abolition of the office of the governor and establishment of autonomous districts and regions within the states.[20] The CPI(M) favoured *"widest autonomy for the various states comprising the Indian federation"*.[21]

The Socialists on the other hand basically believed in the policy of decentralization *"accompanied with co-ordination to ensure a national unity, harmony and progress."*[22] While the national parties stood for restructuring the center-state relations , the Akali Dal would like the constitution *"to be made federal in content "* and the states to be given *"more autonomy and more power particularly in the field of finance and legislation."*[23] The DMK called for *"states rights without infrinzement"* by the center and the transfer of *" unspecified or residuary powers which are vested in the center to the states."*[24]

Fluctuations of principal regional parties in some States

State	Year/Party	1989			1991			1996			1998			1999		
		C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%
Andhra Pradesh	TDP	35/2	0	34.5	35/13	1	32.3	36/16	2	32.6	35/12	1	38.0	34/29	0	39.9
Assam	AGP	-	-	-	14/1	6	17.6	11/5	0	27.2	10/0	3	12.7	8/0	3	11.9
Bihar	JD	37/31	2	36.4	36/31	1	34.1	44/22	0	31.8	35/1	27	8.7	-	-	-
	RJD										38/17	2	26.6	36/7	1	28.3
Haryana	JD	8/6	0	38.9	7/0	0	37.2				-	-	-	-	-	-
	HVP							4/3	0	15.2	4/1	0	11.6	2/0	0	2.7
	HLD (R)							-	-	-	7/4	0	25.9	-	-	-
											-	-	-	5/5	0	28.7
J&K	JD	2/0	0	30.0	-	-	-	5/1	2	17.6	1/0	1	0.5	/1/0	5	0.14
	JKN	3/3	0	6.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	6/3	10	21.7	6/4	0	28.9
Karnataka	JD	21/13	3	28.3	21/0	4	16.8	27/16	1	34.9	28/3	10	21.7	*10/3	0	13.3
Kerala	CPM	10/2	0	22.9	9/3	0	20.7	9/5	0	21.2	9/6	0	21.0	12/8	0	27.9
	CPI	3/0	0	6.2	4/0	0	8.1	4/2	0	8.2	4/2	0	8.3	4/0	0	7.6
	MUL	2/2	0	5.2	2/2	0	5.2	2/2	0	5.1	2/2	0	5.0	2/2	0	5.3
Maharashtra	SIIS	3/1	1	1.2	17/4	-	9.5	20/15	0	16.8	22/6	0	19.7	22/15	1	16.9
	NCP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38/6	7	21.6
Orissa	JD	19/10		0	19/6	0	34.6	19/4	2	30.1	16/0	15	4.9	-	-	-
	BJD			49.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	12/9	0	27.5	12/10	0	33.0
Punjab	SAD	4/0	0	1.3	9/8	0	28.7	9/8	0	7.8	8/8	0	32.9	9/2	0	28.6
Tamil Nadu	DMR	31/0		0	29/0	0	22.7	18/17	1	25.8	17/5	0	20.1	19/21	0	23/1
	ADMK	26/1			11/11	0	18.1	10/0	0	7.8	22/18	0	25.9	24/10	0	25.7
		11/11		0												
		17/1														
Uttar Pradesh	BSP	75/2	57	9.9	67/1	52	8.7	85/6	24	20.6	85/4	25	20.9	85/14	21	22.1
	SP	-	-	-	-	-	-	64/16	7	20.8	81/20	9	28.7	84/26	24	24.1
West Bengal	WBTC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29/7	3	24.4	22/8	2	26.0

Note : C/W seats contested/won

F   :   Seats forfeited

% :   Percentage of vote in the State

*   :   JD(U) in 1999 elections

** :   Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

:   Trainamool Congress was WBTC in 1998 and AITC in 1999.

Cited in Ravi Bhatia, "A Decade of Parliamentary Elections in Indian

Mapping of Trends, The India Journal of Political Science, Vol.-62, No. – 4

December 2001.

At this point it is important to note the observation of the Administrative Reform Commission on center-states relationships : "Where a single party has controlled over affairs at the center as well as in the states an alternative and extra-constitutional channel becomes available for the operation of center-state relationships. In practice the channel has been very active during Congress Party rule and has governed the tenor the center-state relationships.[25]

It has already been noted that the 1967 and post 1967 developments have brought about radical changes in the nature of federal governance in India . It has rightly been stated : " The political Ice-berg in India has melted and the real political evolution of the country has began in earnest."[26] A few important features of the post 1967 developments may be noted :

1.   There was decline in the power of the Congress.

2.   There was wide variation in voters' preference.

3.   There was a shift from national to regional political parties.

4.   The awareness of regional demands became extremely

articulate, and

5.   With no clear mandate the evils of defection began to appear.[27]

Relations between the center and the states , more particularly between the non-congress government and the center took a new turn . Initially the non-congress governments only wanted that the dispute should be settled through a constitutional mechanism than through concensus technique. Basically the major issues of debate centred round the appointment of governor, formation of the Council of Ministers, deployment of Central Reserve Police and allocation of financial resources. Moreover, Art.356 also figured in this controvercy because the non-congress governments considered the application of this article by the center for -

a)   maintaining Congress party's rule in a state,

b)   preventing opposition parties from forming the state government ,and

c)   maintaining the status-quo of the existing ruling Congress Party.

But the subsequent developments since 1977 have drastically altered the nature of center-state relations and for that matter the functioning of the federal system. Both the N.D.A. and the U.P.A. governments in more recent years have to depend on the support of regional parties. The recent experiences of the coalition governance indicate that the Left Parties are playing crucial role by lending support from outside the government. A new trend is seen in the voting pattern which indicates that no single political party at the national level will be able to gain absolute majority. If the strength continues, the obvious conclusion is that there will be substantial changes in the federal administration of the country —— changes which the Founding Fathers did not envisage.

IV

A look into the constitutional arrangement of federalism will show that the framers of the Indian Constitution preferred the term "Union" to the term "Federation". The makers had their

own explanations. Considering the vastness of the country as well as variety in different fields, the primary task of the makers was to ensure cohesion and not division. Of course they did not ignore the issues like pluralism in social structure, openness in the political process and imperatives for economic development. They also provided enough scope for a multi-party system to operate. This was a clear departure from the Anglo-American model. Moreover the creation of a federal system with a bias towards the central authority was also a deliberate act.

During the first phase of the operation of the political system, a clear tendency was visible that Congress Party would remain at the central stage and other parties will revolve around the Congress party. But that scheme did not last long. With the rapid changes, both qualitative and quantitative, in the social and political structure, newer and newer support bases began to appear. Interestingly these support bases began to act as the breeding grounds for further demands. The local political parties could realize that these local support bases needed to be exploited so as to derive popular support for their action and agenda,

Congress being the national party failed to address these local power bases and as a result it could not reach the people at the local level.

The gap, so created, provided the scope for local or regional political parties to play important role in the governing process. It is to be mentioned that these trend or patterns were not uniform all over the country. Once again the differences in manifestation were the results of wide variations in peoples aspirations, awareness level and expressions. One may try to justify this development with the help of the theories of 'relative deprivation' or 'theories of dissatisfaction'. But it should be noted that not all the assertions can be explained with the help of these well accepted theoretical positions. One should go beyond the outward manifestations and look into the nature of socio-economic and political matrix in order to get at the truth. It is also admitted that the forces and factors engaged in this process are not only complex but also overlapping in character. As a result of this, any segmented or microscopic examination may not lead to a generally agreed conclusion. Ofcourse one

should remember that in such analysis, the results are bound to be tentative and not conclusive.

A brief reference to the political developments since the First General Elections will justify the position. In the first election Congress could emerge as the dominant party because no other national political party could present itself as an alternative to the Congress Party itself. During this period, linguistic demands began to appear in a more forceful way. A reference can be made to the Telengana Movement in Andhra Pradesh where the Communist Party of India took a very leading role. In fact, the re-organization of states were in line with the demands that were generated all over the country since the Telengana Movement.

As a consequence the States Re-organization Commission made a total restructuring of the federal set-up by bringing into existence some new states like Andhra Pradesh, Gujrat, Maharastra and Karnataka. It brought about enormous changes in the character of the power holders both at the centre and at the states. Not only that, it had added some new elements in the management of the internal boundaries of multi-lingual India

in some specific cases. That was perhaps the reason why the S.R.C. (States Reorganization Commission) did not consider it viable to devide Uttar Pradesh into two small states. It should be noted that the social and political forces operating at the time did not allow the bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh which, to many observers, became the core area of hegemonistic role of the North over the rest.

So far as Assam and for that matter the entire North-East is concerned, the situation became somewhat complex and compelling. The main issue centred round the positions of two communities – the Assamese and the Bengalis. It was further compounded by other social issues like linguistic or cultural identity. Besides, the question of Muslims immigration from across the border became a very important issue. In fact the entire debate now centres around the demographic situation mainly in Assam and remotely in other areas of North-East.

A look into the political dynamics during the period between 1947 and 1966 indicates that because of the overwhelming position of the Congress Party, the Indian federal governance

did not encounter with any serious challenges both from the structural and functional point of view. During this period important economic policy declarations were made and steps were taken for rapid industrialization. It was thought that what was needed during this period was a steady growth of Indian economy and creation of opportunities for providing employment to the youth. It is interesting to note that these policies were supported by the Indian national industrial bourgeoisie because to them it provided opportunities for capital accumulation, industrial expansion and production — diversification.[28]

V

During the Fourth General Election, substantial changes had taken place in the federal governance when, for the first time the hegemonic position of the Congress witnessed opposition from regional or local political parties. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the seeds of regionalization of Indian politics had been sown during the 4th General Elections.

Looking from the point of view of socio-economic configuration, it may be seen that a new social and economic class, mostly in the middle order, emerged and began to exercise their influence in the policy making process. No longer the issue of relative autonomy of the states found favour with the national political parties and in its place the politics of bargaining came to the surface in which states began to assert themselves in the federal governing process. It may be noted that not all the regional political parties which came to power during 1967 could exert equal amount of influence of the national politics. In the South, the DMK in Tamil Nadu emerged as the most powerful political party which, at the initial phase, played a very dominant role in the state-level politics before it underwent a split when a new break-away group came to the local politics under the name AIDMK. Since the DMK started its work on the strength of some regional considerations, mainly opposing the issue of imposing Hindi as a National Language, it could easily win over the hearts of the Tamil speaking people and through them, the entire south Indian sentiment.

But that was not the case with the developments in West Bengal, Tripura and also a South Indian state, Kerala. The rise and growth

of left politics in these states had been spectacular, Studies have shown that a number of factors were responsible for the defeat of the Congress Party in these states. Apart from the problem of factionalism, the economic policies followed by the Congress Party became the sources of its weakness. It may be noted that no substantial steps were taken by the Congress Party in the field of land reforms and rural development. This created a gap which was fully utilized by the left parties in these states. Although there had been an official division of the undivided Communist Party in 1964, the C.P.I.(M) emerged stronger than the C.P.I. But the history of the left politics in West Bengal had never been uniform. During mid 60S the rise and growth of radical left politics, popularly known as Naxalite Movement can be seen as a turning point in this process. Though short lived, the radical left politics could respond to the immediate and urgent need for agrarian restructuring of the rural economy in the state. But due to some internal policy contradictions, the radical left movement in West Bengal during this phase failed to deliver the necessary "goods" to the people of its target.

Performance of the Left parties in different States

Party	Year/State	1989			1991			1996			1998			1999		
		C/W	F.	%	C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%	C/W	F	%
CPI	Andhra	2/0	0	1.96	2/1	0	1.87	3/2	0	2.4	3/2	0	2.6	6/0	4	1.3
	Bihar	12/4	0	7.93	8/8	0	7.55	7/3	0	5.1	15/0	11	3.1	9/0	7	2.7
	Kerala	3/0	0	-	4/0	0	8.12		0	8.2	4/2	0	1.1	1/0	0	7.6
	Tamilnadu	2/1	0	2.04	2/0	0	2.04	4/2	0	2.3	2/1	0	1.1	1/0	0	2.6
	Panjab	4/0	1	-	-	-	-		3	1.6	1/0	0	3.4	1/1	0	3.7
	W. Bengal	3/3	0	3.9	3/3	0	3.9	2/2	0	3.8	3/3	0	3.6	3/3	0	3.5
	Total	49/12	20	2.37	42/14	16	2.4	3/0	22	2.0	58/9	40	1.75	54/4	39	1.5
CPM	Andhra	2/0	0	2.4	2/1	0	2.43	3/3	0	2.9	3/0	0	2.9	7/0	6	1.4
	Assam	-	-	-	2/1	0	4.73	43/12	0	3.9	2/0	1	0.4	2/0	1	1.8
	Bihar	3/1	1	1.4	1/1	0	1.41	3/1	2	0.8	4/0	4	21	2/1	1	1.0
	Kerala	10/2	0	22.9	9/3	0	20.7	2/1	0	21.2	9/6	0	0.6	12/8	0	27.9
	Tamilnadu	4/0	0	3.66	3/0	0	2.48	3/0	7	1.82	2/0	1		2/1	0	2.4
	Tripura	2/0	0	41.7	3/0	3	6.54	9/5	0	52.4	2/2	0	48.8	2/2	5	56.2
	W.Bengal	31/27	0	39.4	30/27	0	35.2	7/0	0	36.7	32/24	0		32/20	0	35.6
	Punjab	3/0	1	3.0	-	0	-	7/2	2	1.8	3/0	1	35.4	1/0	0	2.2
	Total	64/35	5	6.51	60/35	7	6.1	2/2	22	2.7	71/32	20		72/33	20	5.4
FBL	Bihar	-	-	-	4/0	0	01	31/23	-	-	1/0	1	1.1	3/0	3	0.03
	Panjab	-	-	-	-	-	-	3/0	-	-	-	-	5.2	1/0	1	0.01
	Tamilnadu	-	-	-	-	-	-	75/32	-	-	-	-	0.02	8/0	8	0.23
	W. Bengal	3/3	0	3.95	3/3	0	3.65	-	0	3.42	3/2	-	-	3/2	0	0.45
	Total	8/3	5	0.41	19/3	16	0.41	-	0	0.03	4/2	1	-	15/2	12	0.35
RSP	Bihar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	1/0	1	0
	W.Bengal	4/4	0	4.96	4/4	0	4.5	3/3	0	4.76	4/4	0	0.33	4/3	0	4.25
	Kerala	1/0	0	2.41	1/0	0		3/3	-	-	1/1	0	-	-	-	-
	Total	6/4	1	0.62	9/4	4	0.63	-	0	0.5	5/1	-	4.48	5/3	1	0.41

Note : C/W seats contested/won
F : Seats deposits forfeited
% : Percentage of vote share in the State

Cited in Ravi Bhatia "A Decade of Parliamentary Elections in India "
The IJPS, Vol. 62, No. -4, Dec 2001.

During this period the Indian National Congress had to struggle within itself for the purpose of projecting as a progressive political platform with socialist bias. It may be noted that the

'great split' within the Congress in 1969 helped the Congress under Mrs. Indira Gandhi take some progressive steps towards radical, social and economic transformation. A series of constitutional amendments passed during this period clearly shows that the Congress had been trying to fulfill the pledges it made in its election manifesto during the mid-term poll in 1971. The Congress (R) under Mrs. Indira Gandhi was also able to push the other group known as Syndicalist or the Syndicate to the background with the stigma of being status — quoists and hence no-changer.

These changes at the national level had their profound impact on the state level politics. It is interesting to note that following the split at the national level, the state level Congress Parties also encountered similar splits in their respective state units. Moreover, with a view to strengthening the party positions in the state by frequent changes in the leadership pattern, the party sought to regain political supremacy in the state. Another important development had been the formation of the Rajamanner Commission by the Tamil Nadu Government under DMK for restructuring the centre-state relations. Since it was

an effort at the state level, nothing concrete could emerge out of the recommendations; at the same time it was to be considered as an attempt by a State Government to detail out the various aspects of the political, financial and economic relations between the centre and the states.

VI

Another development of profound political implications can be cited which explains the changes in the nature and course of centre-state relations in India. The proclamation of National Emergency (1975-77) is considered to be a significant event from political perspective. One may trace the seeds of discontent among the constituent units of the Indian federation and agitations on national scale was the manifestation of such a trend. In other words, the decline of the hegemony of the Congress party which led to a new structural equation of the political parties posed a serious challenge to the established authority of the Congress Party. The impact was tremendous and this was considered to be a serious departure from the accepted norm of parliamentary and participatory democracy. The declaration

brought to the surface a number of issues which, otherwise, were not visible on the social and political front. Over the years, a powerful political force emerged in the rural sector mainly because of the success of the Green Revolution in India. These "rural rich" segment began to exert tremendous pressure on the issue of power sharing. Inspite of the best efforts by the Congress, it could not satisfy these newly emerged class in the rural sector. Moreover, pressures came from the industrial capital which demanded more industrialization on the basis of the surplus made on the agricultural front. In other words, there was a demand that a new balance should be achieved between industrial capital and agricultural capital keeping in mind the importance of both the sectors in the Indian economy.

Another development call for explanations that has added a new dimension to the Congress. politics in particular and that of opposition politics in general. Because of its secular position Congress was able to utilize Muslim votes for a considerable time but there had been oppressions of the poor and the Muslim Community by many forces either on religious or economic grounds. These communities looked upon the Congress as the ultimate centre of protection but the party, because of its inner

conflicts, failed to live upto the expectation of these communities. This happened not only, with the Congress but with many other non-left regional parties. The rise and growth of left politics in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura may be explained with the help of these developments. The emergency, thus added a new dimension to the nature and extent of federal governance in India.

The emergency provided an opportunity to the opposition parties to chart-out joint programmes against the authority of the Congress at the centre. The result was spectacular. The defeat of the Congress in 1977 elections may be referred to as the result of this development. The 1977 elections clearly showed that the people of India in general did not accept the imposition of authoritarian regime and the departure from the parliamentary practices. In fact, a demand was generated for total revision of the centre-state relations in general as well as in specific terms.

VII

The establishment of the first non-Congress Government, the Janata Government as it was popularly called, should be seen as

a major turning point in the history of the political process in India. One may not be wrong in suggesting that the 1977 development is the process of culmination which started way back in 1967. It brought about two important changes : in the first place it proved that anti-Congressism can be an alternative strategy for gaining political power; secondly it could establish that with the breakdown of the "Congress System", the period of coalition politics had begun at the national level along with the state level. The regional political parties began to assert themselves in such a way as to become the controlling factors in the process of national mainstream politics. Although there had been the case when the Congress Party could regain power in 1980 elections, much erosion of the support base of the Congress Party had taken place by then. The party could not project itself as the ultimate source of political authority as it could do earlier. It is interesting to note that during this period demands for more autonomy in financial matters began to appear from the regional political parties.

Fluctuations of BJP and INC in some States

State	Year/Party	1989		1991		1996		1998		1999	
		C/W	%	C/W	%	C/W	%	C/W	%	C/W	%
Andhra Pradesh	BJP	2/0	2.0	41/1	9.6	39.0	4.0	38/0	18.3	8/7	9.9
	INC	42/35	51.0	42/25	45.5	42/22	39.7	42/12	38.5	42/5	42.8
Assam	BJP	-		8/2	8.6	14/1	15.0	14/1	24.5	12/2	29.8
	INC	-		14/8	28.5	14/5	31.6	13/10	39.0	14/10	38.4
Bihar	BJP	25/9	13.0	51/5	16.0	32/18	20.5	32/20	24.0	29/23	23.0
	INC	54/4	28.0	52/1	24.2	54/2	11.3	21/5	7.3	16/4	8.8
Delhi	BJP	5/4	26.2	7/5	40.2	7/5	49.7	7/6	50.7	7/7	51.8
	INC	7/2	43.4	7/2	39.6	7/2	37.3	7/1	42.6	7/0	42.0
Gujarat	BJP	12/12	30.5	26/20	50.4	26/16		26/19	48.3	26/20	52.5
	INC	26/3	37.2	16/5	29.0	26/10	48.5	25/7	36.5	26/6	45.4
Haryana	BJP	2/0	8.3	10/0	10.2	6/4	38.7	6/1	18.9	5/5	29.2
	INC	10/4	46.2	10/9	37.2	10/2	19.7	10/3	26.0	10/0	34.9
Himachal Pradesh	BJP	4/3	45.3	4/2	42.8	4/0	21.9	4/3	51.4	3/3	46.3
	INC	4/1	42.0	4/2	46.2	4/4	39.6	4/1	41.9	4/0	39.5
J&K	BJP	2/0	7.2	-		5/1	54.3	6/2	28.6	6/2	31.6
	INC	3/2	39.0	-		6/4	18.8	6/1	19.2	5/0	17.8
Karnataka	BJP	5/0	2.6	28/4	28.8	28/6	27.5	18/13	27.0	19/7	27.2
	INC	28/27	48.9	28/23	42.1	28/5	24.6	28/9	36.2	28/18	45.4
Kerala	BJP	20/0	4.5	19/0	4.6	18/0	30.3	20/0	8.0	14/0	6.6
	INC	17/14	41.7	16/13	38.8	17/7	1.2	17/8	38.7	17/8	27.9
Madhya Pradesh	BJP	33/27	39.7	40/12	41.9	39/27	38.0	40/30	45.7	40/29	46.6
	INC	40.8	37.7	40/27	45.1	33/8	41.3	40/10	39.4	40/11	43.9
Maharashtra	BJP	33/10	23.7	48/38	10.1	25/18	30.9	25/4	22.5	26/13	21.2
	INC	48/28	45.4	31/5	14.4	48/15	21.4	41/33	43.6	42/10	29.7
Orissa	BJP	6/0	1.3	21/0	0.5	20/0	34.4	9/7	11.2	9/9	24.6
	INC	21/3	38.4	21/13	44.1	21/16	11.7	21/5	11.11	20/2	36.9
Punjab	BJP	3/0	4.2	./0		6/0	44.9	3/3	11.7	3/1	9.2
	INC	13/2	26.5	./11		13/2	6.0	8/0	25.9	11/8	38.4
Rajasthan	BJP	17/13	29.7	25/12	40.9	25/12	35.1	25/5	41.1	11/16	47.2
	INC	25/0	37.0	25/13	44.0	25/12	42.4	25/18	44.5	11/4	45.1
Tamil Nadu	BJP	3/0	0.3	15/0	1.7	37/0	40.5	5/3	6.9	11/1	7.1
	INC	28/27	39.9	28/28	43.6	29/0	0.9	35/0	4.8	11/2	11.1
U.P.	BJP	31/8	7.9	84/51	32.8	83/52	18.3	42/57	36.5	11/20	27.6
	INC	84/15	31.8	82/5	18.9	85/5	33.5	76/0	6.0	11/10	14.7
W. Bengal	BJP	19/0	1.7	42/0	11.7	42/0	5.8	14/1	10.2	11/2	11.1
	INC	41/4	41.4	41/5	36.2	42/9	2.6	39/1	15.2	11/3	13.3

Cited in Ravi Bhatia "A Decade of Parliamentary Elections in India Mapping of Trends" The India Journal of Political Science, Vol – 62, No.- 4 December 2001.

Not only that the 1977 elections made it possible for the different governmental organizations to play more effective role in the governing process of the country. Of these, the Planning Commission and the National Development Council began to play decisive role in the plan formulation, resource mobilization and resource distribution. States began to play a major role in sharing of powers through their Chief Ministers in the National Development Council. The demand was there for a total re-evaluation and restructuring of the centre state relations in India.

There had been demands for greater political autonomy from different units of state administration. These became evident in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and in North-Eastern states. The spread of terrorist and insurgent movements in different parts of the country can be explained with reference to these developments in general terms.

The brief period of the Janata regime could release new forces which ultimately strengthened the hands of the national capitalists in general. There was the beginning for the foreign and multinational capital to take active role in the industrial sector. This was possible because there was a general feeling

that foreign capital would further strengthen the national industrial as well as agricultural capital all over the country.

But the return of Congress Party under Mrs. Indira Gandhi can be seen as a new dimension in Indian politics. There had been instances where conflicts appeared among different segments of the society over the issue of managing the economic system. This was explained as a case for direct suppression of the conflictual situations by the state machinery. So there was attempt at searching for stability on the social and political fronts which had their profound impact on the centre-state relations in India. It may not be wrong to suggest that Congress failed to understand the need for a coalition between the agricultural and industrial segments of the dominant class. Although Rajib Gandhi's Government tried to restructure the Centre-State relations in a new way, the slogan of entiring into the 21st Century did not produce the optimum results.

As time passed by, it was felt that the need for addressing the problems of agricultural bourgeoisie, as opposed to those of industrial bourgeoisie, remained same as before. Both the agricultural and industrial segments began to expand their areas

of influence, causing the government to take a new approach to solve these problems.

During Rajib Gandhi's leadership, the strategies adopted to meet the crises originating from the states under non-Congress government became counter — productive on many issues. Initially, the Congress tried to penetrate into the Hindi heartland states in order to regain their electoral superiority. But the results in the Assembly elections in as many as ten states did not register a steady growth. In the states like U.P. and Bihar a new force under the name the Dalit-Majdoor-Kisan Party (D.M.K.P.) emerged as a substantial force to challenge the already established political equilibrium. Almost the same picture can be seen in Maharastra and Punjab.

In a bid to settle these issues, mainly in Punjab a peace accord was concluded between Rajib Gandhi and the religious leader Longowal. Although outwardly this attempt was appreciated by all sections, it also failed to satisfy either the people of Punjab or the government at the centre.

Again problems became more complex in the entire north-eastern states of India. There were ethnic tensions and solutions

that were provided were mostly political in nature. Besides the movements in Assam took a different turn when the students began to take part in the process of agitation.

The regional party, the A.G.P., could utilize this situation to their benefit and a government was formed under its leadership. In a word, it can be said that the balance between centre and states or the federal balance had been affected many times because the Government at the centre could not correctly assess the demands and compulsions generated at the regional or local levels. It was evident that mere structural readjustment at the governing level can not solve the problems at the functional level. In a country like India where multiple forces operate in the multi layered functional system, no uni-dimensional approach is adequate to handle these multi-dimensional issues. The analysis of the dynamics of political process in India will testify this position.

VII

Thus the entire discussion can be placed in the backdrop of the overlapping relations between national power and local politics.

It is therefore necessary to understand the complex interactions between extra political forces and the organizational mechanism as structured under the constitutional frame at the local or regional levels. An analysis of the nature and dimension of federal governance in India will show that there had been qualitative changes in the inner dynamics of political parties in India, both at the national and regional levels.

It will be convenient for an analysis to examine the nature of leadership issue which is considered to be the basic source of power in Indian politics in general and that of Congress politics in particular. It may be stated that Nehru or Indira Gandhi and even Lal Bahadur Shastri or Rajib Gandhi had their own styles of functioning as the head of the government. One of the weaknesses of such personalized type of governance is that in case of crisis generating out of the absence of the particular leader, the political system can not and do not get organizational support from the system itself. It other words individuals replace the structure of the government in many cases.

This element can be linked up in an analysis to understand the dynamics of federal governance in India. The decline of the

"Congress System" brought a number of issues to the surface. One of this issues was to make room for other political parties to play their roles in the national as well as local politics. The installation of non-congress governments at the state level after 1967 Fourth-General Elections may be considered as the beginning of the process of erosion of Congress hegemony. In fact this was the starting point for the emergence of Coalition politics in India. Needless to mention that there have been a good number of coalitions of different forces playing at different levels. but their manifestations at the political level could not be seen before 1967.

The space gained by the regional political parties were fully utilized by them to advance their own interests. For the first time these Parties were able to play important role in regional as well as national politics.

The growth of regional political parties in India is the result of the interplay of many forces and it is difficult to pin point only one factor as solely responsible for it. It has been correctly pointed out that this development should not be viewed "merely as a consequence or a by-product of regionalism rather as a

phenomenon in its own right.[29]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1)   For details the following studies may be referred : Ashok
     Mitra, Terms of Trade in India's Economic Development
     (London : F. Cass, 1976); A. K. Bagchi, Private Investment
     in India : 1900-1939 (Cambridge : Cambridge University
     Press, 1972); and Francine Frankel, India's Political
     Economy 1947-1977 (Princeton : Princeton University
     Press, 1977).

2)   T.V. Sathyamurthy, 'State Power and Social Conflicts in
     India', Mainstream, Vol, 21, no. 38, 23 June 1983, PP. 1-8;
     'Piloting a Nation into the Twenty first Century : The
     Changing context of State Power and Class Contradiction
     in India', Economic and Political Weekly, 20 (20 July 1985)
     : 29, PP. 1218-22 ; 'India since Independence : A Research
     Note on the Development of the Power of the Indian State',
     South Asia Research, Vol-6, No. 1, May 1986, PP. 39-50.

3)   Sathyamurthy, T.V., 'Centre-State Relations : Southern
     Chief Ministers Meeting', EPW, No-18, 1983, pp.576-

79.

4)   Duchacek, Comparative Federalism : The Territorial dymension of politics, Holt, Rinehard and Winston , New York , 1970, p.304

5)   Karl W. Deutsch, 'Social mobilization and political development', American Political Science Review,September 1961,p.501

6)   States Reorganisation Commission Reports, 1955.

7)   This point has been further elaborated in Sandeep Shastri, 'Indian federalism and national integration : a critique', The Indian Journal of Political Science,April-June, 1990, page-176

8)   H. Tinker, India and Pakistan, Praeger, New York, 1962, page-134.In this connection, see N.D.Palmer, The Indian Political System, Boston, 1961, p.108 who has remarked that reorganization of states was "The strength of regional as against national loyalties".

9)   For details, See W.H.Morris-Jones, The Government and Politics of India, London, 1964, p-141.

10)   R.L.Watts, 'Recent Trends in Federal Economic Policy and

Finance in the Commonwealth,' paper presented at the Sixth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Geneva, 1964,p.22.

11) For details, See, Ashok Chanda, Federalism in India, George Allen and Unwin, London,1965, p-289 and also Hanson A. H. and D. Janet, India's Democracy, Vikash, Delhi, 1972, p.116.

12) Constituent Assembly Debate, Vol-XI, No.11, page-976. Also see M.J.C.Vile, The structure of American federalism, London, 1961, p.197 and A. H. Birch, Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation, Oxford, 1955,pp.290-91.

13) Duchacek, op.cit. pp.317-318.

14) G. Morton, 'The Federal System in the American Assembly: Goals for Americans, Prentice Hall, N.J., 1960, P.265.

15) K. Santhanam, Union-State Relations in India, Delhi, 1960, p.56.

16) A.R.C. Report of the Study Team on Centre-State Relationships, 1968, Vol-I, p.16.

17) S. G. Barve, 'Why Congress' in R.G. Bhatkal, ed., Political Alternatives in India, Delhi, 1966, p.26.

18) Election Manifesto, 1971.

19) C.P.I : Six Point Programme, 8th Party Congress, 1968.

20) Election Manifesto, 1971.

21) E.M.S.Namboodiripad , India Under the Congress Rule, New Delhi, 1967, p.204.

22) Policy Statement adopted by the Second National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party held at Gaya, 26-30 December, 1955.

23) Election Manifesto, 1971.

24) Ibid.

25) Report of the Study Team on Centre-State Relationships, ARC, 1968, P.1.

26) K. Santhanam, 'Melting the Ice-berg', in Anjon Kumar Banerjee, ed., The Fourth General Elections in India : An Analysis, Delhi, 1967, p.14.

27) On the point of Defection it was stated : "While it is difficult to really establish any one cogent pattern in the post 1967 political defection, it may be noted that their sources have more often been situational and motivational rather than ideological and structural"-S. C. Kashyap,

Politics of Defection : a study of State Politics in India, 1969, p.35.

28) Pramit Chaudhuri, The Indian Economy : Poverty and Development (London : Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1979), especially PP 17-75.

29) K. R. Bombwall "Regional Political Parties In India" in Bhatnagar S. & Kumar P. (ed) Regional Political Parties in India. Ess Ess Publications, New Delhi, 1988

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS : NATURE AND DIRECTION OF CHANGES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNANCE IN INDIA — RECENT TRENDS.

I

The foregoing discussion suggest that there have been both quantitative and qualitative changes in the federal governance in India since 1977. Of course, this does not exclude the course of the federal dynamics which is considered to be a trend-setter since 1967. The reference point in our present discussion is the development that took place at the centre when, for the first time, India witnessed the formation of a non-Congress government, essentially based on the coalition arrangement at the centre under the name the Janata Government. However short-lived that might be, to any observer of Indian politics, the novel experiment was important for more than one reason.

It has been very correctly observed that over the years since

independence, there has been a definite shift and transformation in India's federal governance — "a gradual shift from inter-governmental co-operation between the central and the states towards inter jurisdictional competition among the states."[1] One may argue in the same way that the immediate causes behind such transformation in the federal governance have been changes in the political configuration and slow economic liberalization.[2] The present study began with an analysis of the historical background of the growth of the federal ideas and practices in India, right from the days of her colonial past. It has been noticed that the idea found tacit support in various steps towards constitutional reforms. It may not be incorrect to suggest that India's vast and diverse nature of social & political structure had the profound impact on the rulers of the country in determining the course of action about the future governing set-up in the country. Even a casual look into the main thrust areas of the Reform Acts like 1909, 1919 and lastly, 1935 will substantiate this position.

It is further evident from the debates that took place in the Constituent Assembly of India over the issue of federal governance of the country. The entire discussion on this issue

centred round two apparently opposite but essentially interrelated themes : optimal level of centralization & decentralization. Out of the debates of the Constituent Assembly, what emerged was a sense of growing concern about the future of the newly independent polity and an agreement was reached at, in spite of differences of opinions, stressing the need for a strong centre and a set of constituting units which will be dependent on it for many reasons.

But inspite of an elaborate arrangement made in the Constitution about decision of powers & location of federal authority, Political dynamics have brought about many changes at the actual operational level which cannot be filled into the constitutional scheme as already reffered to. The nature of political configuration underwent radical changes, thereby altering the entire balance in India's Federal Governance. The most important even that took place in this regard was the decline of the dominance of the Congress system. It had its serious impact on the distribution of political power not only in the parliament but also in the state legislatures. This new situation may be considered as the beginning of the emergence of regional political parties & a trend was quite visible towards growing

regionalization of politics in India.

This shift has been very correctly projected by Selig Harrison when he observed that "the possibility of divergence on a multiplying scale between the national party in power and an assortment of ruling state party now looms unmistakably, on the Indian Political Horizon." [3] It was very correctly predicted that with the changes in party-equations, "residual political power in India in the decades ahead will rest in the regional capitals; the makers of any regime in New Delhi, Right or Left - inclined, will face first & fore most the necessity of coming to terms with widely dispersed centers of power."[4]

That the theme relating to the replacement & subsequent formation of an alternative government at the centre with the help of regional political parties has been gaining attention of the scholars can be understood with reference to the observations made by them. It was observed by Vernon Hewitt that the Congress Party "will be replaced in New Delhi by a weak coalition (or a merged national party) based upon regionalized state governments that will rapidly disintegrate & plunge the republic into a constitutional crisis."[5] In his alternative speculation, the scholar held that the Congress "will be replaced

by a stable coalition of state governments based on a pre-electoral national arrangement & some 'minimum point' manifesto, or a pre-poll united opposition party".[6]

Various causes have been cited for the decline of the Congress System & subsequent rise of the regional political parties. One such view suggests that it is mainly due to the regional fragmentation of the Congress Party at the local levels that regional Political Parties, or for that matter, regionalization of Indian Politics have been able to raise their heads. Another such view considers the process of deinstitutionalisation & personality-based governance solely responsible for this development.

This personality-based governance had their profound impact on the functioning of the organs of both the government and the party. This had weakened the formal structure of the governing system & the success or failure at the electoral politics began to be decided along this personality line. This led Myron Weiner to remark that "at no time since independence has the electoral standing of the governing party been so dependent upon a single person's popularity".[7] Obviously, he was referring to the popularity of Indira Gandhi & its impact on the working of both

the party & the government.

Commenting on the style of functioning of Indira Gandhi, Rudolph & Rudolph concluded that she "systematically eliminated actual and potential rivals" which "undid the remarkable institutionalisation of the Congress since 1920."[8] The way, Indira Gandhi could intervene in the selection of the Chief Ministers of the states has been highlighted Bhagwan Dua when he interpreted this as example of 'patrimonial federalism'[9], a mechanism through which she wanted to dominate over the basics of parliamentary practices in the states. Almost in a similar way, while analysing Indira Gandhi's method of governance, James Manor expressed that it "increased rather than reduced the disparities between the national & lower levels".[10] Above all, the impact of this overwhelming nature of supremacy of the Congress leadership has been very explicitly observed by Balveer Arora when he says that "the hyper-accentuation of the centralist character of the Congress has resulted in a sharp decline in the capacity of its state-level leaders to effectively articulate regional sentiments and aspirations within the party"[11]

But taking a contrary position, Christopher Candland has argued

that the nature of economic crises that the Congress Party faced since the beginning of mid-1960s may be considered to be the major factor towards fragmentation of the party itself. He has concluded that the apparent decline in strength of the Congress Party should be related to 'unprecedented economic challenges and to Congress's Promises of social and economic reforms than to attribute it to one woman's style of leadership.'[12]

It is important to note that the process of erosion of Congress authority had already started in Indian Politics since 1967. The regional pattern of electoral behaviour and its impact on the political process was quite evident. It has been very correctly observed by one scholar that "this piecemeal horizontal decline of the political strength of the Congress Party at the regional level was then followed by a more definitive vertical decline of the Congress Party at the national level".[13] It was argued that the centre of gravity of Indian Politics had shifted from the national politics to the levels of state politics.[14] One observer has gone to the extent of commenting that Indian Politics has become "regionally and ethnically segmented ... neither overriding national issues nor primarily local issues predominate."[15] To another observer, the growing impact of

regional parties has transformed India into "a multi-party system of polarized pluralism."[16]

With a view to comprehending the complex nature of this phenomenon, James Manor has offered a typological classificatory scheme to cover the whole range of the changes in this sphere. To him, states can be characterized as being one party dominent systems, some as two-party systems and others as fragmented party systems.[17]

In this connection, the observation of Duverger sums to be relevant. While analysing the nature of one party dominent system, he held that even a dominant party eventually 'wears itself out office, it loses its vigour, its arteries harden.'[18] From this position, he concluded that 'every domination bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction'.[19]

That the growth of regional parties and their increasingly important role in the national politics has been clearly noted in this observation :

"This transformation was expressed by the mushrooming of regional parties that articulate and represent regional identities and aspirations, generally, based upon common language and culture.'[20]

There have been growing concerns that the growth of regional parties and their active participation in the local and national politics would be a threat to the federal governance of the country. But it has been observed that the participation ' forms part of a gradual mode of transition within democracy'.[21] This has been termed by Morris Jones as the "Indianization of India" which involves the process towards 'complex patterns, ill-defined positions and movements through shades and compromise'[22] In a very interesting as well as penetrating analysis of the state of affairs that India witnessed after the decline of the Congress System, Lucian W. Pye has sought to identify first, the reasons behind the success of the Congress Party in maintaining its stronghold as the dominant party and second , its decline making room for the growth of regional parties.[23] While pointing out the fact that the central leadership of the Congress, in many cases, had tried to by-pass the local party leaders and to manage the entire functions from the centre, he held that "the stresses and strains that the local bosses had successfully deal with through various trade-offs and patronage arrangements were now directed to the top leadership without any tempering or modifying influences."[24] He also held : "what had been diffused at the

local level by knowledgeable and skilled local leaders were now irrencilable zero-sum confrontations at the national level".[25]

Thus it can be said that the critical relationship between the central authorities and local party leaders is the key to party stability and strength. As the forces of localization become stronger, this relationship is bound to be critical. In fact, this is the central theme around which Myron Weiner has developed his thesis while analysing the role of the Indian National Congress in the nation-building process in post-independent India.[26] Needless to mention, Weiner in his analysis of the Congress Party at the local level "provided us with basis for distinguishing those one-party dominant systems that could be legitimately considered to be democratic and those that were essentially authoritarian in nature."[27]

II

That there had been compelling needs for an overhauling of the nature of federal governance become evident when the government instituted a Commission, called the Sarkaria Commission to look into the federal relations in India & recommend suitable measures for accomoding new forces within

the general scope of federal governance in India. Indira Gandhi herself came out with the statement, outlining the broad area which was to be covered by the Commission.

"The government has been considering for sometime past the need to review existing arrangements between the centre and the states. While keeping in view the social & economic developments that have taken place over the years, such a review will take into account the importance of the unity & integrity of the country for promoting the welfare of the people. The Government has decided to set up a Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. R. S. Sarkaria, retired judge of the Supreme Court of India to go into these matters."[28]

In the opinion of scholars like Robert Hardgrave and Stanley Kochanek, the move by Indira Gandhi was not only timely but also aimed at preventing some opponents to take up the issue for larger political ends.[29] Almost the same view has been expressed in the observation that "the Commission had been set up in the context of growing demands from non-Congress states for the devolution of powers from the centre, especially the demand from Punjab contained in the Anandpur Sahib resolution."[30] In a similar vein, H. A. Gani also observed that

the Commission was formed "in response to the demands made by the leaders of various opposition parties."[31]

The opposition leaders at the state levels also expressed their happiness over the formation of the Commission. But they were of the opinion that the Commission would try to evolve mechanism for a 'healthy centre - state relationship'. The West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, while hailing this step, observed : "It may be necessary change parts of the Constitution in the interests of a healthy centre - state relationship."[32] Karnataka Chief Minister, Ramkrishna Hegde expected that it would trigger a national debate about federalism"[33]. But he thought that the Commission "should be a fiscal Commission. It should go into the whole gomut of centre-state "in response to relations." [34]

Indira Gandhi's steps towards restructuring the centre-state relations found support from Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. M.G.Ramachandran ,then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, while admitting the need for some changes in the Constitution, expressed his "whole hearted appreciation' to Indira Gandhi for her desire to appoint the panel.[35] N. T. Rama Rao, then Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister also observed : "I appreciate the Prime Minister's decision."[36]

The Commission, while looking into the whole issue, recognised that "the central theme of the criticism levelled against the working of union-state legislative relations is over-centralization.[37]

The Sarkaria Commission made several suggestions relating to changes legislative relations between the centre & the states, the role of the governor of a state, financial relations between the centre and the state. In a work, the Commission sought ' to improve federal relations through moderate changes in institutional design.' [38] This was in response to the demands made by states like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu & West Bengal. This has led some scholars to observe that India's federal governance encountered with "second generation strains."[39] It has been, thus, correctly observed that "these strains originates from a redefinition of state demands on the centre, based on an attempt to bring about structural changes in India's federalism, rather than on reinforcing constitutional restraints on national government".[40] Ray and Kincaid concluded that "the tradition of elite accommodation and consensus in the Congress party suffered a serious fracture after the 1967 Congress party split."[41]

These changes in the attitude of the governments at the state levels did create a sense wherein these governments could find opportunities to proceed with their twin demands — more space for bargaining and scope for accommodation. But one interesting point can be noted here that even for demanding greater degree of autonomy, the state governments were very much keen in projecting the unity and integrity of the nation. Two observations from two state governments will establish this point. In the openion of the Andhra Pradesh Government : "It is absolutely necessary to ensure the unity and integrity all over the country."[42] The government of Punjab came out with a categorical statement : "There can be no two opinions about the protection of independence and ensurance of the unity and integrity of the country. There can be different view points only with respect to what imperils these and how to avoid these perils."[43]

That the recommendations of the Commission could not satisfy all sections of the polity became quite evident when some observers expressed their concerns about the impact of stresses and strains generated out of new political power configurations on the functioning of the federal government in India. To Amal

Ray, these recommendations may be treated as "some sort of temporary compromise intended to ease the current strain between New Delhi and the non-Congress State government."[44] Commenting on the limitations of the Commission, he held, "the major issues in centre-state relations formulated by the Commission do not reflect their concern for a new option that would accommodate the needs and aspirations of the regional communities including those of Punjab within a genuinely reformed federal system."[45] Political personality like Somnath Chatterjee of the CPI(M), M.P. from West Bengal, observed that "it seems the justification for a status quo dominated the entire thinking of the Commission and it really ends in a whimper by concluding that no worthwhile constitutional change is necessary".[46] Home Minister Buta Singh clearly stated in the Lok sabha that "if need be, we will definitely come up with a proposal of constitutional amendment because we want to give people's powers to the people."[47]

That the issue of "over-centralization" in the federal arrangement occupied a prime place in the political process found support in the election manifesto of the National Front in the elections of 1989. The manifesto categorically declared that it would 'reserve

the over centralization brought about by the ruling party' as through it 'not only will the States benefit by decentralization of powers from the centre, but there will be corresponding as simultaneous devolution of power to the districts, the taluks, the mandals and the panchayets, on the basis of national consensus.[48]

The recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission evoked criticism from many quarters. Rasheeduddin Khan criticised the Sarkaria Commission's "rather moderate attempt at mitigating the (federal) imbalances."[49] On the other hand, H.M. Rajashekara, while analysing the recommendations of the Commission, concluded that "an over centralized federal system is incapable of dealing effectively with socio-economic challenges and strengthening national unity.[50] These conflicting opinions about the nature and efficacy of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission have led one scholar to conclude in this way : "Given the transformation in the political as well as economic relationship between the central government and the states, it remains to be seen whether any national governing coalition will be capable of salvaging any of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission.[51]

The most impressive fact about the Indian polity among the larger developing countries is its uniqueness in sustaining a democratic political framework for more than a half century , justifying claims to Indian exceptionalism. Over the period , political groups in India have thus confronted a political system in which the ballot box is the final arbiter in their quest for power. Despite the deterioration in the level of its institutionalization after the first quarter century following independence, India's political system has still proven sturdy and resilient enough to bar seizure of power through violence or the possession of the means of violence .

Coalition building is an integral part of the process of acquiring state power within a democracy . Narrowly based political groups are likely to make for extreme positions in politics , whether in regard to ideology and policy or inter-group relations . On the other hand , coalition building for a winning majority , whether in national politics or in the legislature , is likely to make for moderation in politics and policy. The tendency is reinforced by India's immense social diversity , which in practical terms renders every group into a minority . More than 200 years ago , James Madison in Federalist Paper No.10 had

recommended extending the size of a political unit as a means , through encompassing greater diversity , to achieving the aim of modernization in politics and policy. What Madison intended to accomplish through political engineering has, however, been structurally given in India, especially for the center , by vast diversity.

Functional as diversity may be in some respect, it can also have adverse consequences for politics, aggravating tensions and conflict in society as a result of the appeals by political parties to ethnic groups . Diversity thus sets in motion two opposing processes : ethnic mobilization and coalition building . No party is immune to either process , and all have to develop strategies to cope with both even if at different levels of the political system.[52]

III

Thus, it is seen that over the years, there have been qualitative changes in the nature and functioning of India's federal governance. Many factors are responsible for these changes and it has been very correctly observed that the most significant

transformation of India's federal system is exemplified by the gradual shift from inter-governmental cooperation between the central government and the states towards inter-jurisdictional competition among the states." (53) In a situation where opposite forces operate, the federal system is bound to work in a different political environment. In India, the change in the party system after the collapse of the "Congress system" was singularly responsible for changes in the federal governance of the country. It is correct to say that " India, which was moving most decisively towards centralization during Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership, has experienced a reversal in the 1990's." (54) It is important to note in this connection that the decline of the Congress System and the consequential growth of regional political parties have definitely brought about new power equations at the party level which have their profound impact on the federal governance of the country. The regional political Parties either in their individual capacities or through electoral adjustments (coalition system) began to exert tremendous pressures on the central party leadership — a pressure which it failed to withstand. To quote Rakhahari Chatterjee once : "with the final dissolution of the 'Congress System' marked by the

electoral defeat of the Congress Party in 1996 elections, and with the growth of regional parties having strong electoral bases in the states and creating winnable coalitions at the state level, not only the centralizing trend halted in India but a distinctly decentralizing trend with state bosses (non-Congress) exerting strong pressures on the centre emerged. And this process "is still unfolding to an extent that one may be tempted to lable it as a peripheralizing process."[55]

In fact, the present study has tried, through all these chapters, to analyse the changing perspectives of India's federal governance. Since this is an on-going process, more changes are likely to take place 'with some major qualitative changes in national and international parameters.'[56]

The federal scheme as envisaged in the Constitution of India have, over the years, undergone changes with the changes in the power equations between the centre and the regions. In the given set of forces operating both at the national and local levels, federalism in india is bound to be more accommodative and

'non centralization' as forcefully explained by Daniel J. Elazar, should replaced 'centralization' so that forces at the local levels can find space to operate.[57] Since Indian federalism has entered into a new phase with the emergence of Coalition politics, "one may be tempted to level it as a peripheralizing process" as already noted by Rakhahari Chatterjee.[58] As the process continues, newer and newer forces are likely to emerge and the federal process will undergo both qualitative and quantitative changes in future.

Notes and References

1. Lawrence S'aez, **Federalism Without A Centre, The Impact of Political And Economic Reform On India's Federal System**, Sage, New Delhi 2002, P – 215

2. Ibid

3. Selig Harrison, **India, the Most Dangerous Decades**, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1960, P – 246

4. Ibid, P – 336

5. Vernon Hewitt, **"The Congress System is Dead – Long**

Live the Party System and Democratic India," Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative politics, 27, 1989, P-165

6. Ibid

7. Myron Weiner, **"Congress Restored : Continuities and Discontinuities in Indian Politics,"** Asian Survey, 22, 1982, P – 353

8. Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne Rudolph, **In persuit of Laxmi : The Political Economy of the Indian State,** Chicago University press, 1987, P – 7

9. Bhagwan Dua, **'Federalism or Patrimonialism : The Making and Unmaking of Chief Ministers in India',** Asian Survey 25, 1985, P – 804

10. James Manor, **'Party Decay and Political Crisis in India'** The Washington Quarterly, 4, Summer, 1981, P – 32

11. Balveer Arora, **'Centralist and Regionalist Parties in India's Federal Polity' in the State, Political process and Identity,'** eds Zoya Hasan, S.N. Jha and Rashecduddin Khan, Sage, Delhi, 1989, P – 198

12. Christopher Candland, **'Congress Decline and Party Pluralism in India',** Journal of International Affairs 51,

1997, P – 25

13. Lawrence s'aez, **Federalism without a Centre: The Impact of Political and Economic Reform on India's Federal System,** Sage, New Delhi, 2002, P – 46

14. Prabhat Datta, **Regionalisation of Indian Polities,** Sterling, New Delhi, 1993

15. Rekha Saxena, **Indian Politics in Transition,** Deep & Deep, New Delhi, 1994, P – 40

16. M.P. Singh, **"From Hegemony to Multi-level Federalism : India's Parliamentary System,'** Indian Journal of Social Science, No. 5, 1992, P – 271

17. James Manor, **'Regional Parties in Federal Systems', in Multiple Identities in a Single State',** eds. Balveer Arora and Douglas Verney, Konark, Delhi, 1995, PP 116-118

18. Maurice Duverger, **Political Parties,** 2nd Edn, trans, Barbara and Robert North, Mathuen elo., N.Y., 1951, P – 312

19. Ibid

20. Lawrence S'aez, **Federalism without a Centre',** Op. cit. P – 54

21. Ibid, P – 65

22. W.H. Morris – Jones, **Politics Mainly Indian**, Orient in Longman, Bombay, 1978, P – 158

23. Lucian W. Pye, **'Why One – Party Dominant Systems Decline'** in India and the Politics of Developing Countries, ed. Ashutosh Varshney, Sage, New Delhi, 2004, PP 43 – 59

24. **Ibid**, P – 44

25. **Ibid**. This point has been further elaborated by Thomas Bloom Hansen, **The Saffron Wave : Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India**, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1999 and Ashutosh Varshney, **Democratic Development and the Countryside : Urban - Rural Struggles in Modern India**, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

26. Myron Weiner, **Party - Building in a New Nation : The Indian National Congress**, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1967.

27. Lucian Pye, **Why One – Party Dominant Systems Decline**, Op-cit. P – 44

28. **"Panel set up to Review Centre – State Ties'**, Indian

Express, March 25, 1983.

29. For details see, Robert Hardgrave and Stanley Kochanek, **India : Government and Politics in a Developing Nation**, Harcourt Brace Jovanorice, N. Y., 1986.

30. Nirmal Mukherjee and George Mather, **"Epilogue" in Federalism in India**, eds. Nirmal Mukherjee and Balveer Arora, Vikas, New Delhi, 1992, P – 281.

31. H.A. Gani, **Governor in the Indian Constitution : Certain Controversies and Sarkaria Commission**, Ajanta, Delhi, 1990, P – 12

32. **'Non – Congress- I CMS Hail Sarkaria Commission**, Indian Express, March 25, 1983.

33. **'Hegde on National Debate on Centre – State Ties'**, The Hindu, March 26, 1983.

34. **Ibid.**

35. **'CMS Welcome panel on Centre – State Ties'**, The Hindu, March 25, 1983.

36. **'Opposition Parties Welcome More'**, Hindustan Times, March 25, 1983.

37. **Report of the Sarkaria Commission**, P – 24.

38. Lawrence S'aez, **Federalism without a Centre**, Op. Cit.,

P – 85

39. Amal Ray and John Kincaid, 'Politics, Economic Development and Second Generation Strain in India's Federal System,' Publins, 18, 1988, PP 147-67

40. Lawrence S'aez, **Federalism without a Centre**, Op. Cit., p – 85

41. Ray and Kincaid, 'Politics, Economic Development and Second Generation strain in India's Federal System,' Op. Cit. , p – 150.

42. **Sarkaria Report**, Vol. 2, P – 49.

43. **Ibid.** P – 870

44. Amal Ray, **'The Sarkaria Commission's Perspective : An Apprisal,** Economic and Political Weekly, 33, 1988, P – 1133

45. **Ibid.**

46. **Lok Sabha Debates,** March 30, 1989.

47. **Lok Sabha Debates,** April 5, 1989.

48. A.M. Zaidi, ed, **Annual Register of Indian Political Parties,** Vol I, Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, New Delhi, 1990, P – 415.

49. Rashudecddin Khan, **Federal India : A Design for**

Change, Vikas, New Delhi, 1992, P – 52.

50. H.N. Rajashekara, 'The Nature of Indian Federalism – A Critique', Asian Survey, 37, 1997, P – 253.

51. Lawrence S'aez, Federalism without a Centre, Op. Cit. P – 96.

52. Ibid. P – 215.

53. Rakhahari Chatterjee, Introduction to Comparative Political Analysis, Levant Books, Sarat Book Distributors, Kolkata, 2006, P – 258.

54. Ibid.

55. Ashutosh Vashney, ed., India and the Politics of Developing Countries, Sage , New Delhi, 2004 pp.229-230.

56. Bharati Mukherjee, Regionalism in Indian Perspective, K.P. Bagchi & Co., Kolkata, 1992, p – 109.

57. Daniel J. Elazar, "Federalism", International Encyclopedia of the Social Services, Vol. 5, edited by David L. Sills, Macmillan and Free Press, N.Y. 1968, PP 356-361.

58. Rakhahari Chatterjee, Op. Cit.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

- ARC Report on Centre - State Relationships, 1969

- Report of the Centre - State Relation Enquiry Committee, Madras, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, 1971.

- Report of the Study Team in the Machinery for Planning.

- India Commission on Centre - State Relations. 1988: Government on Centre-State Relations. Nasik : Government of India Press.

- Report of the Centre - State Relation Enquiry Committee, Madras, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, 1971.

- Report of the Study Team in the Machinery for Planning.

- Administrative Reforms Commission : Report on Centre - State Relationships, Delhi : Manager of Publications, 1969.

- Government of India Act , 1935 (26 Geo. 5 and 1 Edw. 8 ch. 2). London : H,M.Stationary Office, 1935.

- Constituent Assembly of India. Draft Constitution of India. New Delhi : Government of India Press. 1948.

- Administrative Refofms Commission : Reports of The Study Team of Centre-State Relationships. 3 Vols. Delhi : Manager of Publications. 1968.

- Constituent Assembly . Debates : Official Report. 10 vols. Ser. 2. Delhi : Manager of Publications, 1949.

- Constitution of India. Delhi : Government of India, Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs, 1981.

- Commission on Centre-State Relations (Sarkaria Commission Report). 2 vol.s.

- Delhi : Government of India Press, 1988.

- Seminar on Centre-State Relations (organized by the Economic and Planning Council, Government of Karnataka, in association of the Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, and the Centre for Policy Reseach, New Delhi).Bangalore : Government of Karnataka Press, 1983.

- Rajamanhar Report on Centre-State Relations. Madras : Inquiry Commettee, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1971.

- Sarkaria Commission of Inquiry First Report. Madras :

Director of Stationary and Print, 1977.

- Views on Centre-State Relations. Calcutta : Department of Information and Cultural Affairs, Government of West Bengal, 1978.

- Rajya Sabha, Debates, Rajya Sabha ,vol.148, no. 12-14 (1988).

- Lok Sabha Debates, 10th Lok Sabha, 1st Sess. , 10th Ser. , vol.5, no. 46 (1991).

- Lok Sabha Debates, 10th Lok Sabha, 2nd Sess. , 10th Ser. , vol.7, no. 24 (1991).

- Lok Sabha Debates, 8th Lok Sabha, 13th Sess. , 8th Ser. , vol.48, no. 22-26 (1989).

B. *Secondary Sources:*

BOOKS :

- R.L. Watts, New Federations - Experiments in the Commonwealth, OUP, 1965.

- Daniel J. Elazar, Constitutionalism, Federalism and the postindustrial American polity, in Lipset (ed) The Third

Century America as postindustrial society, Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.

- C H. Pritchett, The American Constitution, Tata MC - Graw Hill, New Delhi, 1977.

- A.H. Hanson, The Process of Planning, O.U.P., 1966.

- Pranab Bardhan, The Political Economy of Development in India, Oxford, 1984.

- Jagadish Bhagwati, India in Transition, Oxford, 1993.

- C.P. Bhambri, Politics in India, 1947-1987, Vikas, New Delhi, 1988.

- Chandana Bhattacharjee, Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement : Case of Bodo - Kacharis of Assam, Vikas, New Delhi, 1990.

- S.P. Bhattacharya, Grants-in-Aid in India : A Study of their overall Impact on Inter -governmental Balance of Power within the Indian Federal System

- (unpublished Ph.D thesis of the University of North Bengal), 1980.

- Paul R. Brass, language, Religion and politics in North India, Cambridge University Press, 1974.

- Paul. R. Brass, Politics of India Since Independence,

Foundation Books, New Delhi, 1994.

- Ashok Chanda, Federalism in India : A Study of Union - State Relations, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1965. S. Datta Gupta (ed), India : Politics and Society : Today and Tomorrow, K.P. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1998.

- M.S. Rajan (ed), Studies in politics, Vikas, New Delhi, 1971.

- Zoya Hasan, S.N. Jha and Rasheeduddin Khan (ed), The state, Political Process and Identity : Reflections on Modern India, Sage, New Delhi, 1989.

- Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent : India's Growing Crisis of Governability, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

- Rajni Kothari, Politics in India, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1995.

- Amal Ray, Federal Politics and Government, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1982.

- Myron Weiner, The Indian Paradox : Essays in Indian Politics, Sage, New Delhi, 1999.

- T.J. Nossiter, Marxist State Governments in India, London, 1988.

- J. Dasgupta, Language Conflict and National Development, Bombay, 1970.

- K. Santhanam, Union - State Relations in India, Bombay, 1963.

- N.C. Sahni (ed), Coalition Politics in India, Jullunder, 1971.

- S.C. Kashyap, The Politics of Defection, New Delhi, 1969.

- Iqbal Narain (ed), State Politics in India, Meerut, 1976.

- B.L. Fadia and R.K. Menaria, Sarkaria Commission and Centre - State Relations, Agra, 1990.

- Majdeed Akhter (ed), Regionalism : Developmental Tensions in India, Cosmo, Delhi, 1984.

- K.R. Bombwall (ed), National Power and State Autonomy, Meenakshi Publications, 1978.

- Rasheeduddin Khan, Federal India : A Design for Change, Vikash Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992.

- Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed), Democracy in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, 571P.

- Atul Kohli (ed.), The success of India's Democracy, Princeton University Press, 2001, XIV, 298P.

- B.N. Mukherjee, Nationhood and Statehood in India : a historical Survey, New Delhi, Regency Publications, 2001, 85P.

- Sudha Pai, State Politics : New Dimensions, Shipra Publications, Delhi, 2000.

- Kalyani Shankar, Gods of Power : Personality Cult and Indian Democracy, Macmillan

- A. Banerjee , "Federalism and Nationalism" In Federalism in India : Origin and Development, [Nirmal Mukherjee and Balbeer Arora eds), New Delhi :Vikas Publishing House, 1992.

- H. Bhattacharyya , India as a Multicultural Federation : Asian Values, Democracy and Decentralisation (In Comparison with Swiss Federalism), Institute of Federalism, Switzerland : Fribourg, 2000.

- C.J. Friedrich , Trends Of Federalism in Theory and Practice, London : Pall Mall Press, 1968.

- K.M. Kurian and P.N. Varughese eds. ,Centre - State Relations, Macmillan : New Delhi ,1981.

- Subrata K. Mitra and V.B. Singh, Democracy and social change in India : A cross - National Analysis of the

National Electorate, Sage Publications : New Delhi,1999.

- Ajit Roy ,"Federalism and the National Question" In Centre - State Relations, K. Mathew Kurian and P.N. Varughese (eds), New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981.

- Ronald L. Watts ,Comparing Federalism systems. Ontario : Institute of Intergovernmental Relations,1999.

- O.P Goyal, India, Government and Politics New Delhi: Light and Life Publication, 1977.

- Lawrence Saez, Federalism Without a Centre : The Impact of Political and Economic Reform on India's Federal System, New Delhi : Sage Publication, 2003.

- V.B. Rao and B. Venkateswarlu, Parliamentary Democracy in India : Trends and Issues, Delhi: Mittal Publication , 1987.

- Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed), Indian Democracy : Meanings and Practices, New Delhi : Sage Publication, 2003.

- Niraja Gopal Jayal and Sudha Pai (ed), Democratic Governance in India : Challenges of Poverty, Development, and Identity, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001.

- Schoenfeld, Benjamin N. Federalism in India, Washington : Public Affairs Press, 1960.

- Rath, Sarada, Federalism today : approaches, issues and trends, New Delhi : Sterling, (c) 1984.

- Chanda, Ashok Kumar, Federalism in India : A study of Union-State relation, London : G.Allen and Unwin, 1965.

- Bose, Tarun Chandra, Indian Federalism : Problems and Issues, Calcutta : K.P. Bagchi, 1987,(c) 1986.

- Aleaz, Bonita, Struggle of Indian Federalism, Calcutta : Punthi-Pustak, 1997.

- Alexandrowiez, C.H. Constitutional Development in India. London : Oxford University Press, 1957.

- Austin, Granville. The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a Nation. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966.

- Bhambhri, C.P. The Indian state : Fifty years. New Delhi : Supra Publications, 1997.

- Bhatnagar, S.and Pradeep Kumar, Regional Political Parties in India. New Delhi : Ess and Ess Publications, 1988.

- Brass, Paul. Politics of India Since Independence. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

- Butler, David, Ashok Lahiri and Pranoy Roy. India Decides : Elections 1952-1996. 3rd ed. New Delhi : Living Media India, 1996.

- Centre-state Relations, with Particular Reference to the Sarkaria Commission Report. Proceeding of a Seminar organized by the Leslie Sawhney Programme. Bombay : The Leslie Sawhney Programme, 1988.

- Clark, Jane Perry. The Rise of a New Federalism. New York : Columbia University Press, 1938.

- Das, H.H. and B.C. Choudhury. Federal and State Politics in India. New Delhi : Discovery Publishing House , 1990.

- Dutta, Avijit, ed. Union-state Relations. New Delhi : Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1984.

- Dhavan, Rajeev and Alice Jacob, eds. Indian Constitution : Trends and Issues. Bombay : Tripathi Publications, 1978.

- Fadia, Babulal. State Relations in India. 2 vols. New Delhi : Radiant Publishers, 1984.

- Fadia, Babulal and Rajendra K.Menaria. Sarkaria Commission Report and Centre-state Relations. Agra : Sahitya Bhawan, 1990.

- Friedrich, Carl. Constitutional Government and

Democracy. Boston : Ginn and Company, 1946.

- Gani, H.A.Governor in the Indian Constitution : Certain Controversies and Sarkaria Commission. Delhi : Ajanta Publications, 1990.

- Joshi, G.N. The Constitution of India. Oxford University Press, 1954.

- Kashyap, S.C. ed. Union-state Relations in India. New Delhi : The Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, 1969.

- Khan, Rasheeduddin, Federal India : A Design For Change, New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1992.

- Khaturia Harbir Singh. Presidents Rule in India, 1967-1989. New Delhi : Uppal Publishing House, 1990.

- Kumar Pradeep. Studies in Federalism. New Delhi : Deep and Deep Publications, 1988.

- Kurian, K. Matthew and P.N. Varughese, eds. Centre-state Relations. Delhi : Macmillan Company of India Ltd, 1981.

- Lal, Shiv. India : Current Party Politics. New Delhi : Election Archives, 1987.

- Lemco, Jonathan. Political Stability in Federal Governments. New York : Praeger Publishers, 1991.

- Mac Mohan, Arthur, ed. Federalism: Mature and Emergent. Garden city, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955.

- Maheshwari, B.L. ed. Centre-State Relations in the Seventies. Proceedings from the National Seminar on Centre-State Relations in the Seventies (Hyderabad, 1971). Calcutta: Minerva Associates, 1973.

- Maheshwari, Shriram. State Government in India. Delhi: The Mac Millan Company of India Ltd., 1979.

- Morris-Jones, W.H. The Government and Politics in India, London: The Eothen Press, 1964.

- Mukarji, Nirmal and Balveer Arora, eds. Federalism in India: Origins and Development, New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1992.

- Pal, Chandra. State Autonomy in Indian Federation. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1984.

- Pandey, Jawaharlal. State Politics in India. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1982.

- Paterson, Paul. Barry Rabe and Kenneth Wong. When Federalism works Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1986.

- Prasad, Anirudh. Centre-State Relations in India. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1985.

- Ray, Amal. Inter-Governmental Relations in India. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966.

- Ray, Amal. Tension Areas in India's Federal System. Calcutta: World Press, 1970.

- Sadasivan, S.N. Party and Democracy in India. New Delhi: Mc Graw Hill Publishing Company Ltd, 1977.

- Sahni, Sati, ed. Centre-State Relations: Proceedings of a Meeting of Leaders. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1984.

- Sanajaoba, Naorem, ed. Basic Issues on Centre-State Relations. New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1985.

- Sarkar, Ranadhir Sarma. Union-State Relations in India. New Delhi: National, 1986.

- Sartori, Giovanni. Parties and Party Systems.Vol.1.Cambridge University Press, 1976.

- Saxena, Rekha. Indian Politics in Transition. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1994.

- Singh, Shudh N. Centre-State Relations in India: Major Irritants and Post-Sarkaria Review. New Delhi: H.K. Publishers, 1990.

- Sisson, Richard and Ramashray Roy, eds. Diversity and Dominance in Indian Politics: Chang Basis of Congress Support. 2 vols. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990.

- Sudha, J.P., Indian Constitutional Development and National Movement, Meerut : Jai Prakash Nath, 1951.

- Sundquist, James, Making Federalism Work, Washington D.C : The Brookings Institution, 1969.

- Whear, K.C, federal Government, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1947.

- Wood, John, ed. State Politics in Contemporary India : Crises or Continuity, Boulder, Colorado : Westview Press, 1984.

- Ahuja, M.L, and Paul sharda, 1989-1991 General Elections in India, New Delhi : Associated Publishing House, 1992.

- Austin, Granville, The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a Nation, Oxford : Clarendon, 1966.

- Butler, David, P. Roy and A. Lahiri, India Decides : Elections, 1952-1995, Delhi : Living Media Books, 1996.

- Dutta Bhaskar, Coalition Governments and Fiscal Policies in India, Mimeo, 1996.

- Hart, Henry C., Indira Gandhi's India : A Political System Reappraised, Boulder : Westview, 1976.

- Hasan, Zoya, ed., Politics and the State in India, New Delhi, Sage Thousand Oaks, London, Sage Publications, 2000, p.383.

- Appleby, Paul H., Administration in India, Report of a Survey,1953.

- Wheare, K.C, Federal Government, London, 1953.

- Kashyap, S.C., Our Parliament, New Delhi : National Book Trust, 1995.

- Singh, M.M., The Constitution of India, Calcutta : Studies in Perspective.

- Jones-Morris, W.H., Government and Politics of India, New Delhi : Universal Book Stall, 1996.

- Brass, Paul R., The Politics of India Since Independence, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- Khan Rasheeduddin, Federal India : A Design for Change, New Delhi : Vikash Publishing House, 1992.

- Majeed Akhtar, ed., Federal India : A Design for Good Governance, Delhi : Manak Publications, 2005.

- Majeed Akhtar, ed., Federalism Within The Union :

Distribution of Responsibilities in the Indian System, New Delhi : Manak Publications, 2004.

- Majeed Akhtar, ed., Coalition Politics and Power- Sharing, Delhi : Manak Publications, 2000.

- Singh, Mahendra Prasad and Anil Mishra, ed., Coalition Politics in India : Problems and Prospects, New Delhi : Manohar, 2004.

- Gehlot, N.S., New Challenges to Indian Politics : Coalition Politics and Elections, Population Explosion, Women and Human Rights, Foreign Policy, Constitution, Judiciary and Recent Developments, New Delhi : Deep and Deep, 2002.

- Leonard, Thomas James, Federalism in India, Published for the Hansard Society by cassell, London, 1963.

- Wyatt, Andrew and John Zavos, Decentring the Indian Nation, , Portland, London : Frank Cass, 2003.

- Mukherjee, Nirmal k. and Balveer Arora, Federalism in India, Origins and Developments, New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1992.

- Sinha Manoj, Cooperative Federalism in India and the U.S.A, New Delhi : National Book Organisation, 1998.

- Singh, Mahendra Prasad and B.D. Dua, Indian Federalism in the new millennium, New Delhi : Manohar, 2003.

- Nesbeitt, Philip Lawson, The Development of Federalism in India, Berkeley, Calif,1949.

- Khan, Nazeer H. and Zafar A. Khan, B.R.Ambedkar on federalism, ethnicity and gender justice, New Delhi : Deep and Deep, 2001.

- Bhattacharyaa, Harihar, Federalism in Asia: India, Pakistan and Malaysia, Routledge, London, 2006.

- Roy, Amal, Inter-governmental relations in India: a study of Indian Federalism, Bombay: Asia Pub. House, 1966.

- Telford, Hamish, Federalism in multinational societies: Switzerland, Canada and India in Comparative Perspective, Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 2000.

- Rao, M. Govinda and Narvikar Singh, The Political Economy of Federalism in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

- Chhibber, Pradeep, The Formation of National Party System: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India and the United States, Princeton University Press, 2004.

- Samaddara, Ranabira, The Politics of autonomy: Indian experiences, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005.

- Roy, Amal, Federal Politics and government Delhi: Macmillan, 1979.

- Fadia, Babulal, State Politics in India, New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1984.

- Kurian, K.Matthew and P.N. Varughese, Centre-State Relations, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981.

- Chatterjee, Partha, State and Politics in India, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Roy, Bharati, Evolution of Federalism in India, Calcutta: Progressive Publishers, 1967.

- Schoenfeld, Benjamin N. Federalism in India, Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1960.

- Rath, Sarada, Federalism Today: approaches, issues and trends, New Delhi: Sterling, 1984.

- Chanda, Asok Kumar, Federalism in India: A Study of Union-State Relations, London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1965.

- Bose, Tarun Chandra, Indian Federalism: Problems and issues, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi, 1987.

ARTICLES AND JOURNALS

- Pai, Sudha, Regional Parties and the Emerging Pattern of Politics in India, IJPS, vol-L 1, No.-3, July-Sept 1990.

- Mukherjee, K.P., "Is India a Federation" ? Indian Journal of Political Science, vol. Xv, No. 4, July-Sept, 1954.

- Khan, Rasheeduddin, Rethinking Indian Federalism, (ed.), Indian Institute of Advance Study, Simla, 1997.

- Bhatia, Ravi, 'A decade of Parliamentary Elections in India - Mapping of Trends', The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol-62, No-1, 2001, P-554-573.

- Bhattacharyya, Harihar , Indian Federalism and Indian Communism : Conflict and Collaboration, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol.-62, No.1, 2001, P-41-60.

- Patil, S.H., India's Experiment with coalition Government at the Federal level, The Indian Journal of Political science, Vol-62, No.1, 2001, P-586-596.

- Patil, S.H, India's Experiment with Coalition Government at the Federal Level, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol-62, No.4, Dec 2001.

- Chakraborty, Bidyut, Parliamentary Federalism in India : The Constitutional Inputs and the Process of Imagning. Indian Social Science Review, Vol-5, No.1, Jan-June-2003.

- Singh, Mahendra Prasad, Recent Trends in India's Parliamentary Federal System : Exploring Perceptions of Members of Parliament, Indian Social Science Review, Vol.-4, No.1, Jan-June, 2002.

- Sen, Mohit , Coalition and Congress, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-II, Issue-33-35, 1967, P.1499.

- Maheswari, B.L., Politics of Coalitions, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-V, Issue -3-5, 1970, P-117.

- Karunakaran,K.P., Governor, Chief Minister and Coalitions, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-V, Issue-42, 1970, P-1226.

- Thimmaiah, G.,Federal Fiscal Transfers in India : A Comment, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-XII, Issue-49, 1977, P-2024.

- Ray, Aswini K. , India's Federal Polity : Some Questions, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-XIV, Issue-34, 1979,

P-1471.

- Puri, Balraj, Problems and Prospects of Federalisation : The Case of Jammu and Kashmir, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol-XVI, Issue-20, 1981, P-895.

- Ahmed, Y. Rafeek, 'Indian Federalism and the Party System- The Emerging Pattern'. Journal of Political Studies, Issue- 8, 1975, pp. 52-62.

- Armijo, Leslie and Prem Shankar Jha, ' Centre-State Relations in India and Brazil: Privatization of Electricity and Banking'. Revista de Economia Politica, Issue- 17, 1997, pp. 120-42.

- Bajpai, Nirupam and Jeffrey Sachs, ' Strengthening India's Strategy for Economic Growth'. Economic and Political Weekly, Issue-33, 1998, pp. 1935-42.

- Bhambhri, C.P., 'Political Parties and Centre-State Relations in India'. Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, No.3 1969, pp. 46-54.

- Candland, Christopher, 'Congress Decline and Party Pluralism in India'. Journal of International Affairs, No-51, 1997, pp. 19-35.

- Dua Bhagwan, 'India: A Study in the Pathology of Federal

Systems', Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Issue-19, 1981, pp.257-75.

- Dua Bhagwan, 'Federalism or Patrimonoalism: The Making and Unmaking of Chief Ministers in India', Asian Survey, No-25, 1985, pp.783-804.

- Dua Bhagwan and Mahendra Prasad Singh, 'Whither Indian Federalism: The Sarkaria Commission Report and Beyond', Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Conditions, No-31, 1989, pp.15-19.

- Fadia, Babulal and P.S. Bhati, 'Sarkaria Report and Proposal for Inter-Governmental Council', Indian Journal of Political Science. No-50, 1989.

- Friedrich, Carl, 'Federalism and Opposition', Government and Opposition, No- 1, 1966, pp.286-96.

- Graham, B.D. , 'Congress as a Rally : An Image of Leadership', South Asia Review, No- 6, 1973, pp.111-24.

- Gupta, Shekhar , 'Sarkaria Report : Balanced View', India Today, Issue- 134, February, 1988, pp.82-84.

- Hewitt, Vernon, 'The Congress System is Dead : Long Live the Party System and Democratic India?' Journal

of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, No- 27, 1989, pp. 157-71.

- Jain, S.P. , 'Centre-State and Inter-State Relations', Political Science Review (Jaipur), No-24, 1985, pp.83-91.

- Kochanek, Stanley, 'The Indian National Congress : The Distribution of Power Between Party and Government', Journal of Asian Studies, No-25, 1966, pp.681-97.

- Kothari, Rajni, 'Party System', EPW, NO-13, 1961, PP.847-54.

- Kothari, Rajni, 'The Congress System in India', Asian Survey, No-4, 1964, pp.1161-73.

- Kothari, Rajni, 'India: The Congress System on Trial', Asian survey, No-7, 1967, pp.83-96.

- Kothari, Rajni, 'Continuity and Change in India's Party System', Asian Survey, No-10, 1970, pp.937-48.

- Kumar Pradeep, 'The Changing Nature of Federalism : A Conceptual Analysis', Political Science Review(Jaipur), No-22, 1983.

- Morris-Jonnes, W.H., 'Parliament Dominant Party : Indian Experience', Parliamentary Affairs, No-17, 1964,

pp.296-307.

- Nayar, V.K.Sukumaran, 'A New Approach to Indian Federalism', Indian Journal of Political Science, No-53, 1992, pp.1-13.

- Panagaria, B.L., 'Centre-State and Inter-State Relations : An Overview", Political Science Review (Jaipur), No-24, 1985, pp. 55-65.

- Rajshekara, H.M., 'The Nature of Indian Federalism-A Critique', Asian Survey, No-37, 1997, pp.245-53.

- Raju, K.H. Cheluva, 'Indian Federalism and Integrity of the Nation', Indian Journal of Political Science, No-49, 1988, pp.1-13.

- Ray, Amal, 'New Economic Policy and Indian Federalism', EPW, No-27, 1992, pp.147-50.

- Ray, Amal, 'The Sarkaria Commission's Perspective : An Appraisal', EPW, No-23, 1988, pp.1131-33.

- Ray, Amal, 'From Consensus to Confrontation : Federal Politics in India', EPW, No-17, 1982, pp. 1619-24.

- Saraswathi, S., 'Participative Centralisation : Sarkaria Commission's Prescription for Union-State Relations in India', Indian Journal of Political Science, No-50, 1989,

pp.191-208.

- Sathyamurthy, T.V., 'Centre-State Relations : Southern Chief Ministers Meeting', EPW, No-18, 1983, pp.576-79.

- Sathyamurthy, T.V., 'Centralised State Power and Decentralised Politics', EPW, No-31, 1996, pp.835-43.

- Shome Parthasarathi and Hiranya Mukhopadhyay, 'Economic Liberalisation in the 1990s', EPW, No-33, 1998, pp.1925-34.

- Singh, Mahendra P., 'From Hegemony to Multylevel Federalism? India's Parliamentary System', Indian Journal of Social Science, No-5, 1992 pp.263-88.

- Singh, Mahendra P., 'To Govern or Not to Govern? The Dilemma of the Indian Party System', Asian Survey, No-32, 1992, pp.303-17.

- Singh, Mahendra P., 'Political Parties and Political Economy of Federalism : A Paradigm Shift in Indian Politics', Indian Journal of Social Science, No-7, 1994, pp.155-77.

- Verney, Douglas, 'Federalism, Federative Systems, and Federation : The United States, Canada, India', Publius,

NEWSPAPERS / MAGAZINES

- The Times of India.

- Ananda Bazaar Patrika.

- The Statesman.

- Hindustan Times.

- The Hindu

- Indian Express