

CHEPTER - V

CONSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS AND FEDERAL GOVERNANCE - TENTATIVE PERIODISATIONS

The period of one party dominance by the centre has lasted till 1966. Since 1967, after the fourth General Elections, the qualitative changes took place in the nature of Indian political process. There had been changes in the electoral verdict in some of the states of Indian Federal System. In those states, non-Congress governments came to exist. This opportunity provides the task to take care of a number of issues of relating socio-economic and political arrangements which were ignored earlier. At the same time, it focused on the external form of power and new equipoise in the Indian political System.

It is very important to mention about the impact of it on the Congress System which Rajni Kothari stated as 'One dominant Party system". A system of regionalization started to appear in Indian politics when some non-Congress parties formed the governments in some states. These non-Congress governments started to demand for larger part from the political and economic resources of the nation. These preferred the quick restructuring of the centre and state relations. It was mainly in the financial matters.

II

It is necessary to look in to the nature of tensions and problems which may help is to understand the course of Indian federal system. The stresses had influenced the activities of the federal system. The tensions or stresses can be separated into as the political stresses along within the governing party and between the ruling and other non ruling parties; and on the other hand, the economic stresses which arose out economic authority and the behaviour of political parties towards this authority. Regarding the economic tension, it is broadly for the stipulations of unevenness, leading to instability of the social base.¹ When changes took place in economic matters, the focus was

transferred in economic priorities. For this reason, movements and displacement of the working class had been seen from labour concentrated and capital concentrated composition. This influenced mostly the enlargement of workers both in the arranged, un-arranged and marginal areas which caused to weak the basis of work force. During these periods, all the impact of this change has been stated as an intensification of the horizontal contradiction within the dominant class.² It is still presented the conflict between the rising rich, middle peasant classes and the industrial bourgeoisie which started earlier. It is also interesting to note the rising of conflict between the poor and landless labours, on the other hand among the middle and rich peasants.

The Indian federal system not only was influenced by the political and economic matters, but the rising of cultural and linguistic differences also influenced. There was also tensions between the Hindu belt areas and the non-hindi-belt area. The stresses were complex in nature and also influenced the Indian federal System. To protect the political system from further tensions, the three language Formula was also introduced. The another important issue about Indian coalition politics is to discuss about the position of the smaller states in the federal governance. They play significant role in the manipulation of powers. The states which reorganized on the language basis failed to solve the problems. But day by day new demands like demand for autonomy, a new state are creating by the regional demands which highly can be located in the North-Eastern region and also in some areas of India may rise due to some important reasons. All the demands not for the existing of new state but sometimes through the creation of new state try to satisfy the local importance.

Before the emergence of coalition government in India which the local parties failed to enjoy any important authority in the governing system due to the dominant position of the Congress Party. But

significant changes also took place. Since 1967, the system of bargaining politics came forward and the local and regional political parties started to play important role with their demands.

An experimental periodisation can also be made for understanding the nature of Indian federal System. It can be as such after following T.V. Sathyamurthy,

- i) the phase of linguistic cultural differentiation within a framework of unchallenged unity and integrity of the Indian state (1947-67);
- ii) the phase of centralization following the threats from the states (1967-77).
- iii) A brief interregnum of attempts to redress the balance of influence in favour of the centre (1977-84); and
- iv) The phase of coalition and coexistence between the centre and the states (from 1985)³

III

It should be understood that the real functioning of the federal authority influences by different aspects whose impact also can be seen in the political process of the country. Among these aspects, the political party's role becomes important and inspires to examine the extension of the role of political parties in Indian political system. The Art.1 of Indian constitution which is as 'Union of States' emphasized that the idea of power is one directional and one dimensional' the total concept focused on the understanding of power in 'capability' sense. But it now is to take the common tendency of the federal governance in India which is proved by the workings of the India's federal system over last some times. The 'dispositional' and 'control over systemic outcome' also are two major areas for further analyzing. These were understood to end the socio-political crisis. The problems from different parts of

India like the entire North East, Assam and Kashmir may help to explain this point in these areas, when the central government failed to fulfill the local or regional demands, people of these areas take the option of their regional and local political authorities. Some social matters like language, ethnic considerations can be studied. These matters directly pressurize on the activities of the federal process totally. It has been stated as:

"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

Similarly, some scholars emphasized on the other matters as like consideration of states and social mobilization. To Karlw Deutsch:

"The stage of rapid social mobilization may be expected, therefore, to promote the consolidation not states whose peoples already share 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 states Reorganization Commission in its report also remarked same:

"Linguistic homogeneity provides the only rational basis for reconstructing the states, for it reflects the social and cultural pattern of living obtaining⁶ is well-defined regions of the country."

Historically it may be stated that Nehru observed that such "provincial expansionism' might ruin the national unity.⁷ On this matter, one scholars has stated that "the effect of re-organisation was to give state politics a more intensely regional character and to make the states a much more important level of power."⁸

The kind of the dominant allocation of the states also provides crucial contradiction in the country as it has some time been declared that the Planning commission becomes contributory in making worse

than building the distinction among states. It also can be given priority to the achievement in economic areas which become responded needs and demands of states to some extent.⁹

Regarding this, one of the leading authorities on federalism likes to be suitable:

"Invariably in the area of economic policy the finders of the federation have found it impossible to divide the function of general and regional governments into two isolated compartments and have been forced to recognize the independence of governments. Generally, as a result 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 depended 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 co-operation in a wide variety of economic fields."¹⁰

The real form of centre states relations in India is one of or "Coalition administration", or a high degree of 'Collaborative Partnership' both in political decision making and in implementing the operation of plan projects.¹¹

Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly stated the quite same concept when he noticed:

"The basic principle of federation is that the legislative and executive and states not by any law to be made by the centre 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 both strong centralizing and decentralizing tendencies offer by the different conditions of India, Here American federalism seems to be easy to understand the conditions of India:

"However, every where 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 broadly explain:

"A far more accurate image is the rainbow or marble cake, characterized by an inseparable mingling of differently coloured ingredients, the colours appearing in vertical and diagonal strands As colours are mixed in the marble cake, so functions are mixed¹⁴

In Indian federalism, the dependence of the states over the centre create obstacles in the functions of participatory federation. The existence of view local forces provides the chance of decentralization of power in wider perspective. It also focuses on the better position for the states in the federal system. The new power configuration has changed the balance of power between the centre and the states. It emphasizes on the partnership system of federal relations.

Actually the functions of a federal process in any country are based on the common legal structure along with the impact of political parties. So, it seems to be important to analyse the influence of political parties on the Indian federal system the Congress party favoured a strong centralized system with the controlling powers over the states. This party constructed the socio-economic matters with a goal to create a socialist society which actually favoured the centralized federal system.

Here a chart which states the party competition in the some main states.

State	Major Parties
Andhra Pradesh	Telegu Desam, Congress
Assam	Asam Gano Parishad, Congress.
Bihar	Janata Dal, BJP, Congress
Gujrat	BJP, Congress
Hariyana	Hariyana Vikas Party, BJP, Congress
Karnataka	Janata Dal, BJP, Congress
Kerala	United Front, Left Front
Madhya Pradesh	Congress, BJP
Maharastra	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, Samajbadi 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.

B.J.P. which earlier was known as Jana Sangh has also favoured the centralised federalism for the national interest and unity. On the other side, the left Political Parties has stood for the substantial autonomy to the states. Among the regional parties, D.M.K, A.I.A.D.M.K, AGP, the Akali Dal favoured regional devolution of power since 1967, there have been radical changes in the party position over

the country. The rising of the Non-Congress government after the 1967 General Elections minimized the strength of the Congress party. On the other hand the role and position of States in the parliament became stronger. But it was got again sellback when in 1971 Lok Sabha Elections the Congress achieved success and established its dominance of the union.

The policy of the Congress Party after independence was to gain a "socialist India" and "a socialistic pattern of society through the constitutional methods." To achieve these goals, it took plans for the development of country's economic position. 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 The central government dominated the Planning Commission along with the National Development Council. As a result states had to be always dependent on the centre for their economic 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

Theoretically speaking, the National Congress was in the position to unite India for this, the writ which is to the centre is formed for the running of the states so that "the matrix is strong enough to withstand the occasional squalls and tempests,"¹⁷ The Indian National Congress believed in the controlling of the centre to the different forces in the country by the methods of the constitution.¹⁸

The Communist party of India in 1968 was 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 specially in the matter of finance and state economy."¹⁹ It was in favour of the official abolition of the governor and formed the autonomous²⁰ districts and regions within the states. The CPI(M) liked to favour "widest autonomy for the various

states comprising the Indian federation."²¹ On the other hand, the socialists kept belief in the decentralized policy "accompanied with co ordination to ensure a national unity, harmony and progress".²² The main parties of the nation were busy to restructure the relations between the states and centre. The Akali Dal at that time favoured 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 To DMK, "States rights without infringement" by the centre and the transfer of "unspecified or residuary powers which are vested in the center to the states."²⁴

Regional Parties Principal of functions 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	35/1	1	38.0	34/29	0	39.9
Assam	AGP	-	-	-	14/1	6	17.6	11/5	0	27.2	10/0	-	12.7	8/0	3	11.9
Bihar	JD	37/31	2	36.4	36/3	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	-	-	-
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	10/02	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	-	-	11/14	0	18.1	10/0	0	7.8	22/18	0	25.9	24/10	0	25.7
		11/11	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
U.P.	BSP	75/2	57	9.9	67.1	52	8.7	85/6	24	20.6	85/4	25	20.9	85/14	2	22.1
	SP	-	-	-	-	-	-	64/16	7	20.8	81/20	9	28.7	84.26	24	24.1
W.B.	WBTC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29/7	3	24.4	22/8	2	26.0

Note: C/W : Seats contested/won

F: Seats deposits forfeited

% : Percentage of vote share in the state

* : JD(U) in 1999 elections

** : Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

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

Cited in Ravi Bhatia "A decade of Parliamentary Elections in Indian Mapping of Trends, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol.62, No.4, Dec. 2001.

The role of Administrative Reform Commission which is on the centre states relations is necessary to observe: "Where a single party has controlled over affairs at the centre as well as in the states in 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 is interesting to observe about the 1967 and onwards developments which have brought many changes in the Indian federal system. It states: "The Political, Ice-berg in India has melted and the real political evolution of the country has began in earnest."²⁶ The Post 1967 developments are the decline of the one-party dominance; providing different aspects in voters' choices, shifting from the national to regional political parties, the awareness of regional demands and beginning of the evils of defection.²⁷ The relations between the non-Congress government and the center turns to a new changes. The non-Congress authorities lined to settle the disputes through the constitutional means. They did not favoured the consensus technique. Then the tensions raised around the deployment of central Reserve Police, the appointment of governor, allocation of financial resources, the formation of the council of Ministers. Besides this, to the non-Congress authorities, the application of Art. 356 is used by the centre to maintain the Congress dominance, stop the other political parties in the different states and provide the status of Congress ruling party which will come next. But since 1977, the center state gradually have changed. Recently, the NDA and also UPA governments always depend on the support of regional parties. In this case remaining outside of government, the left parties maintained very significant role.

IV

In the beginning, Indian Constitutional framers emphasized on the word 'Union' rather than the term 'Federation'. To them, it was important to unite India, not to separate because in India, there was vastness, different aspects. They also gave important to form the social structure, open the processes of politics to all, develop the economic matters and mostly provide the scope to multi party process. Moreover the creation of centralized federal system was also important reform.

When the Congress party was in the dominating position, the other parties revolved around the Congress Party. But it failed to maintain its central position. The qualitative and quantitative changes began to create new support base. These grass root support level emphasised their own local demands. The regional political parties realized the necessity of these grass root support level to carry on their activities and agenda. These local demands were not fulfilled properly by the Congress Party. Due to what the Congress party lost its power. This fail to Congress party gave the regional parties to play important role in the governing process. It is also to be noticed that this was not formed all over the country. The differences of people's demands may be the reason of this variations. Theories of dissatisfaction and relative deprivation may be cause of this political change. To understand it, one may go through the socio-economic and political aspects. These aspects are overlapping in feature. Thus it is not justified to conclude by the segmented examination. It should keep in mind that on the basis of these circumstances, the results are compelled to be tentative and not permanent.

The development of political situation since the First General elections may justify its position. In the first general election, no other party except the Congress party was able to gain majority and even failed to play an alternative role beside the Congress Party. Since the Telengana Movement, the demand of re-organisation of states

generated all over the country. As a result, some new states like, Gujrat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh were brought into existence by the states Re-organisation Commission with a purpose to full restructure of Indian Federal System. The emergence of some new states brought huge changes regarding the powers among the centre and the states. At the same time, it also created some new aspects in the arrangement of the inner boundaries of multilingual India in few important matters. For this reason, the States Re-organisation Commission ignored the separation of Uttar Pradesh into two small states.

On the other hand, the case of total North East and Assam become critical and complex. The two main communities as Bengalis and Assamese were the main matters. Later on, some other issues like cultural identity or linguistic identity also added with this. The migration of Muslims from outside the state was also crucial matters. Actually, the geographical situation mainly of Assam and other areas of North East became the centre point. During the time between 1947 to 1966, due to the one party dominance, the federal government of India did not face any serious threat from the functional as well as structural points. In this phase, continuous industrialization was taken through the announcement of important economic programmes. For this, the youth generation got more chances to be employed. It is interesting to observe these economic programmes or policies controlled by the bourgeoisie of Indian national industries were favoured by them because it gave them the chances to accumulate capital, expand industries and production-diversification.²⁸

V

The Congress Party during the Fourth General Election became the eye-witness of forming the non-Congress Government in local or regional area. Then it can be said that the concept of regionalization in India had been started during the fourth General Elections. New socio-

economic middle class emerged. They started to influence the policy making process for their own interest. The State Governments came to the surface of the national federal system and started to bargain about their demands. All the regional parties failed to provide equal amount of influence on the national political system. Among them some had great influence like DMK in Tamil Nadu came as the strongest political party. In the state level politics, it played very significant role. But split also took within this party and as a result AIDMK emerged as a new party. DMK opposed the imposing Hindi as a National Language. Then it easily could win the love of the people of Tamil Speaking.

Besides this, West Bengal, Tripura, Kerala had not the same picture. In these states the left political parties have played the significant role. Congress party defeated in these states for many reasons like the party factionalism, weak economic policies, ignorance in the matters of land reforms, rural development. These neglected subjects of the Congress party were highlighted by the left political parties. Though in 1964, Communist Party of India (Marxist) became stronger than the CPI. In the West Bengal's political history, left politics had not been uniform. Naxalite Movement became the turning point in this system. Though the Naxalite Movement failed to continue its significant role. The Radical left politics emphasized on the restructuring of agriculture of the rural economy. But some internal contradictions also took place within the left political parties in West Bengal for what this era became unable to provide the important goods to the people of West Bengal.

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 Pradesh	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
	Tamil Nadu	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
	Punjab	4/0	1						3	1.6	1/0	0	3.4	1/1	0	3.7
	West 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	2.43	3/0	12	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	2.1	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
	Tamil Nadu	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
	West Bengal	31/27	0	39.4	30/27	0	34.2	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			71.32	20		72.33	20	5.4	
FBL	Bihar				4/0	0	0.1	31/23			1/0	1	1.1	3/0	3	0.03
	Punjab							3/0					5.2	1/0	1	0.01
	Tamil Nadu							75.32					0.02	8/0	8	0.23
	West 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
	West 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 Indian" The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 62, No. 4, Dec 2001

During this era, Indian National Congress had to face problems to establish a progressive socialist Political Platform. In 1969 the important split within Congress took place. For this Mrs. Indira Gandhi introduced some significant steps as like social, economic and radical transformation. During the mid-term poll in 1971, the congress had tried to complete the promises which were made in the manifesto of election. At the same time, many constitutional amendments also

were passed which indirectly helped the ruling party. The Congress (R) introduced some groups like syndicalist.

The changes at the national level also influenced to a large extent the politics of the states. Like the national level split of Congress, in the state politics, the congress party had to face split. Then by changing the leadership format, the congress party sought to get again the supreme political powers in the states. The Rajamanner Commission by the Tamil Nadu Government under DMK also one step ahead of the development. This commission was form to restructure the relations between the states and the centre. But nothing solid efforts came out from its recommendations. At the same time it is noted that attempts were made for the development of political, economic and financial aspects between the centre states relations.

VI

Another development took place when the National Emergency was declared during the time 1975-77. It may be regarded as an important step from the political view point. The discontent among the agitations on national scale and the constituent units of Indian federal system was result of such situation. Theoretically speaking, the congress party when faced its decline came to make out serious threats to form again its authority. Indirectly this event helped to make strong the other political parties role. The Emergency declaration came out with many issues. The success of the Green Revolution in India. Provided the sphere to emerge the powerful political forces. These powerful forces like rural rich part started to pressure tremendously on the power sharing matter. Though the Congress tried its best to satisfy these segments but failed. On the other side, the industrialization on the basis of agricultural surplus. Indirectly the agricultural capital and industrial capital segments demanded a new balance because they both became important in the economy of India.

The opposition politics also added a new aspect of development. The Congress believed on the secular belief and became success to utilize the Muslim votes in several elections. But the poor and the Muslim community had been started to oppress by religious, economic forces. They looked upon to congress as their protector, but the party failed to fill up their hopes due to internal conflicts. It could be happened both in the congress and non left local parties. There events may help to understand the ups and downs of the lift politics in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. Thus the declaration of emergency became the witness of further development of Indian federal system. This emergency period provided the chance to the other parties to come together against the congress authority in the centre. As a result the congress defeated in 1977 elections where people also gave the other political parties to form the government. Through these changes, a great demand raised in respect to develop the centre state relation.

VII

The Janata Government as the first non-Congress government is the Indian history became the important turning point. It may be suggested, the impact of 1967 political process also influenced the process of development in 1977. In this year, anti-Congress government was formed and broke down the 'congress system'. In the national level, the coalition politics was welcomed along with some states. The regional parties became the controlling factors in the mainstream politics. It is also interesting to notice that the congress party in 1980 became able to regain its authority. But at the same time, the support level of congress party also came to decline. The party failed to maintained its authority. Moreover the local political parties demanded more power in the financial subjects.

Fluctuations of BJP and INC in some states

State	Year	1989		1991		1996		1998		1999	
		Party	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	50.8	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
Gujrat	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	6/11	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
Arunachal 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	10/12	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	10	-	6/0	44.9	3/3	11.7	3/1	9.2
	INC	13/2	26.5	0/11	-	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	43/57	26.5	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.B.	BJP	19/0	1.7	42/0	11.7	42/0	5.8	14/1	10.2	11/12	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

Along with this event, the Planning Commission and the National Development Council also started to play serious role in the formulation of plan, mobilization and distribution of resources. Through the chief Ministers in the National Development council, the states started to perform decisive role. Then the demand raised to evaluate and restructure totally the centre state relations.

Many units of state administration began to demand the political autonomy which can be seen in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and in

the North Eastern States. During these development the terrorist and insurgent movements also have speared in many parts of India. The short time of Janata government brought about news forces like foreign and multinational capital which basically empowered the interest of national capitalist segments. They started to play significant role in industrial sector. They believed that through these rectors, the national industrial and agricultural sectors. Were developed by the foreign capital.

Moreover, one new dimensions was added in Indian Politics when under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Congress Party again gained it power. Generally problems raised within the economic system. It can be described as a matter for direct controlling of the authority. As a result, attempts were made to search the stability on the political and social fronts. These attempts relations. It is right to say that the coalition between the industrial and agricultural segments was not understood by the congress. Though Rajib Gandhi Government tried to some extent to do better relationship between centre and states but failed.

It may not be wrong to suggest that the problems of agricultural bourgeoisie were same as earlier ware. The agricultural bourgeoisie along with the industrial bourgeoisie started to spread their impact which become the reason for the government to take a new approach to solve these serious problems. During the government of Mr. Rajib Gandhi, attempts were adopted to work the crisis which was originated from the states having non congress government. The congress initially also made strategies to regain their electoral supremacy. But these tailed to regime. The Dalit Majdoor Kisan Party (D.M.K.P) already emerged as a threat to the established political system. Maharashtra and Punjab, these two states also become the witness of more or less same picture. In Punjab to manage these issues, Rajib Gandhi and the religious leader Longowal came to a place accord which was liked by all

the people. But it become enable to full fill the interest of Punjab's people or the central government.

On the other side, the problem of total north east states seemed more complex the problems were ethnic in nature an its solutions were in the political aspects. Moreover, the students of Assam made the movements more critically. Assam Gana Parisad, the local party could use this situation for their own interest. Under its leadership, a government was made. Indirectly the federal balance had been suffered many times due to the failure of the central government understanding and correctly assessing their demands. In India which is a vast country with socio-economic diverse, these challenges can't be solved only through the structural readjustment. There are also necessary to take approaches to carry on these multi to carry on these multi dimensional issues. These events can provide greater position to analysis of the dynamics of Indian political process.

VIII

Thus the total discussion can be put in the understanding of the interaction between local on regional organizational mechanism and structures under the constitutional frame and the extra political challenges. It also focused the qualitative changes in the inner aspects of local and national political parties. The nature of leadership matters are regarded as the primary source of authority in the politics of India. As the head of the government, Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Lal Bahadur Shastri even Rajib Gandhi Provided their own styles of governing. On the weak leadership people replace the governmental frame in many cases.

These events can help to understand the dynamics of Indian federal system. Through the end of the one party dominance many issues come to the surface. There is one matter like as to provide opportunity to the other political parties in the formation of the

governments in the centre as well as regional levels. The 1967 Fourth General Election may be regarded as the first step to decline the congress authority. Indirectly it emerges as the starting of the coalition politics in India. It is also importance to note the role of different forces playing significant role in the coalition government which could not see earlier.

Which opportunity is gained by the regional political parties, is fully utilized by them to achieve their own interests. They for the first time started to perform significant role in both the national as well as regional politics. The interaction of different forces became the cause of the growth of regional parties. So, it is wrong and also hard to describe about only one force which totally was responsible for this. This development must be noted "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 Finance 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 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 Minister Meeting', *EPW*, No.18, 1983, pp.756-79
- 4) Duchacek, *Comparative Federalism. The Territorial Dimension of Politics*, Holt, Rinehard and Winston, New York, 1970, p.304.
- 5) Karl W. Deutsch, 'Social Mobilisation 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, *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 Debates, Vol.XI, No.II, 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) Duchaeek, *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.1, 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 part 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 and 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. and Kumar P. (ed.) Regional Political Parties in India. Ess Ess Publications, New Delhi, 1988.