

REGIONAL MOVEMENTS AND FEDERAL  
GOVERNANCE IN INDIA: A STUDY OF THEIR  
IMPACT ON THE INDIAN POLITICAL PROCESS  
SINCE 1977

*A Thesis submitted to the University of North Bengal  
For the Award of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Political Science*

**By**

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**December, 2020**

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled “**Regional Movements and Federal Governance in India: A Study of Their Impact on the Indian Political Process Since 1977**” has been prepared by me under the guidance of Professor Ranjita Chakraborty, Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

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## **A B S T R A C T**

The present study seeks to analyze federalism and regionalism but more on regionalism as a process of federation building through accommodating country's age long diversity along with their impact on Indian political process. Generally Regionalism has rooted out in India's amazing diversity and consequently the regional assertions have started out from simultaneous centripetal confinement of British colonialism and the centralized hegemony of newly independent India. The present study identified the cultural federalism since 1956 as the primary input of regionalism as an ongoing process of cultural accommodation and the formation of coalition government as the secondary input of regionalism as an ongoing process of political accommodation. Though we cannot ignore the capability aspect of cultural federalism for enhancing the civic qualities of the sub-national units along with increasing political participation and on the other hand it will not be an exaggeration, to say that, the greater diversity of contemporary India was properly represented by the federal coalitions which had its great impact on country's age old balance of power by the inclusions of regional power centre. The classical trend of one-party domination has been replaced by the multi-party domination which gave birth to the politics of bargaining through assertion of regional voices led by regional political formations. Gradually the politics of bargaining has captured the platform of Indian political process since 1989 in the environment of regionalization. But the ongoing trend of coalitional anarchy on the basis narrow power calculation may replaced by the comfort power sharing arrangement by passing the strains of coalition in general. The time has come for the calm solutions of ideological conflict in the political platform in order to defeat the negative appetite of ethnicity. Hence, federalism has appeared as one of the political instruments along with recognition of regional identities has been able to forge together the twin values of unity and diversity within the multicultural context of India.

Now the present study seeks to examine the nature of sub-regionalism as a long-term consequence of cultural federalism. However, it has been observed that since Independence the centre state relations in India are mainly motivated by the economic and cultural asymmetry in federal politics. However, it has been observed that since 1956 linguistic states reorganization has exerted two major problems for linguistic minorities. On the other hand a linguistic group which enjoyed several privileges in their own linguistic states but on the other hand the same linguistic group has faced lots of difficulties in

different linguistic states. Which ultimately led an ethnic confrontation and goes for another fragmentation which often denotes another readjustment of states boundaries. Again another problem is arrived when a same linguistic minority group has been treated differently in two different linguistic states. In this context, the linguistic groups often face a serious identity crisis which brings a separatist attitude resulting an urge for creation of a separate state. Hence, the linguistic integration often indulges the feeling of ethnic fragmentation in particular. Federal asymmetry may permit to continue a healthy federal atmosphere. But the policymakers should be aware at the time of asymmetric application that the asymmetrical provisions are works in according to the accepted nature of federalism adopted by other multi-cultural countries like Canada, Spain, and European Unions. More over it may not create an inter-regional as well as intra-regional asymmetry of the particular region on the one hand and the strategy of federal asymmetry may not appeared as a segregationist in nature on the other.

However, crucial observation has been made that, though the boundaries of the states have been re-organized on the basis of linguistic needs in 1956 but these states as a geographical unit is based on culture heterogeneity instead of cultural homogeneity. Hence a large number of ethno-regional minorities were comprises in different States and Union territories in India. Consequently the ethno-lingual needs were scattered in a new way identified as sub-regionalism which affected the state as well as the national politics in an extensive way. More over in the period of modernization which enhance the intra- group ethnic differences the matter is become complicated because we cannot suppress the diversity rather we are in the arena of diversity valorization adopted by the European Unions. It has been observed that when the federal process of India is dynamic in nature, the regionalism is fluid in nature on the other and federal self-rule alone cannot be treated as a stable form of conflict resolution which has been treated as a segregationist in nature. It has been argued that the challenge which Indian federalism has faces is more political instead cultural closely associated with desires of elite sections. Moreover as the ethno-national grievances is treated as a product of modernization hence the traditional identity is always in confrontation with the modern identity. The primordial values have suffering from identity crisis in the platform of modernization which is instrumentalized by the local elites on the other. Hence, in the contemporary age of power decentralization the autonomy demands is being treated as age friendly when it is directed towards developmental orientation. But when the phenomenon of Identity is associated with an autonomy demand the matter is complicated because the elite intervention may make these issues at the extent

of secession which creates an obstacle for nation building. On the other hand when an autonomy issues are intermixed with the development issues it is the local elites of a particular region has taken the issue of an imaginary economic deprivation without going the roots of original backwardness in order to get there illegitimate share of national resources by using the actual frustration of an ethnic community. More over handling the issue of perception deprivation the political authority of a state often involve in a narrow political games with a satisfactory political bargaining. Hence uneasy political compromises with regional minorities for maximizing the share of vote bypassing the original development led a legitimacy crisis in the ground of state politics. A remarkable gape of accountability between the rulers and the ruled in a state may noticed in a particular region for the absence of frequent monitoring, proper documentations regarding development as well as revenue expenditure of a state controlled autonomous or semi autonomous councils.

Whatever may be the paradox of India federation, when the cultural movement has been institutionalized once, the fate of a plural country has been written on that very moment. It has been observed that linguistic states reorganization 1956 has produced certain procedural dilemma for the linguistic minorities. A linguistic group which enjoyed several privileges in their own linguistic states on the one hand, but the same linguistic group has faced lots of difficulties in different linguistic states on the other. Which ultimately led an ethnic confrontation and goes for another fragmentation which often denotes another readjustment of states boundaries. Again another problem is arrived when a same linguistic minority group has been treated differently in two different linguistic states. In this context the linguistic groups often face a serious identity crisis which brings a separatist attitude resulting an urge for creation of a separate state. Often the feeling of dissatisfactions regarding “self rule” is converted in to the demand of “shared rule” due to the absence of flexible political strategy. Therefore again the phenomena of sub regionalism has produced the regional scarcity which compelled the political authority to think in term of political development which is necessary for federation building in the period of modernization. More over when the entire ethnic discourses of India have dominated by the phenomena of relative deprivation there was a need to adopt an accommodative path of power institutionalization under the limitations of country’s constitutional heritage. Hence the time has come when Indian democracy may prepare itself to face several newly emerging ethno-regional requirements by the trial and error principle on the basis of temperament of diversity.

It is also noticed that in a country like India where the cultural diversity has been propagated by the multilingualism unlike the other countries of the world, the role of the political authorities may judge in terms of their quality instead of a large quantity, who are aware about the changing nature of Indian regionalism and the delicate use of federal device as per circumstantial necessities. Moreover on the ground of relative success of Indian federalism throughout the world compelled us to believe that the centre as well as state`s sensitivity and responsiveness towards the local crisis may reducing the socio-economic unrest of the country. So far as the political culture of India is concerned a qualitative difference has been seen between the Nehruvian Congress and Modi led BJP regime in general. The political atmosphere of bargaining has loosened under the powerful one nation theory since 2014.

## P R E F A C E

Federalism in India has been adopted and adapted by the framers of the Constitution of India with a deeper purpose of forging unity and integrity amidst a situation dominated by economic backwardness, volatility of the society, new political system, multiethnic, multilingual, multi-religious pulls. Federalism was not just a political system but was to work as a strategy to resolve the multiple crises arising out of such myriad factors. The leadership in India believed that as India embarks on the path of development such crises would be resolved especially those arising out of primordial loyalties. A decade and a half went by quite undisturbed but soon ripples were felt within the polity as the internal democracy within Congress was waning coupled with disgruntlement amongst the local level leadership as stalwarts within the state politics either retired or were dead. The vacuum created was quickly utilized by the regional elites well versed with the nuances of regional concerns, wasted no time and developed political formations based on identity issues or issues related to regional deprivations and started staking claim for representation and recognition of their claims for self determination either through formation of new states, linguistic recognition or autonomy. No doubt these turbulences did have an impact on the political process in India which was responded to by diverse mechanisms of accommodation and compromise. The present study tries to take a look into the impact of such turbulences on the Indian political process, since 1977, when for the first time coalition government was formed in the Centre thereby signaling a break from the one party dominant system to a coalition system. This coalition was formed by the national political parties and different from the coalition governments formed in 1989 at the centre. The 1977 coalition government was short lived and soon Congress emerged as the dominant political party but regional political parties were a force now and no national political party could ignore their importance. Since 1989 the trend was different as the regional political parties became kingmakers at the centre. Coupled with this the economic reforms and marketisation of economy made it imperative on the part of the both the Centre and the State to go for cooperation and coordination rather than conflict. It was now necessary for all the political parties to not go towards extreme conflicts as none knew who would be required to be a political ally. Many scholars felt that this trend was going to stay. However, 2014 electoral results at the Centre led to the return of the one party dominant political system as BJP emerged victorious as single dominant political party at the Centre. Not only

this, subsequent state elections also reflected the same trend and in majority of the states BJP emerged victorious. This has made it all the more important for us a researcher in India's Government and Politics to probe deeper and reflect on the impact of regionalism on federalism in India.

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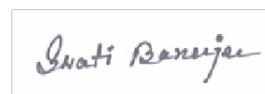
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## Chapter – I

### INTRODUCING THE STUDY

#### 1. Introduction:

A conflict took place in 1790, United States of America, the actors, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, centering on the issue of the autonomy of the federating units and the centre. The Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton advocated the importance of a strong central government in leading the country forward, while the Democratic Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, promoted the rights of the states and increasing common man's role in government. Jefferson, believed "in the common sense of mankind in general" and distrusted the central government. However, Hamilton believed that allowing the Federal government more freedoms was important to the well-being of the country because this allowed the government to act in whatever manner would best serve the country's interests even if the actions stretched (or, in some cases, violated) the limits of power set in the Constitution. Unfortunately Jefferson's philosophy planted the seeds of the future conflict where southern advocates of sectionalism believed that state legislatures had the right to "pick and choose" which Federal laws were effective in their states.

The framers of the Constitution of India read through this piece of history and so post-independence India chose to be a federation not in a traditional sense but a federation with definite unitary bias. It was an imperative since post - independence India saddled with numerous challenges adopted and adapted a political system that was a federation with a unitary bias. This, was hoped would inch India towards more integration and prosperity. However, as time passed regionalist tendencies became stronger. Regional political formations catering to such aspirations started jostling for political space. Scholars keenly following the unfolding of the events stood divided with some considering it as a sign of democratization and developing political consciousness whereas some considered it as a problem for governance.

It is true that the nature, consolidation and manifestation of regional movements in India do not conform to any set pattern their cumulative impact on the working of the federal governance appears to be significant. The question that very often is raised with regard to the functioning of federalism that who is more powerful the centre or the states in the frame of power equation? The concern is not with "ought" rather with who exercise power over whom

under what political conditions or issue-areas. There are very vital areas over which the authority of the centre is generally acknowledged as supreme. But there are other issues in the governing process which become prominent and sometimes decisive in determining the course of politics. The language issue in any multi-lingual and poly-ethnic state like India has altered the entire fabric of the unity of the nation. Needless to mention, so far as the federal governing process in India is concerned, one may notice that substantial changes have taken place since 1977. The phenomenal changes both qualitative and quantitative have taken place and not only in the centre-state relations but also in the power configuration and power-equation between the centre and states. Moreover, with the emergence of coalition politics, the process of coalition building has given rise to a number of political issues which the constitutional arrangement does not specify. Since the political process of any system includes not only the formal and legal forces, the analysis of such problem becomes all the more complex and compelling. Such a study, therefore, goes for beyond the formal structure and process and includes within its ambit many other informal issues and factor without whose support no movement of this nature can proceed with its objectives. The following sections delineates the conceptual framework and the research questions to be answered throughout the course of the study.

### **1.1. Federalism:**

Federalism has been described generally as a socio-political doctrine under which the three governmental sections legislature, executive and judiciary has been operated separately in the national as well as sub national arena. Though, the dynamics of separation of powers differs in parliamentary and presidential form of government in all over the world. The Latin word 'foedus/faeder' from which the English term 'federal' was derived, denotes a "contract among states which acknowledge centre jurisdiction over common affairs exercised by a federal government distinct from the governments of the individual states" (Singh Saxena 2013). Elazar argued that "Federalism is more than an arrangement of governmental structures, it is a mode of political activity that required the extension of certain kinds of Cooperative relationship throughout any political system it animates." ( Elazar, 1983).It has been noticed that, "The twentieth Century will open the age of federations" (Proudhon, 2005) as well as, "we live in an increasingly federalized world" (Gibson, 2005). Immanuel Kant, in his Theory of Law and Politics, has argued that, an international federation could safeguard international peace. However gradually this phenomena has been covered the national arena also. (Cameron and Falleti, 2005 )Hence, so fare as the modern Comparative literature is

concerned the federalism is measure on the basis of its quality as being federal which not only confines within the structural dilemma.

However it has been observed that, a dual polity of independent general and regional governments is the key factor of the institutional theory of federalism which is traditional in nature. As an exponents of the traditional theory of federalism, Lord Bryce argued regarding the federal System that, “the system was like a great factory where in two sets of machinery are at work, their revolving wheels apparently intermixed their bands crossing one another, yet each set doing its own work without touching or hampering the other” (Paleker, 2006) . K. C. Wheare said that, “By the federal principle I mean the method of dividing powers so that, the general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent.”(Wheare, 1963).

But the traditional theory often redefined along with the Concept of ‘autonomy’ instead of ‘independence’ as well as ‘single polity’ instead of ‘dual polity’. Livingston, redefines a federal government as “a form of political and constitutional organization that unites into a single polity a number of diversified groups or component politics so that the personality and individuality of component parts are largely preserved while creating in the new totality a separate and distinct political and constitutional unit”. (Livingston, 1956)

On the other hand the socio-political requirement is concerned, the federalism has been analyzed as a society centric manner. According to Livingston, ‘Federal Government is a device by which the federal qualities of society are articulated and protected’ (Livingston, 1956). In a political angle, William H. Riker argued that, “as a Political Solution, federalism is the result of a political bargain in the situation which follows either the collapse of an empire, on which seeks to strengthen the enlarged political Community while respecting and protecting the autonomy of the Constituent Units”. (Paleker, 2006)

However, so far as the working of the federal government is concerned R.L. Watts, has focused on the emerging concept of New Federalism and he explained the inevitability of cooperative federalism in a modern trend of federal analysis (R.L. Watts,2006 ). Hence the federal system in contemporary world does not confined itself in legality only but it is extended for society and the ‘new federalism’ is stand for coexistence of general and regional governments. More over the nature of the regions of country either homogeneous or heterogeneous may affect. The structure of political Parties and the federal system is influenced in return. It has been observed that a conjugation of the two confronting forces

unity and territorial diversity has been seen as a crucial burden for a federal society which has been changed with the dynamic of the socio-political circumstances.

It was said that, these two opposite forces often “engaged in a moral combat” [C.A.I. Report of the Linguistic Provinces commission (1948), Para, 143], However as a irreplaceable method for altering unity and accommodating regional diversity the delicate use of this system by balancing the temperament of both the government has been suggested. It has been said that, “the federal compromise was the only alternative to political balkanization” – along with some crucial ingredients like constitutional elasticity (time based) and the quality of political authority. (Watt, 1966). More over in a new federation, the economic forces was acted as a motivating factor behind the politico cultural diversity, closely attached with the technique of accommodation as well as the strength of leadership because the ‘new federal society’ often assumed as diversity Potential.

It has been observed that in the global age of decentralization, the federalism manifests as a contemporary political device of a nation building. It has been observed that globalization has weakened the centralized nation state by minimizing its sovereign status on the one hand and cherished the ethnic crisis on the other which paves the way for ‘Federal Solution’. According to Huntington, in the period of globalization the sub national as well as ethno-regional identities predominant over the national identities (Huntington ,2010 ) Hence the ‘federation building’ is one of the crucial task of a multi ethnic state under the compulsion of fragmentation as well as diversity. Elazar argued that, “the Strong federal system is one which combines a high degree of unity with a high degree of diversity” (Elazar, 1987).

In another direction, the political ends of any political process have been able to establish its nature also. Hence the ends of federalism are significant regarding the analysis of a federal political system. It has been observe that as an institution arrangement federalism is intended to attain dual ends of a large political entity where the distinct sub-units are always in a contradiction with a unitary country. Following Tocqueville, there was some strategy which is placed in terms of federal ends like. ‘Governmental centralization’ regarding the power of legislation on the one hand and the ‘administrative decentralization regarding the power of execution vested regionally on the other.

Tocqueville’s is recommendation in this context is highlighted by Prof. G.W. Pierson, “Let the laws continue to be national, but let the administration of these laws be decentralized”. (Tocqueville,2011) with this continuation Mill was going beyond the

devolution of executive power of the locality only, he argued that ‘the devolution of the entire process of forming and carrying out policy regarding administrative things.’ (Kincaid, 2011).

However, this was a terminological dilemma about the actual position of federalism. It has been said that, federalism denotes a ‘set of principles’ where besides the distribution of power between national and Sub-national government, another concepts like limited government, separation of powers, checks and balances were also occupied a predominate position. It has been also noticed that as a political system Parliamentary democracy and federation are contradictory in nature which often denotes the age of federal crisis. (Verney, 2011)

It has been observe that, besides the connotations of Centralized or Cooperative trend of federalism, the urges for ‘economic federalism’ has been appeared as a contemporary grievance. How a decentralized federal structure could achieve economic sufficiency. This is the major concerns of the scholars now. As it has been defined that, “The principle of economic federalism prefers the most decentralized structure of government capable of internalizing all economic externalities, subject to the Constitutional constraint that all Central government policies be decided by an elected or appointed Central planner.” ( Inman and Rubinfeld,2011).More over the stability of a federation depends on its democratic nature which is encouraged by the environment of cooperation as well as competition among its units and different Subunits. Elazar argued that, ‘a federal democracy can be defined as a constitutional union of separate democratic policies (e.g. States) within an overall democratic polity in which power is distributed and shared among general and constituent governments in a manner designed to protect the existence and authority of both.” In this context continuous democratic reforms and evaluation of federal political system is appeared as another crucial things. ( Kincaid, 2011). It has been observed that, In a democracy the federal system has been acted as a cheeks on governmental autocracy by limiting its power on the basis of a proper devolution because the states has a potential to act as an alternative force of central authority. Hence a proper ‘devolutionary federalism’ have the capability to forming a more balanced constitutional system in a plural country congruent with the political culture of a country (Plotica, 2017).

On the other hand Horowitz argued that, ‘federalism can either exacerbate or mitigate ethnic conflict’ and he showed that a ‘skilful division of authority between regions or states and a centre has the potential to reduce conflict’ (Horowitz , 2010).Though federalism is seen as an only method of ethno regional accommodation but the federal success as well as failure

is depend on the 'federal design' of a particular country either through the asymmetrical ethnic empowerment or symmetrical distribution of powers within the system itself (Erk and Anderson, 2010, PP II).

Another form of federalism is applicable in the area of federal discussion is ethno-federalism which often recognized as more suitable in a plural country to deals with ethnic fragmentations. So far as the 'autonomy arrangements; of ethno federation is concerned, Kymlicka has argued that, "in general, it seems to be unlikely that federalism can provide an enduring solution to the challenge of ethno cultural pluralism." (Kymlicka,2010 ). But it has been observed that, the ethno federal arrangements have induced an 'institutional compromises' which often indulge to open a pandora's box in a plural democratic polity. It is often identified as 'trap polities' an arrangement which led the country in a trap between centralization and fragmentation, there was no middle way actually. Hence the strategy of 'bargaining' is seen as the only reform in this context. More over these institutions are become politicized and make the country secession potential ( Roeder, 2010).

However, often the 'Federalists' has produced a 'compound republic model' of federalism for the purpose of solving federal dilemma in a plural country. They argued in a favor of, (i) multiple levels of government with a strong centre but the responsibility for providing local services with governments at the lower level (ii) divided 'ownership' of powers at the different levels (iii) legitimacy of central government derived not from unanimous consent of the constituent units but the approval of the majority of the citizens (iv) citizen preferences articulated through representatives elected by them locally to a national legislature and the national election of a single executive, who implements the laws enacted by the legislature. It has been observed that, the 'decentralization was their guiding principle in the matter of allocation of functions among governments, the rationale being economic rather than political' ( Bagchi , 2000).

Though the ethno federal arrangements are there in a plural country but there are major problems also has been seen in a multi-ether country is the problem of 'federal asymmetry' based on language, religion, caste, tribe etc. More over the attachment of distinct sub-units towards the union is generally different which often foster the sense of inter regional disparity throughout the nation. A fillings of relative deprivation has been reflected within the territory of a weaken sub-units in compare to the rich sub units regarding the receiving of 'federal benefits'. Gradually which is led several discontents towards the federal Union. Often the idea of federalism has been debouched from the 'phenomena of pluralism'

due to its tendency of partial hegemony (Duchacek, 1970). Hence it is assumed that in a plural society the ethno-regional differences are cannot be recognized federally because the federal power is itself unequal in nature. No multi-ethnic federal polity can escape from this federal asymmetry. It has been said, in this context that, “A federalizing process, by definition, requires some sacrifices of central power and many compromises with local autonomy. Such sacrifices or compromises are usually difficult for the leaders to accept.” (Nye, 1970)

It has been observe that the wave of ‘federal political culture has been demanded a responsible federal Union with the aim of promoting socio-economic development in all over the country, which proved itself as a motivating forces regarding the political participation in the local level on the one hand and ‘institutional recognition of self rule’ on the other. Hence it has been noticed that gradually the traditional Constitutional from of federalism has been lost its relevance regarding the changing dynamics of diversity where federalism has been confined itself within the ‘territorial dimension of democracy’ and which bought the opportunity of political participations of the territorial units in to the national level. (Duchacek, 1970).However, while federalism has been identified as a ‘set of principles’ of devolution of power in a plural country, the regionalism has been established itself as state of mind of belongingness to a particular region as a unit of a plural country. Hence there is a symbiotic relation between these two concepts of federalism and regionalism in particular. It has been observed that, federalism as a process has deals with the boundary of a region where the feeling of regionalism is cohabited within the region. The phenomena of regionalism have influenced the federal structure of a plural country and have made the federal practice more devolutionary in nature. Hence both the phenomena have going towards a same direction that is diversity accommodation along with secured unity of a multicultural nation. Hence forth a semantic discussion about regionalism as well as ethnicity which flourished the regional grievances on ethnic lines are appeared here as a crucial factors.

## **1.2. Regionalism:**

Harold Laski observed that ‘the epoch of federalism is over’. He argued that, the federal government in its true form will be incapable of coping with the new demands of the society generated by industrialization and modernization. (Laski,1992). It has been noticed that regionalism has been arrived as a psychological from a behavior which concentrate over the distinctive identification of a territory on the basis of culture, region, language, race tribe etc. In a contemporary nation state the regionalism has been involved itself to ‘province

building' for maximizing the developmental needs of a region as well as coping up with the grievances of socio-economic imbalances. It has also been observed in this context that, if the interests of the region are protected then the phenomena 'regionalism has nothing to do with the process of disintegration' which often arises from federal crisis. (Palanthurai Thandavan, 1992)

It has been observed that the phenomena of federalism have been attached with the phenomena of regionalism in the age of 'territorial politics'. Which strengthen the state's as well as the regions along with centre in the federal platform. Hence the regionalism has been stand for 'transferred of powers to sub-state levels'. (Hepburn and Detterbeck, 2013). The political power has been territorialized instead of power concentration in the context of multi-ethnic regionalization. In the age of regionalization the political system has been directed towards power deconstruction in particular. The political parties have been acted as a carrier of this transformation, resulting multiparty system. This decentralize polity transformation in the period of modernization gradually has been moved from a "unitarian model of the state towards regionalization in the 1980's and moves towards federalization in the 2000s" (Hepburn, 2013). The politics of coalition has been emerged from this grater regionalization of party system. In the wave of modernization It has been observed that, 'A centre periphery cleavage was drawn between the dominant national culture and ethno linguistic minorities, which mobilized along territorial lines in resisting centralizing and standardizing policies, from the centre' (Rokkang and Urwind,2013).Generally the inter-regional socio-economic disparity as well as the territorial cleavages has left its deep impacts on the changing political scenario. However in this environment of fragmentation, it has been experimented that, the 'State wide parties must urgently re-think how to maintain their integrative functions in increasingly disintegrating party system'. (Hepburn and Detterbeck, 2013).

On the other hand it has been observed that when a feelings of regionalism is build upon an ethnic inclination, represented ethno-regionalism. If regionalism devotes territorial dimension the ethnicity represent the belongingness to a common culture within a particular territory. Hence the ethno-regional accommodation has needed a strategy of regional decentralization which should be made as per ethnic attachment of a particular region. The phenomena of ethno-regionalism directed towards the change in existing central state relations of a 'Uni-federal' country in general. There are various sources of ethnic conflict are dormant within a boundary of region like language, culture, religion, tribe etc. It has been observed that, "When economic inequalities are superimposed on ranked ethnic groups"

culture differences were widened resulting severe conflicts within the boundary nation-state. (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996) However the ethnic groups have earned a rising political importance by representing the spirit of heterogeneity in modern world. It has been said the, “Ethnicity ..... involves, in addition of subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups”. Hence the crucial factor is, to find out the reason for rising ethnic needs as well as ethnic conflict in a democratic political process which exacerbates the tensions of Centre-State conflicts in the federal arena in particular. Though these conflicts often emerged from the conflicts between ‘indigenous elites’, of a poly ethnic country. (Brass, 1996) However it is said that, an ethnic cohesion as well as we feeling is actually created through social and political processes, especially in the context of competition for scarce resources" (Sengapta, 2014).

In the age of multiculturalism often the contradictory nature of ‘ethnos’ has been appeared in the context of ‘demos’ due to politico-economic imbalances. Moreover, the ethnicity have been viewed as socially and politically constructed in a modern world (May, 2014). As the cultural diversity is appeared as a normative concern of different multi-culture Society, hence the demand has been raised for “show sensitivity to the uniqueness of the context, history and identity of cultural minorities” when the issue of ‘autonomy’ can be more meaningful and actually works. (Taylor, 2014).It is noticed that, the un equal resource distribution, in a state may erected’ relative deprivation’ which give birth the relative frustration among the ‘disadvantaged’ etching groups against the ‘privileged’ groups. In a poly ethnic states the ethnic groups have occupied different ‘geographical regions’ and raise their voices for economic upliftment. (Brass, 1991).Paul R. Brass has argued that, ‘The process of modernization may produce so great an imbalance between one group and another that many ethnic groups may become assimilated to another language and culture’ and to him these ethnic groups are manipulated by the elite sections of the country who may awake the cultural consciousness among them and channelized their ‘primordial’ Sentiment in to a feelings of discontent against the ruling authority of a nation state, which enter the support base of the political elites, in general. ( Brass, 1991).

### **1.3. Indian Federation: the Structure and the Processes**

India has carried an age long profound diversity in compare to other countries in the world. On the one hand where the Northern and Southern parts of the country is fragmented through several ‘linguistic enclaves’; predominating overlapping regions identities like ‘Hinduism, Sikhism Indo-Islamic way of life’ on the other has make the country multi

cultural in nature which stand for 'federative solutions' in response of territorial claim ( Sing Saxena,2013)

It has been observed that during the British rule the constitutional reforms regarding decentralization of power has been introduced in India by the India council Act 1909 which create the 'provincial legislature' along with the central legislative council where besides the indirect election procedure the reservation opportunity for Muslim community was inserted at both the level of legislature which often recognized as a 'communitarian federalism' .consequently diarchy was introduced at the provincial level along with direct electorate by the Act of 1919, and the communal reservation has seen extended for other categories besides the Muslim community. Gradually, the Government of India Act 1935 has established a bicameral legislature consisting of 'council of States' and a 'federal assembly' by introducing diarchy at the centre instead of the provincial level. Hence 'the foremost effort to introduce some degree of federalism in the centralized administrative system of British India was made in the Government of India Act 1935. As the princely states were unwilling to join the proposed union of India, Only the provincial part of the 1935 constitution Act Went in the effect while the federal part remain on hold' (Saxena, 2013)

However after an age long political struggle as well as in a communal dilemma the constitution of India has been adopted in 26<sup>th</sup> November 1949, where the constitutional designation of the country was renamed as 'Union of state's'. Through 'the structures of governments at the two levels and the legislative distribution of competences through there lists federal, Provincial are concerned were incorporate the 1935 India Act in to the 1950 constitution with some revisions (Sakena, 2013).Granville Austin argued "India's original contribution to constitution making is that its constituent Assembly produced an amicable union through consensual decision making and political accommodation." (Austin, 1999). The federal as well as unitary features of the Constitution of India are as follows:

It has been observe that through the process of integration or assimilation, the inclusion of the princely states in to a 'union of States' on the one hand and disintegrated the over all territory of British India by classified it in to four kind (A.B.C.D.) of provinces as well as the princely states in Indian territory on the other has recognized as a unique federal political system unlike (the adopting of either one policy of federation formations) the other federations more over the conjugation of the parliamentary form of government within a federal framework produced a crossbreed political system in India. However for the purpose of ruling the disintegrated 'Union of States' the founding fathers have decided to make a

strong centre to 'build up a strong viable nation'. Hence so far as the Unitarian trend of Indian constitution is concerned the units were dominated by the centre in every step. Ambedkar argued that, "the division of power among the units is more an arrangement of division of labour than distribution of power" (Verma, 1987). It has been observed that, "land and particularly agricultural land, is a subject of exclusive state legislation under entry 18, list II. However, entry 42 of the concurrent list provides for acquisition and requisition of property. Therefore, though land generally is a subject of exclusive state legislative power, acquisition and requisition of land become subjects of concurrent legislative power" (Jacob, 1968). Again entry 6 in state list is Public health and sanitation, Hospitals and dispensaries. Often aggravated by the entry 81 Inter-state migration, Inter-state quarantine in Union list; entry 3 The maintenance of public order or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community and entry 29 Prevention of the extension from one state to another of infectious contagious diseases or pests affecting men, animal or plants in the Concurrent list (The Constitution of India, legislative.gov.in).

However it has been observed that after attaining the freedom, the Constituted Assembly of India was stipulated by the Indian National Congress. To the Constitution makers "the circumstances following the partition of India made stability more important than autonomy efficiency more important than initiative and expediency more important than federalism on any 'ism'". (Kumar, 1997) But it has been noticed that this unitary temperament was proved quite unmatched with the ethno regional diversity of the country. More over the tendency of the Congress leaders to confining the 'primordial loyalties' towards the nation has aggravated the political situation of India. While in 1975-77 the President rules has reflected the 'Centralist Orientation' to capturing the State's power empowered by the constitution on the one hand, the formation of non-congress government at the centre in 1977 has reflected the federal power of the states on the other. Hence, the massive centralizing tendency of national elite has made the cultural minority, regionally more conscious and has recast their loyalty to the local elites. It is argued that without an active participation instead of alienation of the people, a multi federation "becomes meaningless and not durable" (Narang, 1997).

#### **1.4. Emergence of Regional Identity and Subsequent Conflict**

However with the passage of time the sub-national forces have played an active role in the political process of the country. The phenomenon of caste as one of the major sub-national forces has exerted its impact of policy making. Gradually the caste appeal is

appeared as a determining factor of political calculations. It has been observed that the states bearing major SCs and STs Populations the poverty rate is also high. It has been argued that, 'the Caste System in India over the years has acted in stratifying the society socially, corrupting it politically and weakening it economically' (Jain,1990). (See **Appendix A**)

Another regional force which has wakened the unitary strength of federal India since independence is the religious forces. It has been observed that in India even after the partition, the total number of Muslim population is quite larger in the world. It has been observed that percentage wise Muslim populations are significant in Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, West Bengal, Kerala, UP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Karnataka and Maharashtra (Census 2011) ; Christians have large percentage in Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur, Kerala (Census 2011); Sikhs are mainly concentrate in Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh and Haryana (Census 2011).(See **Appendix B**) It has been argued that, "religious chauvinism of Sikhs has gained momentum and made the State of Punjab a cynosure for world leaders. The North-East has been greatly affected by the frequent commercial riots". (Das, Chowdhury,1990).

### **1.5. Federalism and Linguistic Politics in India**

Language is the controversial ethnic issue in the age of pluralism the linguistic grievances of India made the political process of the country as flexible as possible. As a multi- lingual country India has '121 languages' out of which 22 languages are specified in the Eighth schedule in the constitution of India.(See the conclusion)At present in India, there are 5 language families are existed like Indo-European, Dravida, Austro-Asiatic,Tibeto-Burmese, Semito-Hamitic.(Census of India 2011) (See **Appendix C**) As a controversial political issue there was a serious debates took place on Constituent Assembly before the adoption of the Constitution of India. It has been observed that, 'the question of Hindi Vs English became the question of Hindi Vs India. Such a cumulative and massive pressure leads the three language formula'. 'The South Vs North tangle has been appeared as dominating regional forces' in particular. "The question of imposition of Hindi which is considered to be the language of the North, created a consciousness among the ethnically, conscious Dravida people particularly the Tamils" (Das, Chowdhury , 1990).

It has been observed that the Constitution of India has permitted 'the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language ...for the official purpose of the Union' (Art.343) and in Art.347, it has been mentioned that the state may adopted any regional

language according to the 'substantial proportion of the population of a state' along with the language of Hindi or English for the official purpose of the States (Art.345).Art. 351 has mentioned along with Hindi, 'enrichment' as well as 'without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expression in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule...' (Constitution of India) .It has been observed that there was no specific qualifying criterion regarding the inclusion of a language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. A large number of speakers as per the satisfaction of the President of India along with its own script and publications have been appeared as the criterion of a particular language of Eighth Schedule. However there was a different language specified in the Eighth Schedule as per the populations of speakers is too low on the other there was some languages (mother tongue)as per the populations of speakers is comparatively high has demanded the inclusion in Eighth Schedule.( See the Conclusion).

However it has been observed that having a dynamic essence the phenomena of federalism not always confined within a legal constitutional framework. However, it was said that, In Indian context, 'Federation implies Union but, not loss of identity of the federating units'. Hence along with the politics of a nation, the state politics has been appeared as a crucial in the federal studies. It is also noticed that, 'the protagonists of centralized federation are probably unaware of the fact that the fissiparous tendencies may both be the causes and consequences of over centralization'. Consequently the emergence of 'multiple power centers' has been 'greatly eroded the erstwhile cordiality of centre state relations' in the environment of political bargaining in general (Das, Choudhury, 1990). Hence the trend of excessive centralization of newly independent plural India has been appeared as a 'counterproductive'. Hence the purpose of the constitution makers was failed regarding the adjustment of countries growing diversity. The emerging thrust for federal autonomy may endanger the countries integrity, by challenging the parliamentary grip over the federal power sharing. Hence all the subsequent attempts of the constitution makers' regarding diversity recognition within the constitutional frameworks has been started to collapse. On the other hand countries immense socio-culture diversity as well as inter regional economic cleavages has executed the inevitability of federalism as an irreplaceable mode of accommodation even at the cost of 'institutional compromises' like reorganization of states on the basis of linguistic considerations.

Now the situation is complicated when the questions come as to how the federal framework of a multicultural society accommodated the increasing ethnic identities when the country's political process again confined within the mode of one party –dominance since 2014? Is the politics of regionalization no more capable to make Indian federalism appear wanting in nature? Or is the politics of nationalism successful to hold the cultural diversity of India in a long run? The contemporary age where the utility of federal compulsions is nearly lost, questions have been raised regarding the public requirement of tight federal system again. In these circumstances another crucial matter has appeared that in which way the phenomenon of federalism has been used in India as an overwhelming structure or as a power sharing method? These are being treated as a most obfuscating questions related to federalism in India. It is true that regional movements in India bring with it a number of issues which may unnoticed in the general frame of governance. However it becomes necessary to see how far these demands can be accommodated within the general governing system without compromising the national interest. It has been rightly observed that in terms of magnitude, the literature on regionalism and federal governance in India has been enormous. The subject has been discussed from three perspectives: the Constitutional aspect, the institutional arrangements and the impact of these phenomena on political processes of a multi cultural country. Of these three, the third one appears to be most controversial aspect. The development and successful working of federal structure depend on actual political realities. Therefore, the attitude of the political parties, and the nature of people's demands and their impact on the governing process need to be assessed in an objective manner.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The concept of federalism is not only confined within and understood as an institutional program rather it is more associated with the structure of government. Whatever may be the ambiguities, the federal system denotes the political dimension of a society, fostering the political unification along with multiculturalism. The enormous heterogeneity coupled with asymmetry has been seen as a problematic one. But demographically in a large country equalization of sub-national units remain to be difficult. The enormous heterogeneity as well as the plural character of the nation often reflects the necessity of a strong centre. But politically motivated asymmetric arrangements of federal union may encourage the feelings of detachment as well as dissatisfaction which is identified as a “secession potential”. Although the linguistic identity was given predominance and states were created but this

recognition of regional identity did not lead to the end of further demands, sub-regional in nature. If federalism was used as a strategy to accommodate the regional identities, claims and issues then what could be the reason behind the emergence of sub-regional claims. Such claims and movements thereof have had an impact on the federal fabric in India. This impact wouldn't have been uniform everywhere depending on the socio-political culture of the region. This apart the return of the trend of one-party dominance at the Centre since 2014 with BJP dominating not just in the Centre but also in states. Fragmented nature of politics since 1989 gave way to an integrative nature of politics with the coming of BJP in 2014 and an increase in vote share in 2019 indicating a consolidation of centralizing tendencies. Against this backdrop of a hegemonic party system does that mean the regional forces would get integrated or they would still retain the potential to forge other political equations and if so then in what way they would impact on the Indian political process as with time the nature of terrain of the regions have also changed, the claims and the dimensions of conflict would also experience changes. This changed reality demands a new and a different way of looking into the nature of the impact and also what possible strategies may be applicable for management of the conflict. Moreover, this necessitates the focus on devising an alternative arrangement to accommodate and manage these sub-regional demands.

## **1.6. Literature Review**

There is a substantial amount of research work has been done in an academic field over the issue of federalism as well as regionalism either in separable way or in together. It has been observed that there are three generation of scholars who have contributed to the study of politics in India. The first generation discussed federalism in general till 1970. The second generation discussed federalism and regionalism but more on regionalism as a problem of governance till 1990 and regionalism and federalism is focused more by the third generation scholars from 1990 to present.

In 'India's constitution in the Making' (1960) B.N.Rau as an eminent constitution maker has focused on India's constitutional problems in his writing .However besides explaining the union state relations he noticed the satisfactions of the demand of linguistic provinces as one of the major constrains of Indian federal system. But before the adoption of the Constitution of India he advised an "outline of a new constitution" in 1946 for the purpose of avoiding the event of partition of India in particular. It was observe that, most provisions of his writing very closed to federalism. He framed India as a Commonwealth of three different units of federation like 'Hindustan federation, Pakistan federation and the

Indian states and tribal areas' as the demand has been made by the Muslim league. The scheme of Rau was intended to represent a unified administration for whole of India with a strong centre on the one hand and giving a maximum opportunity to the regional cabinet to meet and discussed the matters of common interest on the other. However the tem 'federation' was not accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the leader of Muslim league.

In 'Federal Government' (1963), Professor K.C. Wheare had discussed about an institutional structure of a proper federation. His writing is considered as a juristic writing. To him the adoption of a federal government is depending on the circumstances, capacity as well as the desire of a particular country. The difference between the federalism within constitutional context and the practice of federalism are depending upon the circumstances in general. He had discussed about the principle of confederation (1777) as well as the principle of federation (1787) worked over the political environment of United States of America. He focused on the devolutionary principle of a federation when the relations between general and regional governments were co-operative in nature. He had argued by saying that the units in federation should be homogeneous rather the state loyalty may prevail over the general loyalty on the one hand but again he said that if there is no right to secede than there is a question of subordination which is a mark for bad federal government because the dictatorship style of ruling is incompatible with the working of federal principle on the other. As a method of safeguarding the regional interests he has given emphasize on equal representation in upper house in a democratic country. His idea of federal government is stood for multiplicity in unity.

In 'the foundations of Indian Federalism' (1967) K.R.Bombwall has focused on legal – constitutional as well as political factors which shaped Indian federal system in general. He emphasized the necessity of federal system in plural India which is composed by regional heterogeneity. He encouraged the rational adoption of federalism in India political process and to him it is quite successful in the environment, where the country was in the turmoil of British imposed politics of segregation on the basis of religion as well as caste system on the one hand and emerging aspiration of nationalism on the other. Though he reevaluated the federal system in changing political scenario in and after 1967 election where he has find a bold trend towards decentralization instead of a strong centre.

In 'Govt. & politics in India' (1971) Morris Zones describe federalism as a political form like democracy. As the Constitution of India is greatly influenced by Britain Westminster model hence naturally the federal features of the Constitution has a unitary trend. He

has given emphasis on the centre – state consultations as well as more decentralization of power like constitutional reallocation of power in the administrative sphere. To him in these ways the provincial dependence to the centre may minimize. He argued that under the act of 1919 the system of Diarchy was needed to be more devolutionary in nature which may by losing the central grip help to make India federalizing as more as possible. Morris Zanes observed planning commission as an instrument for making centre – state relation quite easy going and the confrontations which often arises in the purview of the planning commission are worked as a source of a healthy federalism which he named ‘bargaining federalism’. The federal units were bargain with each others in the platform of planning and the federal development take place.

In ‘Federalism and constitutional change’ (1956), S. Livingston has point out the notion of federalism as a process instead of an institution where federalism has been worked as an integrating force for composing the federal states in particular. He argued that, qualities of a society which is federal in nature are protected and assembled by the federal govt. As the federal institution are the essential product of society may acted as a politico – cultural as well as economic source form managing the diversity in general. So far as the needs of federal society is concerned the change through the constitutional amendment as required.

In ‘New Federations: experiments in the Common Wealth’ (1966)R.L. Watts has given emphasize on federal society. Hence the ‘federal solutions’ in developing countries is not therefore mainly a legal and constitutional study only rather it is a wider examination of federal societies. The pattern of the political parties had an enormous influence upon the working and the effectiveness of the new federations. The size, number, shape of regional units as well as the nature of homogeneity or heterogeneity of regions influenced the political parties or party politics of a federal county. Diversities are regionally distributed in federalism. To him the regional inequalities on the basis of economic development accentuated separatist pressure in new federation because in most of the new federations, politico-cultural diversities have been strongly colored by economic factors. Due to the presence of considerable heterogeneity a greater decentralization is required in a new federation.

The book ‘State politics in India’ (1967) edited by Iqbal Narain has highlighting the issue of socio-economic transformation of Indian political process and the role of the states as well as the pattern of state politics during Congress hegemony and the trend of non-congress politics. The book recognize the ‘dual personality’ of the states in s changing political

environment, which focused on co-operative federalism and sometime which reflect the confluent character of states politics also. In his 'Panorama of state politics' has analyzed the nature of fractional politics during Congress regime.

The book 'State Politics in India' (1968) edited by Myron Weiner was identified one the significant study of state politics in India. The book has covered the changing perspective of 'political participation' in India by emphasize the state's performances as well as the party system. The time period of the study was concentrated on the period of the hegemony of the Congress before the election 1967. Weiner has argued over the different contradictory political forms of different states during this period like, caste, tribes, linguistic groups, religions groups. He has highlighted the growing tendency of regionalism in the framework of state politics. In his 'political development in the Indian states' Myron Weiner has argued the trend of state level factional politics in congress regime. The manipulative Congress factions may lead a major discontent in different states.

In 'Politics in India' (1970) Rajni Kothari has argued that, In India political process the idea of politicization has been worked as a 'driving force of modernization'. The systematic working of a polity is identified as a pre condition of political stability. According to Kothari the dilemma of leadership, the classical trend of fragmentations as well as the fluid condition of Indian political process has facing a changing scenario for political survival with its increasing age old diversity. He argued that the 'politics of India' is represented by the 'politics of integration' but the problem of political development has been arises as a major obstacle. In India the political transformation has making the 'political system as an instrument of social structure'. He used a model for India in his 'politics in India' which represented a modernized plural society in the context of an 'open polity' where political culture played an important role for legitimized the political process. In this context he identified 'the period 1967 to 1969 has been one of the considerable learning in India'.

In 'Comparative Federalism The Territorial Dimension of Politics' (1970) Ivo D. Duchacek has discussed about, the problem of federal asymmetry in a poly-ethnic country where a 'grossly erroneous perception' of asymmetry of power may produce dissatisfaction. To him in India as a poly-ethnic federalism has combined the linguistic unity with the linguistic diversity. A Federalizing process has requires some sacrifices of central power and the compromises regarding local autonomy. He given emphasizes on federalization of the 'collective ownership of the means of production'. Federations should be "Pragmatic rather than dogmatic". He argued that one of the special problems of poly-ethnic federations' is

foreign involvement, resulting foreign support of secession. He defines federal culture as a set of orientations towards the federal political system which should be understood in the context of constant changes through the interlocking links. He focused on 'Deconcentration of powers' as well as participation of local authorities in general policy making process.

'The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation A History of the Indian Experience' (1972) Granville Austin highlighted the background of the adoption of federal structure in Indian political system and he analyzed that because of the unique features of the country, Indian federalism would not come to under any dogma or theory of federalism. As a large country having big population with tremendous diversity make India's states to depend on a powerful central authority to maintain a unified administration and its integrity. But there was a demand of administrative decentralization against the tight model federation in India. He highlighted the centre-state financial cooperation and he argued that the regional sentiment of India is formed especially on the basis of inter regional disparity.

The book 'State politics in India (1976) another edited work by Iqbal Narain has cover the period 1967-71 of Indian political process, which was identified as a period of coalition politics in the states which have made a turning point in Indian politics by contributed both the positive and negative influences. The work has emphasized on the nature of political process of different states during the non-Congress tenure. The different levels of politics is highlighted in this work like the politics of integration, politics of defections, politics of instability, politics of stagnation, politics of one party dominance, politics of polarization, politics of manipulation, politics of immigrants etc. In 'Continuity and change in State Politics' Iqbal Narain has argued that, due to massive centralizing tendency of congress party an environment of plurality may flourish gradually in the sphere of state politics. The growing political instability characterized by intra-party factionalism has paved the way from coalition politics. The regional politics were come in to the lime light. One the non-congress regime was established since the general election 1967. The article showed that, the distinctiveness of the state politic was reestablished in their own format after went out from the grip of Congress domination. In 'Politics of Fragmentation and Political Integration' Rajni Kothari has argued about the trend of Indian politics regarding the over concentration of political morality especially when it is applied on the issue of 'political fragmentation'. To him the fragmentations were extended due to the increasing trend of political morality in Indian Political process. To Kothari, In India 'if there are no fragmentations, there would be no politics'. Though there is the politicization which influence the country to a great extent

but in a plural country the accommodationist tendencies fine give birth the politics of integration, which in return produced the fragmentation like the politics of linguistic reorganization he said.

In 'Democracy in plural societies a comparative exploration' (1977) Arend Lijphart has focused on the rising problems of a stable democracy in a plural society. In this context he explained a new form of democracy name 'consociational democracy' based on 'segmented pluralism'. He argued that consociationalism is the means to attend stable democracy as an ends in the third world country like India which characterized by tremendous ethno-regional diversity. He identified consociational model as a parallel of the process of federalism. He emphasized on segmental autonomy as a form of federalism which is necessary for sub- national government in India. He argued that the consociational democracy instead of parliamentary democracy is suitable for a political system which is overloaded by an increasing pluralism.

The book 'Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India' (1984) edited by Akhtar Majid, has been analyzed the success of the spirit of sub-nationalism in compare to nationalism by the efforts of ethno-regional groups. The book focused on the negative character of regionalism as a threat to the development as well as unity of the country. But such essence of pluralism often does not produced fragmentation on the other hand. Hence the ethno regional forces have not always identified as disintegrating force. It was the inability of the political leadership not to bear the countries problems in proper way, rather exploiting these ethnic sentiments for the purpose of increasing their support base. In a plural country the ethno-regional demands are quite normal and can be accommodated peacefully. In a viable nation state cultural plurality and national integration may treated complementary instead of confronting with each other. The book has highlighted that as a plural country the centre-state relations in India are affected by the ethnic culture as well as economic inequality between regions. Hence the territorial identity of the regions often has been treated as crucial steps for Indian polity. The volume argued that, the regional identity therefore not antithetical to the national identity rather the rewarding coexistence of these phenomena has bring a great challenges in front of Indian political system.

In 'State politics of India' (1984) Babulal Fadia, has given emphasis on the role of the Indian state's as well as the federal policy of India which affected the character of the state politics. On the other hand as a constituent units of the union how the state positions affects

the national matrix was highlighted in his study. The book highlighted the coalition and regional era also.

In 'Ethnic groups in conflict' (1985), Horowitz, argued that ethnic affiliation as well as ethnic conflict is a common phenomenon in a deeply diversified society. But the degree of ethnic pervasiveness is variable. To him economic interests as well as cultural pluralism are the pre-conditions of ethnic conflict. The feelings of relative deprivation may create tension in ethnic groups. He further argued that, the election systems as well as the political parties are involved to maximize the ethnic conflict, as their ignorance of the people of a particular region.

In 'Exploring Federalism' (1987) Daniel J. Elazar has been treated federalism as a universal political form. As a form of political organization it is defined as a significant political force which shaped political behavior. To Elazar the federalism is more 'akin to natural law' which works for people as well as to the needs of politics and integrity was preserved through this political device. He argued that the federalism is coterminous with the 'diffusion of political power' on behalf of unity and integrity. He placed the term 'non-centralization' to describe federal system which works as a means to solve political problems as an ends. Federalism as a structure or as a process becomes popular because it is suitable with the modern temperament of society.

The book 'Indian Federalism Problems and Issues' (1987) edited by Tarun Chandra Bose, focused that, every federal system have faces the period of strain and stress in centre-state relation. But a tendency of political cooperation as well as self restraint has made the division balanced. He showed that, as the Constitution of India could not provide equity with growth in its constituent units, has been acted as a source of regionalism. Regionalism is appeared as a driving force of centre-state cooperation. He argued that the centre-state antagonism in Indian federation has been instigated by the inefficiency of political leadership which neglected the regional temperament in long term. To him a strong centre with strong states can only able to established the essence of unity in diversity. The congruence between national integration and regional interest may establish the true federal spirit in a multi-cultural country like India. Even a strategy of 'Carrot & Stick' should be promoted in the federal platform by the centre if needed.

In 'The politics of India since Independence' (1990) Paul R. Brass has built upon a work on Indian politics during first three decades of Independent India where he highlighted

the trend of power centralization in culturally plural country which increased in the post – Nehruvian era resulting ethno-regional conflicts. The Indian politics goes through a systemic crisis during these periods. Which affect the national unity also. Consequently an alternative political power has been arises instead of congress ruling. This made a turning point of Indian political process and which paved the way for the emergence of Bharatiya Janata Party with militant Hindu Nationalism. However he noticed the economic reform of India during the tenure of P.V. Narshima Rao which has made a great contribution in India’s economy.

In ‘Democracy and discontent India’s growing crisis of governability’ (1990) Atul Kohli has elaborated the problems of governability in India, when he focused on the declination of Congress system as well as the eroding points of India’s traditional pattern of authority. The growing tension between traditional and modern political authority is highlighted in his writing which was treated as an ‘inevitable political outcome’ of the country. The study has tried to give a “state oriented explanation of the crisis of governability”. So far as the diversity is concerned the study would have taken into account both the national and regional trends. The center, state and local politics were given equal importance in his work. However, the depth of governability crisis was different in each region but the role of central leadership to mitigate the problems was focused here. However he argued that the qualitative difference between traditional and contemporary political authority is dependent on the political history of the country from where the political changes occurred.

‘India’s democracy and analysis of changing state –society relations’(1990) edited by Atul Kohli had analyzed that, how the India’s democratic institution changed in accordingly to accommodate new demands of political participation toward solving the socio-economic problems of the country. A number of scholarly articles were presented in this edited volume for solving the democratic strain of Indian political process. Kohli analyzed India’s democracy on the perspective of state-society interaction. The problems of modernization were focused here. All the papers of this edited volume were concerned about the changing nature of India’s ruling institutions and their capacity to facing the emerging socio-economic challenges in particular. The changing role of political parties, as well as ethno-political demands was highlighted besides the role of the dominant proprietary classes in Indian society.

The ‘Ethnicity and Nationalism Theory and comparison’ (1991) by Paul R. Brass was written between the year 1978 to 1990. When he argued that the nationalism and ethnicity

were created by the society itself established by the political system of the country. The political elites were intended to create an ethno-national consciousness in order to build their support base. He observed that the phenomenon of nationalism and ethnicity are very much related with the modern centralized state which created several ethnic groups in its periphery. Gradually there was an alliance occurred between centralized and regional elites. Hence forth the political consequences were continued with confrontation as well as cooperation in general. He often argued against the consociational model for conflict resolution which according to him established elite advantage by 'freezing' a particular political system.

In 'The politics of nationalism and Ethnicity' (1991), James G. Kellas argued that the central arena of politics are nationalism and Ethnicity which influence the human nature to a great extent. He explains 'human nature provides the necessary condition for ethnocentric behavior', which is used in politics because ethnicity and nationalism are both the form of behavior.

In 'regionalism in Indian perspective' (1992) Bharti Mukherjee argued that since independence the Indian political process gradually leaning towards the regionalization which is multi dimensional in nature. She analyzed how the inter-regional asymmetrical development may transfer the Indian society in to a regionalist society. Hence the 'we-they' syndrome may established the culture of sub nationalism in a modern nation state. She identified regionalism as a connecting force between 'localism and nationalism' –which helps to make federal polity as matured as possible because often in a plural society the regional imbalances were appeared as a pre condition of rebellion.

In 'Regionalization of Indian Politics' (1993) Prabhat Dutta has argued that, the centre of gravity was turned in to regional favor due to increased ethno-regional temperament. The book was concerned about to find out the roots of separatism in India as well as review the urges for man power decentralization in the late 1960s. The book also emphasized on the nature of various regional and sub regional moments within Indian union. Prabhat Dutta has observed country's linguistic consciousness of different nationality since the birth of Indian nationalism. To him the problem of the tendency of ethno-regional separatism remain inconclusive problem of the country. Because in India as a democratic multicultural state the ethnic forces are more politicized and are intended to take their due share of the 'national cake'.

The book 'Ethnicity' (1996) edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith have discussed about the phenomena of 'ethnicity' which is paradoxical in character. It expresses a common essence of community which had a common link with homeland as well as a common sense of solidarity. This volume highlights the political importance of ethnicity in a modern bureaucratic state especially in a plural state. The federalism often has examined as an instrument of conflict regulation through a peaceful accommodation of ethnic demands. The work highlighted the 'longevity' and ubiquity of ethnic ties throughout the world. The phenomena of ethnicity is not "ordinarily primordial rather it has a clear and analyzable socio genesis".

In the edited book 'politics in India' (1997) Sudipta Kaviraj has highlighted the Indian political process through the different scholarly articles over the issues like politics and sociology; historicity of structures; cast, class, religion and electoral politics, modernity and identities and last but not the least the crisis of the state. Dipankar Gupta in his "Ethnicity and politics" has discussed the linguistic demands where the national as well as local congress parties have been taken an active part. The linguistic demarcation of states was based on ethno-regional connotation which established India's diversity in to a meaningful era. This movement has influenced the 'Sons of the Soil' demand also. On the basis of which the movement of Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, the Assam movement had take place. He argued that these native forces had changed the nature of Indian political process gradually where the regional political parties also established their support base through the several regional movements like The Akali Dal, DMK, AIADMK, Telegue Desam political parties. Henceforth the political environment of one -party domination has replaced by the multi-party domination. In these ways the Indian political system has been ethicizing. Atul Kohli in his 'crisis of Governability' has focused the difficulties of a democratic country to govern. He argued that, often the governing inefficiency may responsible for political instability in a stable democracy also. He noticed the trend of extreme power concentration in the era of congress regime on the one hand and the organizational weaknesses of contemporary Indian political parties on the other were the causes of the crisis of governability in particular. This particular problem is instigated by the tremendous cultural diversity in general. Hence the country often demands well-developed parties emerge from below instead from above.

In 'India against itself Assam and the Politics of Nationality', (1999) Sanjib Baruah argued that, since independence India successfully handled several ethno-regional conflicts through its multi- ethnic polity which makes the country cable for nation building. But on the

country he emphasized that, in the country often take a narrow outlook which makes the status of northeast region specially Assam as an isolated land. The ethnic turmoil especially the problems of immigration make the state of Assam as inferior as possible. He focused on the weak federal structure as well as the strong centralized tendency of India. In this content he favored a loosely organized federation along with more diffusion of power.

In 'Working a Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience' (1999) Granville Austin has discussed about the federal process in India in different phases. He identified the periods as since 1966 (over centralization); the period 1971-1984 (personalization of politics); since 1985 (power has been started to re distribute). The growing regionalization of power resulting from congress hegemony in Indian politics has been highlighted in his work. He focused on Nehruvian constitutional federalism as well as Indira's centralized federalism along with the regionalized federalism in Janata phase. He argued that in a conflicting trend of centralization vs. decentralization in the environment of growing socio-political awareness of the country may changed the countries need also which indicated the centre-state changing power equation. When he seeing the trend of federalism as a 'seamless web'.

'The success of India's Democracy' (2001) edited by Atul Kohli has introduced a resembled of scholarly works regarding the changing nature of India's Democracy. The main theme of this book was to search the basic root of democracy in India as developing as well as ethnically diversified country. The book has highlighted that how the power conflict of the country's political process has been restructured by a delicate balance between centralizing and decentralizing forces which contributed in the growth of democracy. The book highlighted the journey of democracy in India through the different socio-political as well as economic constraints like tremendous poverty, coalitional instability, regional problems, caste as well as regions conflicts and to find out how the democracy successfully represented the multicultural diversity under the motto of 'Unity in Diversity' is the motive of this work edited by Kohli. He argued it is the federal spirit which worked as a multicultural force within the framework of a centralized state where the federal structure of the country had strengthened the regional accommodation in particular. The book also analyzed the emergence of 'right-wing religious nationalism' in India against the fragmentation of a centralized state resulted from excessive regional accommodation. In 'Center-state' relations' James Manor argued that, In Indian's federal process the central-state relations quite manageable through the bargaining approaches of the states and the accommodationist approach of the center. To him the separatist tendencies of the regions are controlled within a

'sizable Indian States'. In 'India's federal design and multicultural, national construction' Jyotirindra Dasgupta argued that, in 1990's federal experiment of India has offered a new modal ethno federation. He observes that often the conformity of multi federalism to nationalism is not possible in India, because of extreme cultural differences. He argued that the quality of autonomy must be evaluated in a federal design which indicates the role of a region to sustain in a national matrix of a country in changing circumstances. The age of coalition may balance the federal equation in respects of states autonomy. He emphasized the linguistic states as a mode of 'regional autonomization' in federal politics in India. So far as the durability of the Indian federation is concerned he established some crucial steps of a multicultural society like democratic participation; integrative processed in multi-cultural politics; combine development of democratization and federalization. He focused on the inclusionary political culture of a multi-federation through interactive opportunity along with legal flexibility as a societal process of federalism.

In 'Autonomy Movements and Federal India' (2002) Bhupinder Singh argued that federalism has been implemented on the framework of justice which is not beyond the legal political structure of a country. He gives emphasis on a 'Vertical tiered federal structure' like village panchayats, district panchayats, state legislature and national parliament. To him the regional autonomy is belonged in the intermediate level between state and district. In this way the federal spirit can be maintained within the constitutional encirclement which widening the democratic process of the country. He focused on a 'strong stable federal framework of basic institution'. He has argued that a modern state must be stand for a 'distributional coalitions' instead of a 'dominant coalitions' which run by a 'voiceless majority'.

'Indian Federalism in the New Millennium' (2003) edited by B.D.Dua M.P.Singh was another contribution in the field of federalism. The study has argued regarding the quality of Indian federalism an integrating force for accommodating the socio political changes since Independence. Though the centralize dogma as well as the changing nature of party system has affected the country's federal system which often leaning to the process of confederacy. The economic reform 1990 as well as the state based political parties was the significant parts of greater federalization of India political process. In this volume, while Douglas V. Verney in his 'understanding India as a Federation' has analyze the uniqueness of India federalism by representing it as a parliamentary federative, on the other hand Meena Varma in her "India: challenges of Nation Building in a Federal society" has argued that in a

plural society the challenges will be tackled through the federal means only. She referred India as a 'multi-ethnic federal nation-state'. In 'India: Ethnicity and Federalism' A.S. Narang observes 'veritable ethnic resurgence' in the country due to congress excessive centralization as well as the formation of linguistic states, which introduced new trend in the politics process of the country. Ajay Kumar Singh in his 'Federalism and state formation' has developed a model which intended to establish a federal nation over plural polity. He discuss about the problems of state formation after the linguistic formations. Akhtar Majeed in his 'Indias Fedaral Structures: Some Inbuilt Strains' has highlighted major federal constrains. He argued that a proper cooperative federalism has not been develop in India due to the centralize nature of Indian federalism which increased the lack of confidence of the states gradually. In 'Globalization and Indian federalism' Reeta C. Tremblay has highlighted the dual effect of globalization over federal system where on the one hand economic strength of local sector was increased in a nation state, inspired by the process of globalization. But the growing regional disparities often move towards enhancing the role of central government on the other.

In 'Federalizing India in the Age of Globalization' (2003) M.P.Singh Rekha Saxena has tried to establish a modern federal theory in the arena of comparative government and politics of India. The book also analyzed the relationship between federalism and multiculturalism. It has highlighting the two major source on which the success as well as stability of federalism may depend, like demographically and electorally predominating nature of the people of national or ethnic community and the practice of federal governance on accommodation multiculturalism. They also analyzed the effect of the globalization of the Indian economy over the federal setup in general.

In 'Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in Indian and Pakistan' (2007) Katharine Adeney sees federalism as a strategies for managing diversity. He argued that the institutional structure of federalism is important in a democratic state. Federalism is perfectly compatible with liberal Democracy. He discussed four strategies of state to regulate the diversity like Assimilation (maintain identity in the personal sphere) Integration (all are equal within a state); Multiculturalism (protect personal identities and institutionalized them in public sphere, manifestations of multiculturalism); Segregation (it seek to maintain ethnic differences). To him ethic differences are not always the causes of ethnic conflict but the problem is the denial of accommodation or recognition.

In 'Politics in India' (2010) Niraja Gopal Jayal Pratap Bhanu Mehta have highlighted the federalization of political process in India for the sake of regional interests, since independence which was unitary in nature. They represent a power sharing model for Indian federation like Vertical way where powers on any specific matter, either one of the three level of government (centre/state/local). Horizontal way where power sharing was operated between the branches of government (central & state). Transversal way where power sharing was operated between centre and states; between the states. Moreover the structural asymmetry in different states in a federation had also left a deep impact. To them, besides more financially strong central government there was a major differences between the states of India on the basis of their fiscal capabilities and developmental potential. So, there is a need to reform of inter-state mechanism of coordination and equalization. They argued that there was no contradiction between region and nation as the regions were emerged as a nursery of the nation.

In 'Federalism in Asia' (2010), Harihar Bhattacharyya has described federalism as a political principle which intended to accommodate several ethno-regional demands within the states and outside also for maintain the unity of the country. He also focused on the influence of the globalization over the process of federation building due to the 'decline of nation-state'. He identified the combination of shared rule and self rule as requirement of federalism because self – rule at the regional level has been produced a proper federalism. He argued that, as we are live in an age of diversity, and diversity is the basic over whom the palace of politico – federalism has been constructed. He argued that as a method of power sharing federalism and democracy are conjugated. But he observed that, even in democratic federation the process of federalization has been failed. Hence he argued that the success of a federation is depend on the political culture of people in the social, historical, cultural and political context of a country as well as the nature of diversity.

'Ethno nationalism in India A Reader' (2010) edited by Sanjib Baruah is one of the significant contribution in India politics. This volume deals with ethno nationalism as a political phenomenon including nationalism, ethnic insurgency , regionalism, multiplicity of language, caste, tribes more over India's largest diversity. Paul R. Brass in his 'Ethnic interests, Popular passions, and Social power in the Language Politics in India' has focused on language conflict in India. The federal units of India have carried out the dominant languages like Hindi and English. He argues that the language plays important roles which influence the ethno national instinct. On the other hand, he shows the religion based solitary

is stronger than language based solidarity in northern India. But there was an opposite story in southern India where Tamil language played a dominant role. He showed that how the language helps to make one religion to go for a separatist movement by cited an example like Hindi – Urdu conflict in north India was turned in to Hindu-Muslim conflict and resulting Muslim separatist movement, the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. Atul Kohli, in his ‘Can democracies Accommodate Ethnic nationalism? Rise and Decline of self – Determination movements in India’ argued that the ethno-national movement in India is either accommodative or secession potential in nature are it is depend on the willingness of political authority. Hence the ethno national movement in India followed an ‘inverse “U” curve’, which needs an ‘institutionalization’ of political authority in particular. He identified the period from 1950 to 1964 as a well institutionalized period. This Nehruvian period was quite flexible towards the accommodation of the demand of self-determination. On the other hand the period under the leadership of Indira Gandhi was quite unaccommodative. However he argued that in a democracy, the ethno-national unrests were inevitable but these are minimized through the accommodative style of ruling also.

In ‘Indian Politics Constitutional Foundations and Institutional Functioning’(2011) M.P. Singh Rekha Saxena have argued that having the experience of colonization & partition India has needed a strong parliamentary central government but on the contrary because of immense diversity, there was a need of federal mode of integration of states through regional autonomy. In India, there was a combination of legislative supremacy (parliamentary form of government) and decentralization of power (federal form of government). They observed that dominance of central government in many sphere in India Constitution, some time called ‘withering away of federalism’. But the transformation of Indian one party system to regionalized multiparty system characterized India Political system as a quasi-federation. However the Indian Federalism is still in the process of evaluation.

The book ‘Accommodating Diversity Ideas and Institutional Practices’ (2011) edited by Gurpreet Mahajan has analyzed how the cultural distinctiveness of a plural society are accommodated? How the democratic process channelized this multiculturalism? The work emphasize on an institutional arrangement of the country within the broad framework of diversity. As this process of ‘accommodation is an ongoing process’ Gurpreet Mahajan argued that, the existence and evolution of different cultures has invited the people of the country to rethink and reassess in order to protect the cultural diversity. He argued in favor of the suitable multicultural policies which were intended to promote the policy of integration

into the main stream instead of the policies of segregation. In 'Multiculturalism and Diversity: Value to be promoted or problem to be managed?' Sara Joseph has argued in this edited volume that, in a plural society, cultural empowerment is possible through promoting 'inclusive growth' in the democratic process. To her, to established a 'more just and equitable society' the volumes of multiculturalism should be maintained through protecting the diversity with proper respect as identifying it as a reactionary political forces.

'Federalism' (2011) volume I 'Historical and Theoretical Foundations of Federalism'; volume II 'Alternative Models, constitutional Foundations, and Institutions Features of Federal Government'; volume III 'Models of Individualism, communalism and Multi-nationalism in Federal Governance' edited by John Kincaid was significant work in the field of federalism. In this work besides the historical foundation of federalism Kincaid represented federalism as a mode of governance in a plural country which is closely associated with the notion of multiculturalism. 'The ends of federalism' written by Martin Diamond in this edited volume I, of 'Federalism' has focused on the modification of federalism in order to preserve it. When he argued that the effectiveness of federalism was examined in the way that how far it is capable to meet the ends, how far it is serve for the verities of ends in a political system which varied in different countries. 'Federalism, Federative systems and Federations: The United States, Canada and India' written by Douglas V. Vereny in this edited volume II of 'federalism; has described 'federalism' as an institution of government in this particular context it is differ from another 'isms' which were the part of political theory. He represents the term 'federation' as a species of federative system of government where the regional government is not subordinate to national government. He observed that in Canada as well as in India there was a contradiction between the 'federative' as well as parliamentary character of the political system from which often an innovative concept of federalism of their own have been emerged in both the countries like 'quasi – federations'; quasi - federation to confederacy; quasi – federation to federation. 'Re thinking Federalism' written by Robert P. Inman and Daniel L. Rubinfeld in this edited volume III , of 'Federalism' has analyzed the contemporary debates regarding Federalism. It has been argued that the federalism as an institution has contained skill full 'allocation of national resources' as well as 'political participation' along with 'the sense of democratic community' which protect the basic 'liberties and freedoms'.

Rutledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism (2013) edited by John Loughlin, John Kincaid and Wilfried Swenden has introduced a resembled of scholarly works regarding

the nature of federal structure, role of political parties, territorial politics in regionalized system e.t.c

In 'Fiscal Federalism in India' (2014) Dr. Kumar Rekha has given emphasis on the union state fiscal relation in India without which the federal development of a country is feasible. She argued that, in a proper federal context the fiscal interaction had been played a crucial role which ensure the balance of inter regional development in general. Analyzing the process of fiscal decentralization in India is the basic concept of her book.

In 'Conflict Resolution in multicultural societies the Indian Experience' (2014) Jhumpa Mukherjee has focused on the process of 'multicultural decentralization' which closely associated with the 'Identity based autonomy' as well as the devolution of powers for the purpose of resolving ethnic conflict and to established a stable society. She emphasized the multicultural decentralization as a 'modified neo – institutionalism' which established India as an integrated democratic country. This model has an aim to arranging socio culture space for distinct cultural groups and communities and to 'protecting them constitutionally and institutionally' as a democratic manner.

In 'Federalism and Regionalism in India Institutional Strategies and Political Accommodation of Identity (2005) 'Harihar Bhattacharyya has argued over the absence of a uniform applicability of federation as a pure model rather to him it is based on circumstantial necessities of shared rule and self rule in general.

### **1.8.Research Objectives**

- 1.To look into the nature of federal arrangement in India
2. To look into the asymmetries and on the the growth and flourishing of regionalist tendencies within the Indian Polity?
3. To look into the impact of regionalism on Indian Federal Politics
4. To look into the nature of sub-regional demands and its impact
5. To look into the different kinds of accommodation and management arrangements of sub-regionalism
6. To look into an alternative way of designing another arrangement for managing the sub-regional demands

### **1.9. Research Questions**

1. What have been the federal arrangements in India?
2. What has been the impact of asymmetries on the growth and flourishing of regionalist tendencies within the Indian Polity?
3. What has been the impact of regionalism on Indian Federal Politics?
4. What has been the nature of sub-regional demands and their impact on the Indian polity?
5. What were the different kind of arrangements of management and accommodation of sub-regional movements?
6. What has been the alternative way of managing the sub-regional demands?

### **1.10. Research Methodology and Sources of Data**

The present study is a qualitative research work. In order to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem and fulfill the research objectives the present study has adopted multi-variant methods. In the present study historical approach has been used in order to find out the evolution of federalism and regionalism in India. The descriptive and analytical approach has been used in the present study in order to respond to the research questions relating to regionalism and its impact on the political system in India. The method of content analysis has been applied in order to examine the texts and documents relating to the research problem. The comparative method also has been used in order to probe deeper through comparing different cases.

Both primary and secondary sources of data have been used methodically in order to locate the major objectives of the present research work. The secondary sources constitute the major part of the study. The books, journals, articles, periodicals, news paper and the help of internet constitute the secondary sources. However the primary sources explicitly support the present research work. Like, various documents from different block of Darjeeling Hill, Telephonic conversation with officials, office of District Magistrate, Darjeeling, Telephonic conversation with Gopinath Das, Ex- Minister, Panchayat and Rural Ministry, Government of Assam, Telephonic conversation with Amar Singh Rai, MLA, Darjeeling Constituency. Interview has been taken Bangshi Badan Barman, leader Greater Coochbehar Movement, Cooch Behar and Chandan Bramha Ex- Transport Minister, Government of Assam.

### **1.11. Limitations of the Study**

Like every Study this research study has also certain limitations. The research does not study several newly emerging sub- regional movements in different states in India other than West Bengal.

### **1.12. Organization of the thesis**

The present study seeks to analyze federalism and regionalism but more on regionalism as a process of federation building through accommodating country's age long diversity which has started out from the simultaneous centripetal confinement of British colonialism as well as the centralized hegemony of newly independent India along with its impact on Indian political process. The present study has segmented in to seven chapters including the introductory chapter. Chapter two has discussed the federal experience in India prior 1977, Chapter 3 has discussed the federal experience in India since 1977, Chapter 4 has discussed the nature and manifestations of regional autonomy movements in Indian federation, Chapter five has discussed the politics of coalition as well as the growing power of regional political parties in India, Chapter 6 has discussed federalism and regionalism in Indian political process and Chapter seven has made the concluding observation with some probable measure.

## Chapter – II

### REVIEWING THE FEDERAL EXPERIENCE IN INDIA PRIOR 1977

#### 2. Introduction:

It has been observed that the feelings of regionalism have been utilized by the imperialist power prior independence to promote their policy of keeping the country divided. After independence, the federal set up was adopted to make room for accommodating different interests of all communities representing different regions of the country within a broad administrative frame. So from that perspective, the consensus on having a federal system proved to be not only relevant but also the only course. It is true that the nature, consolidation and manifestation of regional movements in India do not conform to any set pattern; their cumulative impact on the working of federal governance appears to be significant. Federalism is like a rainbow, where the different colors together make a harmonious pattern. It is a devolutionary strategy projected towards the country as a whole. Since independence the federal structure of Indian Constitution has maintained a controversial balance between the centre and its compound units. On the other hand gradually the regionalism is become a hard reality in plural India. It is stand for self-development of a particular region on the basis of self-identity.

Before going to the discussion about the impact of regional movements on the federal policy in India, a very important question come to our mind that as an instrument of accommodating regional diversities, in India how successful has been the adoption of federal system? Or was the internal federal structure made by our constitution makers, acted as an enzyme for manifestation of such kind of regional feelings? For this purpose we need to discuss the nature of Indian federal system since independence. The review of the major works on the nature and extent of federal governance in India will reveal that the working of India's federal system brings out some contradictory evaluations. Federal System in independent India was influenced by three major issues, like Government of India Act 1935; unitary pattern of functioning of governance in the country prior to independence; and an eventful experience of partition.

So far as the political process is concerned it is always greatly influenced by the circumstances of a particular country as well as the political system of a country of a particular time. So the Constitution as well as the political system of a country is the production of time. Like, federal system in U.S.A. there was an influence of American Civil

war, where more powers of the regional government were transferred to the general govt. Both the government of America vested with more or less same power in a system of federation which replaced the system of confederation. In a federation both the governments of U.S.A are derived their authority from the constitution as a Supreme law of land and there operation is oriented towards the people directly. (Wheare, 1963) It is observed that, the maker of Indian Constitution greatly influenced by the federal system of Canada. Both the countries had adopted Parliamentary Federalism. Moreover, the founding fathers are influenced by the ethno-cultural diversity as well as regionalism of Canada.

However before going a detailed discussion on the impact of regional movements and federal governance on the political process of India, we should go through the sources of federalism, the background regarding the adoption of federation, the Constituent assembly debates upon the structure of Indian federalism, as well as some major incidents took place in Indian political process since Independence which changed the entire federal context of the country.

### **2.1. The sources of Federation in India:**

In India the federal political System derived its source specifically from the Government of India Act 1935. It was assumed that, the Indian Councils Act 1861, was the footstep towards the journey of federalism in colonial India which generating the concept of the formation of local Council as the way of democratic decentralization. However, the goal of a federal India was first mooted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report published in 1918. The report defined the conception of the eventual future of India as "a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest" and "presenting the external semblance of some form of federation." (Jain, 1977) In course of circumstance the Montagu- Chelmsford Reforms conducting the government of India Act 1919. This eventually introduced the Diarchy at the provinces, as semi-federal System. "The Nehru Committee submitting its report in 1928, laid centralized structure for British India based on the devolution the lines of the 1919 Act" and "The Simon Commission Report published in 1930 took the federalism in India a little further. It declared that the ultimate frame work of the Indian Constitution cannot be unitary; it must be federal. The Government of India Act, 1935 definitely introduced the federal concept in India. It contemplated, on the one hand, federalizing British India and, on the other, bringing the native states into the Indian federation. The next stage in the evolution of Indian federalism is denoted by the announcement of the Cabinet Mission Plan on May 16, 1946. The mission sought to draw a

compromise between the Congress demand of a unified India and the Muslim League's demand of Pakistan comprising the six Muslim majority provinces and Assam”( Jain, 1977).

## **2.2 The back ground of Indian Federalism :**

So far as the background of the federal structure of the Constitution of India is concerned, we can go with the view of Sri B.N. Rau, as who was the constitutional Advisor of Constituent Assembly of India. As we know that in accordance with the proposal of cabinet mission there was an establishment of Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for India. After the announcement of Cabinet mission, in 1946, to setting-up an interim government before the transfer of power, The Muslim league Claimed Pakistan, as an independent state with sovereign power which was already adopted by Muslim League in 1940, named as Pakistan resolution. The proposed areas of newly Independent states were the Punjab, the North- Western Frontier, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam in North East. (Rau, 1960) But these projected areas were dismissed by the mission for the problem of an economic and administrative convenience. Congress suggestion was going for a provincial autonomy with minimal central interference. In this circumstances Cabinet Mission, recommended a confederal Constitution of India, where all the subjects except the union subjects and all the residuary powers were vested in the provinces, which stands for United States of India. There was some sort of uncertainty aroused regarding the participation of Muslim league in the working of Constituent Assembly under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah.

Henceforth, the process of making the Constitution of India was delayed and waiting for the consent of Muslim league. Congress was agreeing for mutual co- operation of all political parties including Muslim league for the achievement of freedom of India. They tried to prepare a path for the development of the Constituent Assembly of United India. Though, the interim government was set up in 1946, after a several discussions with Jinnah, the leader of Muslim league. But the matter of the functioning of Constituent Assembly was still in a dilemma which resulted in a declaration of non participation in the Constituent Assembly by the league and they have rigid in their earlier decision of Separation. Eventually the working Committees has started to make Constituent Assembly with a large member of representations of pan India. The constituent Assembly declared, India as Independent Sovereign Republic. “Objective” Resolutions adopted by the constituent Assembly in January 1947 was again challenged by the league, Eventually the British government has decided to transfer the power to India. This announcement encouraged the working of the constituent Assembly with an aspiration of formation of a new Independent India with its fall fledged

Constitution. On the other hand when “ the representations of the provinces of madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Center provinces and Bihar , Assam, Orissa, North-west frontier provinces, representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new constitution. On the hand Muslim league Party, including its majority representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.” (Rau, 1960)

A Suggestion was came from British India, to acceptance of the demand of Partition as it was continuously hampered the functioning of Constituent Assembly and interfere in the making the Constitution of United India. The British make India Stands for divided but free from outsides interference. Though the Congress was worried about there internal solidarity. When Constituent Assembly described India, as a “United States of India”, the term was not preferred by Muslim league. As because there demand was remain for a complete Sovereign state. Though the stand point of Congress was quite clear in this particular case, they announced that the Congress did not pressurize any unit besides their unwillingness to join in a federation. But any kind of fissiparous tendency which hamper the Unity and integrity of the Country was not to be tolerated. To keeping the Country undivided the proposed territory of federation, dominated by the minority community[Group B; Frontier regions: existing British Indian provinces of the Punjab, The North-West frontier on the West Bengal, Assam, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the east.] was vested with federation with weak centre. Though the Muslim league has demand full-fledged autonomy in defense and external affairs also. To Jinnah the particular areas, which the Muslim league are intended to include in Pakistan, the Six provinces like Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab in the North-West, The North-West frontier Province Bengal and Assam were regarded as a group of “ Independent States”. To him it was necessary to bifurcate the single federation of India in to two separate federations like Hindustan and Pakistan. (Rau, 1960). Though both the Congress and the League welcomed federal composition of colonial India, but when “League promoted Consociational features within the federation, on the other hand Congress demanded a more majoritarian and Centralize one.” (Ardency, 2010)

Henceforth, Cabinet Mission’s plane of Confederation was replaced by Federation with a strong centre after the partition. The maker of the Constitution of India has taken in to considerations that the dual polity of federalism at the national as well as state levels would be more suitable for the country. Even after the partition of British India, the issue of minority protection has its influence in constitutional debates. According to the Memorandum

on the Union Constitution prepared by B.N. Rau, before independence, “There Should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States” was indicated in the next part of schedule- I, that the aim of the coming Constitution of India will giving full freedom of its reluctant parts of the country as they are not to be pushed. But the Constitution was decided to fix the consenting Point of the Country before the commencement of the constitution. As we know that equal representation in the upper house of a union legislature is a measure of a successful federal System. But the System of functional Representation was mentioned in the memorandum, in this regard. As because the British Indian Units which was eleven in number was submerged by the representatives of the Indian States which were Thirty five in number. (Rau, 1960)

It has been observed that, “Nehru played a solid and creative role involving the structure of the Indian federalism as it came to be incorporated in the Indian Constitution. He stood for a strong centre in a federal system in India, and he got the opportunity to achieve this goal after partition of India under the Mountbatten plan. In spite of his radical views regarding the princely states, he took a moderate stand to smoothen the process of their joining the Constituent Assembly. Without doubt, India's present-day federal system owes a great deal” (Jain, 1977) However the Indian Independence Act 1947, created, two independent dominions of India and Pakistan from 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. The Constitution of India was finally enacted on 26<sup>th</sup> Jan 1950 after long constitutional debates.

### **2.3 Some major debates regarding the structure of Indian federalism before the adoption of the Constitution:**

It has been observed that there was a lot of discussions were take place in the platform of Constituent Assembly of India in regards of the nature of the federation of India. The debates on the favor of a Strong centre on the one hand and the debates against a weak States on the other were enhanced a democratic spirit of the Country.

It has been observed that when Dr Ambedkar presented the draft constitution to the constituent assembly where Firstly, he describes “the constitution proposed to be federal, even though the word union was used in article 1 and the word ‘federal’ was not mentioned in the preamble on any other provision” ( CAD Vol VII ); Secondly, Ambedkar point out that, by using the term “India that is Bharat shall be a union of states” “the drafting committee wanted to make it clear that though India was a federation the federalism was not the result of an agreement no States has the right to secede from it. The federation is a Union

because it is indestructible” (CAD Vol. VII); Following The second report of the Union Powers Committee, the debates reflected that “now that partition is a settled fact, we are unanimously of the view that it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of coordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere. We have accordingly come to the conclusion that the soundest framework for our Constitution is federalism with a strong centre” (CAD VOL.V); Following Ambedkar “the draft constitution is federal constitution as much as it established what may be called a dual polity .The dual polity under the proposed constitution will consist of the union at the centre and the states at the periphery each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the constitution” (CAD VOL VI); Following N. Gopal Swamy Ayyangar “we are confronted with problems which have not confronted other federations in history” (CAD VOL V); It has been observed that having experience from some of the best federations like United States, Canada, Switzerland the members of the Constituent Assembly has adopted “the policy of pick and choose to see what would suit them best, what would be the genius of the Nations best” (CAD VOL XI).

But on the other hand it was said that “The centre should be strong...but the strength of the centre does not consist in the number of subjects to be handled the centre, but more in the willing co operation and willing acquiescence of the provinces and States in what the centre is doing” (CAD VOL VI); it has been said that, “The draft constitution is partly federal and partly unitary and more unitary than federalism in character” (CAD VOL VIII) and “Federalism which is conservative in character is full of weakness” (CAD VOL VIII); Following Pandit kunzru, “if federation means anything’ “it means that there should be a transfer of wealth from the richer to the poorer provinces” (CAD VOL IX).

It has been noticed that again for the support of a unitary federation, Ambedkar declared that “all federal systems including the American are placed in a tight mould of federalism...the Indian federalism will not suffer from the faults of rigidity or legalism. Its distinguishing feature is that (India) is a flexible federation” (CAD VOL VII) and "Federation is not a definite concept it has not got any stable meaning. It is a concept the definition of which has been changing from time to time” (CAD VOL II).However after long debates, the Constitution of India exhibits its several ‘uni-federal’ features.

Therefore, it will not be an exaggeration to say, that the federal polity in India is emerged form the conscious will of the founding fathers. Indian federalism is an indigenous

in nature. It is not possible to make any comparison with the federal structure of any other Countries in the world. So, far as in federalism in India is Concerned, here lies its Uniqueness. It has its own features of unity in diversity. Its gradually enhance with the requirements of the time and purpose of the country exclusively. Therefore, it just serves the purpose of the country, which ornamented with a high degree of heterogeneity and diversity. It has been observed that the political system of India is a conjugation of parliamentary form of government as well as federalization of powers. Besides several federal as well as unitary constitutional provisions the Constitution of India has recognized the 'differences' through frame worked the several accommodative provisions which was discuss in the introductory part of the thesis in details.

In the platform of the Constitution Assembly debates, it has been said by Jawaharlal Nehru that "The glory of India has been the way it managed to keep two things going at the same time.....infinite variety and....unity in that variety" (CADVOLVII). It has been observed that the advisory Constitution on Fundamental Rights consisted of representative of all religious minorities; "The Hindus of Bengal, Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and Sind will have 7 representatives; The Muslims of the Seven provinces of UP, CP, Madras, Bombay, Assam, Orissa will have similarly 7 representatives; the Sikhs will have 6; the India Christians will have 4; Parsis will have 3; Anglo-Indians will have 3 and the tribal areas and the excluded areas will have 13" (Mahajan, 2014). Also after observing the several provisions of the Constitution it is assumed that the federal system of the country is asymmetrical in nature. However there was dilemmas' regarding the asymmetrical nature of Indian Federation in true sense.

#### **2.4 Dilemmas regarding the asymmetrical as well as dominating nature of Indian federal system:**

Following James Manor, "ethnic identities in India tend to be cross-cutting rather than compounding. One state was reorganized along linguistic lines their inhabitants discovered all the things that divided them" ( Manor 2007). Stepan has examined the "three stages in the integration of Tamil Nadu into the federation. In the first stage, the Tamil speaking lower-caste Congress Party leader Kamaraj Nadar played an important role in reducing the potential tension between cultural and territorial nationalism. As a regional Chief Minister of Madras from 1954, he delivered votes and support to the policy-wide Congress Party, and because of his resources at the centre he could deliver on many of the demands of cultural nationalists at home. The second phase was linguistic reorganization which took the steam out of the

potential Dravidian secessionist movement across all southern states (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu). The third phase followed reorganization and saw the formerly secessionist regional party the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam(DMK), renouncing its separatist goals and winning control of state assembly in 1967 (Stepan, 2007). Following Stepan "that some states may have special prerogatives not available to all the states of the federation that are constitutionally embedded, and thus not subject to change by unilateral democratic majorities" (Stepan, 2007).

It has been observed that, the ethno regional conflict in 1950`s and 1960`s in India often motivated by the inter ethnic politico-economic asymmetry as well as the discriminatory politics adopted by the centre in general 'Such conflicts often became violent'. These power conflicts were prominent during the tenure of Indira Gandhi (1966-76; 1980-1984). The Union-State relations in India was going through a turmoil under her ministry which included "a decisive intervention in UP politics in September 1970, the delinking of parliamentary from legislative assembly elections in 1971, the establishment of a new pattern of selection of Chief Ministers for most of the Congress ruled States" along with the frequent impositions of president rule as well as the constitutional amendment in 1976 (Brass, 1991). Even the process of central interference in the State`s jurisdiction was followed by Janata Government later. Hence, the 'autonomy of state politics' was gradually lost in these centralized atmosphere. A serious discontent among the non-Congress belt of the country in 1974, have shown "the fall of a state government in Gujarat and the near collapse of the Bihar Government" on the contrary (Brass, 1991).

The intention of a powerful centre to grip the state politics by any means as clearly reflected in the state politics of Punjab since 1960s. The continuous political confrontation between the congress and the Akali Dal has aggravated the internal peace of Punjab since its formation in 1966. The strength of Akali Dal as the dominant party of Sikh dominated Punjab was affected by several attempts has been made by the State`s congress with the help of Central congress. As the Akali Dal with its alliance Jan Sangh/Bharatiya Janata Party has taken a crucial role in Punjab politics. At first the congress adopted the policy of internal dividation as well as faction in Akali- Jan-Sangh Coalition government through the politics of Hindu-Sikh confrontation. But the victory of Akali Dal on 1977 Parliamentary Election in Punjab has proved the failure of congress policy of incorporation of Punjab state politics. Eventually the next attempt of the congress party was to weaken the support base of Akali Dal like "rural Jat" community who were strongly attached with the gurudwaras the religious

organization of Punjab. In this context Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was used as a 'scapegoat' of congress for defeated the Akali Dal by any illegal means resulting congress electoral victory in 1980 elections. The arrest Warrant was issued against all the terrorist of Punjab including Bhindranwale. In 1981, Bhindranwale's arrest in Narain murder case by the Chief Minister order and his release by the order of Home Minister of India resulting a terrorist event of Hindu murdering in Punjab and Haryana. Henceforth the president rule was imposed in Punjab in 1983 to recover the clear political image of congress (later of Ranjit Singh Sandhu [A Sikh living in America], 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1985). The Akali's demand of Anandpur Sahib Resolution has been revived in the period between 1981-1984 in the context of excessive central dominance in states affairs. Though the demand was not accept by the centre on the ground of its 'secessionist' nature as it called for "the constitution of a single administrative unit where the interests of Sikhs and Sikhism are specially protected" which is inconsistent with the "concept of the unity and integrity of the nation". However as a part of the accord signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal, leader of Akali Dal in 1985, the Anandpur Sahib resolution has been referred to the Sarkaria Commission. However the several negative consequences in Punjab state politics during Indira Gandhi's tenure has proved the failure of her series of indecisive strategies which responsible for the deterioration of the state of Punjab. This ineffective Central leadership has directed the regional politics on another direction where the people of a particular Region have imposed their faith on regional party like Akali Dal, which ultimately resolve the Punjab issue instead of a national party like congress (Brass,1991).

On the other hands imposed secular nationalism of India and inherent ethno-nationalism of Kashmir have been comforted with each other in the platform of Kashmir State Politics. Though Kashmir had chosen the secular India instead of theocratic Pakistan for their survival but they are unwilling to see 'Kashmiri Nationalism as a sub set of Indian Nationalism'. It has been observe that Kashmir is composed of three different religions like Hindu dominated Jammu, Muslim dominated Kashmir, and Tibetan-Buddhist dominated Ladakh. Now it has been argued that, if Kashmir is based on 'Kashmiriat, a separate Kashmir ethnicity 'then the Hindus of Jammu and Tibetan-Buddhist of Ladakh are not Kashmiriran. Moreover the Muslims of Jammu and the Muslims of Ladakh also are not Kashmirians. These led a crucial ethno-national contradiction. In this context the questions have been raised is the nature of Kashmir is religious in origin? The argument has decided that "Kashmiri Nationalism may emerge entirely because of Delhi's under interference in

Kashmir”. However in 1971 the political disaster of Pakistan has weekend the Kashmiri nationalists which has been reflected In the statement of Sheikh Abdulla a prominent political leader of Jammu & Kashmir in an interview to ‘The Times’, London, 10th March, 1972. He said that ‘Our dispute with the Government of India is not about accession, but it is about the quantum of autonomy’. However in 1972 Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the then Prime Minister of Pakistan has signed an accord, named ‘Simla Accord’, which resolved that, “in Jammu & Kashmir, the line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of 17th December, 1971 shall be respected by both side without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to after it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat on the use of force in violation of this line”. (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, mea.gov.in)

Since 1975 after an agreement signed by Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdulla, Kashmir was treated as ‘a Constituent Unit of The Union of India’. The pact highlighted as,

- Jammu and Kashmir, which is a constituent unit of the Union of India, shall in its relations with the Union continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.
- The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the State; however, parliament will continue to have power to make laws relating to the prevention of activities against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India.
- Any provision of the Indian Constitution which had been applied to the State with modifications will be altered or replaced by presidential order; but provisions already applied without modification are unalterable.
- The State will be free to have its own legislation on matters like welfare measures, cultural matters, personal law and procedural laws. The State government can review the laws made by parliament or extended to the State after 1953 on any matter relating to the concurrent list and may be decided which of them needs amendment or repeal. In future the State government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the State.
- Any law made by the State legislature seeking to change any provision of the State Constitution relating to: a) the appointment, powers and immunities of the Governor; and b) the control of elections by the Indian Election Commission,

eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult suffrage and composition of the Legislative Council will need the President's assent.

- No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister. (Sheikh Abdullah wanted the titles to be (*Sadar-e-Riyasat*) head of State and Wazir-e-Azam (Prime Minister).

Source: (Indira Sheikh Pact 1975, jklaw.nic.in)

It has been observed that since 1983 the picture of the Jammu & Kashmir state politics was changed after the emergence of Farooq Abdullah an autonomous elected leader of National conference, Regional political party of Jammu & Kashmir. Consequently as a non-congress Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah got entangled with Mrs. Gandhi in a political confrontation. Mrs. Gandhi has decided to dismiss the non-congress government under Farooq Abdullah by exercising the 'Governatorial' power. However the strategically dismissal of Farooq government has shown a new phase of retaliation in the Jammu & Kashmir which was "minimized during the tenure of Rajiv Gandhi by an agreement in 1986 between Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah and an alliance of National Conference and Congress (I) was prepared to face the Assembly Election of Jammu & Kashmir. But the partnership was not well accepted in the Kashmir valley resulting the emergence of two kind of militant groups in 1987 in the platform of Kashmir State politics named, 'The Hizbul Mujahideen' and Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front. (Varshney, 2010). In 1996, the demand of State autonomy for protecting Kashmiri identity with due honor, was again culminated by National Conference. A durable ethno-political strategy to fulfill the aspirations of the Jammu & Kashmir was offered by the State Autonomy Committee. But their recommendation has been refused by the Government of India, 2000 to protect unity and integrity of the country. Again the Sagheer Ahmed Committee was recommended for the improvement of Centre-State relations as well as examining the autonomy demand in moderate way. Hence re institutionalization of power sharing has been focused in Kashmir political discourse gradually. (Bhat, 2010).

However, it has been observed that in the context of parliamentary federalism, the central state relations has been aggravated by the powerful central in the different phases of Indian politics process which led a serious federal crisis in a country in general. The examination regarding the ethno-regional crisis of Northeast India was fallen under the category of political deprivation more than political intervention of centre. The Northeast India comprising seven states have experienced a tremendous socio-political as well as

economic dissatisfaction in Indian federal political system. Moreover the ethnic fragmentation of this region has increased its vulnerability in the platform of the state politics. It has been observed that having huge cultural distinctiveness of this region in compare to the rest of country, the inattentive attitude shown to this region by the central government has undermine the spirit pluralism of a multicultural country. The constitutional arrangement regarding diversity management (Art 371) may show federal asymmetry which theoretically fitted in favour of ethno-federation. But the politics of segregation which applied to the northeast region has been shown another asymmetry within the applied theory of freedom asymmetry in particular. So far as the grievances of northeast is concerned “it is the poor performance of political institutions in India, particularly the violation of the federal principle by the central state, and the emergence of the patterns of ‘Cosmetic federalism’ – the national state’s centralizing tendencies and its overriding power to cut up sub national territories that explains why rebellions have occurred so frequently in the region” (Baruah,2010). It is the lack of institutional arrangement as well as political-economic development of the ethnically distinctive states like Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura resulting violent discontents in state as well as national level Politics. Hence due to massive ethnic war, the support base of state congress gradually weakens in different states of Northeast since their inception as full-fledged states. Hence, the graph of the electoral performance of different state parties is gradually increased in compare to all India powerful congress. The charts which are given below indicated this changing political atmosphere of northeast India:

It has been observed that, the ethno-regional groups of Northeast region are voiced for their ethnic enlargement through a political unification by their separate identity. Though the linguistic reorganization has been treated one of the crucial step of ethno-federation in India, but this federal Fragmentation hampered the idea of regional federation of the seven sister’s region northeast. The feeling of mutual distrust as well as relative deprivation has increased which suppressed the regional unity of this said Territory. The migration of several tribes in several periods in this region has made the region as a land of succession. It has been observed that, ‘The Khasi’s are ascribed to be the earliest immigrants whose speech is claimed to have affinities with the mon-khmer language of Austro-Asiatic family; the Bodo’s come in a subsequent wave of migration who linguistically are grouped with Tibeta-Burman; The Mech and the Rabha who inhabit Western Assam; Koch who stay on the north bank of Darrang district; Lalung residing in lower Assam; Hajong whose home is in southern

Meghalaya; Kachari who stay on the northern bank; Dimasa confined in North Cachar and Nagaland; Hojai who occupy Cachar and Nowgong; Deori placed in Lakhimpur; the Nagas have affinities with the Igorot of Philippines'. (Bhattacharjee, 1993).

## **2.5 Experiencing the working of Congress party:**

However, the working of federal system in India was going through in different phases in the country with an experience of arena of different political parties. Federal India has been stated its journey in an environment of "one-Party dominance". After the enactment of the constitution of India 1950, the leaders of nation organized themselves under the Congress party with their centralized agenda. At this time Congress Working Committee was the highest administration body in all over the country. The period from 1950 to 1967 was noticed as period of Congress dynasty at the centre as well as in all most all states. Congress captured the power with an absolute majority in the first three general elections in India held during this period. Though the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was known as Centralizer but he did not favor the technique of Unitarianism. As a supporter of democratize federalism, Community development program was inaugurated by him. Which encouraged the development of "third-tier" of government which also indicate Nehru's interests on the process of decentralization. The Nehruvian era (1951-1963) was characterized by the politics of 'Convergence'. During this time states are enormously dependent of the centre grants in did, in an economic sphere. The state-leaders were influenced by the centre bossism. The internal structure arrangement of different states, the rising problems of intra-party rivalry, factionalism was act as an enzyme for central interference. Even, deterioration of autonomy of the leaders of provinces was also seen at that time which was judged by central election commission frequently. Though national Development council was formed during the period Jawaharlal Nehru but it was acted as a puppet of planning commission, discretionary in nature. Therefore it was said that, in Nehruvian India, the policy of centralization constitute the back bone of the party politics. (Mukhopadhyay, 1987)

The leaders of Indian National Congress, tried to make the regional leaders to habituated and adjust themselves with the national power structure for the purpose of serve the unity and integrity of the nation. As a believer of Institutionalism, Nehru was tried to establish a strong inter-governmental relationship in his time. On the other hand the Congress Working Committee continued its domination on the state governments indirectly by using some extra-constitutional device. This definitely led degradation in the constitutional methodology. However the governors during the Nehru regime declare them selves as an

agent of centre, which goes against the federal spirit (Austin 1999). As a powerful centralized party. Congress was formulating all the program and policies of government. The centre as well as state under the assistance of congress leads ministers. Nehru also announced that, "Congress is the Country and Country is the congress." In the pyramidal type of government, the states are enjoyed minimal Sovereignty. The Central government extended its interference in the several matters of the states in general and law and order in particular. Formation of planning commission is another trend of centralization in the sphere of financial assistance. Nevertheless the centre grasped the states power frequently. This resulted increasing grievances between the states, because the states received their authority directly from the Constitution. The states were started to feel that their autonomy is affected in the name of the interests of the country (Rai and Kumar, 2007).

## **2.6 Major events regarding the changing nature of Indian Federalism:**

However besides the constitutional provisions there are some major events took place in Independent India which have their deep impact on federal atmosphere of the country in general were need to examine. In this context one of the meaningful observations has been made by Babulal Fadia in his State Politics of India in 1984.

### **i. Demand for linguistic re-organization of states:**

However, the centralized design of Indian constitution making for the purpose of accommodating countries diversity would not be successful to a long extent. A major demand came for the formation of provinces on linguistic basis, which stand India to face a challenge in the question of their unity and integrity which resulted from the threat of 'Balkanization' of the country after partition. (Brass, 1990)Therefore this is another phase of constitutional augmentation by the States' reorganization of 1956. On the one hand the creation of the States on the basis of language was gradually enhanced agony of national leaders in the ground of controlled the newly emerging State's, empowered by their linguistic Identity. On the other hand, the linguistic re-organization appeared as an attempt to prohibit the unitary structure of the constitution. The linguistic demands became irresistible and proclaim their victory over the concept of homogeneity, rooted in the very bases of the country. Eventually the demand was accepted in 1956 by the Congress Government. Before the commencement of constitution the land of India was divided between four kinds of States. The stats of Part-A, were West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bombay, Madras which was known as Governor- administered British provinces; Part B,

states were the princely states, the states were Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad. Beside that 275 small princely States were included in five provinces, these were, Madhya Bharat, Sourashtra, Rajasthan and PEPSU (Princely States of East Punjab and Patiala). Former Chief Commissioner's provinces: Delhi, Ajmer, Himachal Pradesh, Bilaspur, Bhopal, Manipur, Tripura, Vindhya Pradesh, Kutch and Coorg were formed Part- C States. Part- D states were formed by Andaman and Nicobar Islands. But the structures were formed for the purpose of Administrative convenience of colonial India only. Naturally, the absence of any specific principle of demarcation of land made the founding fathers worried about the restructuring of boundaries on future either on the basis of language or culture. That's why they make some constitutional arrangements along with article 2 and 3 of the Constitution of India. (See Constitution of India)

Consequently the movement for linguistic reorganization of states was started from Southern part of India. In 1952, a demand was come from the Madras provinces, for the creation of a state of Andhra Pradesh on the basis of Telegu language. The death of Sriramulu, fueled this movement and transferred it, to a ferocious turmoil. The ethnic linguistic community of Madras and Hyderabad are intended to show their obligation to multiculturalism instead of Political authority through this agitation. Therefore the feeling of Sub-Nationalism has climbed over the Idea of nation- state. The movement colored itself as an ethno-regional in character, which brings all the Telegu speakers under one Umbrella. After considering the Situation the central government appointed a state re-organization commission in 1953. In 1955 the commission submitted its report to the central government on the basis of reorganization of states on linguistic line. It has been seen that, "the conclusion of report is containing the documents of 267 pages after the commissions members traveling over 98,420 square kilometers, interviewing some 9,000 persons and examining nearly 152,000 documents" (Fadia, 1984). After convincing by the necessity of linguistic heterogeneity of plural India the state Reorganization Act 1956 has classified India in to two categories, the states and the union Territories instead of previous four categories A,B,C & D. "The Act provided for the creation of 14 states and 6 Union Territorial" are as follows:

1. Andhra Pradesh
2. Assam
3. Bihar
4. Bombay

5. Kerala
6. Madhya Pradesh
7. Madras
8. Mysore
9. Orissa
10. Punjab
11. Rajasthan
12. Uttar Pradesh
13. West Bengal
14. Jammu & Kashmir.

The Centrally administrated Union- territories were:

1. Delhi
2. Himachal Pradesh
3. Manipur
4. Tripura
5. Andaman and Nicobar Island
6. Lakshadweep

However the second phase of re-organization were continued in other provinces on the basis of ethno-linguism as well as economic deprivation and in 1960, Bombay was divided In to Gujarat and Maharashtra on the basis of Marathi language. In 1963, the State of Nagaland was formed, after that in 1966 Punjab was divided between Punjab and Haryana, Chandigarh was placed in to the list of Union- territories. In 1969, the State of Meghalaya was created out of the State of Assam. In 1972, there was an establishment of the State's of Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura. Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh were given the status of full fledged State's in 1987. There was the third phase of federal reorganization was taking place by the creation of the state of Telengana in 2014 out of the State of Andhra Pradesh ([www.historydiscussion.net](http://www.historydiscussion.net)).

Hence it has been observed that this process of reorganization of states has been continue on the basis of language as well as out of economic deprivation and the number of state increases from 14 in 1956 to 28 in 2020. However there are numbers of criticism was appeared in the content of linguistic reorganization. If we follow the books of 'State politics

in India' written by, Babulal Fadia, we can find out the several criticisms made against this particular event like,

1. The restricting the state of India on the basis of language has made the partitions among the state's which turned out on a new problems like Inter State disputes on several ground.
2. This process of reorganization has been creating an environment of parochialism instead of wide national integrity.
3. The local political culture has gradually weakened the national political culture after this cultural deviation of the states.
4. 'Congress has opened a Pandora's box' which worked as a divisive force in the country as a whole. (Fadia, 1984)

More over it has been observed that, "linguistic states sparked off new controversies. Every state began to quarrel with its neighboring states over contiguous areas where people of both linguistic groups were in almost equal numbers. Thus Maharashtra and Karnataka quarreled with each other for Belgaum; Chandigarh became a bone of contention between Punjab and Haryana; Orissa and Andhra hit against each other over Berhampur; Tirutani and Tirupathi areas provided enough rupture between Tamil Nadu and Andhra; Kasargode got Kerala and Karnataka into a tussle."(Fadia, 1984). "G.B.Pant wanted to give a 'decent burial' to linguism as an active political force. The country was now in the grip of the controversy over the Fazal Ali Report. And, as days passed, the controversy gathered momentum."(Fadia, 1984). "the Hindustan Times advised Nehru to 'debunk the one language, one state proposal.'"(Fadia, 1984). But on the other hand we should not ignore the miserable conditions of the regional govt's during Unitarian Congress regime where "the regional governments live in a perpetual condition of financial difficulties". In many cases the provincial governments have to stand like 'beggars' at the door of the centre" (Fadia, 1984). More over " the idea of linguistic states had a mass appeal" (Fadia, 1984) the unit was seen as a self conscious coherence as well as in a federal process the regional units have a legitimate share in administration as a part of whole, of India. In a federal political process like others federal country, all the state Governments' of India, appealed to have an identical status. It was said that, the event of lingers the re-division has been made the state politics of India more democrat and participatory in nature. The political process was seen to be more public oriented where the powers are not confined within the hand of central elite only it was open

for regional elites also. More over so the human nature is concerned the regional language is closer to the proper of region instead of a language. It was said that “Re-organization gave the states & political identity congruent with their culture and language.....” (Birch,1955). In reply of critics attack on linguistic re-organization over its practical nature, it is assumed that, if the overall political process and development oriented and federal in true sense then is there any differences between national and regional loyalty? Or whether the power devolution at the grass route level in a diversified plural country may make the federal structure stronger instead of weakening it? These are some matters which have discussed in the present study. Where also has been discussed that is the linguistic re-organization of states is being treated as one of the primary step of regionalization of politics in India which tried to make the country more federal and less unitary? Or is the event is responsible for qualitative transformation (democratization) of Indian political process in 1990’s and quantitative transformation of party system in India? ( See Conclusion).

On another angle the creation of separate state on the basis of language was seen as the strategy of congress government to make equilibrium between the central and the state government, besides accommodating the ethnic identities which resulted as congress electoral victory in Andhra Pradesh in 1955 and in 1957. So this period was marked as a regional autonomization (Kohli, 2001) which made the support base of congress party strong enough. However the State Reorganization Act, 1956 have established the Zonal Council as an advisory body for providing an intimate cooperation in between five zones (Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central) on the one hand and territories on the other hand of the country. The council have discussed about the method of Central policy making in different ground as well as several regional problems e.t.c. Eventually another problem solving method of Indian federalism was introduced named as River Board by the River Board Act 1956. This acted as a conflict resolution method of Inter State Water Dispute under Article 262 of the Constitution of India.( Basu, 1993 ).

The journey of Indian federal experience to make a unified nation state with safeguarding the interests of different ethnic communities often arrived in a situation of quandaries. So it was one of the artfulness of congress government to bifurcate the existing unit of federation in to a new once, for the purpose of resolution of ethnic conflict. Henceforth India entered in to a phase of different ethno-regional accords. Though this language Politics has started from strategically but gradually it has distorted the India Constitutional arrangements. Consequently the question of parity has emerged between the

sub-units of federation. Perhaps the first reorganization had made both the federation and its unit strong enough, but it creates a farther challenge to maintaining the allegiance of federal units. (Chadda, 2010) There was another important issue evolved in Nehruvian era that was the “Three-language formula”. All these were an indication of regionalization of Indian politics. It has been observed that, when the cultural distinctiveness of a plural country is motivated by the power of strong centralization the wages of autonomy may arise in a federal democracy. In this context the ideology of regionalism may enhance the idea of strong state as a separate federal entity.

## **ii. Influence of Planning Commission and National Development Council as a unitary body:**

However the congress dictation in Indian Union from 1952 to 1967 has created a monolithic environment. The emergence of planning commission has brought another challenge for the state authority as it emphasized on uniform policy making for the country as a whole. It has been seen as an anti-federal because it curtailed the freedom of the different states regarding policy making in their different economic situations. It has been observed there was no remarkable difference between the central govt. and its brain child, planning commission Regarding the necessity planning commission it was said by Jawaharlal Nehru in Lok Sabha in Dec 1963 that the planning commission “has performed an essential task; without it we’ could not have progressed..., we arc a federal structure and it has served to bring the various states together and have an integrated planning. If it had not been there, the Central Government could not have done their job because immediately difficulties would have arisen that the Central Government was encroaching on the rights of the States.” (Fadia, 1984). On the other hand, its anti federal character was shown, when K. Santhanam argued that “Planning for purpose of economic development practically superseded the federal constitution so far as states were concerned but this supersession was not legal or constitutional but was by agreement and consent”. (Santhanam 1963). More over in 1967, the Administrative Reforms commissions reproduced “Unfortunately over the past seventeen years, the Planning Commission has, in some measure, earned the reputation of being a parallel cabinet and sometimes a Super Cabinet”. (Munshi, 1959 ). It has been observed that so far as the uniform policy was concerned through the planning commission, the centre encroach upon the enclosing areas of state’s purview like “land ceilings, co-operative farming, agriculture, education, including primary education, health and cottage industry” (Fadia, 1984). Consequently it has been seen that, the constitutional grants made by the

finance commission under article 275 constituted only 49%, whereas the discretionary grants made by the planning commission constituted 13% of total revenues. Naturally the upwards federal was noticed at the sector of discretionary grants, while the downwards trend was noticed at the sector of constitutional grants (Fadia, 1984). It has been argued that “in a federation, as far as possible states should be financially self-sufficient so that these enjoy maximum autonomy. But in India the States depend on the Centre for all development. They have much less sources of income but many more need of expenditure. This financial dependency has very much hindered the growth of States on federal lines.” (Fadia, 1984). (See **Appendix D**)

The powerful congress dynasty has worsened the conditions of the state governments by making the states politically subordinate to the union. Even the centre’s enrichment in state’s sphere has been increased which replaced the accommodative federalism in to a unitary one. It has been observed that, “the decision to the surrender by the states taxes on textiles, sugar and tobacco was taken in the meetings of the NDC. Normally this would be a major constitutional issue because they were taxes which have been assigned to the states”. According to K. Santhanam: “I believe the decision to surrender these taxes and substitute them by additional excise duties was taken at a single sitting (of the National Development Council) at which many of the Chief Ministers had not even fully consulted their own cabinets.” (Santhanam, 1963). Again, it has been observed that, “When the Central Government employees went on a strike in September 1968, the Union Government, without informing or seeking consent of the Kerala Chief Minister, moved the Central Reserve Police (CRP) in the state. As maintenance of law and order is the obligation of the States, this step was considered, a serious violation of the constitutional provisions.” (Fadia, 1984).

### **iii. The usage of article 356 as an autocratic instrument:**

However it is true that the movement of federal system of a country is depend not in the constitution only but with the party system also. Especially in a plural country like India, where parliamentary democracy works, that party structure has definitely played a dominant role for shaping the federal polity in general. As we have seen before 1967, the Indian political process was going through the unitary stresses, under the umbrella of congress hierarchy. The congress working committee (CWC) as a highest executive body and the congress parliamentary Board (CPB) as a highest legislative body were spreaded their control all over the country. These worked like unparallel machineries in the India political system which controlled the centre – state relations unanimously. As K. Santhanam said that, the

effect of the Congress Organization on the Union State relations has been emphasis the strength of the central government. (Santhanam, 1963 ). The imposition of article 356 was used by the congress high command as a technique of transfer of power in particular. It has been observed that, “President’s rule has so far been imposed about more than sixty six times till March 1982 in the states varied from 17 days”. In Neheru tenure the “President Rule was imposed seven times in six states”. (Fadia, 1984). This have been shown the centre’s strength in the ‘uni-federal’ India in particular where the primary federal essence was hampered frequently by the misuse of political power in the name of constitution. It was seen that the imposition of article 356 in Kerala and the dismissal of the ministry led by E.M.S Nambudripad on 1959 was led to a country wide discontent amongst non-congress circles. It raises several questions: “Is it permissible for the central government to dismiss a ministry which enjoys the confidence of the legislative? Does constitutional propriety permit the Governor on the president to dissolve a legislative duty elected by the proper of the state without any constitutional crisis in the state?”(Fadia, 1984). M.V. Pylee argued that, “the Kerala instance would provide a valuable lesson for future and the proclamation of an emergency under similar conditions would not be repeated”. (Pylee,1960) .In these backgrounds the demand was raised for “amended the constitution by adding another provision to Article 356 in order to delimit the exercise this power by the centre”. Within the continuation of those demands another demand was made regarding the office of the Governance, “may be made elective instead of nominative as all proclamations of article 356 have been issued on the repower of the Governors”. (Fadia, 1984).

#### **iv. The role of Governors’ as an agent of the Centre:**

Gradually the State autonomy was curtailed by the centre’s interfere during congress domination by different ways. Even it was seen that, the head of the states, the Governors also known as a ‘party man’ in congress rule. It was said that “the office of the Governor was degraded by the centre by making it a patronage and largesse”. (Fadia, 1984). It has been observed that, “A.P.Jain as a Governor of Kerala, took active part in the election of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister of India”. (Fadia, 1984). More over the congress high command has decided the name of the Governor ignoring the consent of the chief minister of a particular state. It has been noticed that, the Governor of Haryana was selected by ignoring the consent of Rao Birendra Singh, the then chief minister of Haryana. In the appointment of the Governor of Madras Sir Prakasa as well as the Governor of Orissa Kumaraswami Raja the chief Minister were not consulted at all Even the name of the Governor of Uttar Pradesh

B. Gopala Reddy was declared before the formation of the new Government, (Fadia, 1984). It was seen that the Governors after involved in factional politics in different state to help the congress party in general because in the time of one- party dominance the appointment of Governors was totally depend in the hand of congress high command in the name of president. Through this states executive arms the centre extended its control over the states in particular. Even it was seen that, the M.A. Ayyanger the previous Governor of Bihar was not get the extension and replaced by Nityananda Kanungo as Ayyanger was 'not acted in order to the 'line of centre' (Fadia, 1984). It has been noticed that the relationship between the state of West Bengal was not very well during the period 1950 – 1964,. Marcus F. Franda argued that, the central Government has "not been as strong or as forceful in its relations with West Bengal as the trust of the constitution and the dependence of the states on the centre would seen to make possible". (Franda,, 1968)

More over there was a serious language conflict between Hindi and non-Hindi regions also. Moreover the English being a foreign language has received an equal linguistic status was burden on both the region. There was a divided opinion regarding the implementation of Hindi as an official language and English as an associate official language in 1960..Eventually the official language Act, 1963 was passed which declared, "..... the English language shall be used for purpose of communication between the Union and a state which has not adopted Hindi as its official language." [The official Languages Act, 1963 (as Amended, 1967) rajbhashagov. in].

It has been observed that, "the relatively poor performance of the congress in the Hindi states in 1967 increased the number of Non-Hindi congress chief Ministers."( Fadia, 1984). The bi-lingual state of Bombay when split into Gujarat and Maharashtra in 1960, the Punjab was divided between Punjab (Punjabi Speaking) and Haryana (Hindi Speaking) states in 1966. (Fadia, 1984).Hence the federal political system of the country is going onward to an ethno-federal model when the political parties were intended to federalize the in own character. Eventually since IV general election of commanding political process of congress government was transferred in to a bargaining political system in non-congress as well as regional rule. In this content the system of political coalition may highlighted by the state politics in India. It has been observed "there have been in all a total of 27 coalition governments in eight states between March 1967 and August 1971". (Fadia, 1984). More over the political of coalition encouraged the inter-party conjugations which affect the Union state relations in particular. It has been observed that, when a dominant party at the centre is a

constitute unit of the coalition govt. of the state, it should be more sympathetic to the particular state. Hence for the centre state relation is more conjugative or bound to be conjugative under coalition compulsion.

**v. Administrative Reform Commission:**

However for the purpose of examining the relationship between centre and state, an Administrative Reform Commission was set up by the Government of India in 1966, which submitted its report on 1969. The report give emphasize on the improvement of the Centre-State relation on the basis of efficiency of Public Administration in particular. Consequently the Rajamannar committee was established by the Government of Tamil Nadu in 1969, which strongly advocated for the establishment of Inter-State Council in favor of greater state autonomy and submitted its report on 1971.

**vi. States' coalition era 1967:**

It has been observed that the period of divergence was started from the year of 1963 to 1967. Sub-regional leadership started demanding their identification in the government of state level. There was a claim of greater autonomy for the states. There was an emergence of reciprocal relationship between union and state governments Instead of unitary centralization. In the year of 1966, after holding the offices of Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi chooses a path of confrontation rather a path of bargaining. In 1967, congress hegemony had received a jolt. It failed to gain majority in various States. The Seven States like, Gujarat, Madras, Orissa, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Kerala, and Delhi which eventually led a split in congress party leadership. The congress party did not play the role of an ideal opposition, in these States virtually. The era of one- party dominance the country had experienced seemed over. The President of India said in his address to Parliament that year, "For the first time since independence, governments of political complexions different from that of the Government at the Centre have been formed in several States. In a federal democratic polity this is to be expected. Our Constitution has provisions defining and regulating the relationship between the Union and the States and their mutual obligations (Noorani, 1975). The general election 1962 have started to shown, the weakened position of Indian National Congress in Indian political passage. It has been observed that the assessment of a federal political system is depending on the political development of the constituent units of a federation which share a common national environment. In this context inter- regional discontent may fuel the ethno-regional conflict on the federal matrix which affects the national politics on the other.

Especially the issue of economic development may appear as the precondition of distorting loyalties towards a modern nation state. The event of linguistic reorganization often considered one of the example of bold state's initiative regarding their own development on the one hand and the indication of reducing faith over national authority on the other which gradually established the powerful regional attachment of the people throughout the country in an autocratic national environment. Where the states were started to concentrated their own socio-political development as well as their 'internal political crises by their own initiative. Hence, the period of congress over centralization has made the states politically more conscious. Even after the general election 1967 the position of congress party in the state level politics was too weak due to intra-party factionalism. It has been observed that, "the political participation as well as the political demand for social justice and increasing 'equity'" (Weiner,1968) has been noticed during one party dominance in the periphery of state politics which on contrary has invited the central intervention.

Some major issues on the development of state level politics in 1960s have been well discussed by Prof. Myron Weiner in the following way. In Punjab, besides the regional differences, the Hindu- Sikh religions contradiction has influenced the Punjab state politics in long run. In Uttar Pradesh besides the low level of party loyalty due to functionalism, there was a wide range of parochialism have been seen on the basis of the regional sentiment as a Hindu state, according to Brass, this is 'supra-regional' in nature which engaged in linguistic conflict with the southern states. On the other hand the rising rural power of Andhra Pradesh has played a dominant role in the state politics along with the factional contradictions between Kammas and Reddis. In Kashmir, the key factors which involved in the political developments of the state are 'the historical tradition, cultural heritage' as well as the 'sense of political individuality'. These developed a growing sense of regionalism in the state. In Maharashtra inter regional differences of the leadership between the three regions named Western Maharashtra, Marathwada and Vidarbha were prominent in the state level politics. The main crisis of Rajasthan politics is the 'problem of institution building' regarding the domination of urban leadership in predominantly rural state. The phenomena of cultural consciousness have had the deep impact of Madhya Pradesh state politics which resulted in the problem of integration. The West Bengal state politics is affected by 'unbalanced modernization' in particular. More over "a split in the Congress party in the states has led to its defeat in 1967" (Weiner, 1968). Hence, most of the states of India were experienced by the sub regional conflicts along with caste conflicts. These linguistic, religions, tribal

conflicts increased within Congress organization and the strength and stability of state's Congress become weak.

However the instant of decreasing power of the Indian National Congress has been shown by the following table on the performances of the different political parties in the General Election, 1967:

**Table 2.1**

**PERFORMANCE OF NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES VIA-A-VIS THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES: GENERAL ELECTION, 1967**

Party	Candidates Contested	Won	FD	% Won	FD	Valid Votes	Votes %
BJS	249	35	112	14.06	44.98	13580935	9.31
CPI	109	23	41	21.10	37.61	7458396	5.11
CPM	59	19	13	32.20	22.03	6246522	4.28
INC	516	283	7	54.84	1.36	59490701	40.78
PSP	109	13	75	11.93	68.81	4456487	3.06
SSP	122	23	55	18.85	45.08	7171627	4.92
SWA	178	44	87	24.72	48.88	12646847	8.67
National Parties:	1342	440	390	32.79	29.06	111051515	76.13
State Parties:	148	43	58	29.05	39.19	14136357	9.69
Registered (unrecognized) Parties:	13	2	8	15.38	61.54	572587	0.39
Independents:	866	35	747	4.04	86.26	20106051	13.78
Total:	2369	520	1203	21.95	50.78	145866510	

Source: Election Commission of India – General Election, 1967(4<sup>th</sup>LokSabha) eci.gov.in

It has been observed that, the unitarian pattern of constitution as well as the unitary leadership could not able to suppressed the regional spirit in a long run of a heterogenic country like India. which primarily built upon an expanded diversity. The events of linguistic reorganization as well as the IV general election 1967 have increased the regional intensity of federal India. Even the forces of regionalism may acted as a crucial determinate of the changing political environment since 1967; In Andhra Pradesh the confrontation between Kammas and Reddy's from which Telengana agitation was formed; In Karnataka the war between Lingayats and Okkligas; In 1970, the demand of DMK for more state autonomy; Akali's demand for separate sikhistan; Akali's demand of more autonomy more power for the state of Punjab later on; the role of Gujarat kshatriya sabha as of interest group in Gujarata politics; the creation of Meghalaya state as well as the regional assertions of MIzo's

(1971), Naga's (1975); 'Sons of the soil' movement by Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, Lanchitsena in Assam. All were the regional manifestation of the state politics that shaped the new ethno federal India which started its journey since 1967. There was a serious language conflict between Hindi and non-Hindi regions also.

It has been argued that, "the breakdown of congress system may mean the breakdown of the political system itself". (Jones, 1966). After the IV general elections the congress single dominance was largely entered in to the coalition circle. In this context often a question arises that, "Is political instability a necessary concomitant of the politics of political coalitions?" (Narain, 1967). However the regional needs were getting the priority which was utterly neglected during the period of congress domination. The environment of plurality may flourish in Indian political system with the ending of one-party domination. It is assumed that due to the massive centralizing nature, the congress party may never been attached with the spirit of plural India. According to Morris Jones, "a dominant party was not at all necessarily a majority party, though it would be larger than any other; it was a party whose influence dominated the political atmosphere It was explicitly said not to be a 'self-contained type of party development' but rather one mode that can be assumed by the other types, such as alternation." (Jones, 1966). Hence the growing burden of centralization as well as factional politics during congress regime give birth the politics of coalition. The general election 1967 can be treated as an indicator in this process which gradually prepares the ground for opposition political parties. So it may be said that the politics of coalition is emanate from the politics of retaliation shaped by the non-congress regime of Indian political process.

#### **vii. The era of factional politics in Congress system:**

It has been seen that there are some factional politics was continued in state's political process during congress domination. If will follow the panorama of state's politics edited by Iqbal Narain, we can seen that in Andhrapradesh this contained regarding the formation of Telengana as a separate entity in 1971 the influence of B.V Subba Reddy, the then deputy chief minister in Andhra Pradesh in 1972 regarding the separatism issue as well as the consequent emergence of Brahmanada Raddy had continued the trend of factional politics in the state in 1974. It has been observed that a major challenge to the congress in Assam come from the hostile forces of Naga, Mizo, khesi and Garo's as well as form the Congress Siprang party as an opposition by the end of 1974. In Bihar the intra party factionalism also seen between the then chief minister and Vidyakar Kavipcc chief in the state in 1972. The emergence of 'Sita Ram Kesari (of L.N.Misra's faction) as BPC (Bihar Pradesh Congress

Committee) president had also encouraged the intra-party factionalism in Bihar. The confrontation between Vallabhbhai Patel as the district panchayat president and the then state minister Ratubhai Adani has revealed the picture of congress factions in Gujrat in 1972. Also the year 1973 and 1974 were marked as the year of political anxiety in Gujrat which accompanied the state's congress to take an initiative for rehabilitate the party structure before 1969. The 'political defections' has been colored the state politics of Haryana also through the state was treated as a 'bastion of Congress'. In Himachal Pradesh the congress also failed to control the party factionalism after 1971. It has been observed that, In 1972 after decreasing the power of plebiscite Front, the political confrontation was continued between Sheikh Abdullah and his deputy Mirza Afpl Beg in Jammu and Kashmir as another exempt of intra party factionalism. The political factionalism in Karnataka was continued when the political disarray of Devraj Urs (Congress O) the then chief minister in Karnataka and the previous Harijan Minister Hanumanthaiya was took place in 1973. The intra party factionalism also seen in Madhya Pradesh in 1971 along with the confrontation between S.C.Shukla the then chief minister and Gangwal the PCC (Pradesh Congress Committee) chief. The political factionalism in Maharashtra was led by V.P.Naik and S.B.Chavan in 1972. Since 1969 the congress factionalism was acute in Orissa led by Nilamani Routray as well as Biju Patnaik. It has been observed that, from 1969 the congress pay in Punjab have faced a challenge by the SantAkali group. In 1973 the congress factionalism had received another Jolt from the Akali Dal-Jana Sangha combining force. In Rajasthan the state's congress was contradicted by some anti congress feudal forces in 1972. The factionalism was seen between Ramniwas Mirdha and Harideo Joshi in Rajasthan State politics. There was a serious opposition between Congress and Congress (O) in Tamil Nadu in 1971. In 1972 when the state Uttar Pradesh was facing the acute economic crisis, the intra party factionalism was prominent there. The Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) was emerged as a second largest party in VP. But the emergence of H.N.Bahuguner as chief Minister of congress has restored the political states of congress in the state. Though he later joined Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD) and worked with Charan Singh. It has been observed that, after the dissolution of PDA (Progressive Democratic Alliance) congress and CPI alliance where was formed in 1972, the factional politics are prominent in West Bengal. One of the large scale factions in West Bengal state polities led by Lakshmi Kant Bose (Narain, 1976).

Hence forth the intra party factionalism in state's congress gradually weakens the grip of congress high command to all over the country gradually. Hence forth beside

centralization another resume of decreasing the one-party domination in India political system is factionalism within the congress party are so great that “the state government is in a state of paralysis since almost any governmental action is likely to disturb the balance of power among the party factions”. (Weiner, 1967). It has been observed that “In UP, no faction has been able to really win and consolidate its power”. (Weiner,1967 ) It has been observed that “factional leaders tried to manipulate the grant of Congress ticket in a way so that their faction could dominate the newly elected legislature and they could on that basis claim the chief minister ship.” (Narain,1967) These types of manipulative congress factions may state politics in India may lead serious discontents in different states. More over it has been observed that, the distinctiveness state politics which was quite forced during one- party dominance due to factional politics were focused after IV general election. Even the states have been playing a determining role of Indian politics through the politics of coalition. Hence this changing political environment has been witnessed of “The people’s anti – congress verdict”(Statesman, April 19, 1967) (Narain, 1967).

It has been observed that, due to the omnipotent character of the Congress party in Indian federal system have loosing its control over its constitutional units and they are gradually becomes autonomous. It has been assumed that, the strong and restructured state governments have created instability in the central authority in India since 1967. Therefore, the institutional dilemma has been started between the centralized centre and the decentralized sub-units of federal system. The political problems are associated with cultural problem also which has been created the ‘problems of Integration’. Consequently the accomodationist strategy of linguistic states reorganization paved the way for inter-state ‘problems of adjustment’ (Weiner, 1968) as well as it fuelled the sense of relative deprivation which encouraged the continuous cultural fragmentations in the country.

#### **viii. The impact of IV general election 1967:**

The coalition governments were formed in Kerala, West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Punjab after the general election 1967 and due to political defeatism in congress, U.P, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh had also formed the coalition governments latter on in India,(Fadia, 1984). A sharp Ideological distinction was notice in the political platform since 1967. When on the one hand the ruling party at the centre (Cong/Janata) had support the concept of “strong centre”, the concept of “strong state” was supported by the state parties like DMK, ADMK, CPI(M), on the other. Consequently after the IV general election, the concept of ‘radical changes’ was win over the concept of “maintaining statuesque”.(Ray,

1966). Hence it is noticed that, “the growing self – consciousness and self assertiveness of the regional governments, strengthened by the reorganization of the states on an uni-lingual basis, act in India as an important decentralization force”.(Fadia, 1984). According to Rajni Kothari, India “has been for some time now moving from a dominant party system to a system of competitive dominance”. (Kolhari,, 1970). He further states, “One dimension of the system is articulated along the federal axis, between the congress dominant centre and the multi-party states with different parties and coalitions welding governmental power in different states; it is the dimension of non-aggregation. A second dimension is found at the state level where either the congress is still the dominant”. (Kolhari,1970).

However we can go with the argument of Morris Jones at The Sunday Times of March 19, 1967 cited in ‘State Politics of India’ edited by Iqbal Narain regarding the overall impact of IV general election 1967 on Indian political system, “Perhaps the biggest achievements of the last few weeks are two which are not immediately obvious. One is that at last, after the twenty-year magic spell, Indian political life now has to face the realities of the country’s social complexities. The inertia which kept in existence the appearance of centralized modernity has come to an end; India comes of age as a federal State in the full sense of that term and with all the difficulties that it entails. As the U.S. has learnt many times over, this makes for problems but it also marks a further step towards a pattern of politics that really fits her diversity. Tradition and modernity have been steadily intermingling all along, producing something new in the world; now this process becomes more open and evens the intelligentsia, prone to live in an unreal text-book Britain will now have to come to terms with reality.”

“Immediately even more important, the elections should replace smugness by alertness on all sides. Above all, they re-establish the legitimacy of the system of parliamentary democracy in the eyes of the political public. Unease at the supposed incapacity of government had led, unreasonably, to a questioning of the whole system. The shock to Congress paradoxically restores the respectability of what remains a Congress party system. Indian politics is rehabilitated in the eyes of its own people and is ready for further development.”(Narain, 1967).

However, the restructured congress party’s popular support began to grow from 1971. In 1971, the mid-term parliamentary elections, congress party won a great victory under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. Hence again the rules of congress was comeback from both at the centre and in the states, in 1972. Somehow the elitist concept of the ‘Iron law of

oligarchy’ was worked under which the masses of the states were willing to control by the central guidance again. The victory of the congress in general election 1971 is as follows:

Table 2.2

Election Commission of India – General Election, 1971 (5<sup>th</sup> LOK SABHA)

PERFORMANCE OF NATIONAL PARTIES VIA-A-VIS OTHERS

PARTY	CANDIDATES			%		VALID	
	CONTESTED	WON	FD	WON	FD	VOTES	VOTES %
1.BJS	157	22	45	14.01%	28.66%	10777119	7.35%
2.CPI	87	23	33	26.44%	37.93%	6933627	4.73%
3.CPM	85	25	31	29.41%	36.47%	7510089	5.12%
4.INC	441	352	4	79.82%	0.91%	64033274	43.68%
5.NCO	238	16	114	6.72%	47.90%	15285851	10.43%
6.PSP	63	2	52	3.17%	82.54%	1526076	1.04%
7.SSP	93	3	62	3.23%	66.67%	3555639	2.43%
8.SWA	59	8	18	13.56%	30.51%	4497988	3.07%
NATIONAL PARTIES:	1223	451	359	36.88	29.35%	114119663	77.84%
SATE PARTIES:	224	40	126	17.86%	56.25%	14902219	10.17%
REGISTERED (Unrecognized) PARTIES:	203	13	156	6.40%	76.85%	5300765	3.62%
INDEPENDENTS:	1134	14	1066	1.23%	94.00%	12279629	8.38%
TOTAL:	2784	518	1707	18.61%	61.31%	146602276	

Source: eci.gov.in

But it has been observed that, from 1975 Indira Gnadhi’s government taking a more authoritarian role. The centralizing tendency was re-back in a more expressive way. Even on 12 June 1975, the High court of Allahabad declared election to the Lok Sabha, void on the grounds of electoral malpractice. (The Emergency and India Democracy” sscnet. ucla. edu. UCCLA Division of social science. Retrieved 25 June 2014) naturally the discontent arises among the oppositions and the popularity of the congress party again began to fall.

### **ix. Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala: a crucial verdict**

Eventually at that particular point of time a landmark decision was taken by Supreme Court in India in the case of Kesavananda Bharati vs State of Kerala and Anr (1973), regarding the doctrine of Basic structure of the Constitution of India. The Court was considered, “the validity of the 24<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> amendments”.

It was declared by the Supreme Court that, “every provision of the Constitution is essential; otherwise it would not have been put in the Constitution. This is true. But this does not place every provision of the Constitution in the same position. The true position is that every provision of the Constitution can be amended provided in the result the basic foundation and structure of the Constitution remains the same”. The basic structure may be said to consist of the following features:

- (1) Supremacy of the Constitution;
- (2) Republican and Democratic form of Government.
- (3) Secular character of the Constitution;
- (4) Separation of powers between the Legislature, the executive and the judiciary;
- (5) Federal character of the Constitution

The Court held that “the basic structure of the Constitution could not be abrogated even by a Constitutional amendment.”(AIR 1973 SC 1461)

However, immediate after the verdict given by the Supreme Court the rapid changes were brought in the constitution of India through the 42<sup>nd</sup> constitutional Amendment Act in 1976, which known as mini-constitution, under the guidance of Indira Gandhi was another milestone of Indian federal structure. As it was said, Centre-State relations was monitoring by Mrs. Gandhi and her parliament, worked under the complete subordination of her. (Austin, 1999).In this phase of personalistic federation, the parliament of India was authorized to re-structured any provision of the Constitution by amending it.

### **x. 42<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment 1976:**

The modification of different provisions of the constitution of India was made through the 42<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment act virtually eroded the federal spirit of Indian political system. In the first place, the 38th amendment made all executive "satisfactions" (e. g , with regard to promulgation of ordinances and proclamation of emergency) beyond judicial

review. Such 'executives' in the Constitution of India are the President, the Governors and the Administrators of Union territories.(Articles 123, 213, 239B, 352 and 360.) “Their 'satisfaction' reduces the federal autonomy. In the exercise of the executive powers, the President has no discretion; he is always governed by the advice of the Union cabinet. This has been made sure by the 42nd amendment to the constitution. Therefore, even the cases when executive steps are taken on the 'Satisfaction' of the President, the satisfaction is that of the cabinet”. (Chaube,1978)This Constitutional amendment Act was changed the Indian Constitution hugely, which was highly controversial in nature. The changing constitution was also referred as ‘Constitution of Indira’. The major changes are brought about by the 42<sup>nd</sup> constitutional Amendment Act 1976, which badly affected the federal structure of Indian constitution by showing of its indication to centralization. By this Constitutional amendment, the Directive principle of State policy has given precedence over fundamental rights of citizen of India. Parliament has given the power of enactment and enforcement of law against any matter hampering the national interest. Which was not being voiced even in the ground of inconsistency with the article 14 (Right to equality); article 19 (Right to freedom); article 31 (Right to Property) also. The changes regarding the Judicial matter was significant which reduced the power of Supreme Court and High Court. The judicial authority of the courts was limited in, an interpreting the constitutional amendment on procedural ground only and not to examining the constitutional validity of the amendment act. Besides that the extension of the term of presidential rule up to three years, was going under the preview of Parliament’s Considerations.

In this apparent fluid political environment, congress was surrounded by many small political parties, which was involved in a power configuration as a part of coalition and as an opposition they were marginal in character. These parties were predominantly concerned with their regional Identities, Social base etc rather their duties of an active opposition. This phase was affected by anti-incumbency factor which started from Tamilnadu and North Indian states. The Congress party lost their majority in Lok Shaba. Indira Gandhi’s prejudiced nature also helped to aggravate the socio-political atmosphere of the Country. A huge number of protests came from the different sections of the Society in general, Judiciary in Particular. All the other parties were intended to constitute an alternative government on the basis of democratic populism against Mrs. Gandhi’s policy of authoritarian populism. Consequently there was an appearance of Janata party coalition government, as a representative of the first non-congress govt. at the Centre in 1977 (Singh & Heckoh, 2010).

In these circumstances, the government of West Bengal led by leftist parties was demanded for re- constitution of Centre- State relations of India in all spheres like legislative, executive and financial Sector. This was the first time in the Country, the problems of Centre- State relations was emerged out, which resulted as urgent need for an administrative reform as well as an advocacy for the power extension of the States. The West Bengal memorandum was recommended for replacement of the word federal in the place of Union in an article 1 of the Constitution of India. As a purpose to safeguard the State autonomy it recommend to revise the article 248 in regards to the law making power of State legislature and to abolish article 249 of the Constitution in regards to contained the law making power of Parliament in the subjects of the states lists as well as revamp the lists elaborated in the seventh Schedule. It voiced against CRPF interruption on State's law and order which exclusively included in the sphere of State only. This also recommended the State's autonomy in the sphere of the management of its civil Service. The recommendations also gave emphasis on the matter of distribution of revenue to the States, from the Centre to large extent, for protecting a State from its moribund Situation. To protect the Supremacy of the States in its own sphere the memorandum was demanded for the deletion of article 352,356, and 360 which imposed Presidential rules as well as article 200 and 201, which made the government as an agent of the central government. It also recommended for the amendment of article 3 of the Constitution to curtail the power of parliament to alter the name and area of a State as well as the amendment of the article 368, where the two-third of the members present and voting in each house of parliament should be mandatory. (Maheswari, 2009)The central theme which highlighted in this memorandum was devolution of power in the diversified country like India and the concept of strong state was not to be antithetical to the concept of strong centre.

Eventually the demand was raised against the excessive centralization from various parts of the country. The voice rises for establishment of a true federal system by re-examining the fiscal relations between two levels of government in a federation. There was an urge for an establishment of an Inter- State council influenced by the Administrative Reform Commission. After the split in Congress party leadership in 1969, the personalistic institutionalization of federal policy was gradually decreased by the formation of non-congress government at the centre in 1977. Though the pressure of centralization pave the way for political decentralization, but parallel, It was said that the strategy of the formation of linguistic States was partially responsible for the changing pattern of Indian Political System from single party federation to multiparty federation. It was enhances the participation of

regional political parties in power configuration as well as the dependency of national parties on regional support.

The nature of Indian federal process in general and the Centre-State relations in particular is a dynamic one. Though Indian Constitution represents some major federal features, but there were some exclusive features of federal process of India make it quite different from others typical federation in the world. Federal system of USA was formed by the process of integration. Where a number of Independent and sovereign States voluntarily come together to form a strong federal union. On the other hand the federal system of Canada was appeared by the process of disintegration, where a big union was transformed into a small federal provinces on the basis of regional interests. So far as the formation of the federal system of India is concerned, it was simply a continuation of the federal system, introduced by the Government of India Act 1935 by combining the autonomous units into a federation. As it was said that, the way of formation as well as the centralizing tendency of Indian federation resembles the features of Canadian federation. Central domination was pervasive in the arena of centre-State relations. The history of centre-States relation since 1950 was experienced by a series of conflict. It was seen that the executive, legislative and financial arrangement of the constitution appeared as a production of centrist culture of colonial India. (Maheshwari, 2009)

So far as the political process of India is concerned it was noticed that, political system of India since Independence was characterized by democratic authoritarianism. But, it moved like a pendulum between two contradictory character of decentralization and centralization. In Nehruvian India the strong centre was co-existed with a strong state. Henceforth the notion of Centralization as well as Congress domination was not challenged in the contemporary political system. A politics of bargaining between the Congresses high commanded and powerful Chief Minister of the states was occupied the central role in the Indian political system in Nehruvian era. So it may be said that, before 1967, the centralized form of governance was carried on in a form of decentralization. . Even, by adopting Panchayati Raj system for the purpose of democratic decentralization at the village level in 1957, Nehru government had fulfilled the demands of the States.

The Indian political system in the period of Indira regime shifted its roots from democratic authoritarianism to autocratic authoritarianism. The Centre-State relationship was meted out by the politics of compulsion in places of the politics of bargaining. The States were made as complete dependency machinery. By imposing Presidential emergency in

several States, as well as minimizing the power of Judiciary Mrs. Gandhi was reconstitute the Indian Political system by her politics of personalization. Besides these, one general trend was noticed from Nehru to Indira that was the role of governor as an agent of Centre, appointed by the President, worked under the guidance of Prime Minister, which shows the centralizing trend of Indian political system in place of federalizing tendency. Especially from 1967 to 1980, the role of the governor was treated in a very much centric way in state politics. The congress also changed its character from mass based party and become a Cadre based party in that particular point of time under the guidance of a powerful dominant leader. Eventually for the establishment of the demand for state autonomy was raised from the different parts of the country. Consequently the anti-congress powers become strong as an antidote of over Centralization of Indian Nation Congress, in states as well as in a Centre. Henceforth there was the beginning of politics of regionalism. Regional identity has started to play a crucial role in Indian politics from that time.

During these period, Different States like Kashmir, Punjab, Northeastern part of the country has raised their voice for regional autonomy which sometime colored by secessionist tendency. In Punjab, the religious issue was getting more priority than the linguistic issues. There major demand was the separateness of the Sikhs from Hindus. Central government's policy in regards to the State politics of Punjab was always contradictory in nature. Where in Kashmir, the main problem based on regional conflict within the States of Jammu and Kashmir and the relationship between the state governments and the Central government. Though in Nehruvian period, there was a close alliance between the State and the Centre leadership. But the central government was taken an interventionism policy to the State in the arena of Mrs. Gandhi. On the other hand in the Northeast, the problem revolves around on ethnic rivalries between different tribal groups. The demand was the secession of Assam from India. This was finely rejected by the central government of India. There was a confrontation between the migrants and non- migrants in Assam. Though the problems of those states are quite different in particular but in general the roots of all these problems are lying in the central interventionist role in the matter of State Politics. The arrangement of Separation between Centre and state politics has the Urgent needs of the time during this period. (Brass, 1990)

According to the report of the State Reorganization Commission, the States were the organ of the union and it must be strong and healthy, to build the body of the union as strong as possible. On the other hand the issue of national integration always received a prime

attention of the founding fathers since Independence, for the purpose of governability as well as harmonizations of a multicultural, multilingual nation like India which is heterogeneous in nature. Henceforth, the synchronous development of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other had left its deep impact on the working of federal political process in India. (Shastri, 1990). Eventually it has been observed that, Indian political process become more centralized and less federal at the time of Congress dynasty. But gradually it had become less centralized and more federal with the evolution of multiparty coalition based state politics.

**Conclusion:**

Hence it has been observed that, since the time of independence carrying out the curse of partition the founding fathers of India are trying to reconcile the country's tradition of unity and diversity through the controlled federalism and we cannot ignore the capability aspect of India to tackling the enormous diversity in general. But at first, the 'consociational' arrangement of linguistic re organization gradually which move towards the ethnic isolation has pave the way for politics of segregation and secondly, the transformation of democratic federalism in to an authoritarian federalism consequently give birth the politics of regionalization in the form of coalition in particular. Gradually in Indian political system, the process of regionalization is being seen as an extended form of federalism.

## Chapter – III

### REVIEWING THE FEDERAL EXPERIENCE IN INDIA PRIOR 1977

#### 3. Introduction:

In the context of ethno-regional diversity India has always been a federal country. Moreover the eventful socio-political changes has been keeping this constitutional device as fluid as possible. Indian federalism is an indigenous in nature. It is not possible to make any comparison with the federal structure of any other countries in the world. It has its own features of unity in diversity which gradually enhance with the requirements of the time and purpose of the country exclusively. India deals with the world largest multicultural federation. It was observed that linguistic reorganization of the country made its federation as an ethno federal in character. The working of federal system in India was going through in different phases in the country with an experience of arena of different political parties. Federal India has been started its journey in an environment of “one- party dominance”. After the enactment of the constitution of India 1950, the leaders of nation organized themselves under the congress party with their centralized agenda. Consequently the country was going through a phase of Congress majoritarianism where the decentralize thrust of plural society may undermine. The authoritarian federalism was ruled over the consensual federalism in particular. The notion of state’s right was hampered by the strong centre. However, the centralized design of Indian constitution maker for the purpose of accommodating country’s diversity would not be successful to a long extent. Gradually the gravitation of central power was segmented towards the region since 1960’s. Henceforth I want to discuss the role of some crucial commissions like Sarkaria Commission, National Commission to Review the working of the Constitution, Punchhi Commission on the one hand and some landmark judicial decisions in the cases like S.R.Bommai vs Union of India, Rameshwar Prasad vs. Union of India, B.P.Singhal vs Union of India in the period of excessive central domination during Indira regime (1980) after the coalition era 1977. More over some major events like Neo International Economic Order, Constitutional recognition of Local Self Government e.t.c were discussed here for understanding the age of more federalization since 1990’s.

It has been observed that the regional parties of India have started to contravene the Congress rule since 1960’s which resulted the formations of several non-Congress Governments at the state level (1967) and the non-Congress Government at the centre in 1977. But on the contrary the regional aggressiveness was controlled by the Congress politics

of personalization in 1980's. Hence practically the regional strength has captured the political process of the country since 1990's when the Congress dynasty got diluted and a vacuum was created at the national level politics on the basis of single winning inability of the national political parties. Finally it has been observed that the general election 1989 has proved the regional potential at the national level politics in particular (Wyatt, 1999). Gradually the “Nehruvian secular ideology” has been replaced by the “Hindu Nationalism” for the purpose of nation building by the rising leadership of Bharatiya Janata Party (Malik & Singh, 1992). More over the nineteenth century has been seen as the transitional period when the ethnicity has played a dominant role in the electoral politics of the country.

### **3.1. Coalition at the centre, 1977**

It has been observed that, since 1977, the operation of federal political system in India was going through some ups and down. The first and for most landmark changes in Indian politics during these period, brought about by the severe debacle of the Congress in the sixth General election, under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. When the non- congress government at the first time launched its journey to run the ministry of New Delhi, under the guidance of Janata Government led by the conglomeration of different political parties. It was generally believed that, a paradigm shift due to linguistic state's formation as well as apparent abolition of one party dominance and growth of the regional political parties on the basis of zeal for ethno-regional identities transformed the Unitary political System in to a federal one (Kashyap2007).The following table has been shown the victory of multiparty system for the first time at the centre.

**Table 3.1**

PERFORMANCE OF NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES VIA-A-VIS THE OTHER  
POLITICAL PARTIES: GENERAL ELECTION, 1977

Party	Candidates Contested	Won	FD	% Won	FD	Valid Votes	Votes %
BLD	405	295	05	72.84	1.23	78062828	41.32
CPI	91	07	68	7.69	74.73	5322088	2.82
CPM	53	22	09	41.51	16.98	8113659	4.29
INC	492	154	18	31.30	3.66	65211589	34.52
NCO	19	03	00	15.79	0.00	3252217	1.72
National Parties:	1060	481	100	45.38	9.43	159962381	84.67
State Parties:	85	49	06	57.65	7.06	16623230	8.80
Registered(unrecognized)Parties	70	03	60	4.29	85.71	1938276	1.03
Independents:	1224	09	1190	0.74	97.22	10393617	5.50
Total:	2439	542	1356	22.22	55.60	188917504	

Source: Election Commission of India – General Election, 1977 (6<sup>th</sup>Lok Sabha) eci.gov.in

Though the federal structure of the country was remain same in general because, the attitude of the Janata government was not so liberal towards the States ruled by the opposition. More over the issues regarding the states autonomy was again disdained by the Janata Government, in several points. Hence forth the tendency of Centralization on the one hand and the assertion of state autonomy on the other hand go side by side in Indian political platform. But besides the dismissal of the State's governments ruled by the Congress, the over whelming of Centre State relationship in Janata phase was quite sedate. The power of the President to declare emergency was confined particularly at that time. This was justifying the formation of Janata Government as a reaction against emergency regime of congress (I).But the inefficient governability as well as split in the party in 1979, was responsible for the decline of the Janata Government as they failed to run the govt. of coalition in long run. In continuance with this the Congress victory in general election1980, makes the way for the returns of Mrs. Gandhi to hold the power and rule the country once again.

It has been observed that, “after the 1977 Lok Sabha and Assembly elections... on behalf of the Left Front Government of West Bengal, Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister, has demanded wider powers and greater autonomy for the constituent States of the Indian nation, and has appealed to all democratic forces in the country to initiate and carry on a national debate on the subject in the interest of a more satisfactory Working of the federal principle which had been, in his opinion, steadily eroded during the last three decades. He has been

joined by the Chief Ministers of some other States, including Jammu & Kashmir, Tripura, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat. There is a demand that the entire Constitution be rewritten, so that it could restore and even augment the political, economic and financial autonomy of the States". According to Ashok Mitra, "the West Bengal Finance Minister, federal financial relations have become highly distorted, and there has been erosion of states' powers arising out of their excessive financial dependence on the Centre" ( Ray, 1978). The demand was raised regarding the 'imbalance' in Indian federal constitution and "rectified at an early stage through appropriate constitutional amendments...." (The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 8, 1977)

### **3.2. Excessive Central dominance during 1980's**

However the returned of congress (I) led massive effects on the state's legislatures. After returned to the power Mrs. Gandhi dissolved nine state legislatures led by the opposition parties, which were Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa and Tamil Nadu by using article 356 and she was very harsh on this matter of dissolution. This was strongly criticized in the different parts of the country. "Madhu Dandavate thought it wrong to compare these dissolutions with those of 1977, when the legislature's terms were nearly over." On the other hand "A Times of India editorial said that the dissolutions were necessary to enforce discipline after the 'drift' of the Past three years." (Austin 1999) Henceforth, The Congress (I) Win over two-thirds majority in five of nine state legislative assemblies and a majority in three.

To make the country strong and united as well as integrated in general and to restore the law and order of the Country in particular Mrs. Gandhi was urged for a powerful Central government against the 'policy of destabilization' inspired by the external forces, during this time. It was noticed that, Pakistan was acted as an enzyme for spreading violence in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab as well as in North-East. This situation compelled Mrs. Gandhi to take the decision of dissolution of Several States and bring them under the Control of a strong central government, which runs in according to the direction of Mrs. Gandhi. Hence forth the Politics of personalization came back in the place of politics of Pluralism. During 1980's the working of Indian federalism went with the system of confrontation rather than consensus. When the Congress (I) returned to the power in majority of states, their decision regarding transfer of few "items from State sale tax to additional excise duty" made their character 'un-constitutional' for "encroachment in to State autonomy". Again the enactment of the Disturbed Area Amendment Bill and the intention of Congress (I) to bring it

under the concurrent list have been strongly criticized and opposed by the dissident States for curbing the power of the state governments regarding the maintenance of law and order. (Ray, 1982).

Consequently, another landmark case of Supreme Court in *Minerva Mills v. Union of India*, 1980 the Supreme Court of India retained the principal of Basic Structure of the Constitution advocated in the case of *Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala*, 1973 and which was violated through the 42<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act 1976. But it was observed that the judgment of the Court in *Minerva Mills* case in 1980 is still invoked.

It was observed that during 1980's then was an assertion for regional identity as well as secessionist movement's has been spreaded out all over the India. The crisis of Assam has been started with the problem of illegal immigration in the state, later which was transformed in to a regional movement. Eventually the split in Congress party in 1977 had its impact on the Political Parties in Assam. This divided the Assam politics in to "Pro-Indira and Anti-Indira factions". After the Pakistan Civil war, in 1979 there was a demand Started for "expulsion of illegal migrants". In 1983, the election of state legislative assembly in Assam was going through a much worsened phase. In 1985, during the phase of Rajiv Gandhi an accord was signed between central government of India and leaders of Assam movement on the basis of "deletion of alleged illegal migrants from the electoral rolls." and after that the rule of the Asom Gana Parishad (A.G.P.) was established in Assam by the election of 1985. (Brass, 1994)

As we know that there was a battle between India and Pakistan about the accession of Kashmir, but the Kashmir had occupied Central role in Indian Politics. Under the Special Status in according to the Article 370, Kashmir had been given a regional autonomy after Independence. But the interventionist role of Central government of India over the autonomous State of Kashmir had helped to fuel the fire. The people of Jammu and Kashmir was very much annoyed about the maintenance of the Special status of their state as well as the subordinate relationship with the Central Government and the internal ethno-regional Conflicts. In the post- Nehruvian Period, there was an accord Signed by Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir's accession to India was finally accepted by the National Conference and the article 370 was kept up by the government of India (1982-1984). But during the phase of Farooq Abdullah, the relationship between National conference and Indian National Congress was declined. In 1986, President Rule was imposed in Kashmir. During the phase of Rajiv Gandhi, there was a tendency from both the side to restore the

relationship between Kashmir and India by signing accord in 1987. However both the partner won the State legislative assembly jointly. But eventually, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, declared a revolt against the state of India for the purpose of establishment of an Independent Secular Kashmir State. (Brass, 1994)

In 1980's, Punjab was grasped by the separatist movements, which posed a serious threat to the unity of India. After the victory of the Congress in Punjab, the Akali Dal has adopted Anandpur Sahib Resolution for the purpose of greater autonomy and minimizing the Central interference in different State's affairs like foreign affairs, defense etc. But during Indira regime it was rejected by the Central government as identified the resolution as a Separatist tendency. But again in 1982, Bhindranwale had a voice for 'Anandpur Sahib Resolution' for protecting the interest of Sikh community and he launched Sikh militancy in Punjab. After the dissolution of Punjab state legislative assembly, by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Hindu-Sikh riot was resuming with a new color. A new turmoil was created by Akali Dal against article 25 of the Indian constitution on "freedom of Religion." Where, the Sikh community was treated as Hindus for enjoying the 'Right to Freedom of Religion'. Government of India shows there unwillingness to settled these matter and after that a Series of assassinations of Hindus in Punjab compelled the central government to take operation Blue Star to remove Bhindranwale and his followers on the Golden Temple in Amritsar (Austin, 1999).

It has been observed that, in 1983, Chief Ministers of Several major States ruled by the oppositions were dissatisfied regarding the fulfillment of the programme's adopted by the Congress (I) in different corners. Frequent impositions of president rule, minimizing the powers of the Court by the transfer of the judges, matter of interference of Parliament on the several issues even on the basic structure and with these procedure tried to hampering the federal essence of the country was invaded loudly. Consequently the burning situations of Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam for over central interference or some time central negligence's had demanded the reformation of Centre-State relations immediately. It has been observed that during eighties, Chief Ministers of non-congress states and opposition leaders formed coalition conclaves at various places like Calcutta, 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. On March 20 1982, the four Chief Ministers viz. R. K. Hegde of Janata Party in Karnataka, M. G. Ramachandran of AIADMK in Tamilnadu, N. T. Rama Rao of Telugu Desam in Andhra

Pradesh resolved to form a Council for the Southern Region to restructure centre-state relations ensuring a more equitable distribution of resources (Times of India, New Delhi, March 1983 (Gaan, 1991).

The erstwhile Janata Government in Karnataka, in its memorandum to the Sarkaria Commission, stressed this issue, the real cause for autonomy rests not on the claims of territorial rights of juridical entities or political parties but on the comprehension, based on experience that in a country like India a centralized polity is incapable of dealing with an unjust social order that is inimical to the democratic political process, and that is inherently unstable. (Memorandum submitted by the Karnataka Government, Report, n. 13, p. 245-246.) ( Shastri,1990)

In its memorandum to the Sarkaria Commission, the party (D.M.K) asserted that regionalism should not be labeled as something anti-national. Regionalism and sub-regionalism, it believed, were recognized by the constitution. It further added: “Wholesome freedom alone can keep India together and strengthen her from within and without ... the Union and the states, must have complete freedom from mutual control ... This freedom is the soul of federalism”.( Shastri,1990)

The Shiromani Akali Dal, through the Sri Anandpur Sahib Resolution (1973) and other declarations has frequently endorsed the principle of state autonomy in keeping with federal principles. It has appealed to the Central Government on several occasions, “to:... take cognizance of the different linguistic and cultural sections ... and recast the Constitutional structure of the country on real and meaningful federal principles to obviate the possibility of any danger to National unity ... and further enable the States to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of Indian people ...” (Memorandum submitted by the Shiromani Akali Dal Report n. 13, p. 859.) ( Shastri,1990).

The Government of West Bengal that wanted restructuring of the constitutional provisions in regard to the respective obligations of the Union and the States. To the Government of Karnataka Union-State relations was one aspect of the wider subject of decentralization. Bihar and Rajasthan governments demanded strengthening the financial resources of the states. It was alleged that the device of Finance Commission to ensure impartial devolution of resources from the Union of the States has suffered under bulk transfers made for the Plan and other purposes (Saraswathi, 1989).

Eventually, the electoral downfall of Congress in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka led to the appointment of Sarkaria Commission under the Chairmanship of Justice Ranjit Singh Sarkaria to look into the matter of Central-State relationship. (Austin, 1999) In 1984, after several criticism made against the Punjab events by all over the world, Mrs. Gandhi Said in the Parliament that, “We have..... to remove the cause for grievances..... the battle for Secularism, the battle for Unity.....must be (won) in the hearts and minds of our people.” (Austin, 1999) It has been observed that just few months after this operation blue star, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two Sikh body guards, which led to an anti-Sikh riots in the country where a great number of Sikhs were killed.

### **3.3 Sarkaria Commission: Central quest for undermining the regional powers**

Though, it was observed that the motive behind the establishment of the Saikaria Commission was to suppress the power of regional political parties raised by the various States leaders. However to restore the gap between Centre and State as well as to establish the Unity and fraternity in all over the country was seen as a major challenge for the commission. In 1983, after the meeting of Vijayawada, regarding the purpose of Saikaria Commission, there was another meeting was called in Srinagar against the domination Unitary features over the federal features in the Constitution. The demand mainly focused on removal of imposition of President Rules, Contain the Central power over the State lists as well as the inclusion of residuary power on the state authority particularly not in the Centre. The major emphasis is given on the creation of Inter- State Council under Article 263 in the Constitution in India (Austin, 1999). In 1987, The Sarkaria Commission submitted its report to the Government of India. It was Seen that the recommendation of Sarkaria Commission were Cover major areas of Centre and State relations and tried to show a path for a legitimate style of government in a federal set-up of the Country. The report Contained near about 247 recommend actions.

### **3.4. Review the Recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission:**

It was said that, “there has been nothing to suggest that Indira Gandhi's motivation in setting up the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations was anything more than to deflect the debate on the issue. In January-- 1984, the Commission has made its first public move in issuing a questionnaire. The questionnaire itself is a bit of a rag-bag consisting of 109 questions arranged in seven sections: introductory, legislative relations, the Governor, administrative relations, financial relations, economic and social planning, and a final section

under the title of 'miscellaneous' covering industries, trade, agriculture, food, education and inter-government co-ordination” (EPW, 1984).

The drafting and arrangement of the questions were highly criticized. “Firstly, there are a number of questions, which although worded in the interrogative form, are, overlaid with rhetoric and opinion”. There is an examples of such questions Like, “(1.6) Do you agree that the protection of the independence and ensurance of the unity and integrity of the country is of paramount importance?”; “(4.4) The Constitution-makers with remarkable foresight anticipated the arising of situations "in which the government of a State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions Of the Constitution" and provided ex necessities in Article 356... (1.1) Can our Constitution be called Federal in the strict sense?” “(5.1) After a review of the working of the mechanisms for devolution and examination of details of resources transferred by the Union to the States during the last 34 years. Can it be said that the scheme of devolution envisaged by-the Constitution-makers has worked well and come up to their expectations?” The questionnaire thus confirms the Commission's confession that its drafting has not been preceded by an "analytical study" of Centre-State issues. (EPW, 1984)

However, it has been observed that, Sarkaria Commission's recommendations are primarily based on the premise that the existing constitutional principles and arrangements are sound and what is needed is to build a mechanism to ensure a system of collective decision (consultations). It was not concerned with the 'politics' of Centre-State relations but only with the 'administration'. (Saraswathi, 1989)

However some Centre centric views of Sarkaria Commission are as followed:

#### Legislative Relation

“A number of State Governments and political parties insist that the requirement of consultation should be incorporated in the Constitution to ensure its strict observance regarding the enforcement of Union Laws, particularly those relating to the Concurrent sphere...”

“2.14.03: We are of the view that it is not necessary to make the Union-state consultation regarding legislation on an item in the Concurrent list a constitutional requirement. This will make the process needlessly rigid. But this should be a firm convention. The advantage of a convention or rule of practice is that it preserves the flexibility of the system and enables it to meet the challenge of an extreme urgency or an unforeseen contingency. We recommended that this convention as to consultation with the

State Governments individually, as well as collectively, should be strictly adhered to, except in rare and exceptional cases of extreme urgency or emergency.”

### Administrative Relation

“The demand for deletion or ‘drastic’ amendment of these provisions (Articles 256&257) mainly rests on the theoretical premise that the provisions of Articles 256 and 257 are repugnant to the federal principle”. The argument is that “in a ‘federal policy’ there is no place for provisions which confer powers on the Union to give direction to the States”. “It can be said that in the Constitution of older federation, there is no provision conferring on a Federal Government the power ...executive directions to the States”.

“3.5.27: In the light of (The decisions in Jay Engineering Works vs. State of West Bengal, AIR 1968 Calcutta 407 and Deputy Accountant General vs. State of Kerala, AIR 1976 Kerala 158) the conclusion is inescapable that Articles 256 and 257 which give power to the Union Executive to issue directions to the State, are vital for ensuring proper and harmonious functioning of Union-State relations in accordance with the Constitution. They do not derogate from the federal principle, rather give effect to it. They provide a technique for ensuring effective inter- governmental cooperation and maintaining the Rule of Law which are the fundamental values enshrined in our Constitution”.

It has been suggested by the State Governments that “clause (2) of Article 258 gives unqualified powers to Parliament to enact a law conferring powers and imposing duties on a State or its officers/authorities, notwithstanding that the law relates to a matter with respect to which the state has no legislative competence. The only valid objection to such statutory delegation of powers and imposition of duties could be that it may result in extra financial burden on the state exchequer”.

“3.7.10: Federalism is more a functional arrangement for cooperative action, than a static institutional concept. Article 258 provides a tool, by the liberal use of which, co-operative federalism can be substantially realized in the working of the system. We, therefore recommended a more extensive and generous use of this tool...”

### All India Services

So far as the questions rose by the different State Governments, by some experiences of shortcomings regarding All India Services like “(i) Whether the All India Services have

fulfilled the expectations of the Constitution makers and (ii) Whether the State Governments should have greater control over them”.

“8.7.05: We too are of the view that the existing system of All India Services is unique as well as the most appropriate method of securing the best available talent ...”

“8.7.09: Any move to disband the All India Services , under some mistaken notion e.g. that they have outlived their utility or that they cause dysfunction, or to permit a State Government to opt out of the scheme must be regarded as retrograde and harmful to the larger interest of the country. Such a step is sure to encourage parochial tendencies and undermine the integrity, cohesion, efficiency and coordination in administration of the country as a whole”.

### Financial Relation

“It has been suggested by a State Government that the power to levy the duties mentioned in Article 268 may be transferred to the States and for that purpose entries 84 and 91 may be transposed to the state list and corresponding changes made in the provisions of Article 268. It is argued that these duties do not form part of inter-state transactions ‘to any large extent’ ”. “ Article 269 refers to taxes levied and collected by the Union but assigned to the States....some State Governments have pointed out that the Union Government has not raised adequate revenues from these heads of taxation. They have suggested that the relevant Entries (especially Entries 87, 88, 89 and 90 of the Union List) may be transferred to the State List”.

“10.11.01: The Union Government should in consultation with the State governments periodically consider and explore the revision or imposition of these duties covered by Article 268”.

“10.11.22: “The scope for raising additional resources to any considerable extent on items covered by Article 269 appears to be limited. An expert committee should be constituted to enquire in to and review from time to time, in consultations with the States....”

There should some criticism made by the different State Governments regarding Finance Commission, “constraints imposed by the Union on the Finance Commission by prescribing certain terms of references; problems arising out of the methodologies followed by the Finance Commission”. “Many State Governments are of the view that the Finance Commission should be made a permanent or standing body to cope with enlarged responsibilities; the coordination between the Finance Commission and Planning

Commission is very important and should be improved, so that an integrated view on the flow of central assistance to the States become possible”. “Another criticism relates to the ‘considerations’ which the Finance Commission are asked to have regard to, among other things , in recommending grants-in-aid under Article 275”.

“ The main criticism voiced by several State Governments that over the years the Planning Commission has come to function as a limb of the Union Government , a far cry from the original concept of an expert advisory body serving both the Union and the States ‘ free from the burden of day to day administration”. Several criticisms was made by the States regarding “the allocation and the pattern of Central assistance”

“10.11.15: The step taken by the Union Government to initiate a process of consultation with the States in finalizing the terms of reference of the Finance Commission is in the right direction. Any consultation to be meaningful should be adequate”.

“11.9.15: the tasks of Planning Commission are now overseen by the NDC. ....the remedy therefore, lies in reforming these institutions and their working, assuring at the same time full and effective consultation with the States at all stages of the planning process so that they feel that their roll in it is not that of a supplicant, but of an equal participant”.

“11.6.30: An over-all comprehensive review of Centrally Sponsored Schemes should be made periodically by the Planning Commission and it should be placed before the NEDC for consideration”.

“11.9.24: Being the supreme inter-governmental body for all matters related to socio-economic development, National Development Council (NDC) should be renamed and reconstituted as the National Economic Development Council (NEDC) by Presidential order”.

(Sarkaria Commission Report on Centre-State Relations March 14, 2017 smartprep.in)

Hence it was said that the “recommendations highlight, the arrangements is to provide for a machinery and method for bringing together the Union and State governments in decision-making while maintaining the over-all need for the supremacy of the Union over the States. This novel system, which may be termed as 'participatory centralization', where State governments are made to participate in a process of largely centralized and centrally-controlled decision-making meticulously evolved for various areas may be considered as the most important contribution of the Sarkaria Commission to deal with Centre-State relations” (Saraswathi, 1989).

So far as the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission is concerned, it is observed that they are not agreed to Curtail the powers of Central government, rather they are in opinion that to keep the Country's Unity and integrity, it was necessary to make the centre as strong as possible. As well as the commission gave emphasize on the co-operative nature of the centre. But if we can go with the view of Amal Ray, it was seen that, the Commission failed to understand the inherent Culture of the Country, where federalism was represented as a mixture of Concerns for historical Uniqueness of the Country on the one hand and on the other hand concernedness about the Country in the name of Unity as well as administrative efficiency Though the founding father were Concerned about "majority of popular vote", but the Central government in New Delhi, deals with "formal majoritarianism". Hence forth, convinced by the motto of the Constitution makes it was not possible for the Commission to judge the present Controversy in Centre-State relations, a long year after the independence. That's why since 1960's there was an excessive centralization took place in India, "within the framework of federal constitution" as prepared by the constitution makers. It was said that, with the absence of centrifugal pressure it was possible for U.S.A. to go with the "Centralized direction" and maintenance there regional diversities. But in India, when enormous heterogeneity in culture was rooted in politics, there the concept of strong state was also necessary as like Strong Centre. Hence forth it was said that, the recommendations of Sarkaria Commission provide nothing new or permanent technique, rather it's presented a temporary solutions to reduce the politico-administrative strain between the government at the centre and state in that particular point of time. According to Amal Ray, "it is unfortunate that the Sarkaria Com mission's report does not focus on the conflictive cultures underlying the formulation of the federal scheme and their implications from the perspective of development of India's federal polity. What is more disappointing is that no organized and systematic attempt has been made by the commission to explain the origin and nature of the strains in federalism in the post-Nehru period".

He said, "in general, three major areas of political change appear to have been involved in producing strains in the federal system: (1) changes within the dominant political party, namely, the Congress party; (2) changes within the overall institutional structure and political culture of Indian federalism; and (3) demands by new rural elites arising from economic development.pp.1132But, 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..."(Ray, 1988).

Though the recommendations of Sarkaria Commission has failed to accommodate the contemporary regional needs influenced by all powerful Congress Part, but the Political change of developing countries is concerned, a revolving tendency of 'centralization' as well as 'powerlessness' in Indian politics was identified after the completion of Indira era. A simultaneous gap was found in the centralized power of nationalist leader and the 'states objectives'. The powerful leaders was failed to prove there developmental efficiency as well as their actions was far from a problem solving approach. Though the technique of 'checks and balances' was seen in presence of oppositions during Nehru regime but the Top-Down approach was highlighted in Indira's India. Consequently this was replaced by Bottom-Up approach in the ministry of Rajiv Gandhi. (Kohli,2000).

However, Rajiv Gandhi unlike Indira Gandhi adopted a comparative flexible approach towards the accommodations of the ethno-regional demands of the different parts of the country. At the time of his ministry besides the accord signed with Assam 1985, Mizoram 1986 and Tripura 1988. When on the one hand Assam accord based on the demands of the removal of the names of migrants "entering Assam prior to 1.01.1966" and not to free the migrants "entering between 1.01.1966 and 24.03.1971" as well as extrusions of these migrants who "coming on or after 25.03.1971".The accords of Mizoram and Tripura was provide for reclamation of normality through abstentions of insurrections and" rehabilitations of the armed underground elements".

On the other hand , the moderate groups of Jammu and Kashmir has tried to boycotted the election held in 2000 on the basis of the demand of recognition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir as a 'confederal state' under the article 370 of the Constitution of India with minimizing the power of central government. However the government of India was tried to restore the situation of Jammu and Kashmir for the sake of national unity and integrity. The assembly election held in Jammu and Kashmir in 2002, where Congress- PDP alliance won over by defeating National Conference and BJP alliance. Henceforth in 2004, the UPA government has tried to make a resolution on Kashmir dispute with Pakistan in a period of "Indo-Pakistan peace process". (Singh & Saxena,2011).

In 1988, During the Phase of united front Govt. a long discussion over the recommendations throughout the Country took place. In 1991, Congress (I) had accepted "119 recommendations without any charge. Out of 247 recommendations, 24 were rejected, 10 were considered irrelevant and 36 accepted with modifications and rest of recommendations merely remained on paper" (Maheshwari, 1968).

However it has been observed that though the first non-congress government at the state level politics was formed in 1967 and in 1977 the first non-congress coalition government at the centre has been started their journey in Indian political process. But the political process of India was practically getting regionalized around early 1990's after the abolition of Gandhi dynasty.

### **3.5. Indian political process since 1990's:**

It has been observed that the regional parties have permanently spread their roots in the national level politics from the 9<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election 1989 in particular. Where the regional parties like Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Telugu Desam Party, Asom Gana Parishad were uniting under the National Front led by the Janata Dal accompanied by the outside support of Communist Party of India (M) and Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP). Because the centre-state relation of India during 1980's was go through a highest political trauma. The federal structure of the country was affected by the acute centralization. 'Until the 1990s, the party system was famous for the "one- party dominance" of the Indian National Congress. The leadership of the party was known as "the high command." Congress was so centralized that the decision as to which state leader was to become chief minister was made by the Congress high command in Delhi. Indian federalism has become less centralized as a result of popular pressures, the breakdown of Congress dominance, and the fragmentation of political parties. Political challenges arise from issues such as 'central vs. state control of police and security forces'; movements for the creation of new states; and the implementation of constitutional provisions for 'village-level governance' (Singh and Verney , 2003) The whole country was striving for a greater decentralization of powers and the non congress state-based as well as regional political parties were politically highlighted in these environment. It has been observed that the different states like Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, Assam were plea for foreign involvement the countries like Pakistan, China e.t.c against the excessive centralizing political atmosphere (Austin, 1999).

It has been observed that the several conditions have made the federal situation of the country worsened like the procedure of appointment and removal of governor which is highly criticized in the federal sphere. So far as the opinion of the Administrative Reform Commission is concerned, "the president's authority to appoint and remove governors departed from federal principle" (Austin, 1999). Because the central influence over the state administration is worked as an anti-federal factor. As the centre is more powerful within the constitutional framework of the country liked a minimal role of the governor as a

constitutional head in the political process at post-Nehruvian period. However, it has been observed that the Supreme Court in the 1979 Raghukul Tilak case declared that the governor could not act as an agent of the center and the appointment of the governor and his tenure at the pleasure of the president "does not make the Government of India an employer of the Governor. The Governor is the head of the State and holds a high constitutional office which carries with it important constitutional functions and duties and he cannot, therefore . . . be regarded as an employee or servant of the Government of India." The Court went further: "It is impossible to hold that the Governor is under the control of the Government of India. He is not amenable to the directions of the Government of India, nor is he accountable to them for the manner in which he carries out his functions and duties. He is an independent constitutional office which is not subject to the control of the Government of India." But it was observed that some of the governors began acting as agents of the center, as was highlighted in 'the case of the dismissal of N. T. Rama Rao's government in Andhra Pradesh in 1984' (Tummala, 1992).

Consequent to the 1989 general elections, the state of Tamil Nadu came under the control of the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) party headed by M. Karunanidhi, who defeated the previous All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK) government, which was friendly to the Congress (I). It was obvious from the day of his inauguration that Chandra Shekhar would be obliged to Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress (I) leader.. There was in fact continuous pressure from Rajiv Gandhi, along with the AIADMK and its leader, Jayalalitha, on Chandra Shekhar to dismiss the Karunanidhi government under the pretext that the law and order situation in the state had deteriorated (Tummala , 1992). Governor Mohammad Yusuf Saleem of Bihar was dismissed by the Chandra Shekhar government on grounds of "constitutional impropriety" after he criticized the dismissal of the DMK government in an address to the Bihar legislature (Tummala , 1992).

Moreover, it has been observed that, "Nagaland Governor M.M. Thomas was removed by the Centre in 1992 when he dissolved the Assembly in that state on the advice of Chief Minister Bamuzo without consulting the Centre". He defended his action on the plea that "When a Chief Minister of a majority government recommends dissolution of the House; the Governor is bound to approve it." The Centre, he said, "was manipulating the state on its own whims, which might create serious problems." (Asian Recorder, no. XXXVIII (13-19 May 1992),(Singh,2001-2002)

It has been observed that an “active politicians, mostly belonging to the central ruling party, have been appointed as governors. From 1947 to 1984, over 60% of governors had taken an active part in politics. In the post-Nehru period, the office of governor has been subjected to political pressure to a greater extent” (Rajashekara, 1997). Even it has been observed that the president’s rule has been frequently used in Indira’s personalized political system and the emergency has been imposed on those states where the central government was not in power (Austin, 1999). But so far as the Constitution of India is concerned the president rule is one of the exclusive constitutional devices which can be used in an absolute governmental crisis. Hence, “It is the center alone that has to decide whether the invocation of Article 356 is called for, or not. The way Communist Government in Kerala was sacked in July 1959 is a clear proof of the fact that the center has been concerned more with the considerations of the party politics than with a fair and reasonable interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution”. It has been observed that, “after the Congress split in 1969, it became a minority government with the support of leftist parties. The Congress party attempted to regain the political power by engineering defections and all other means at its disposal including Article 356. The Rajasthan case is the classical example of such means, the opposition parties formed a United Front elected its leader and requested the governor to invite its leader to form the government. The governor refused and recommended the president to invoke Article 356. The Congress engineering defections in the opposition parties to its side and ultimately was able to muster majority. The president's rule was invoked and a Congress government under Mohan Lai Sukhadia was formed in Rajasthan” (Khan,2003). The Hindu, called it an outrage and "a clear mockery of democratic norms and a blatant abuse of power vested in the centre” (The Hindu, International weekly edition, February 9, 1991, p. 8). (Tummala, 1992) .Hence the federal set up of the country was appeared in a high controversy during Indira regime. However the following table shows the arbitrary use of Article 356 during Indira regime:

**Table 3.2**

Imposition of President's Rule in the States and the Union Territories in India from 1966 to 1977 & from 1980 to 1984:

SL.No	States/ Union Territories	Year of imposition
1	Goa	1966
2	Haryana	1967
3	Manipur	1967
4	Manipur	1967
5	Rajasthan	1967
6	Bihar	1968
7	Pondicherry	1968
8	Punjab	1968
9	Uttar Pradesh	1968
10	Bihar	1969
11	Manipur	1969
12	Kerala	1970
13	Uttar Pradesh	1970
14	West Bengal	1970
15	Gujarat	1971
16	Karnataka	1971
17	Odisha	1971
18	Punjab	1971
19	Tamilnadu	1971
20	Tripura	1971
21	West Bengal	1971
22	Bihar	1972
23	Andhra Pradesh	1973
24	Manipur	1973
25	Odisha	1973
26	Uttar Pradesh	1973
27	Gujarat	1974
28	Pondicherry	1974
29	Pondicherry	1974
30	Nagaland	1975
31	Uttar Pradesh	1975
32	Gujarat	1976
33	Odisha	1976
34	Tamilnadu	1976
35	Jammu&Kashmir	1977
36	Bihar	1980
37	Gujarat	1980
38	Madhya Pradesh	1980
39	Maharashtra	1980
40	Odisha	1980
41	Punjab	1980
42	Rajasthan	1980
43	Tamilnadu	1980
44	Uttar Pradesh	1980
45	Assam	1981
46	Manipur	1981
47	Assam	1982
48	Pondicherry	1983
49	Punjab	1983
50	Sikkim	1984

Source: President's rule in States and Union Territories Lok Sabha Secretariat New Delhi January 2016  
<https://eparlib.nic.in> 27<sup>th</sup> March 1992

In the opinion of V. R. Krishna Iyer, a former Supreme Court judge, Article 356 is tantamount to "constitutional terrorism." From 1951 to March 1995, it was employed 95 times and resulted in the emasculation and erosion of state autonomy. (Rajashekara, 1997).

More over the excessive centralization over the economic resources of the country has been made a federal disorder in particular. The functions of the Planning Commission also decreasing with the upliftment of the more powerful Prime Minister's Office during Indira regime, when the centre should pervade the 'commanding heights of the economy' (Austin, 1999). A trend of rebel against the financial inadequacy was distort the federal atmosphere of the country when the states were urge for adequate autonomy as well as balanced regional development at the economic sector. Consequently the state's complete dependency over centre for their expenditure has compelled them to search for an alternative way out in general. It has been observed that the different states like Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab were fought for increasing power of taxation. In 1973 the Akali Dal in Punjab has adopted Anandpur Sahib Resolution where they emphasized on decreasing central authority on 'currency' (<https://telenganatoday.com> a glance on centre-state relations epaper).

The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister misses no opportunity for pressing his case. Presenting the budget to the State Assembly on March 1, 1975 he called for a "radical restructuring" of the financial relations between the Centre and the States. "Our difficulties arise from the fact that our fiscal powers are limited, we do not receive our due share in the national resources and we have no voice in the management of the national economy (The Hindu March 2, 1975) (Noorani, 1975). On the other hand in 1977 West Bengal Memorandum has issued. It recommended for 75 percent revenue allocation for the states from the total revenue. More over the constitutional status will be given on the 'Planning Commission' as well as the 'National Development Council' as a significant instruments for economic synthesization (Rekha, 2014).

It has been observed that, "the heavy dependence of States on Central resources is evident from the fact that in 1951-52, central resources formed only 26.1 per cent of total expenditure of States which increased to 39.3 per cent in 1960-61, 45.0 per cent in 1970-71 and 47.0 per cent in 1977-78. If we take plan periods, the degree of dependence was 41.4 per cent for First Plan; 48.5 per cent for Second Plan, 52.2 per cent for Third Plan and as high as 56.7 per cent for the Fourth Plan. Thus, on an average, more than half of the state expenditure is financed by Central resources" (Patel, 1980). On the other hand, "the weak resource base of the States is evident from the fact that while the States' own tax revenue has increased

from Rs. 278 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 456 crores in 1960-61 and Rs. 4033 crores in 1976-77, the Central tax revenue has increased from Rs. 357 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 730 crores in 1960-61 and Rs. 10766 crores in 1976-77. Thus, since 1951-52 the States' tax revenue has become 14-fold whereas that of the Centre has become 27-fold. The capital budget is to a great extent fed by Central loans. Thus, the Central loans accounted for about 56 per cent of capital expenditure in 1951-52, it was 60 per cent in 1960-61, and 56 per cent in 1970-71”(Patel, 1980 ).

It has been observed that, “a comparative estimate of the total of statutory and discretionary grants to the states ever since the 1951-52- 1978-79 period may be made”. “While statutory grants to the states were Rs. 103 crore during the 1951-56 period out of the total statutory transfers of Rs. 429 crore [24.01%], the corresponding figures for the 1956-61 period was 207 crore out of 741 crore [27.67%], for the 1961-66 period 330 crore out of 1372 crore [24.05%], for the 1966-69 period 423 crore out of 1754 crore [24.12%], for the 1969-74 period 757 crore out of 5400 crore [14.02%] and for the 1974-80 period 2510 crore out of 9609 crore [26.12%] of which 562 crore were special grants and 1948 crore were revenue gap grants. In 1976-77, out of its budgetary resources, the Central Government provided to States and Union Territories grants of Rs. 1381 crore and loans of Rs. 1,444 crore, inclusive of the provisions is the supplementary demands for grants Approved in August 1976. The: grants showed a rise of Rs. 82 crores over the preceding year. Statutory grants would be lower over the year for six States and higher for eight States” [Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, Nov. 1976] Moreover “the predominance of discretionary grants over statutory grants has given the Central Government vast powers to enter into spheres constitutionally designed for the States into such fields as education, public health, etc., with the result that the State Governments have become more and more dependent on the Centre for meeting the increasing costs of development expenditure” (Ray, 1978).

However the inter states fiscal imbalances were acute in India during 1969-73 and onwards which can be shown by the following table:

Table 3.3

Transfer of funds to the states by way of share of taxes and duties and grants under article 275:(Rs.crore)

States	Fourth Commission's recommendations(1966-71) Share of taxes and duties*	Grants under Article 275	Total	Fifth Commission's Recommendations(1969-74) Share of taxes and duties*	Grants under Article 275	Total
Andhra Pradesh	166.63	67.55	234.18	274.27	65.01	339.28
Assam	62.36	82.60	144.96	93.24	101.97	195.21
Bihar	197.46	..	197.46	407.38	..	407.38
Gujarat	121.55	..	121.55	182.75	..	182.75
Haryana	39.19	..	39.19	59.61	..	59.61
Jammu& Kashmir	33.25	32.85	66.10	33.16	73.68	106.84
Kerala	84.51	104.10	188.61	143.78	49.65	193.43
Madhya Pradesh	148.53	13.50	162.03	274.02	..	274.02
Maharashtra	260.38	..	260.38	383.66	..	383.66
Mysore	111.32	104.10	215.42	179.43	17.99	197.42
Nagaland	23.11	35.35	58.46	2.77	77.95	80.72
Orissa	85.95	145.90	231.85	146.01	104.67	250.68
Punjab	57.51**	..	57.51	89.16	..	89.16
Rajasthan	96.76	33.65	130.41	170.16	51.49	221.65
Tamilnadu	173.12	34.20	207.32	272.29	22.82	295.11
Uttar Pradesh	323.77	49.25	373.02	620.12	..	620.12
West Bengal	197.41	..	197.41	296.64	72.62	369.26

\*Includes share of grants in lieu of tax on railway passenger fares.

\*\*The share of composite Punjab has been allocated on population basis between Punjab Haryana and Union Territory.

Source: Report of the Fifth Finance Commission 1969 P. 224 Finance Commission India fincomindia.nic.in

In 1978 Sri Jyoti Basu the former Chief Minister West Bengal, comments in his memorandum that “A strong and united India can only be one in which the democratic aspirations and distinctiveness of the people of the different States are respected and not treated with disdain. We all are definitely for strong states, but on no account do we want a weak centre. The concept of strong states is not necessarily in contradiction to that of strong centre once their respective spheres of authority are clearly marked out”(Commission on Centre-State relations Report Volume 1, Evolution of Centre- State relations in India, March 2010, p.74).According to Gulati and George, “in any case, the need for reform arises because the record of transfers has been observed to be less than satisfactory” (Gulati and George 1988). It has been observed that, “between 1956 and 1981 "the low-income states as a group (that is, UP, Rajasthan, MP and Bihar) have received relatively lower than average per capita

transfers of all states. The three agencies, the Finance Commissions, the Planning Commission and the union ministries, do not seem to have had equity uppermost in their minds in affecting the inter-state distribution of the transfers within their respective ambit." (Gulati and George 1988).

Henceforth a drastic change is appeared in the centre-state relations in India since 1989 when all the anti-congress forces are permanently united in a coalition as an alternative of all power full Congress system. Eventually the principle of consultations with the states gets more priority in the national level politics instead of central impositions by accommodating the regional interests as much as possible. It has been observed that "between 1991 and 1999, regional parties increased their vote share from 26 percent to 46 percent, and the number of regional parties represented in the lower legislative house increased from 19 to 35. The most obvious benefit associated with coalition government is cabinet representation. From 1952 through 1989, only three parties held ministerial berths: Congress, the Janata Party, and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). But from 1989 through 2010, thirty-three of the eighty-four parties that won seats in the lower legislative house gained cabinet representation. These thirty-three parties include nearly every major regional party in India" (Ziegfeld, 2012).

Hence, the regional parties have often played a decisive, balancing role in the making and unmaking of governments since 1989. For instance, Jayalalitha's All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) suspense fully kept the formation of the BJP-coalition government after the 1998 polls waiting for days in March for her letter of support from Chennai promised earlier. Later, she finally sealed the fate of the Vajpayee government in April 1999 by abruptly withdrawing her party's support (Singh and Saxena, 2002). It was the "external" legislative support of the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) that enabled the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, again headed by Vajpayee, to form the government (Singh, 2002).

However it has been observed that the political fluidity of this environment is shaped in the hand of Bharatiya Janata Party (Mitra and Pehl, 2010). Hence the era of regionalization in the form of coalition is begun in 1989 in practice at the national level politics. The performance of national parties as well as the increasing influence of regional political parties in the general election 1989 has been shown by the following chart:

Table3.4

PERFORMANCE OF NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES VIA-A-VIS THE OTHER  
POLITICAL PARTIES: GENERAL ELECTION, 1989

Party	Candidates Contested	Won	FD	% Won	FD	Valid Votes	Votes %
BJP	225	85	88	37.78	39.11	34171477	11.36
CPI	50	12	20	24.00	40.00	7734697	2.57
CPM	64	33	5	51.56	7.81	19691309	6.55
ICS(SCS)	14	1	9	7.14	64.29	978377	0.33
INC	510	197	5	38.63	0.98	118894702	39.53
JD	244	143	29	58.61	11.89	53518521	17.79
JNP(JP)	155	0	149	0.00	96.13	3029743	1.01
LKD(B)	116	0	116	0.00	100.0	602110	0.20
National Parties:	1378	471	421	34.18	30.55	238620936	79.33
State Parties:	143	27	42	18.88	29.37	27923500	9.28
Registered(unrecognized)Parties	926	19	868	2.05	93.74	18438206	6.13
Independents:	3713	12	3672	0.32	98.90	15793781	5.25
Total:	6160	529	5003	8.59	81.22	300776423	

Source: Election Commission of India – General Election, 1989 (9<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha) eci.gov.in

Hence in the environment of growing pluralism made the regional politics influential as well as dogmatic in the sphere of national level politics. The quantitative federal structure of Indian political process is introduced as an alternative of congress party rule. The multiparty system instead of one party system has been arising by the various regional parties along with the rising Bharatiya Janta Party. However, the newish governance of the country has produced a mixing polity of centralization as well as decentralization where the decentralized regional authorities are coming with the hierarchical political party like BJP. Gradually the federation of India is fitted in this coalition of national and local elites in a multicultural frame (Kohli, 2001). In this context the atmosphere of national politics is diluted within the atmosphere of regional diversity in the period of regionalization where the regional demands were well accommodated. It has been noticed that, standing over the question of political survival the national political parties have increased their tolerance towards the regional crisis. It was said on behalf of BJP, “Every national party has an ambition. But arrangements of the kind we have made with the Akali Dal or the Janata Dal (U) or that we make with some other party- if they stabilize and endure, there is nothing wrong with it. Their interest is focused on the state and ours at the centre- there is no contradiction, it is a complementary relationship”. (The Telegraph/ Calcutta, 24 April 2009)

It has been observed that, “Federal states that share sovereignty and negotiate its parameters and balances seem more relevant to 21st-century requirements when federalism is associated with liberal ideas of autonomy and freedom. The idea of provincial sovereignty that informed the operation of the Government of India Act 1935, remain to come back. Though the divided, shared and layered sovereignty that Nehru rejected as unsuitable for India and after the rejection of Cabinet Mission plan by the Muslim League which was advocated a multi-layered federal scheme with a weak center and strong provinces, Nehru succeeded on both counts, moving the equilibrium between the center and the states decisively toward a strong center and a planned economy that achieved primary industrialization in the second and third five-year plans (1957-1967). In 1989, two years before the launching of economic reform, India's party system began a rapid transition from a dominant party to a multi party system and from majority governments to coalition governments. The change had a profound effect on the federal system. State-based parties played an increasingly decisive role in the formation of coalition governments”. (Rudolph and Rudolph, 2010).

One can look in to the matter of Centre-State relation from 'dispositional' perspective a two way traffic i.e. an action or who influences whom on what issues and under what situations, can be perceived to outline the structural relations between centre and states. When Indira Gandhi was in opposition she was reported to have instigated the Khalistan movement under the leadership of Sant Bhindrenwala for her own political expediency, which boomeranged to her later on as Prime Minister with diabolic political upshots. She could not be able to control or eliminate such separatist forces despite military and political control at her command. Her preference for a military blue star operation in Sikh Golden Temple with the ostensible purpose of solving the crisis not only alienated the Sikh community from Indian main- stream but culminated in her assassination by her own security guards. Her son Rajiv Gandhi's signing a political accord with Longowal was demonstrative of centre's realisation of the dispositional vulnerability and lack of control over the systemic outcome of the military power (Gaan, 1991) The decay of 1990's was indicated centre's limitations in 'dispositional sense' when no national parties were able to gain a winning majority without the help of regional parties. This made the structural dependence between the Center and States. A strong phase of regionalized federalism in India took place in 1996, when the United Front Government with the support of Congress (I) came to power. This was the government which formed by the composition of fourteen regional parties.

Hence the federal power sharing model has started to getting balanced in these circumstances which minimizing the anti –centre attitude of the regions since 1990's. However the central intervention through the imposition of president rule often aggravated this federal-friendly atmosphere in particular. But it has been observed that the overall federal atmosphere (including judiciary) of the country had voiced for the regional crisis which made the position of the state's stronger than earlier. More over the role of the local-self-government have been highlighted in these circumstances which will be treated as an inclusionary strategy of decentralized political process of India. However the following events were demarcated the state-centric trend of Indian political process boost up by the regional influences since 1990's:

### **3.6. Inter-State Council**

Henceforth as per the recommendation of Sarkaria Commission a permanent Inter-State council was established by the National Front Government, 'with a view to restore the federal character of the National Polity.' on the basis of the provisions of laid in an article 263 of the Constitution of India (Prakash Chander, 2008).The Inter-State Council was established as a body of coordinator between Centre and the States. The motto of the proposed council was to harmonizing the nation by maintaining a leazo between the central and state government. It has been observed that, in 1996, when United Front came in to the power Inter-State Council, had composed a committee to re-examine the sensitive issues regarding the Centre-State relation. It was declared at that time the overlapping areas of Centre-State relations must be carried in accordance with consultations. In 1999, during the Minister of BJP led coalition govt. inter-State Council had accepted 124 recommendations compiled by Sarkaria Commission finally.

On the other hand, the implementation of Neo International Economic Order as a set of economic proposal of global market in favor of developing countries brought to a drastic changes in the federal system of India in general and fiscal Sector in particular.

### **3.7. Neo International Economic Order**

The Neo International Economic Order has been appeared in 1990's with the aim of promoting economic development among the poor countries through the self-help in general. It has been observed that the economic liberalization has increased the powers of states in Indian Federation. Gradually the fiscal federalism of India has been started to restructure by reducing the central influence. The States has started to enjoy the power of policy making in

an economic sphere more independently. The federal features of India have become strong by this decentralizing economic reform in general which have increased the role of regional political parties in particular. The Neo International Economic Order encouraged the Inter-States inequality in general and Inter-State regional disparities in Particular, on the basis of the geographical location, demography, size, political importance and growth performance of a particular State. It was noticed that Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka such market based State government raised the Information Technology-Enabled Services revolution, during 1990's. This introduced a regime of shared responsibility and decision making where the Inter -state policy potential has been reexamined and created an atmosphere of federal development which eventually weekend the central hegemony.

It has been observed that “economic challenges to cooperative federalism emerge from market reforms, the search for investments, and the World Bank structural adjustment plans adopted in selected states. Devolution of economic decision-making to the states aggravates fiscal crisis by facilitating populist political strategies and accentuating uneven development” (Singh and Verney, 2003). It is noticed that, the centre as well as the state governments interacted with the foreign authority directly in an integrated world economy. Eventually the license permit raj system was delimited the boundaries between centre state as well as with the World market. Which indicated a sign of progress in fiscal sector apparently but side by side a fiscal deficit of both the government was noticed also. The policy of Liberalization, Privatizations and Globalization (LPG) give emphasize on the system of decentralization which affected the intergovernmental relations enormously. So in 1990's the economic reform makes a paradigm shift in Indian Politics by transforming centralized economy in to a decentralized one. It was said that “In the context of federalism, privatization can support the objective of allowing explicit Centre-State transfers to meet their own objectives more effectively.”It has to be observed that there was an increasing tendency in the “direct tax to GDP ratio from 2.16% to 3.24%” on the other hand; there was a tendency of decreasing in the “Central indirect tax to GDP ratio from 8.84% to 6.23%”.The economic reform here affected the Indian federal system in the Sphere of indirect taxation (Singh & Srinivasan, 2002).

Beside the NIEO, another different issue also affected India federal systems at that time are as followed:

### **3.8. The collapse of Soviet Union, Mandal Commission, the issue of Hindutva : some controversial issues**

As a strategic partner of India, the collapse of the Soviet Union 1989 had left its deep impact on India's centralized economy, from which India was getting a large amount of material assistance. Another one is, an embodiment of the report of Mandal Commission regarding 'Reservation for Backward Classes' during the period of United front Government. This was controversial in nature. The report of Mandal Commission was encouraged the emergence of State parties led by the people of the lower classes on the one hand and where as the number of the leaders of the national parties whose are mostly belongs to Upper Caste was minimized. As a result after 1996, no national party was able to win the Lok Sabha seats with an absolute majority. So the era of one Party domination was withering away. The politics of India was getting more casticized.

In 1992, the controversial issues of Hindutva were raised at that time by representing a large Hindu Sentiment. This was getting inspired by the destruction of Babri Masjid and ayodhya Ram Mandir. "Mandal/Mandir Controversy" was played a crucial role in Indian Politics at that time. It was said that, the class and caste conflict was inspired by the report of mandal Commission. The riots were started violently in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat. Consequently the "Centralized federalism" was failed to maintain the law and order of the country in general. Hence forth gradually the country became decentralized. But in Gujarat violence 2002 raised a question about the efficiently of decentralized government to maintain law and order of the country also (Singh and Verney, 2003).

However the process of federalization was further strengthened by the constitutional recognition of local self government in India. Local self-government is known is a process of power decentralization at the grass root level which exists in India from the ancient age through the self-governing system in villages. As an administrative organ the local self government has been started its journey from the British rule. Even it has been observed that the Government of India act 1935 has been authorizes the provinces to enact legislation in particular. After independence the local self government in the form of democratic decentralization took place through the recommendation of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee (1957), the demand for its constitutional recognition was made by Ashok Mehta Committee (1977) and L.M.Singhvi Committee (1986) which have resulted in introduction of 64<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Bill 1989 and finally came in to existence through the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment in 1992. But the demand was raised against the 64<sup>th</sup>

Constitutional Bill that “the independence of the local units also would have been further guaranteed, insofar as their dependence on, and control by the state governments would have been eliminated”. It has been observed that “prior to the 1991 general elections, the Left Democratic Front (LDF) government in Kerala conducted elections to the panchayats and got control of these bodies. But after the 1991 elections, the United Democratic Front (UDF) came to power in the state, thus threatening the LDF-controlled local governments. To assuage feelings of insecurity, the UDF government had to give assurances that it would not interfere with the local units and their functioning (assuming it would keep its word). Under the proposed bill, this would not have been necessary, as the local units would have been protected by their constitutional presence. Thus, the bill would have guaranteed sub national and sub state governments, and with so much more division of power, federalism would have been enhanced”.

Even “The espousal by the prime minister of the Panchayati Raj Bill was itself considered to be opportunistic, even hypocritical by some. Addressing the chief ministers' conference on May 5, 1989, Rajiv Gandhi commended the bill thus: "We are on the threshold of a mighty revolution.... It is a revolution based on maximum democracy and maximum devolution." (Sezhiyan Era, 1989). But the Karnataka Panchayati Raj Bill, sent for the president's assent in late 1983, was not recommended for his signature for twenty months until a state minister threatened to go on a hunger strike. The Hindu commented in an editorial that the way the bill was approached by the Rajiv government "has smacked of narrow, singularly partisan motivations."The critics commented that the Sixty-Fourth Amendment Bill was "fraudulent in intent, ill- thought out on details and wholly unmindful of the potential for mischief"(Tummala K, 1992).

The directive principal of state policy has shown “The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government” (article 40, Constitution of India). However the bill was restored during the tenure of Narasimha Rao and become an act.

### **3.9. Constitutional recognition of local self government (Three tier federalism)**

Hence the 73<sup>rd</sup> constitutional amendment Act 1992 has been added a new dimension in the sphere of fiscal federalism by giving the constitutional status to the rural self government. The act also known as Panchayati Raj act, which provide the three tire Panchayati Raj System at village, intermediate and district levels. The process of democratic

decentralization has been established in true sense, which was associated with the people of grass root level. Thus with the central and state Government, the local self government has been adopted as a third organ of federalism in India political system. So far as the Constitution of India is concerned, the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment acts, have been added the two new Parts IX and IX A to the Constitution. Contain with two new schedules 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> schedules for the purpose of the empowerment of the local institutions. This established the three tire federation in India.

However the panchayat system in India has immediate spread its roots in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Rajasthan under the Panchayat act 1996. The Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur were excluded due to having district Councils (Prakash Chander, 2008). As per the Constitution of India, the local self govt. was under the Jurisdiction of State govt. Hence forth, the State legislative assembly have been authorized the panchayat to make a plan for Socio-Economic development, to see the matter of Social justice, to ensure effective implementations of various scheme for social development, sharing the administrative burden of central as well as state governments. The Constitution of India, given full authority to the panchayat through the Eleventh Schedule, Containing 29<sup>th</sup> items. Besides these, the panchayat have the power to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees in accordance with the prescribed procedure and limits made by the State legislature, for the purpose of arranged adequate financial resources to carry out the developmental programs successfully.

On the other hand, the urban local self government which has got the constitutional states by the 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment act 1994 played a major role in the development of the urban areas. The act provided three type of Urban-Self government were, Nagar Panchayat, Municipal Council and Municipal Corporation. The State legislature are authorized the Municipalities to make a plane for Socio-Economic development, effective implementations of various developmental Schemes as well as to ensure Social Justice. The functional 18 items of twelfth Schedule placed with the Purview of the Municipalities. Besides these the Municipalities had the power to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees prescribed by the State legislative assembly for the purpose of development in all the Sector of Urban local areas. In the Context of federalism the local assertion for power sharing were witnessed in “the periods of the Janata Party’s electoral victory in 1997, the

1987 Panchayat elections in Karnataka, elections to the local bodies in Orissa in 1992 and panchayat polls in West Bengal in 1993". (Singh & Saxena, 2011)

Eventually in 1994, another major event took place in Indian Politics. A landmark decision was taken by Supreme Court of India, regarding the arbitrary imposition of President Rules in States by the Central government, in the case of S.R. Bommai v. Union of India.

### **3.10. S.R. Bommai v. Union of India:**

In "Karnataka (1989) the Janta dal Government led by S.R. Bommai was thrown in to constitutional crisis owing to breaking away of a dissident group of the party. However, the chief minister reported to the Governor that he was prepared to prove his majority on the floor of the house. But the Governor did not give him a chance to prove his majority in the state Legislative Assembly. Consequently, the S.R. Bommai ministry was dismissed and president's rule was imposed on April 21, 1989 along with the dissolution of the state Legislative Assembly. S.R. Bommai filed a writ petition and challenged the constitutionality of the proclamation of president regarding the imposition of president's rule in Karnataka on April 21, 1984". (Suryaprasad, 2012).

The Supreme Court said in S.R. Bommai v. Union of India 1994, that "Article 355 it is the duty of the Union to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Article 356, on the other hand, provides the remedy when there has been an actual breakdown of the constitutional machinery of the State. Any abuse or misuse of this drastic power damages the fabric of the Constitution, whereas the object of this article is to enable the Union to take remedial action consequent upon breakdown of the constitutional machinery, so that governance of the State in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution is restored."

The major decisions of Supreme Court in S.R. Bommai vs. Union of India are summarized below:

"Article 356 of the Constitution confers a power upon the President to be exercised only where he is satisfied that a situation has arisen where the Government of a State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Under our Constitution, the power is really that of the Union Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at its head. The satisfaction contemplated by the article is subjective in nature".

“The power conferred by Article 356 upon the President is a conditioned power. It is not an absolute power. The existence of material which may comprise of or include the report(s) of the Governor is a pre-condition. The satisfaction must be formed on relevant material. The recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission with respect to the exercise of power under Article 356 do merit serious consideration at the hands of all concerned”.

“The Proclamation under Article 356(1) is not immune from judicial review. The Supreme Court or the High Court can strike down the Proclamation if it is found to be mala fide or based on wholly irrelevant or extraneous grounds.

“The Constitution of India has created a federation but with a bias in favour of the Centre. Within the sphere allotted to the States, they are supreme”.

(AIR SC 1994[Vol. 81]).

Hence forth in 2003, the issue of Centre-State relationship was improved during the phase of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. A commitment was given from Inter-State Council, in the regards of imposition of Article 356, that if there is a situation of the violence of the Constitution, the Central government would softly advised the State government under the article 256 and 257 at the beginning. (Prakash Chander, PP. 248)

Consequently the centre-state relation again comes under the review of another National Commission in 2002 which recommendations are mentioned below,

### **3.11. National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution**

In 2002, the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution was established by the Government of India under the chairmanship of Justice M. M. Vankatachaliah. Which submitted its report on 2007, during the ministry of congress led UPA government. Some major recommendations of the Commission were as followed:

The Commission recommends that “individual and collective consultation with the States should be undertaken through the Inter-State Council established under article 263 of the Constitution.

The Commission, while endorsing the recommendations of the Commission on Centre-State Relations (Sarkaria Commission), recommends that in resolving problems and coordinating policy and action, the Union as well as the States should more effectively utilize the forum of inter-State Council. This will be in tune with the spirit of cooperative federalism

requiring proper understanding and mutual confidence and resolution of problems of common interest expeditiously.

The Commission, therefore, recommends, in the spirit of the framers of the Constitution, that “article 356 must be used sparingly and only as a remedy of the last resort and after exhausting action under other articles like 256, 257 and 355.”

The Commission recommends that “normally President’s Rule in a State should be proclaimed on the basis of Governor’s Report under article 356(1). The Governor’s report should be a ‘speaking document’, containing a precise and clear statement of all material facts and grounds, on the basis of which the President may satisfy himself, as to the existence or otherwise of the situation contemplated in article 356”.(NCRWC Report, Ministry of Law, Justice and Legal Affairs, Department of Legal Affairs, legalaffairs.gov.in).

### **3.12. Review the ‘National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution’:**

A positive observation made by M.P.Singh and B.D.Dua, in their, “Indian Federalism and NCRWC Report 2002...” we can see that besides various recommendations, the Commission has a great contribution in the arena of Constitutionalism in India. By giving priority on National Interest, it gave emphasize on reforming electoral and party system, which is responsible for criminalization of politics in India in particular. This make NCRWC differ from the earlier commissions set up by the Government of India. To make the Indian Democracy as strong as possible, the Commission gave a more emphasize on “The Committee system to arrest the decline of Legislatures” as well as “Controlling the malady of political defections by providing for a constructive vote of confidence in an alternative government.” (M.P.Singh and B.D.Dua, “Indian Federalism and NCRWC Report 2002: Quest for a Federation without Federalism?” in “Indian Federalism in the New Millennium” edited by B.D.Dua and M.P.Singh, Manohar Pub, 2003).

In 2006 there was another judgment of Supreme Court came against the act of Governor as an agent of Central Government in the case of Rameshwar Prasad v. Union of India popularly known as Bihar Assembly dissolution case. The impartiality of the Governor in Bihar at that particular time has been questioned. Supreme Court declared the dissolution of the state legislative assembly unconstitutional. More over it has been said that “It has become imperative and necessary that right persons are chosen as Governors if the sanctity of the post as the head of the executive of a State is to be maintained” ‘as head of the state the

Governor has a duty to see that the administration of the state does not break down due to political instability' (AIR2006 SC 980).

### **3.13. The Punchhi Commission:**

Again another commission, the Punchhi Commission was set up by the Congress led UPA Government in 2007 for re- structuring the centre-state relations in general and mitigating the problem of regional imbalances in particular. The commission submitted its report on 2010. But out of 273 recommendations of the commission, UPA government was taken only 123 suggestions for discussion and decision. Some major recommendations of the Punchhi Commission were as follows:

'The Commission was of the view that the first thing that should be done by Parliament is to make a law on the subject of "entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries" as contemplated by entry 14 of List I of the Seventh Schedule to the constitution. The law should regulate the 'treaty-making power'. There is an urgent and real need to democratize the process of treaty making. Under our constitutional system, it is not the prerogative of the executive. It is a matter within the competence of Parliament and it should exercise that power in the interest of the State and its citizens'.

"Article 356 should be used very sparingly, in extreme cases, as a measure of last resort, when all available alternatives fail to prevent or rectify a breakdown of constitutional machinery in the State. All attempts should be made to resolve the crisis at the State level before taking recourse to the provisions of Article 356".

"Power of Union to give directions to State Though States have raised objections to the power exercisable by the Union under Articles 256 and 257 on the ground that they are destructive of not only the autonomy of States but also inimical to the very foundation of a federal arrangement, the Commission is of the considered view that there is no case for amendment of these provisions. Articles 256 and 257 may be viewed as a safety valve, one which may never come into play but which is nevertheless required to be retained". "It is imperative to put the Inter-State Council as a specialized forum to deal with intergovernmental relations according to federal principles and Constitutional good practices".

“As the resources at the command of the States are limited, the Commission recommends higher Central transfers to backward States to enable them to improve their physical and human infrastructure”.

“There should be greater focus on the issues of governance in the less developed States of the country”.

“The Commission is in favor of Finance Commission adopting more sophisticated methods to assess the needs of backward States and providing them with higher transfers”.

(Inter-State Council Secretariat, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Interstatecouncil.nic.in 2017).

In 2010 Supreme Court again raised a question against the procedure of Governor’s removal in the case of B.P.Singhal vs Union of India. The Supreme Court held that “a Governor cannot be removed on the ground that he is out of sync with the ideologies of the Union Government or the party in power at the Centre”. (SC/0350/2010)

### **Conclusion:**

Henceforth from the above discussion it is revealed that since 1990s the Indian political system was taking the form of more federal than unitary when the state was occupied the central area of discussion. It is assumed that it is the regional parties which actually make the states as stronger as possible. However in this federal atmosphere the phase of coalition politics was finally grasping the political power since 1989 which has been added extra regional flavor in Indian political process. The changing political scenario is the result of dissatisfactions’ of a larger populations of the country on the basis of regional disparity as well as excessive centralization of powers and the needs of power sharing in a diversified-heterogeneous country. Naturally the period started from early 1990’s have been characterized as a period of greater regionalization towards more federalization. However since 1990`s the policy of regionalization has been more stronger which intended to make a balance between ‘Parliamentary centralization and federal decentralization. The states governments are become more active regarding political participation at the denial of central interventions which makes the environment of political retaliation in general. In Kerala, on a National seminar on the centre-state relations and the Union Finance Commission, Asim Dasgupta, the then Left Front Finance Minister of West Bengal has argued for adequate representation for states in the Union Planning Commission, Finance Commission and the boards of the Reserve Bank of India as also for the strengthening of the National

Development Council and the Inter-State Council'. (Singh Saxena, 2013). Hence forth the growing regional consciousness has paved the way for several regional as well as sub-regional movements emerged from the regional discriminations throughout the country. The coalition politics has been acquired a stable platform by the representations of distinct regional political parties. The period of regionalism has been appeared as a turning point of Indian political system by taking federation building as its ends.

## Chapter – IV

### REGIONAL AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS AND INDIAN FEDERATION

#### 4. Introduction:

'Unity in Diversity' is the basic essence of Indian Parliamentary Democracy and the concept of diversity is very much interred coined with another concept of Regionalism. "Regionalism is a world-wide phenomenon and even older and developed nations have not been immune from regional movements. But regionalism is of crucial importance in third world countries (developing societies) where the traditional societies have been passing through the painful process of transforming their particularistic and primordial loyalties/sentiments to loyalties to the nation state. Processes of modernization call for far reaching socio-economic and political changes in such nations" (Hazary, 1991). India that is Bharat is a continent of culture, language, caste, religion which produces a diversified atmosphere in the country and regionalism was emerged out as a way of accommodating this diversity. But this regional diversity was not a new one. It was observed that the root of regionalism was inherent in the soil of ancient India more than 4000 years. The country developed its socio-cultural as well as linguistic units with their own identities. The country's regional diversity was sought to use by the contemporaneous ruler for the purpose of administration. According to 'Puranas', there were several 'Janapad' in ancient India which was characterized as a multi-lingual, multi-cultural in nature. During the Mughal period on the basis of ethno-regionalism, the country was divided into different 'Suba' or 'Pradesh'. At the age of British Imperialism, the Britishers instigated this feelings of regionalism and encouraged the people of various region in India to think in terms of their region. Regionalism was seen as an instrument in the hands of British to exploit the Country on the basis of divide and rule policy. It was said that the British ruler adopted "a policy of administrative divisions of the country as to endanger conflict between people of different Nationalities, the Assamese against the Bengalis, the Tamils against the Telegus and the Bengalis against the Oriyas e.t.c" (Bandopadhyay, 1998). It was observed that, on the basis of ethnographic study of India's regional disparities the British started to play "a vicious game to instigating one regional group against the other". (Chakraborty, Dutta and Roy, 2009). More over plundering the national wealth of the country by the British imperialist gradually make an erosion of countries economy at large scale which paves the way for uneven economic development as well as regional imbalances in the post-Independent India. It is said that "regional parties are a natural consequence of the establishment of a democratic

political system in a federal polity. The inauguration of the constitution, coming in of adult franchise, land reforms, spread of literacy and political awareness etc in a multi- linguistic and ethnic society were bound in time to lead to regional parties, pre-occupied with local issues. The formation of linguistic states, provided an impetus for the development of 'regionally oriented elites' distinct from the 'central elites' and the consequence of state reorganization in India have been provided, "an indigenization and democratization of provincial politics" (Pai , 1990).

However before going the nature of various regional movements in India which trying to make Indian federalism as region friendly as much as possible for strengthening its roots, we must analysis the dimensions of regionalism as well as the origin of Indian regionalism at first.

#### **4.1. Dimensions of Regionalism:**

Now if we contextualize the Indian Regionalism, we find that this particular concept have positive as well as negative dimension. In positive outlook, the feelings of regionalism refers self-development on the basis of self-identity where the regional elites began to participate in a decision making process at national as well as state level. This approach equalizes the concept of regionalism with the concept of participatory democracy in a broad sense. It was said that this concept of regionalism was associated with a "plural integration model" rather than "unitary integration" (Hazary, 1991). But on the other hand where the quest for regional identity was disintegrative in nature, which directed towards the politics of scarcity, was treated as a negative regionalism which was detrimental towards the national unity and integrity.

It was observed that regionalism is a multi-dimensional concept where caste, religion, language, culture, race played a dominant role. In India specially the essence of regionalism was carried by the masses on the basis of un even economic development as well as relative deprivation of a particular state or a particular region which some time colored by identity crisis. In India there were three major types of regionalism identified by the scholars, like supra State regionalism, Inter-State regionalism Intra-State regionalism which some time called as a sub-regionalism. It has been observed that the supra-state regionalism where represent the group identity of several states, the Intra-State regionalism was associated with the state boundaries particularly. The Intra-State regionalism is a quest for self fulfillment of a particular region within a State and there movement was directed not against the Union but

against the State. Eventually it was observed that, with the connotation of 'cultural mornings' and 'economic roots', the regionalism of India evolved gradually, from the widening gap between the ruling elites and the masses in general (Narain, 1984). Hedwig observes: "In a general way regionalism may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggerated or aggressive form of centralization." (Hedwig, 1924).

#### **4.2. Origin of Indian Regionalism:**

The feeling of regionalism was injected in the blood of Indian Civilization, through the ancient rulers as well as by the British Imperialist. Hence forth this feeling was carried forward in post-independent India also. Eventually the territorial redistribution of State boundaries on the basis of language was come to forefront of Indian political system as first regional crisis of Independent India. Gradually the issue of creation of linguistic States converted into a popular agitation. The Situation was compelled The Congress dominated Central government to create the first linguistic State Andhra Pradesh in 1952, which stimulated the demand for the re-organization of States in the Southern part of the country. The founding fathers were afraid about this growth of linguism in the country which may prove itself as a threat to Indian Unity. Hence forth the State Reorganization commission was established in 1953 by the central govt. of India under the Chairmanship of S.K. Dar for the Purpose of rational Solution of this ethno- regional problem. Nehru believed that 'Some Kind of re-organization' was 'inevitable' but the cultural, geographic and economic factors as well as language must be taken in to account. (Austin, 1972) The commission realized that, the language being the objective criterion of the formation of an ethnic group. So, redrawing the boundaries of the States on the basis of language is a rational as well as suitable solution for the Country in general. The State Reorganization commission also felt that, "the sense of scope for positive expression of the collective personality of a people inhabiting a state or a region may be conducive to the contentment and well-being of the community." (Singh, 1994) Hence forth, The State Re organization commission adopted the principle of linguistic homogeneity for the re-organization of States and the Govt. of India accepted the proposal of the commission to re-drawing the political map of the States on basis of language in 1956. (Narang, 2003) It was said that in this process of linguism, the force of regionalism is driven towards the remedy of uneven economy of the regions produced by the 'mal – Development syndrome' ( Pant 1984) However on the basis of positive exposition, Kothari said that "the reorganization resulted in rationalizing the political map of India without Seriously weakening its unity \_\_ (it) created homogeneous political units which could be administered

though a medium that the vast majority of the population understood.” On the other hand Srinibas sees the negative implications of this, “... this is the first time in Indian history when cultural frontiers were converted in to political frontiers.” ( Kothari, 1977).

It was said that, originally the ethno-regional conflict was moderated through the event of linguistic reorganization of States. The core of regionalism was getting politicized in 1956. It was observed that, once, the re-organization of the States on the basis of language was completed the togetherness of the Nation was converted in to the sense of particularistic or separate identity. The political system of India was getting stigmatized by the everlasting we – they syndrome. Group interests played a dominant role at the level of state politics at that particular point of time. The problems became more complicated when the language issue coupled with the caste structure in Indian society. It was seen that, the reorganization could not make all the states linguistically homogeneous. The whole process of re organization has been resulted as a search for political identity of the entire federal Union. The several movements at Sub-State levels have been started, when a particular region within a linguistic State wanted to be separated from its own state. Gradually the linguistic regionalism which was identified as a constitutional regionalism with the need of the hour also fueled the rise of extra-constitutional regionalism. These types of regionalism evolved side by side with the constitutional arrangement of linguistic states. These extra-constitution regional movements created a pressure on political authority for their legitimate share on national resources (Mukherjee, 1992).India today has had to witness several sub-regional or intra-regional movement like Telengana movement in Andhra Pradesh, Sourashtra movement in Gujarat, Maha vidarbha movement in Maharashtra, Bodo movement in Assam, Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal e.t.c. Hence the regional movements as well as the sub-regional movements are appeared as one of the major challenges to the Indian political system in general and national strategy of development in particular.

It was observed that, the government of India has failed to evolve a new economic policy along with the formation of the states on a linguistic basis. Regional disparity appeared as an epidemic in all over the country. There was an emergence of a widening gap between the governmental policies and program of economic development and the newer aspirations of the people, which create a crisis of legitimacy as well as discontentment among masses. A plural diversified country like India, where regionalism was seen as an essential outcome often lessened in a highly centralized congress dynasty. The Indian National Congress was adopted the policy of centralization, influenced by the British legacy of colonialism, and the

party believes, through this policy it was possible to enter more effectively into regional and Sub-regional areas. But the monolithic character of Congress party paves the way for policy of detachment rather the policy of attachment with the state as well as regional level polities. It was observed that, some autocratic activity of Indian National Congress like, Inadequate attention given to regional problems, low respect for regional pride, as well as lack of intention of accommodation with regional parties, lack of communication with the regional elites on the one hand and growing regional consciousness on power decentralization have introduced the new decay of regionalization of Indian politics. It was said that, “Undue centralization leads to blood pressure at the centre and anemia at the periphery. The inevitable result is morbidity and inefficiency. Indeed centralization does not solve but aggravates the problems of the people” (Chatterjee, 1988 ).

Consequently after the first redrawing of the political map of the Country in 1956, the process was continued in the 1960s, the 1980s, and the early 2000s and again in 2013. This phase regarded as the post-reorganization territorial adjustment. The cultural, linguistic, ethnic ground on the one hand and regional disparities on the basis of economic ground on the other hand create a situation for re adjustments of politico- territorial units. ‘In a general atmosphere of poverty and unemployment, the feeling of economic deprivation assume politically and potentially exploitable and explosive in character.’ (Singh, 1994).

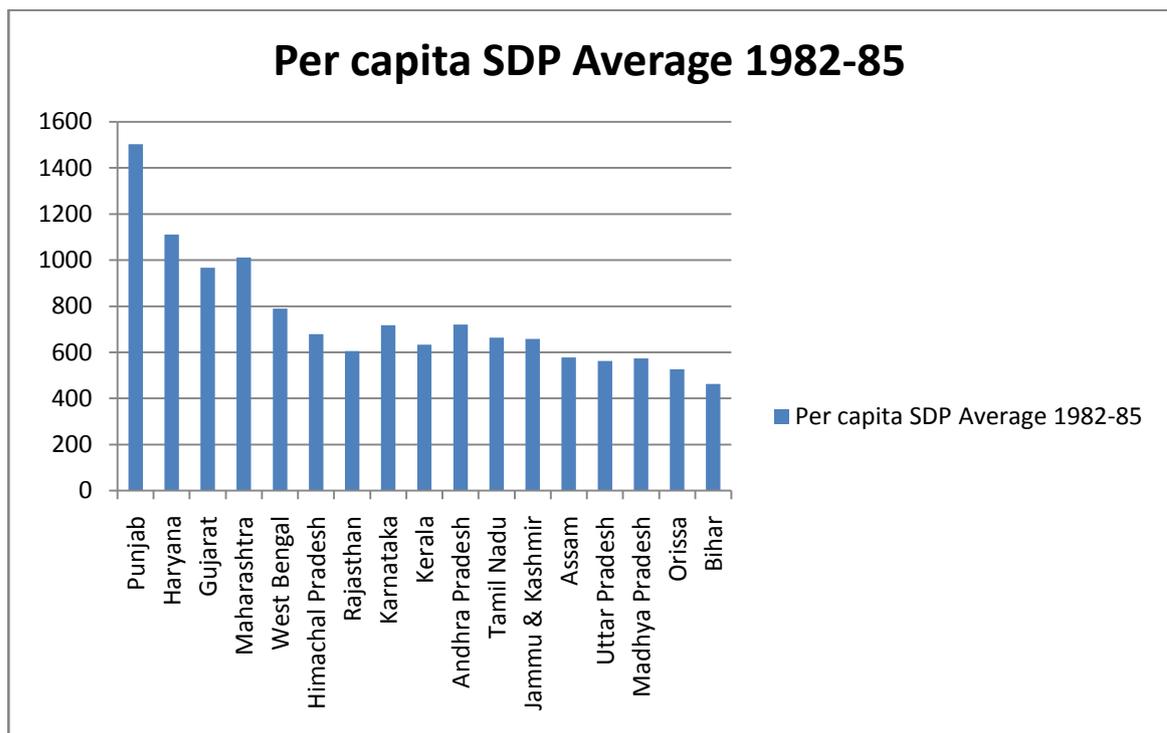
It has been observed that, “the 'capacity' of the political system to give 'outputs' to the people through effective and efficient execution of public policy - provides the key to legitimacy, which is the foundation of any state or nation. The issue of performance is directly related to distributive justice- equitable distribution of goods, services and the essentials of life. The Indian nation still suffers from the distribution crisis since the regional imbalances have often been left unattended and the basic needs of life of the weak and vulnerable sections of the society have not yet been fulfilled. This has seriously affected the attainment of a basic structure of justice and equality. Surely regional demands and movements often stress the implementation of distributive justice among people and regions which remain neglected and exploited. The creation of smaller states in the north east and the North West (Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh) has contributed to rapid progress of the regions”(Hazary, 1991). However, the interstate disparities which create a general atmosphere of relative regional deprivation is now come under my discussion.

### 4.3. The trends of inter-state disparities in Indian federal context:

Since independence the federal system of the country is going through the excessive inter-state disparities in an economic ground in particular which gave rise of inter-state regional discontent in general. We can notice the maximum regional disparities through the following mentioned pictures:

Figure- 4.1

Resource transfer to the States in eighties



Source: Based upon CSO. Estimates (1987). A. K. Singh “ Regional Dualism, Regionalism and Development process in India” in “ National Building and Development process,” ed. L.R. Singh, Rawat Publication, New Delhi, PP-287-291, 1994.

It was seen that, the tendency of resource transfer to the poorer States from the Centre is low in compare to the richer States in eighties. It was said that, the uneven development of Capitalism had led to regional concentration on National Wealth. Regional imbalances are generated both the enrichment as well as poverty between regions. The economy of Punjab recorded a very high rate of growth during the sixties as a result, we see the “Green Revolution”, which also resulted in uneven development in different regions of the State. (Dutta, 1993).

Though it was seen that the rate of poverty was diereases in Indian States (except Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand) from 80’s to 20<sup>th</sup> Century but the sign of regional

disparity was acute in this connection. Naturally these trends make a space for inter-State regional imbalances in general. Hence, it was observe that, though the reorganization of territories on the basis of language have led to rising expectation among the nationalists but, inadequate policy making in developmental sector as well as inter-State regional discontent was noticed in general.

Table-4.1

Per Capita share of Central Taxes and Statutory Grants (Article 273&275) between 1952-53 and 1966-67 (in Rs)

States	1952-53	1957-58	1962-63	1966-67
Andhra Pradesh	--	--	--	10.6
Assam	4.8	10.8	13.0	19.9
Bihar	2.3	4.3	4.8	6.5
Bombay	2.6	4.3	7.5*	--
Gujarat	--	--	--	8.7
Jammu Kashmir	--	--	--	32.8
Kerala	--	--	--	18.6
Madhya Pradesh	1.7	4.9	6.2	7.6
Madras	4.1	3.3	6.8**	9.9
Maharashtra	--	--	--	9.8
Mysore	2.0	6.5	7.7	15.0
Orissa	2.7	5.6	13.9	22.6
Punjab	2.5	4.9	6.0	7.1***
Rajasthan	1.7	5.0	7.7	9.9
Uttar Pradesh	2.0	3.1	4.1	7.8
West Bengal	4.0	6.1	5.8	8.4

Source: Memorandum Submitted to Fifth Finance Commission, Government of West Bengal, 1969, p.138 (Datta, 2004).

\* Including Gujarat

\*\* Including Andhra Pradesh

\*\*\* Including Haryana

It has been observed that though the amount of grants was increased to the states gradually from independence but the regional disparities continued in that states which were politically conflicting with the centre. Henceforth, the discriminatory nature of Indian politics has been seen as a source of regional deprivation. More over the border question was raised as the major Inter-State disputes immediate after the linguistic re organization. The major border disputes were seen between Maharashtra and Mysore; Punjab and Haryana; Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Another Inter-State dispute was started relating to the Kaveri water dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. (Dutta, 1993).After Independence, in India regionalism

assumed various forms in various parts of the country when the country enter into a new era of economic, social and political development. But, we know that India is a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious country and the people of different region live together in India for a long time. So, there appeared a big gap between the expectation and fulfillment of people's desire. This idea mainly emerged from the mine of those people who belonged to the backward or underdeveloped parts of the country. They started to thinking in narrow ways that were being neglected in all spheres of life. They realized that they are not taken in to consideration when the question of the development of the country is taken in to account. Also the leaders of the different political parties use this regional sentiment of the people into their own purpose. They play passive and sometime active role for the growing of that type of movement in the name of the interest of the country. The regional parties have been seen as "result of a complex interaction between regional consciousness and political and economic developments in India". It is often observed that "while the national parties tend to lead to centralisation of power, the regional parties work towards decentralization" (Kumar,1984).After 4<sup>th</sup> general election 1967, the DMK government in Madras, and Swatantra led Orissa government emphasized the need for the curtailment of Central authority and the re-allocation of resources in favour of the states. Tamil Nadu's relations with the Centre could be described as "antagonistic cooperation"(Bombwall N. 1 (i): p. 206). In contrast the CPI(M) led UF West Bengal and Kerala attempted to project Centre-state conflicts along class lines using regional grievances in order to further their revolutionary aims. They followed an extremely aggressive posture in their attitude towards the central government, by carrying federal issues to the streets.( Ray, n 47: p.32 )(Pai ,1990)

India as a representative of the Third World country exhibits some peculiarities which differentiate her from the western world. Indian society cannot be strictly called traditional as there is a definite swing towards modernity. This has brought to the surface many issues of economic and social in nature which could not be observed earlier. However, regionalism in India, in terms of its desire may form itself with the color of three types of regional movements particularly. These are - **a.** Regional movement for more autonomy and power **b.** Regional movement for separate statehood **c.** Regional movement for demanding secession from the Indian Union (Mukherjee ,1992). Though regionalism is considered as a controversial as well as contemporary issue, hence forth the in-depth analysis of state based regional movement was required in India Political Process.

#### **4.4. Various regional demands in India:**

I want to discuss the several regional crises in India since Independence under the context of regional as well as sub-regional movements in the following way,

##### **Regional movements in India:**

###### **(i) The agitation of Punjab**

The demand for an Independent State for Sikh by the Akali leaders was started with the event of India being partitioned. The main objectives of the movement is freed the Sikhs from domination of hindus in general and escaped their religious temple from the control of hindu 'mahants' in one hand and draw a line of limitation of central interference in the internal affairs of the Sikhs, on the other. The Akalis conducted their demand of Azad Punjab in 1931. The creation of Punjab Suba was come to forefront against the State reorganization commission recommendation of merger of PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. The Akali leadership was demanded that, the Punjab Suba, was a only way protection of Sikhs interests, and in 1966, Punjab was established as a separate state for Punjabi speaking people. But following census 1961, there was many Hindus whose mother tongue are Punjabi( Brass,1991). However during this period Punjab was going through the phase of green revolution. The Government of India has always undermined the secessionist tendency of Punjab. However the confrontation between Congress and Akali Dal is continued in that particular state.

In 1968, the 'Batala Resolution' was passed by the Akali Dal for securing autonomy to the States as well as for the purpose of reshaped the Union –State relations. To settle down the problem of water and territorial dispute between Punjab & Haryana was also included in this resolution. In 1973, the modern phase of Punjab politics was introduced, when the Anandpur Sahib resolution was adopted by the Akali Dal, on the basis of religion based separate Sikh identity. The factional fight within the Akali Dal was played a crucial role during this period and Article 365 was proclaimed in 1975. It was observed that during 1977, the political identity to autonomy within a federal Structure. The period of militancy was worked during the period of mid 1980's to mid 1990's within the Sikh community in Punjab for the purpose of establishment of an independent state for Sikh named Khalistan. The militant phase in Punjab politics was carried by different organization like Dal Khalsa, All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) which was closely associated with Bhindranwale. Though it has been said that Bhindranwale's "primary political role was as a 'scape goat'

used by the Congress Government to displace all the blame for its own disastrous policies in Punjab”. In 1983 the Government of India imposed direct rule on Punjab due to increasing violence. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act was enforced in the disturbed areas of Punjab (Amnesty International 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2003). Henceforth operation Bluestar, was launched by govt. of India in Punjab in 1984 and in 1988 another military operation was took place in Punjab named “Operation Black Thunder”. (Dutta, 1993).The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by his Sikh body guard resulted massive riots in Delhi and other cities in India against the Sikhs. The Punjab Accord was signed in 1985. The Sikh extremists receive Support from different foreign Countries during this period. In 1993 the Government of Punjab declared that “terrorism has been defeated and that normality had returned to Punjab” (Amnesty International 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2003).It was observed that in 1994, the “Amritsar Declaration” was made for the fulfillment of the requirement of separate Sikh State under the leadership of Simranjit Singh Mann on the one hand and demand for more federalization, more autonomy was demanded by Prakash Singh Badal on the other hand in Punjab. (Singh, 2009)In 1997 a coalition of Shiromoni Akali Dal, Hindu Nationalist Party and Bharatiya Janata Party won state legislative election(Amnesty International 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2003).

It has been observed that, the Government of India often induced inter-state preferential policies which often transformed India from a nation state to a multinational state. Henceforth the old problems of Indian politics have paved the way for new identity crisis simultaneously on the basis of politics of discrimination in particular. Gradually this revealed the fact that by ignoring the politics of states it is difficult to holding the power at the centre. Hence an inexorable, overwhelming centralized policies of Indira regime was treated as primary cause of Punjab regional crisis ( Brass, 1991) which far away from the decentralized mode of power sharing.

(ii) ***Regional-autonomy movement in Jammu and Kashmir***

Kashmir was a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was created in 1846 consisting three regions – Muslim dominated Kashmir, Hindu dominated Jammu and Tibetan-Buddhist dominated Ladakh. It was the British who actually created the politics of religion in Kashmir by provoking clashes between Hindu and Muslims. It was said that the uprising of 1931 was generated an ethnic atmosphere in Jammu & Kashmir which may strengthen the national base for their freedom Struggle. Eventually in the period of Post-Independence, on the basis of the demand of Special Status as well as autonomy of Kashmir based on their cultural distinctiveness was accepted by the Govt. of

India with the condition of India's accession of Jammu and Kashmir since 26<sup>th</sup> Oct 1947, Kashmir was given a special Status in terms of Article 370 and the regional consciousness of Kashmir took a new turn. However, beside the Special Status, of the state," The word consultation and concurrence used in Article 370" are significant. The tendency of over centralization make an opposite circumstances for abrogation of Article 370. Out of the fear of the marginalization of their culture identity with the "State-Sponsored imposition of Pan-Indian ness derived from Bharatiya Culture" the Kashmir's eventually raised there secessionist demand of freedom (Dutta, 1993).

Gradually the issue of ethno-regional autonomy has dominated the political context of Jammu & Kashmir. It was said that, the feeling of preserving Kashmir separate identity resonated from the time of Kashmir accord 1975, when Jammu & Kashmir recognized as 'a constituent Unit of the Union of India' (Sheikh-Indira Accord,1975 satp.org) . In 1986, Rajiv-Farooq Accord was signed with the aims of establishment of a new phase of political consolidation in the State of Jammu & Kashmir against all kind of Secessionist, Communalist forces in the State. But again the feeling of marginalization of the State with India Union as well as tremendous manipulation of the States electoral process disturbed the situation of peace. In 1989, the matter has turned in to a supreme form of militancy under the guidance of Kashmiri Mujahedin. In 1996, the demand of State autonomy for protecting Kashmiri identity with due honor, was again culminated by National Conference. A durable ethno-political strategy to fulfill the aspirations of the Jammu & Kashmir was offered by the State Autonomy Committee. But their recommendation has been refused by the Government of India, 2000 to protect unity and integrity of the country. Again the Sagheer Ahmed Committee was recommended for the improvement of Centre-State relations as well as examining the autonomy demand in moderate way. (Bhat, 2010) Hence re institutionalization of power sharing has been focused in Kashmir political discourse gradually.

However, in 1990's there was an Inter- regional conflict was appeared dominated by the feelings of relative deprivation between the three regions of Jammu & Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. Particularly it has been observed that the problem of Kashmir rests upon some barrier of ethno-regional diversity. The diversities are described as, "Indian-controlled Kashmir, where pro-independence, pro-India, pro-Pakistan population segments uneasily coexist and to lesser extent also in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir, where pro-Pakistan and pro-independence segments coexist" (Bose, 2010). The following table has shown the ethno-regional diversity in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Table-4.2**

**Jammu and Kashmir State Population: 2001**

<b>Division</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>%Muslim</b>	<b>%Hindu</b>	<b>%Sikh</b>	<b>%Buddhist and Others</b>
Kashmir (53.9)	5,476,970	97.16	1.84	0.88	0.11
Jammu (43.7)	4,430,191	30.69	65.23	3.57	0.51
Ladakh(2.3)	236,539	47.40	6.22	-	45.87
Jammu and Kashmir	10,143,700	66.97	29.63	2.03	1.36

Source: Census 2001, Government of India, Jammu and Kashmir official Portal [jk.gov.in](http://jk.gov.in)

Finally the Central hegemony over the State of Jammu and Kashmir was proved in 2019 by abrogation of Article 370 permanently and turned the State towards two Union Territory under the direct Central control during the President Rule. The Central Government has taken a step strategically to infringe the Article 370 from the State of Jammu and Kashmir through the Presidential Power [370(3)] and bypassing the Article 368(1) of the Constitution of India. As it was stated that Article 370 is a temporary in nature [370(2)] and the power of making the Article in effective or inoperative was vested with the President of India [370(3)].

(iii) ***Regionalism in North-East India:***

North Eastern region of India comprises primarily the five states, the states of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura and two union territories (now States), Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. Later Sikkim has also been included in North East India. North East India was treated in Indian Politics socio-politically cardinal and strategically vulnerable. Now the modernity in tradition has influenced the identity dynamics in North East India which were associated with several socio-political problems where some of the region has demanded the autonomous status on the one hand, movements for separate statehood as well as demanding secession from the country on the other. The political crisis in this region is highly fragmented by the movement of autonomy as well as separatist movement. Inter-regional ethnic conflicts in this region have transformed the regional politics in to a politics of protest in particular.

It was observed that the ethnicity played a dominant role in Northeastern identity politics, as we saw that the North Easter Region contains distinct ethno-cultural groups. The

North Eastern States which are closely associated with the tribal identity geographically is being overcastted by the foreign countries. It was the primordial values of the tribal people which based on their tradition, laws, customs, then style of living and naturally there was a gap between their traditional values and upcoming modern culture. They have their own primitive outlook which no longer habituated with the advanced races. Henceforth the felling of alienations as well as deprivation was fostered among the tribal people of North cost India. Eventually the situation has become complicated on account of tribal tensions on the basis of a new political frame work. Inspite of geographical isolation as well as racial conflict the tribes of North-East India have tried to maintained their existence. Along with the linguistic diversity the migration also provides the concept of heterogeneity – in these regions. It was said that “the khasis, who belongs the austric speaking people, extremely have contributed to the development of the ancient civilization in North Eastern region. The Bodos, who came from the Himalayas are started to inhabit the mountain terrain and plain in this region. They were a great race accompanied with the mech and the Rabha who, settled in western Assam; the Koch, who placed on the north bank and Darrang District; The lalung, who residing in lower Assam; The Hajong, who stay on the southern Meghalaya, The kacheri, who placed on the northern bank; The Dimaser who settled in North cacher and Nagaland; The Hojai who occupy cachar and Nowgons; the Deori established in lakhimpur. The Nagas are widespread in Nagaland and some are spreaded out in Arunachal, Manipur and Assam. Their Culture exhibits some similarities with that of Indonesia”. (Barch, 1993) More over it was seen that, the multi-languages in North-East region, each being split up in to a number of dialects and linguistically the tribes are different among themselves.

So far as economic development is concerned, the North-Eastern region of India was treated almost backward region generally. Traditional agriculture, as well as incomprehensible industrialization, remove transport system make this region economically underdeveloped. Henceforth the inhabitant of this region rouses a question on centre negligence, which fortified their feeling of deprivation in compare to others regions of the country. More over the Unemployment issue in over the years. It was said that the socio-political isolation of this region form the national main stream has strong then their regional Identity. The theory of Relative deprivation is very much accustomed in this situation of North-Eastern region of India.

Table-4.3

State-wise distribution of net proceeds of Union taxes & Duties.

State	2013-14 (crore)
Andhra Pradesh	21,842.95
Arunachal Pradesh	1,032.22
Assam	11,423.45
Bihar	34,374.49
Chhattisgarh	7,777.36
Goa	837.47
Gujarat	9,575.28
Haryana	3,299.60
Himachal Pradesh	2,459.00
Jammu & Kashmir	4,125.13
Jharkhand	8,822.63
Karnataka	13,628.02
Kerala	7,371.20
Madhya Pradesh	22,418.73
Maharashtra	16,370.20
Manipur	1,420.01
Meghalaya	1,284.95
Mizoram	846.89
Nagaland	988.24
Orissa	15,048.04
Punjab	4,373.61
Rajasthan	18,426.32
Sikkim	752.66
Tamil Nadu	15,645.81
Tripura	1,608.97
Uttar Pradesh	61,957.20
Uttarakhand	3,526.72
West Bengal	22,872.51

\* The State of Telengana was not created at that time.

Source: Business Standard. Thenewsminute.com.

The table shows a tremendous Central disparity on the states of Northeast region in compare to the others. It was observed that, all forms of autonomy movement can be found in Northeastern region, which covered by tremendous diversity on the basis of economic disparity as well as ethno-cultural identity.

Moreover in compare to another region like Eastern, Southern, Western, Central Zones the Northeast region is, recognized as the most undeveloped region in India. 'The most striking fact of Assam's economic development is that it is falling behind the rest of the country. In 1950-51, per capita income in Assam was 4 percent above national average. In 1998-99, it was 41 percent below the national average at current prices and 45 percent below the national average at 1980-81 prices'.

Table 4.4

Per Capita Income (at constant 1980-81 prices)

Year	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91	1995-96	1996-97	1998-99
India	1127	1350	1520	1630	2222	2608	2761	3132
Assam	1173	1140	1221	1284	1524	1606	1628	1708
Difference	46(+)	210(-)	299(-)	346(-)	698(-)	1002(-)	1133(-)	1424(-)

Source: Assam Development Report niti.gov.in

Moreover it has been observed that the cabinet representation from this region is too low. It has been argued that, “It was for the first time in 1994 the Prime Minister Narsimha Rao gave P.A. Sangma, the status of a Cabinet minister. (Jayal,2006). However, it may observe that, “any national political system which ignores the realities of ethnicity or denies wider participation for all ethnic groups may result in the subordination of weaken groups by more powerful once and thus may generate ethnic disintegration and eventual national fragmentation” ( Bhattacharya, 1993). Watts argues that, the small states in north east region “should be seen as rather different to 'mainland' India” and he “stresses, a distinction between ‘full-fledged’ member-states and ‘peripheral’ units is analytically important” (Watts, 2007).

#### **A) Naga insurgency: an ethno-political consideration.**

The Naga movement is considered as the mother of all movements in North East India. The word Naga was used to designate the hill people. Naga covers sixteen major mongoloid tribes. They came from Burma and according to the government of India Act of 1935 the Naga territory was left as “Naga Hills Excluded Areas”, a part of the composite State of Assam, to be administered directed by the Governor. ( Singh, 2002).

Ethnicity in respect of the Nagas may be observed as an activated response to the colonial process. The Naga movement was Considered as an Ethno-Political Movement, which accelerated through there Socio-Cultured needs as a distinct Identity. The development of Naga ethnicity was consequently crystallized through the Naga movement. The feeling of discontent since the imposition of British rule and then intention to protect their distinctiveness, reached a climax in the Post-Independent Period. ( Zebol, 2014).

The Naga Movement was based on Extreme ethno-nationalism which was articulated by Naga National Council (NMC), by fostering the Sense of Naga oneness. In June 1947 the MNC make a demand that Naga Hills would cease to be a part of India on attainment of

independence. It's proclaimed that "Nagas are not Indians; Nagaland was never Conquered by India. The British conquered a part of Naga hills once the British left it should revert to its original free status." As the Naga's are very much concerned about their distinctive tribal culture they would not ready to treat themselves as an Indian. But after Independence the Government of India was agreed to grant them and autonomous Status within the Indian Union but the proposal of complete Sovereignty was rejected. After a long confliction with the Indian Union, a separate State of 'Nagaland' was created in 1963, which was included in the Status of Special Category State under Article 371 A of the Constitution of India. But Naga Federal Government (NFG) condemns that decision of govt. of India and their militant activity was continued, with the confinement on their demand of Sovereignty. It was the Naga's assertion that, their demand was for self determination. Because they were never the citizen of India, hence there was no question about their secession from Indian Union. So, it was Seen that the Indo-Naga Conflict was not be settled through either peaceful negotiation or armed Confrontation in that Circumstances (Singh, 2002). National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCNIM) led the Naga insurgency in its modern phase. The Nagaland Assembly also passed a resolution in 1994, by extending their Support to the demand of the greater Nagaland \_ Nagalim. (Das, 2009).

Though the government of India is trying to involve the Naga leadership in 'framework agreement' 2015 ([www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com)) in order to maintain the federal Status of the country in general and maintaining the integrity in NE Region in particular. But the issue of tolerance as well as patience is the predominant factor at this present Juncture.

## **B) Regionalism in Mizoram**

Like the Nagas, the Mizo's also protest against inclusion in India after Independence. They are the ancestor of the Tibeto- Burman-Mongoloid tribes, and they also not prepared to treat themselves as an Indian. They tried to join in Burma before the period of pre-independence but failed due to lack of effective leadership. After Independence, the Mizo union Started s civil disobedience movement during 1950's for full-fledged autonomy.

As a very backward and a remote Mizo hill when affected by a famine in 1959, the Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) was established with the aim of formation of an independent State for the Self- respecting Mizo, due to the negligence of Plains man, during this particular crisis. Consequently the MNFF was converted into Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Independence was the principle agenda of this party of Mizoram. So, it was

Seen that again the regional disparity was played a predominate role in Mizo's regional movement. With the help of China and Palestine the Mizo's were continued their struggle against Indian Union and the MNF converted there movement in to a Secessionist movement in 1966. (Singh 2002)

So it was seen that, the movement was started with a regional in character but Spreaded in to a Nationalist outlook. It was said that the MNF was tried to arouse the consciousness of Mizo Nationalism, based on ethnic Identity as well as economic development of the Mizo hills region. After a long insurgency as well as counter insurgency it gained the status of a full-fledged State within the union of India in 1987. Finally the State of Mizoram was started its journey for the development towards the modernity.

### **C) Ethno- regional tribalism in Manipur**

Manipur which was a princely State under British rule came under the purview of Indian govt. in 1949 and it was made as a union territory during the time of linguistic reorganization and became a full-fledged State in 1972. The tribes of Manipur, had their distinct culture, tradition, right to land and resources was considered important for their Survival. The tribal's of Manipur by influencing Nagas and Mizo's, has Started to search for a greater Identity. The Relative deprivation was developed between the tribal's of poor villages and the urban tribal's, under the Kuki administration which was colonial in nature. So the tribal's were looking for a perfect administration as well as the formation of their new wider identity, which was often distasted by the Unique demography on the basis of several ethnic groups. This movement was fueled by the grievances over cultural alienation and domination also. (Arun, 2014). So the ethnic problem was treated very much sensitive in Manipur in present day Indian Politics and it was a major task of the Country to integrate the tribal people in its national mainstream.

### **D) Regionalism and Meghalaya**

It is observed that, the Socio-economic Status of Meghalaya under British Colonial rule as well as post- Independent period was remaining backward despite their trading relations with different regions of the Country. Naturally, the tribal's like khasi, Garo, Jaintia through some regional associations like Khasi- Jaintia Political association, Garo National Council expressed their unique traditional cultures for their Socio- economic interests.

Soon after Independence, the people of the Hill areas began to feel a Sense of deprivation and negligence against the Central as well as the State govt. on Assam. As a more

advanced tribals, the Khasis feel the relative deprivation against Assamese. The movement for a separate state for hill's people getting fueled in the early sixties on the basis of language issue, after adoption the Assamese as the State language by the Constitution of India. Consequently the ethno-political demand of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills people for regional autonomy was triggered by the period from 1968 to 1970. In 1972, a full-fledged State of Meghalaya was created. (Bhaskaran,1993).

#### **E) Regionalism in Tripura**

Tripura is the motherland of different tribes, whose deprivation was continued even after the merger of it's with the Indian union. So far as the development is concerned the infrastructure as well as the per Capita income of the States was very low in compare to the another territory of India. Besides the economic deprivation, an ethnic problem was started in this region due to the large scale of inflow of immigrants from Pakistan as well as Bangladesh. Hence the regional imbalance on the basis of economic and cultural issues, the demand of autonomy was started in this region under the guidance of Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS). In 1972, from the status of Union territory (1956) it becomes established as a full-fledged State in Northeast India. (Dasgupta, 1993).

#### **F) Arunachal Pradesh**

The tribal society of Arunachal Pradesh was started their journey for autonomy on the basis of Socio-Economic development of the people of this region as well as to maintain their regional identity at State as well as Central level, under the guidance of United Peoples Party of Arunachal (UPPA).

The North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) after getting the Status of Union territory of India was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh (1972) become a full-fledged State in 1987.(Talukder, 1993).

#### **G) Ethno-Regional Movement in Assam**

Assam was treated one of the most backward States in India. A tiny apex of Western Assam Connected with a narrow corridor of west Bengal, that constitutes its only link with the rest of India. Per Capita income of the States was also very low in general. Industrially Assam is considered, one of the poorest states in India due to its geographical isolation as well as boarder dispute in particular. More over the rapid growth of population create a problem factor for the State. Capital deficiency as well as poor communication system makes the state as an under developed one. Henceforth there was no significant utilization of the

huge natural resources like tea, oil products etc in the states. The following pictures indicated the adverse condition of Assam in particular:

**Table 4.5**

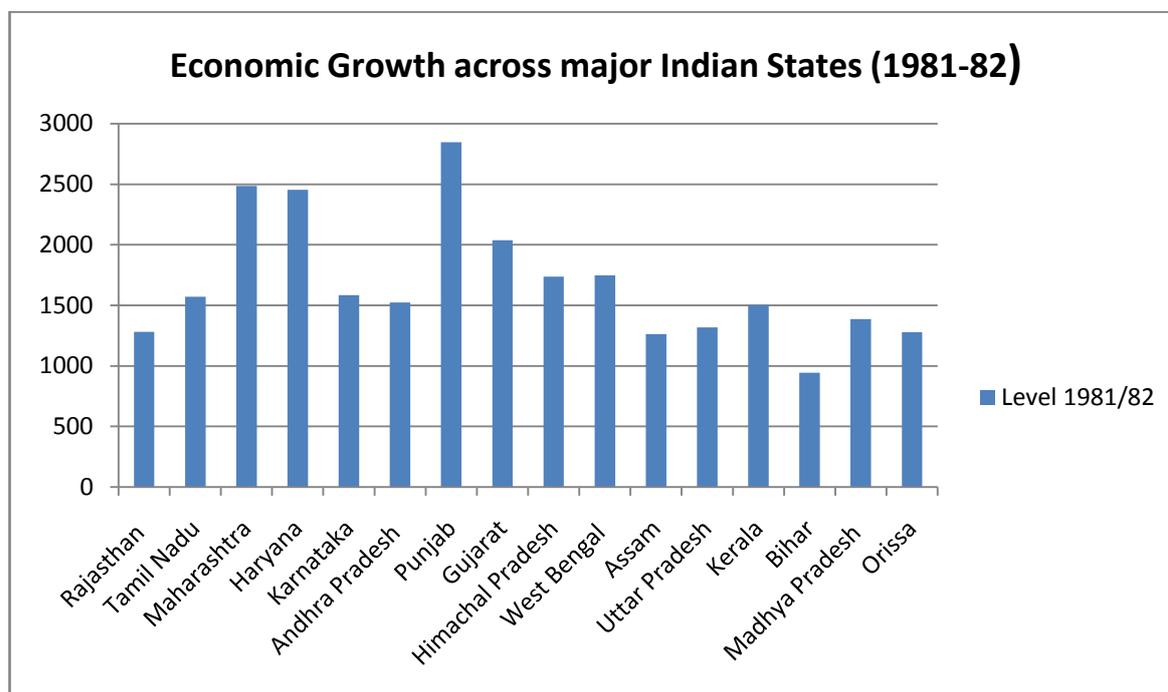
Per capita income, Assam and India

Year	At Current Prices		At Constant (1993-94) Prices	
	Assam	India	Assam	India
1993-94	5715	7698.2	5715	7698.2
1994-95	6493	8876.4	5737	8087.6
1995-96	7001	10160.3	5760	8494.5
1996-97	7394	11600.9	5793	9035.9
1997-98	7966	12771.5	5796	9287.9
1998-99	8826	14712.4	5664	9733.1
1999-2000	9720	15562.0	5978	10067.0
2000-2001(Q)	10198	16487.0	6157	10245.0

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Assam and the Central Statistical Organization 2001 [wptbc.assam.gov.in](http://wptbc.assam.gov.in)

Figure-4.2

Economic growth across major Indian States (1981-82)



Source: India National Human Development Report 2001. Cited in “India’s ‘poorly-performing’ States” Andrew Shepherd, Ed Anderson and Nambusi Kyegombe, Odi Overseas Development Institute, March, 2004.

Table 4.6

World Bank Projects in India States, 1980’s. \$ Per Capita

States	1980’
1. Andhra Pradesh	14.4
2. Assam	0.0
3. Bihar	1.5
4. Gujarat	30.8
5. Haryana	14.2
6. Himachal Pradesh	0.0
7. Karnataka	19.5
8. Kerala	6.7
9. Madhya Pradesh	12.6
10. Maharashtra	10.2
11. Orissa	4.0
12. Punjab	9.8
13. Rajasthan	2.3
14. Tamil Nadu	13.3
15. Uttar Pradesh	5.6
16. West Bengal	2.3

Source: World Bank Project data base Cited in “India’s poorly- performing States” Andrew Shepherd, Ed Anderson and Nambusi Kyegombe, Odi Overseas Development Institute, March, 2004.

Moreover, it was said that, In the Post- Independent period, the colonial politico-geography was massively affect the culture politics of Assam, consequently the State of Assam was menaced by the terrorist activities resulted by the ethnic revelries between different castes as well as tribal's in that particular State only. The State is treated as melting pot of diverse ethno-Cultural groups. The language based mobilization of 1960, in Assam was considered crucial in Indian political analysis. It was often treated as self-resistant movement of the people of Assam. The people of Assam getting inspired by their distinct identity organized a linguistics, which represent the ethnic consciousness of the Assamese through the symbolic ethno-lingual activities and which influenced the ethnic environment in Assam also.

It was said that, Assamese assertion on their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness is originally treated as a reaction against colonial conspiracy to turn Assam in to cohesion of Bengal. Naturally the feeling of deprivation was grown in Assam on the basis of one crucial agenda, that Assam was treated as an adjunct and Subordinate area of Bengal. Eventually a new political equation was emerged out in a State, under the leadership of All Assam Student Union (ASSU), which has been resulted the demand of electoral reservations for the indigenous people of Assam.

Moreover, the hills-plains antagonism in Assam creates an obstacle to make the State Unilingual. In the period of 1979 to 1985, the Assam movement was getting tempted by the foreigner issue. The Assamese identity received jolt in a new way by the illegal penetration from Bangladesh. This started a militant separatism led by the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) which stands differ from another political organization in Assam, AASU especially in this issue of immigration. (Misra, 2000)

It was observed that, demographically Assam was consists of the inhabitants, migrated from Tibet, Burma, Thailand, Bengal and elsewhere and assimilations of their populations created the greater Assamese Nation. Henceforth it was said that, the Assamese was not the original inhabitant of Assam, rather the Bodos, the Koches, the Morans, the Chatias, the Ahoms, these tribal's were the original inhabitants in this particular State.(Phakon, 2014). As a result, Assam become a land of different kinds of separate Identity movements as well as Sub-regional movements, including hills and plains of Assam like Bodoland movement, the ethnic identity formation of missing tribal, the demand for a separate Ahom State led by Tai-Ahom land committee, led by Karbi Students Association

and the Autonomous State Demand Committee (ASDC) etc. The following table has been shown the ethnic diversity of Assam:

Table-4.7

Assam: Population of major STs, 2001

Name of the Tribe	Total Population	Proportion to the total ST Population
Boro	1,352,771	40.9
Miri	587,310	17.8
Mikir	353,513	10.7
Rabha	277,517	8.4
Kachari	235,881	7.1
Lalung	170,622	5.2
Dimasa	110,976	3.4
Deori	41,161	1.2

Source: Census 2001, Government of India [censusindia.gov.in](http://censusindia.gov.in)

Besides these there are several other tribes exist in Assam like, Sonwal Kachari, Barman of Cschar, Mech, Hojai, Karbi, Kukis, Chutia, Thengale.t.c It has been observed that all the groups have some sort of anxieties about their identity and they have growing aspirations for greater administrative and political autonomy. Though in Assam there are a lot of autonomous councils but their territory often not clearly demarcated even in the case of the area of Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). The dispute of demand often appeared in some cases. When BTC of Bodo's, the largest plain tribes of the state has placed under the provision of sixth schedule, the protest has come from some hill tribes in Assam. As because 'the Sixth Schedule was originally limited its applicability only to the hill tribes of Assam. Though later, the provision of inclusion of plain tribes under sixth schedule was permitted through the recommendation of the State Government. Following 1991 census of India the relevance and applicability of the Hill as well as Plain tribes are mutually exclusive in Assam (Prabhakara, 2010). In Assam there was an ethnicity within ethnicity. Hence the tremendous ethno-cultural differences, central domination, the sense of growing deprivation against the mainland of India may responsible for regional unrest in the said territory.

Therefore the continuous central deprivation as well as the feelings of relative deprivation of Northeastern region of India has been resulted as the several insurrections over the year in

general. It is assumed that these grievances specifically stand on the politics of isolation or the politics of segregation in particular.

Table-4.8

Ten year's data of violence related insurrection in Northeast India:

Year	Assam	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Manipur	Nagaland	Arunachal Pradesh	Tripura
2006	169	25	2	286	89	11	70
2007	450	19	6	461	106	32	35
2008	373	11	4	496	144	3	28
2009	389	5	0	432	19	9	12
2010	154	22	0	138	3	0	3
2011	92	27	1	65	17	41	1
2012	102	51	0	113	61	4	3
2013	102	60	0	55	31	4	0
2014	306	77	2	55	16	9	4
2015	61	61	3	97	47	10	0

Source: [Government of India, Institute of Conflict Management, Data Sheet, 2020 [www.stap.org](http://www.stap.org)]

The table shows the continuous trend of ethnic violence in Northeast India which highlighting the issues of diversity recognition within an integrationist frame of course. However besides these regional movements there are some sub-regional movements also raising their heads within different states for their identity recognition and some time for the quest for an economic equality of a particular region even the caste factor often merged with such kind of demands.

#### iv. Sub-regional movements in India:

It has been observed that besides the ethnic pride when some discontent arises in between different region within a same state over the issue of economic prosperity on another ethno-linguistic region the sub-regional movements occur in general.

## **Bodoland Movement in Assam**

The Bodo movement is the longest Social movement in the Plains of Assam, which was started on the basis of Social reforms and consolidation of the Bodo identity against the Assamese Community in particular. The Bodo's who claim as the original inhabitant of Assam, as a tribes of plains in Assam when feel exploited as well as neglected for their non-inclusion of either 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> Scheduled of the Constitution, they are Started to protected their identity as well as Socio- Culture heritage through various kind of demands. They started their journey with the agitation of inclusion of Bodo language in Secondary level in Assam against imposition of Assamese language as a compulsory third language in Assam. In its modern phase the demand of Bodo's was converted in to a greater Share in political Power for maximum autonomy of Bodo's.

Eventually, the all Bodo Student Union and Bodo Peoples Autonomous Council (BPAC) launched a movement for creation of a separate State of Bodoland, for all over development of Bodos. However going through a serious ethnic conflict in Assam, the United Reservation Movement Council of Assam demanded for reorganization of Assam on federal basis. Eventually the Bodo's Maximum autonomy in the Socio-Culture as well as economic sector was preserved by the establishment of the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) through a Bodo accord signed by the Govt. of Assam and Bodo leadership, supervised by the Govt. of India, 1993. ( Singh, 2002) But, due to some territorial boundary dispute in BAC, the Bodos come under a new Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). In 2003 BTC was constituted under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India after signing a memorandum of settlement between the Government of India, Government of Assam and Bodo Liberation Tigers (Department of Plain Tribes and Backward classes, Government of Assam [wptbc.assam.gov.in](http://wptbc.assam.gov.in)) and Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District (BTAD) was formed.

## **Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal**

The name Darjeeling is derived from Tibetan words 'dorje' means thunderbolt and 'ling' means a place or land that means "a place or town of the thunderbolt"(Chakraborty, 2008). It is situated in the foot hills of Himalaya. Darjeeling the northern hill district of West Bengal is topographically divided in to two parts, the Terai and the Hill areas; Terai consists of the Siliguri sub-division while sub-division of Dareeling Sadar, Kurseong and Kalimpong constitute the Hill areas (Subba, 1983).

It is said that the territories corresponding to the present district of Darjeeling were annexed to Nepal by military conquest from the kings of Sikkim and Bhutan onward 1788 and remained as part of Nepal till 1815(Samanta'2001). History of Darjeeling shows that Nepal and Bhutan has shown great interest in this region. It was retained as a buffer state between Nepal and Bhutan(O'Malley, 1907).The situation got complicated after the active participation of East India Company. After its formation as a district by 1866, the British Government treated Darjeeling as a 'Non-regulated' district. Where the laws and regulation were not related to land and land revenue would not be in force. These administrative arrangements bred a sense of separatism and till as late 1874 Darjeeling was treated as a 'Non-regulated' area (Samanta,2001). From 1874 to 1919 it was recognized as a 'Scheduled District' and from 1919 to 1935 as a 'Backward Tract'. Finally from 1935 till the independence of India it was recognized as a 'Partially excluded area' under the Govt. of India Act 1935. Hence until 1947 Darjeeling was administratively not fully integrated with West Bengal though politically it was a part of it since 1866 (Subba, 1992). But the language, culture and tradition of the people were distinctly difference from those people inhabited in the plains of Bengal. After independence Darjeeling remained with Bengal as a Hindu majority. In fact Darjeeling owes a large proportion of population to the advent of immigrants.

In 1872, the first census of India was published and the total population of Darjeeling appeared to have steadily increased to 94,712. In 1876 W.W.Hunter wrote in his "Statistical Account of Bengal"(Volume x): " The Nepalese who form 34 percent of the population of the district, are all immigrants from the State of Nepal. They are a 'pushing' and 'thriving' race...." (Hunter,1876). The Nepalese were yet to be the major ethnic group in the population of Darjeeling. However the migration from Nepal went on unabated and by the time of the second census of India in 1881, the Nepalese form the absolute majority in the whole of Darjeeling. From 1951 onwards, following the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship (district 1950), there was visible reluctance among the Nepalese to divulge the place of birth. But the sudden upswing of the population figure in Darjeeling district from 3, 28,785 in 1951 to 4, 64,762 in 1961 underscored the quantum of migration from Nepal to Darjeeling(O'Malley, 1907).

The overwhelming demographic predominance of the Nepalese, which become a hard reality towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, contributed to this acceptability of Nepali language as the lingua franca. Along with the growth of literary movement for Nepali cultural identity,

ethnic exclusiveness was also expressed through the demands for autonomy in Darjeeling which were not always homogeneous in nature. They submitted a memorandum in 1907 to the Morley-Minto reforms committee pleading for the creation of a separate administrative entity for Darjeeling outside Bengal but within the British Indian Empire. When Edwin Montague, the British Secretary of State, visited India in 1917, the Hillman Association submitted a memorandum to the chief secretary of Bengal, demanding a separate administrative unit comprising the present Darjeeling District and the portion of Jalpaiguri District which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865(O'Malley, 1907). Again a memorandum jointly with the local association submitted to Sir Samuel Hoare, in 1930 by the Hillman Association, clearly highlighted the problems of the Gorkhas only. It reflects the fear of losing their solidarity under the new Constitution. They suggested the Gorkha predominated Darjeeling should be excluded from Bengal. In 1941, the Association urged to Lord Pretheweik Lawrence to treated Darjeeling as an independent administrative unit with the Deputy Commissioner. But under section 92 of the Govt. of India Act, 1935 the district of Darjeeling was made a 'Partially excluded area' (Subba, 1992).

In 1931, the CPI(M) demanding that the centre grant regional autonomy to the three hill sub-division. But the centre rejected the solution as potentially divisive (Dasgupta, 2000). In 1943 the Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League was the first political party from the region to demand greater identity for the Gorkha ethnic group and economic freedom for the community. It included the protection of Nepali language with establish a friendly relation with Nepal also to preserve Nepali civilization and culture and the just demand for citizenship of Indian Gorkhas (Chakraborty,1988).

On the eve of the independence the All India Gorkha League called for regional autonomy of Darjeeling and its adjoining areas with Assam. The demand was submitted after Independence to the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But he did not pay much heed to the demand. While, some other states were carved out on the basis of language and culture, the SRC did not consider demand for Gorkhaland strong enough. On 6<sup>th</sup> April, 1947 Darjeeling District Committee of the communist Party of India had submitted the memorandum for Gorkhas – Gorkhastan, an independent nation comprising Nepal, Darjeeling, Sikkim to the constituent Assembly. It stated that, "in the opinion of the CPI the district of Darjeeling belongs to the Gorkha and it is their homeland (Subba, 1992).The concept of the regional autonomy was introduced in our Constitution only

in respect of the tribal areas. Besides the provision for district and regional autonomous council, the concept of autonomous state was introduced by 22<sup>nd</sup> Amendment of the Constitution in 1969. But this was applicable only in respect of the areas falling in the North Eastern region. The regional autonomy for Darjeeling Hills had not been seriously opposed either by the state govt. or any political party of West Bengal (Samanta,2001). In 1955, congress also made a case for autonomy in the form of statutory District Council for Darjeeling to aid and advice the govt. in matters of administration. In 1957 when Jawaharlal Nehru visited Darjeeling, a joint memorandum claiming autonomy for the hill sub-division was submitted to him by the representatives of Congress, CPI and Gorkha League. The Darjeeling district Congress committee had dissolved in its meeting on August 25, 1968 that geographical condition of the area, racial, cultural and linguistic background of the people and the backwardness of the area amply justify an autonomous administrative set up for hill areas comprising Darjeeling Sadar, Kalimpong and Kurseong sub-divisions. But significantly Congress never made any serious effort to implement their resolution of 1968 during their tenure in power from 1972 to 1977(Samanta,2001).

It was the Pranta Parishad which first stated that separate state is very important to maintain the identity of Nepalis. In 1980's it was emerge s the leading political organization of the Gorkhas. The Parishad gave prime importance to the upliftment of economic standard of the Nepalis. The Pranta Parishad demands the formation of a separate state which named as Gorkhaland comprising of the Nepali speaking areas of the Dooars in the district of Jalpaiguri and the whole of Darjeeling district in accordance with the Article 3(a) of the Constitution.

The Gorkha Ntional Liberation Front (GNLF) led by Subhas Ghising, came into being in 30<sup>th</sup> July 1980. This Organization carried forward the movement for a separate state and regional autonomy. The areas which the GNLF wanted to include in Gorkhaland was Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong, Mirik, Siliguri and some other parts of the Dooars area (Chakraborty,2008).Abrogation of Article VII of Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 was one of the major demands of the GNLF which seems to determine the political status of millions of “Nepalese of Indian origin” and “Indians of Nepal origin”. To Ghising Aricle VII of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 has made Gorkhas absolutely stateless or identity less, thus creating a big problem (Chakraborty, 2008). It has been observed that Article VII of the Treaty made an effect on the settled Indian Gorkhas and those who come along with the incorporation of territory in to India. The problem of similarity in ethnic and

linguistic expressions as well as the 'policy of open frontiers' has further complicated this situation. Often it has been observed that along with the migration the Nepali speaking people had entire in to India by the process of Incorporation of territory after the Sugauli's Treaty, 1816. However Subhas Ghising the leader of GNLF, has favored the term Gorkha in order to differentiate the citizens between India and Nepal after the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950.

Gokhas were engaged in military services in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The British had the first opportunity of appreciating the material qualities of the Gorkhas in the war that broke out between East India Company and Nepal in 1814(Stiller, 1992). It was said that Indian history projected only the darker side of the Ghorkhas and Indians seldom questioned their history(Mansorgh and Lumby, Toker, 1992). The movement gained serious momentum during 1986-1988, when a violent agitation was carried out by GNLF under the leadership of Subhas Ghising. A qualitative differences has been observed between the movements in Darjeeling Hills in 1970 and 1980's (Sarkar, 2000). Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council accord is signed by GNLF, the state of West Bengal and the Government of India (Memorandum of Settlement,1988).In **2005**, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has demanded for the inclusion of DGHC in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. This addresses the administration of tribal areas (Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, Amendment Bill 2007)

It has been observed that the Gorkha movement has been started as a pure identity movement which gradually curb for economic development. It leads to revolt by Bimal Gurung, who launched GJM in 2007. Thereby, the second biggest agitation in Gorkhaland movement took place. In **2010-2011**, the Gorkhaland agitation saw a new turn after local leaders fought among themselves. Their demand was accomodated by the State govt. of Bengal (TMC) and Central govt. with the tripartite agreement with the GJM, by establishing another autonomous council, named Gorkhaland Territorial Adinistration (GTA) in 2012(West Bengal Act XX of 2011, West Bengal Legislature).In **2014**, the demand for separation rose high again due to the division of Andhra Pradesh.

#### **Sub regional demands in Andhra Pradesh:**

It was said that economic backwardness was one of the major issue of Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh for regional autonomy. This resulted on the demand of establishment of Separate State. On the one hand the regional autonomy of Andhra Pradesh when articulated

by TDP. On the other hand the issue of creation of Telengana as a Separate State has been articulated by TRS the two major political Parties of Andhra Pradesh. The feelings of relative deprivation in various regions within a States represented the intra- State regional movement in Andhra Pradesh. Consequently the Telengana was appeared as a full fledged State in 2014.

#### **Sub regional demands in Karnataka:**

Ethno-regionalism as well as Caste factor played a dominant role in different regions in Karnataka. It was observed that, there was a Superior-Subordinate relationship between two dominant Casts, named Vokkaligas and Lingayats, in old Mysore as well as Karnataka region. (Verma, 1994) Besides that, the issue of “Coorg, dentity” was treated in Karnataka as a corrupted one.

#### **Sub regional demands in Maharashtra:**

The feelings of negligence in compare to another region as well as Central negligence besides their, Socio-Cultural distinctiveness create an ethno-regional problem in Vidharbha region In Maharashtra. Even it was said that, in 1950's the recommendation of State reorganization Commission for the creation of Separate Vidharbha State was not accepted by Central govt. at that particular point of time. So the feeling of dissatisfaction gradually turned in to full-fledged regional movement under the leadership of Vidarbha Janata Congress and Vidarbha Rajya Party. The movement was taken its acute form after the creation of Smaller States like, Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh in 2000. Besides this, there is an another linguistic issue has been emerged consequently, when for the purpose of Uniting all the Marathi Speaking people in to a one region by the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samithi. The demand was made on, the transfer of Belgaum from Karnataka as well as Khanapur and Nipani to Maharashtra. ( Prakash, 2010)

#### **Sub regional demands in Madhya Pradesh:**

The Distinct Socio-Cultural Context as well as on the basis of tribal Identity, the people of Chhatisgarh area in Mahakoshal region in Madhya Pradesh was launched an autonomy movement which resulted the creation of separate State of Chhatisgarh in 2000. (Kumar, 1994). Besides this, then was an another in the State of Madhya Pradesh was articulated by the Gondwana Ganatantra Party (GGP) (Prakash, 2010)

### **Sub regional demands in Jharkhand:**

It was observed that, the demand of regional autonomy of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, Consists of the tribal people of Jharkhand was Came in Political for front of India in many years ago. Henceforth the Superior-Subordinate relationship between non tribal and tribal people pave the way for a movement for a separate State for tribal people, which resulted the creation of separate State of Jharkhand in 2000.

### **Sub regional demands in Uttar Pradesh :**

It was observed that, the inter-regional problem was also acute in Uttar Pradesh, a largest State of Indian Union, the feelings of relative deprivation hilly Uttarakhand region against the plains was emerged gradually in Uttar Pradesh. Besides the Cultural distinctiveness, the gap between high rates of literacy on the one hand, lack of employment opportunities on the other has produced a “remittance economy” in this hill region particularly (Dube, 1995). This led the growing assertion of local people against the State as well as Central Government. With the needs of hours, the Uttarakhand become a full fledged State in 2000. Besides this demand of Uttarakhand, in Uttar Pradesh there was another demand was seen, the demand of Harit Pradesh and the demand of Bundelkhand. These demands was articulated by Purvanchel Rajya Banao Manch; RLD; Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha. (Prakash,2010).

Though the boundaries of the states have been re-organized on the basis of linguistic needs in 1956 but these States as a geographical unit is based on culture heterogeneity instead of cultural homogeneity. Hence a large number of ethno-regional minorities were comprises in different States and Union territories in India. Consequently the ethno-lingual needs were scattered in a new way named as sub-regionalism which affected the state as well as the national politics in an extensive way.

### **Conclusion**

It has been observed that the event of linguistic reorganization have made our country's federation ethno federal in nature. The different cultural identities that co-exist in an ethno federation and at times are in confrontation due to the perception of relative deprivation as well as political discriminations. Hence it becomes difficult for a single national authority to hold an ethnically plural country in the long run under the anti-central atmosphere among the regions. But when the one party domination was converted in to a multiparty domination, the context of federalism also changed. The modified trend of ethno-

federation has divided the country's identity equally both the national as well as the regional. Hence in a democracy the ethnic orientation often goes against the centralized national endurance when the consequences depend upon the qualitative strategy of the political authority in general. As the centralized political authority of India was unable to hold the country's unity after its cultural fragmentation (since 1956) and especially when this lingo-cultural fragmentation is going towards the socio-economic and political deprivation which boosting the regionalist tendency (since 1977). Hence the trend of power sharing could be won over by the conventional trend of power concentration. However the consolidation of regional thrust for cultural identity has prepared a ground for consensual federalism where the regional political powers become strong enough. It is observed that, the inclusionary method often strengthen the legitimacy of the multiparty system through the coalition building unlike the one party system. Hence it is assumed that the regional parties often appeared as a crisis manager in the field of federation to fulfill the gap of federal imbalances through the strategy of coalition in general.

Hence the lack of concentrations of powerful Congress party towards the regional grievances as well as their intentional disparity towards the non-Congress ruled States have identified as a pre-condition of the enhancement of the newly emerging regional political parties. Hence the ethno-regional forces are intended to make the federal policy of India more devolutionary in nature. In this context there was no antagonism between the phenomena of regional autonomy and the federal framework made by the constitution makers for recognized the difference in a plural country. Hence forth it is depend on the quality of political authority. However they can manage the regional problems through the federal device. It has been noticed that "the basic issue is not of regionalism v. nationalism but one of right ordering of loyalties between the regional and the national identities" ( Narain ,1984). The regions are the earnest contributor in the Indian 'Multi regional federation' with their individuality stand for 'bucket approach' instead of 'melting-pot theory'. Where the attempt has been made regarding federation-building is not to eliminate the ethnic distinctiveness rather provide them the opportunity of the self flourishing as the primary requisite of the plural nation. ( Khan, 1997 )

On the other hand the linguistic demand denotes a quest for political identity formation in particular when the world is stand for the new existence of 'Small homogeneous units' instead of a centralize nation state where the ethno-regional consciousness are being highlighted instead of national heritage. The phenomena of regionalism have been appeared

as a demand of age. Hence, regionalism has been trying to spread the fragrance of decentralization through the federal particle in a centripetal nation state which often, identified as a paradox of modernization. As India is one of the longest heterogeneous country in the world, the each regional units have its own 'composition of ethnic and linguistic groups'. Hence, in India the connotation of regionalism is sub-merged with 'ethnicity and sub-nationalism'. (Narang, 1997)

In a plural society the primordial attachment has been played a dominating roll along with the sub-national loyalties, arises due to the gap between rulers and ruled in particular. Moreover in a plural society the "economic activities were congruent with ethnic divisions" in general. The plural society is fragmented on the basis of social stratification. It has been argued that, a 'pluralistic societies contain one or more relatively distinct sub-cultures, but their value systems are compatible with the national political consensus. The cultural diversity has been appeared as a pre-condition of a plural democratic society. Hence the mutual understanding as was as well as the positive connectivity between the nation states and its component units. One required for managing the political disorder of a democratic plural society in general. (Rabuskha and Shepsle, Charles, 1972). So far as the political instability in a democratic plural society is concerned it is said that "the twin progeny of modernization-cultural pluralism and nationalism -must find reconciliation because the world offers no other choice" (Englewood, 1972).

## Chapter – V

### **POLITICS OF COALITION: GROWING POWER OF REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA**

#### **5. Introduction**

The concept of regionalism as well as the existence of regional/local leadership was not a new one in Indian political system. It has been noticed that before independence the particular notion did not have an acute separate identity but after Independence the asymmetrical character of Indian political system may aggravated the regional atmosphere of the country in general. Another dimension which added the new regional flavor was the linguistic State-reorganization Act. 1955. The movement of linguistic reorganization was identified as the foot shape of 'Supra-regionalism' (Narain, 1984) which reached its highest stage in 1990`s when the common grievances of the states against Congress hegemony has established a stable non-congress coalition government in India. In this context regionalism has been established itself as a key function of federation-building on the basis of the concept of a strong Centre with a strong States'. Srinivas argued that "The creation of linguistic States on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1956 in most parts of the country has strengthened the barriers between them. This is the first time in Indian history when Cultural frontiers were converted into political frontiers" (Srinivas, 1992).

In 1967, with the development of the Second phase of Indian federalism, politics of regionalization has take place in Indian political process. We can find its roots from the event of linguistic reorganization of States in 1956 particularly. Though the "linguistic homogeneity" is the central theme of this act, but a regional as well as cultural divergence was brought about by this historical event. Henceforth a regional Consciousness in a national matrix was gradually colored by political one. The role of different regional political parties, to build a national power was considered crucial from that particular point of time. The regional elites appeared with their provincial hegemony in front of central elite. The transitional phase of Indian Politics was started through the power reduction of Indian National Congress. The hegemonic status of INC was getting its first jolt by the fourth general election 1967. When, Congress won only 283 seats (40.8%) and lost power in eight out of 16 States (Sridharan, 2010).

Eventually, Indian federalism was started to seen as a device of accommodating the rising regional aspirations in the different parts of the country after linguistic reorganization

of States in 1956. Gradually it became difficult for Congress leaders to accommodate the huge regional diversity as well as regional aspirations through an impartial as well as decentralized way, as because the monopoly of powers was the basic criterion of INC Since its inception in 1885. Henceforth the demand of abolitions of powerful one- party domination and the establishment of multi-party system were come to the fore front of Indian politics with the help of rising regional political parties. So the, transformation from one party domination to multiparty domination was introduced the era of regionalization of Indian politics through the process of coalition. It was observed that chronologically the United Front Government in 1989, 1996 & 1997; the National Democratic Alliance led by BJP in 1999; the United Front Government led by Congress in 2004 & 2009 were came to the power on the form of coalition. Hence the period from 1989 to 2013 has made the Indian political system depend on the matrix of coalition. In this chapter I need to discuss the formations of the regional political parties, the domination of the regional political parties over the country and the electoral performances of the regional political parties in general.

### **5.1. Formations of Regional Political Parties:**

After the State's reorganization in 1956, It was observed that, for the purpose of capturing the political power and for strengthening that support base in there region the regional leaders of Telegu Desham Party in Andhra Pradesh, Assam Gana Parishad in Assam, the all India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam in Tamil Nadu, Shiromoni Akali Dal in Punjab, has taken an initiative to protect and flourish there language as well as culture. (Teginder, 2008) It was emerged as a Sense of linguistic domination of the core group to the periphery and consequently regionalism was appeared as a best means to protect the regional language through a regional political parties of their own. On the contrary this was the reason of declining the congress support base at that particular point of time. For, example, the Assamese language as a State language was not accepted by the Mizos, Khasis, Garos, and the Nagas in North Eastern Region.

It was observed that, in most of the regions of India, the caste factor also played a crucial role for strengthening the support base of a regional political Party. (Hazary, 2008) Dravida Kazhagam (DK) in Tamil Nadu was formed on the basis of Anti-Brahmin movement; Kamma Caste of Andhra Pradesh was represented by TeleguDesham Party; Jat Sikh caste in Punjab was represented by Akali Dal; Adivasi Caste in Jharkhand was represented by the Jharkhand Party e.t.c. (Teginder, 2008)

Henceforth, the dominant national ideology of Indian National Congress has been gradually replaced by the ethno-regional as well as caste considerations which pave the way for the growing power of Regional Political Parties in India. The Political obligation to the nations was transferred in to the obligation to the multiculturalism. But, besides the cultural issues, the uneven economic development in particular and regional imbalances in general, led to the rise of various regional political parties in a national matrix. The feeling of 'relative deprivation' of one regional in compare to the others enhanced the centripetal forces in particular. On the contrary the economically developed states also nurtured the regional political parties for getting more autonomy from the Centre. It was observed that, more Inter-State, as well as inter-regional differences on per capita income and consumption was noticed since Independence.

It was also observed that, the regional political parties were formed due to the negligence of major political parties in centre towards the states especially when they occupied the central power. It was observed that, Ajay Mukherjee's Bangla Congress in West Bengal, Charan Singh's Bharatiya Kranti Dal in Uttar Pradesh, Bansi Lal's Haryana Vikas Party in Haryana all these regional parties were formed from there Seditious against Central leadership. Rashtriya Janata Dal in Bihar, Biju Janata Dal in Orissa, Tamil Manila Congress, Trinamool Congress were also included in this Criterion in different time. These regional party formation was also influenced by their charismatic leader in particular. Because, the general masses of India was always influence by this charismatic personality rather than party ideology. As we seen that the electoral history of India was already influenced by the family dynasty of Congress. Naturally the regional Politics also followed this path, for example we can named, M.T. Ram Rao (TDP), Mamata Banerjee (TMC) Parkash Singh Badal (Akali Dal), M.G. Ramachadran (DMK & AIADMK) Jayalalita (Ammma) (AIADMK) etc., who strengthened their political agenda through their personality rather Ideology. Eventually, the National political parties have uplifted the diff regional political parties for their Survival in the national matrix, which ultimately pave the way for regionalization of Indian polities in particular. (Teginder, 2008)

The ethno-cultural as well as classicized attitude was further aggravated by "Sons of Soil" Theory where peoples of a particular territory are very much conscious about their possession over their territory. Henceforth, they started to thinking that It was only the regional political parties who give them the priority in all over the right which they enjoyed

collectively in respective territory in compare to the Claims of migrants which after imposed by the central as well as state government for their narrow electoral interest.

Another contribution of regionalization was the emergency of middle class elite section of the Indian Society. They appended as a representation of group interest in Indian Political discourse, with the educationist vision upon regional problems. Through the “we - they syndrome” they started to articulate the regional interests in particular. By generating the feeling of deprivation as well as crisis of Identity, many regional as well as sub-regional movements was occurred in different time which create a vacuum of national leadership and fulfilled by the regional leadership in general. Like, Dravidian movement, of Assam, Jharkhand movement, movement of Gorkhaland etc. (Bharati Mukherjee, 1992.)

We can understand from the above table that, the state's shares of Income Taxes are mainly dependent on their population. So, it was had its deep impact on, Small States with larger population on the one hand and it was proved beneficiary for the large States. This definitely led a crisis of legitimacy as well as a growing demand of State autonomy. It was observed that, the planning commission was seen as an instrument of deprivation in various States as well as region used by the Central government in general Inter-State as well as intra-state which create an environment of relative deprivation. Where on the one hand despite having natural resources, in Bihar, Orissa, these State are failed to establish heavy Industrial development under central sector, where as the States like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, number of heavy industry has been establish under Central Project. Naturally there are some inter-regional antagonism was come out in various backwards States. Henceforth, where the “Vertical imbalances” create a hostile attitude of the States and region toward the union, on the other the” Horizontal imbalances” create an atmosphere of inter-States as well as inter-regional confrontation. (BharatiMukherjee,1992)

## **5.2. Major Regional Political Parties in India:**

However there are several major regional political parties in India, are successfully establish their dynasty during the period of regionalization, which deals, mainly with the agenda of identity, statehood, autonomy as well as economic development. Like many other books, the matter is well explained in the book named ‘Regional Parties in National Politics’ by Teginder.

**i. Akali Dal (Punjab)**

As the name 'Akali' is coterminous with the worshipper of Immortal Being ( Gulati, 2008) so, it is being easily established the fact that, the Akali Dal has started its functioning (1920) with a religion reform on behalf of Sikh Community in Punjab. It was noticed that Punjabi Suba was there major demand of Akalis for the protection of Gurudwara from the hands of Mahants. Thus the central motto of Akali Dal at that particular time was to protect the Sikhism form the fear of transformation to Christianity in particular. The Akali's asserts for Separate Sikh identity in terms of their cultural and language as distinct from the Hindus.

The Sikhs also realize gradually about the necessity of a central political organization to represent the regional as well as Socio-political interests of common Sikhs. The Akali's has started to play a crucial role to protect the possession of Sikhs on Guruduwaras of all over India. Shiromani Akali Dal was established eventually as a powerful central organization and Started to lead all the major political as well as economic demand of Sikhs, and gradually it became established itself as an alternative governing party in the State of Punjab. There are some major movements organized and culminated by the Akali Dal against the central govt. of India are:

- a) 'The Guruduwara reform movement (1920-25)'
- b) Movement for 'the creation of Punjabi-Speaking State (1955-62)'
- c) 'The Akali Morcha against internal emergency in India (1975-77)'
- d) 'Akali agitation on autonomy and federal policy (1982-84)'. (Tigender 2008)

Gradually the Akali Dal appeared as a very crucial allied partner of coalition govt. of the Central in different time. In 1977, it was seen as the partner of Janata Party Government. It was also observed that, the support base of Akali Dal is mainly come from rural strata (Dalit Sikhs).

ii. **Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)& the all India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) (Tamil Nadu)**

It was seen that as a dominant regionalist party DMK was come in to the forefront of Indian politics in 1949. It was observed that Caste was the predominant factor of the formation of this party in general. Basically the conflict of the caste was carried forward by the Brahmins and non-Brahmins community in particular. Eventually a culture conflict was rises on the basis of this caste confrontation, when the Sanskrit language was enhanced by the Brahmins on the one hand and Tamil language was favored by the Non-Brahmins on the other. Consequently on the basis of the theory of original inhabitants, the anti-Brahmin movement was started through the non-Brahmins as well as Harijans who belongs of the Dravidian Lineage. The Hindus, Christians as well as Muslims all are united against the Brahmins Community in South India. This movement was organized by the Justice Party. This religious reform was eventually transferred in to a linguistic one as against the imposition of Hindustani language in 1937. Anti-Hindu, riots was getting started in Tamil Nadu against the compulsion of using Hindi language in the educational institution of all over the India; for the purpose of restore the Tamil culture.

Eventually the justice party under the leadership of Naicker, was started to fought for a demand of Separate State hood for Dravidian State Tamil Nadu. The Justice Party was renaming at that time as Dravida Kazhagam. But some anti-national activities has reducing the popularity of Naicker and new Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) was organized in 1949, under the leadership of C.N. Annadurani in a more democratic way. DMK also started its career in national platform as an allied partner of Janata Party Government in 1977.

The AIADMK was not a new one but a factional wing of DMK in Tamil Nadu. At this particular point of time there was a clash happened between “organizational” and “extra-organizational” institutions in 1952 DMK was propounded by M.G. Ramachandran against film maker. Congress dictatorship was often Shows in films for the centralized govt. at the centre. It was noticed, that when M.G.Ramachandran become the most popular leader of DMK on the one hand, Karunanidhi getting stand as an non-political personality on the other. As a result, of this power confrontation, M.G.Ramachandran was formed a new political party in 1972, named Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. (Teginder, 2008) Both the regional parties were playing crucial role to form a coalition Government at the centre frequently. It was observed that simultaneously both the parties have taken acute regional as well as nationalistic stances in their Ideological space.

### **iii. Telegu Desham Party (Andhra Pradesh)**

It was said that, politics of region was started with the Telegu Desham Party of Andhra Pradesh particularly and Andhra was the first state which was recognized as linguistic State in India in 1956. Eventually the people of Andhra Pradesh reposed their faith on TDP as regional political Party with growing power in place of congress under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao 1982. So, when a gap has been created between people's expectations and inability of the congress to fulfill those expectations, it's pave the way for TDP in Andhra Pradesh as well as in national politics. The Congress also failed to grip the caste based rivalry between Kammas and Reddys at that particular point of time, which also helps to increase the feelings of discrimination against the central government. During this period, the Backward classes also has been ready to support the TDP for their original welfare not for the electoral success, emphasized by the Congress in the State. TDP was moved for the Socio-political as well as educational reservation for OBC sections of the State. Eventually the dissatisfaction of the people of Andhra Pradesh against the leadership of Congress, make a field for power enhancement of regional party only. It was also seen that TDP has taken an anti-Hindi Stance for protecting their linguistic Identity against Hindustan also. Eventually the Andhra ethnicity was transformed in to an autonomy movement in early period. So it was observed that the corruption of National politics as well as the influence of a charismatic leadership has helped the TDP, to emerged as a powerful regional political party. (Teginder 2008)

Hence, the politics of Andhra Pradesh was centrally around the two political ideologies, TDP and Congress. The development approach of TDP mainly enhanced the position of Kammas who belong to OBC'S. So the support base of TDP was seen as the poor and rural voters, as well as Women's also, who were affected by the glamour of N.T. Rama Rao a film actor. Henceforth TDP in Andhra Pradesh was come to the fore fort of Indian Politics with their sub-national issue and eventually become more powerful as allied partner of coalition era.

### **iv. Asom Gana Parishad( Assam)**

Regional politics in Assam was necessarily concentrated against illegal migration in the States from Bangladesh, West Bengal in Particular and their inclusion in electoral process with the support of Congress. The people of Assam was affected to loose there distinct Identity. In this Circumstance, in 1985, the Asom Gana Parishad was emerged as a protector

of their national land for the people of Assamese only. Henceforth Assam agitation was started for the establishment of a new ethno-linguistic Assam. It was observed that due to huge migration from defend areas including Bengal there was a Dominant-Subordinate pattern of relationship was grown in Assam, where educated Bengalis are played the dominant role to the people of Assam. Besides this the others community like Marwari's played a dominant character in the financial sector in Assam. They play the role of banker, gradually this Situation aggravated the Sentiment of original inhabitant of Assam and who inspired for the ethno-regional movement under the leadership of AGP against their minority Status in their own State. They feel their culture, language was come under the threat. The feeling of deprivation of the people of Assam, against the Central govt. makes a support base of regional political parties like AGP.

Eventually AGP was started to Searching as an alternative to congress .“Assam for the Assamese” was the slogan of AGP. The people have been started to thinking that, only the regional parties should protect their interests as well as fulfill their aspirations. It was seen that, congress (I) has lost its topicality at that particular point of time. (Teginder 2008)

**v. Shiv Sena (Maharashtra)**

In the field of regionalism, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra was came with a religious agenda, as identified it Self as a Hindu party. It was emerged in Maharashtra in 1966, over the issues on anti-migration as well as the problem of unemployment in Mumbai at that particular point of time. Feelings of deprivation at the economic Sector with a large Scale unemployment made the Maharashtrians, in Secured which had its effects on regionalists feeling of Shiv Sena. The sentiment of the masses was getting politicized in to the theory of Sons of Soils. They also move for cultural and linguistic protection of Maharastrarians in Mumbai, who cornered by the influence of migration. The Senahas tried to uphold the Marathi language as much as possible. The confrontation was started between the State of Maharashtra and the govt. of India. On the basis of economic dissatisfactions of Sons of the Soil, Shiv Sena has started to protest against Congress hegemony in the State of Maharashtra, with a fuel of regional patriotism. On the other hand for it anti-communist Status, the Shiv Sena getting the Support of many others regional parties at that particular point of time like, the Swatantra Party, the Praja Socialist Party etc. It was emerged as a militant Hindu party which Support base was organized by the youth of Maratha Caste as well as OBC'S in Maharashtra. (Teginder, 2008)

**vi. National Conference (Jammu & Kashmir)**

Though the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim conference, the oldest regional parties of Jammu & Kashmir was formed by the Muslim community but later its support base was come from another community also and renamed as Jammu & Kashmir National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. After its formation, in 1946 it's organized the "Quit Kashmir" movement for the establishment of Socialist Society with the end of the rule of Maharaja in Jammu & Kashmir. Eventually after Independence there movement was culminated over the issue of establishment of an "Independent Kashmir". The treaty of 1975 between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah has been appeared as Indira's strategy of bringing the state under the full central domination. These circumstances bring the states leadership to move on for the secession. In 1986 another accord was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah, son of Sheikh Abdullah. However it has been observed that in their journey for regional autonomy they has got huge public support in general and from 1967 it started to play a very significance role in formation of Coalition govt. of the State as well as Central government of India. Henceforth the National conference, the regional party of Jammu & Kashmir was occupied a central place of the State with its religio-political doctrine under the leadership of Farooq Abdullah later.(Teginder 2008)

**Biju Janata Dal (Orissa)**

It was observed that, though BJD, was appeared as a non-congress state based Political party in Orissa but it was fortified local elites and followed the regional discourse particularly originated from the Janata Dal. The independent party Biju Janata Dal was also played a significant role in national politics from 1997. The Biju Janata Dal was acted in favor of the strength of Regional politics against congress politics in Orissa. The main agenda of BJP was the Socio-economic backwardness of the state rather regional ethnicity. It appeared as a force against to protect the state the corruption of congress in general. (Palshikar, 2003)

**RashtriyaJanata Dal (Bihar)**

Rashtriya Janata Dal was one of the rising and powerful regional political party in Bihar from 1997. It was seen that, RJD was appeared as a representative of Yadava Community in particular under the leadership of Laloo Prashad Yadav. OBCS, Muslims, SC's were the main support base of this regional party. Gradually RJD was played a crucial role to form a coalition government in the state as well as central government in India.

### Samajwadi Party (Uttar Pradesh)

The Samajwadi Party was appeared in the State politics in 1992 with the support base of Dalit's as well as muslims and Yadav Community. Henceforth, like RJD, SP was worked as a representative of the Backward Castes of the State to improve their Socio-political as well as economic conditions in particular and to establish a socialist Society in general. Eventually it was also acted as a allied partner of National government in different times.

It was observed that, in the process of Indian democracy the nature of regional parties often transformed dramatically. At the time of its inception the identity of regional parties was attached with ethno-regional Sentiment only. But, since 1990's it has got a national platform and played a crucial role in national politics in the coalition arena. A qualitative change was noticed in the electoral politics in India particularly. The regional parties also formed there independent Identity in the national politics against the national parties. Gradually, the number of alternative was increases in front of the Voters. It was said that, this era of regionalization also enhanced democratic value through increasing political participations of masses and the "federalization of Indian Polity" was empowered in true sense with the increasing power of States. Gradually, the domain of excessive centralization in the name of countries unity was marginalized by the essence of plurality. Besides that, environment of inter-regional competition was also noticed in the era of liberalization, when regional verity was interlocked with regional development in particular (Palshikar, 2003). However the rising tendency of Indian regional parties was seen since 1967 by the following way.

Table 5.1  
Intensity of various regional parties in loksabha election since 1967

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		
		National	Regional Parties ( including registered unrecognized parties)	Independent Parties
1967	520	440	45	35
1971	518	451	53	14
1977	542	481	52	09
1980	529	485	35	09
1984	542	463	66	13
1989	529	471	46	12
1991	521	478	55	01
1996	543	403	131	09
1998	543	387	150	06
1999	543	369	168	06
2004	543	364	174	05
2009	543	376	158	09
2014	543	342	198	03
2019	542	397	141	04

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi (eci.gov.in)

**Table-5.2**  
Regional Parties in the Lok Sabha, 1977-89

<b>Party</b>	<b>1977</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1989</b>
<b>NC</b>	2	3	3	3
<b>AD</b>	9	1	7	6
<b>PWP</b>	5	-	1	-
<b>SS</b>	-	-	-	4
<b>RPI</b>	2	-	-	-
<b>MGP</b>	1	1	-	1
<b>CS</b>	-	-	3	1
<b>IUML</b>	2	3	2	2
<b>KC</b>	2	1	2	1
<b>RSP</b>	4	4	3	4
<b>DMK</b>	1	16	2	-
<b>AIADMK</b>	19	2	12	11
<b>TDP</b>	-	-	30	2
<b>MIM</b>	-	-	1	1
<b>JKP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>JMM</b>	-	-	-	3
<b>CJ</b>	-	1	1	-
<b>IPF</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>GNLF</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>FB</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>SKJP</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	-
<b>SSP</b>	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>AGP</b>	-	-	<b>7</b>	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>45</b>

**Source:** Compiled from V.B. Singh, Elections in India: Data Handbook on Lok Sabha Elections: 1986-1991, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1994. (Palshikar,2003).

**Table-5.3**

Number of Seats won by Congress and the regional parties as a principle opposition in 1987-92 state legislative assembly elections

State	Congress	Principal opposition	Date of election
Andhra Pradesh	181	74(TD)	1989
Arunachal Pradesh	37	11(JD)	1990
Assam	66	19(AGP)	1991
Bihar	71	120(JD)	1990
Goa	20	18(MG)	1989
Gujarat	33	70(JD)	1990
Haryana	51	16(SJP)	1991
Himachal Pradesh	8	44(BJP)	1990
Jammu & Kashmir	27	39(NC-F) <sup>α</sup>	1987
Karnataka	170	11(JP)	1989
Kerala	55	299(CPM)	1991
Madhya Pradesh	56	219(BJP)	1990
Maharashtra	141	52(SHS)	1990
Manipur	26	12(MPP)	1990
Meghalaya	22	19(HPU)	1988
Mizoram	23	14(MNF)	1989
Nagaland	36	24(NCP)	1989
Orissa	10	123(JD)	1990
Pondicherry	15	6(AIADMK)	1991
Punjab	87	3(AD[K])	1992 <sup>β</sup>
Rajasthan	50	85(BJP)	1990
Sikkim	0	32(SKSP)	1989
Tamil Nadu	61	163(AIADMK)	1991
Tripura	24	26(CPM)	1988
Uttar Pradesh	50	230(BJP)	1991
West Bengal	43	188(CPM)	1991

<sup>α</sup> Congress (I) ally

<sup>β</sup> The Punjab elections were boycotted by the most important Akali parties and by most Sikh voters; turnout was extremely low.

Source: Devid Butler et al., *India Decides: Elections, 1952-1992* (New Delhi: LM Books, 1991); M.L. Ahuja and Sharda Paul, *1989-1992 General Elections in India (Including November 1991 By Elections)* (New Delhi: Associated Publishing 1992), P.116; *India Today*, March 31, 1990, July 15, 1991, and March 15, 1992 (Brass, 1990).

Henceforth Indian federal system has witnessed the phase of regionalization which was appeared as an indicator of the growing power of the regional political parties in India in general.

### **5.3. Growing power of regional political parties in federal India:**

It was observed that, due to the influence of regional political parties in all over India, the national political parties were unable to keep their policy of centralization as well as failed to form a government at the centre by a Single majority. Henceforth the politics of regionalization gradually pave the way for politics of coalition. India was started to rule by the multiparty system in a form of coalition since 1967 in different States and ultimately occupied the place in national matrix in 1977. It was seen that the ethno-regional diversity as well as the crisis of legitimacy compelled the leadership to form a coalition government with the support of various regional political parties, representative their own region by articulating their demesnes and aspirations. Gradually the politics of coalition become the unavoidable political reality in the political discuses of the Country. The politics of imposition was transformed into a politics of bargaining. In a Coalition government where the administration was run and the decisions was taken under the coalition compulsion, the power sharing equation may lies on the policy of negotiation between the allied political parties, which often tried to adopt the “politics of cohabitation “on the other hand. As because, the different political parties with their distinct identities were performed in a one political platform (Kailash, 2010). Ethnicity may inculcate the values of the numerous groups of Indian Society to cohabit in a political discourse through practisizing the political adjustment in particular. If we analyses the coalition arena of our Country we can find that, from 1977 to the present scenario there are eleven federal coalition governments were performed at the Centre. The last one, is the National Democratic Alliance (in 2019) led by the Bharatiya Janata Party.

It was observed that, the post 1967 period had already prepare the background of Opposition Unity against the Congress Government in different States, like Kerala, West Bengal, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Tamil Nadu where the opposition parties were emerge as a “Parties of Pressure” (Rajni Kothar, “The Congress System in India” Asian Survey, 1964, 1162 cited in Coalition politics in India, Dimensions of federal power Sharing” Subhendu Ranjan Raj, Manak, 2009). The opposition parties which formed the non-congress govt. in states after 1967 elections, were like Samayukta Vidhayak Dal in Bihar formed by SSP, PSP, Jana Sangh, CPI and the Jan Kranti Dal; in Punjab, the United Front government formed by CPM, Ad(S) AD(M), CPI, Jana Sangh and Republic Party; In Orissa, the Swatantra Party along with Jana Congress formed the govt. at the State; in Kerala an United Front was formed by KSP, RSP, KTP, CPI, SSP,

CPM and the Muslim league; In West Bengal, The coalition party formed by Bangla Congress and CPM with fourteen other parties, etc.

More over the Split in Congress in 1969 has made the way for coalition government at the centre in 1977, as an emerging tool of power sharing as well as power breaker of Congress hegemony in the country in general. The Congress has Secured 154 seats in the general election 1977, where as the Janata Party which was formed by the congress (o), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Socialist Party are the Jana Sangh, has secured 298 seats and wined the election and formed their first non-congress government at the centre. (Shubhendu Ranjan Raj,2009). So it was observed that, for restitute the constitutional democracy from the possession of a strong authoritarian Congress regime, the people of India has welcome the Janata Coalition as a more democratic alternative in 1977. Henceforth the expectation was generated in the mind of general messes about its better performance than the earlier. But eventually, the Janata coalition failed to prove their integrity first of all. The coalition confrontation was appeared as an outcome of a largest coalition very soon. This proved difficult to holding as well as maintaining the power all over the Country.

Gradually the Janata government was seen as a less accommodative between the different political parties holding there different Ideology. As a result an internal democracy the Janata govt. was proved itself as a less skilled in Compare to Congress govt. But if we consider it as a problems of new begging, the issue of power concentration was again established a dilemma. The confrontation between the centre and state remain same on the issue of parties in Power vs. Parties in Opposition. The Structural problem of Janata Government made its support base weak gradually and the advantage of its drawback was taken by the congress again, which was resulted as the victory of congress in 1980. However, the excessive centralization of Indira regime was abolished by the political environment of multipartism.

Hence the general election 1989 was again made a turning point for the dynasty of Coalition government in Indian Political process. It was observed that, influenced by the previous structural problem of coalition govt. the coalition govt. 1989 was started their journey through the spirit of cohabitation. The coalition was established by respecting the distinct Identity of different regional political parties in a common proclamation on the basis of "Seat adjustments". (Sridharan, 2003)But again the allied partner of UF, were unable to Cohabit and not to rise above their ideologies contradictions as well. As a result lost their support from BJP also. Henceforth in 1990 a minority coalition govt. was established with the

outside support of Congress, headed by Chandra Shekhar. In 1991, the congress minority govt. was continued its functioning under the leadership of P.V. Narashima Rao. In 1996, United Front minority govt. was established by H.D. Deve Gowda and I. K. Gujral by the support of its allied CPM, CPI, RSP, Forward block, Samajwadi Party Janata Dal, RJD, DMK, and Tamil Nadu Congress with the outside Support of Congress. In 1988, the first BJP minority govt. was established with the outside support of TDP, TMC, etc. led by A.B. Vajpayee. In 1999, the Second BJP minority govt. was started its function, in the name of National Democratic Alliance under the leadership of A.B. Vajpayee with Shiv Sena, DMK, BJD, INLD, PMK, Akali Dal, Janata Dal-United, HVC, TMC and outside support of TDP and completed its five years term. It was seen that during this period, the NDA govt. was based on the principle of well organized cohabitation policy in real sense as well as created environment of co-operative federalism also. In 2004, Congress led United Progressive Alliance was established, which also proved itself as a well organized coalition, govt. under the leadership of Manmohan Singh, formed by DMK, NCP, TMC, NC, JMM, AIMM, Kerala Congress, SDF, Kerala Congress (Mani), Republic Party of India (Athvale) and four left parties. In 2009, the UPA govt. continued its journey with its allied partners like, DMK, NCP, NC, JMM, Indian Union Muslim League, Kerala Congress (Mani), All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen, Viduthala, Chiruthaigal Katchi, Republican Party of India (Athvale). (Subhendu Ranjan Raj, 2009). In 2014, again the BJP led NDA govt. was returned to power with single majority. The allied partners were the Shiv Sena AIADMK, Shiromani Akali Dal, All India N.R. Congress, Naga People's Front, Lok Janashakti Party, Rashtriya Lok Samta Party, Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam, Maharashtra Gomantak Party, All Gorkhaland Students Union, National People's Party, Mizo National Front and Pattalimakkal Katchi. It is also seen that TDP left the NDA in 2018 regarding the issue of refusal of granting the "Special Autonomy Status" ([www.outlookindia.com](http://www.outlookindia.com)) Though NDA restarted their journey as a coalition govt. in 2014. But the absolute majority of BJP was made its nature as a powerful and dominating in place of power friendly once again in the Indian political process. This made its nature quite different from the previous NDA govt. in 1998.

#### **5.4. Performances of regional political parties in national politics:**

However, it was seen that the coalition system, generally strong there the status of regional parties in general. The regional political parties were become the pillar of the alliance of the coalition government in the national politics. Their status was shifted from the region to the national level in particular. They have got a benefit of the policy making of the

country as a whole as well as for intra-state and inter-state units. In this arena of regionalized coalition, the one party domination was replaced by the highly competitive Party system in federal India. Hence forth it is crucial to analyze the performance of the various regional parties in the arena of national politics during the period of regionalization.

### **Shiromoni Akali Dal**

The best performance was observed of the shiromani Akali dal in Indian coalition politics as an allied partner of the Bharatiya Janata party mainly. Because how ever it's started its political career in 1952 and joined in national politics in 1996, in to an alliance with the BSP and a Seat adjustment with the BJP. It was observed that, the congress was the common political enemy o SAD in State and BJP in Centre.

**Table 5.4**  
**Electoral performance of Shiromoni Akali Dal in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1967	8	3	22.61
1967	7	0	4.42
1971	12	1	30.85
1977	9	9	42.30
1980	7	1	23.37
1985	11	7	37.17
1989	11	9	40.12
1989	9	0	5.38
1989	4	0	1.27
1991	-	-	-
1996	9	8	28.72
1998	8	8	32.93
1999	9	2	28.59
2004	10	8	34.28
2009	10	4	33.85
2014	10	4	26.37
2019	10	2	27.76

- Election was not held in 1991 due to insurgency.  
Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi (eci.gov.in)
- Election was not held in 1991 due to insurgency.

## **DMK & AIADMK**

The Tamil regionalist party Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and its competitor All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) had an enormous impact in coalition politics in India. Both the parties were seen as an allied of Congress as well BJP government at the centre.

**Table 5.5**  
**Electoral Performance of the DMK in the general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1967	25	25	35.78
1971	24	23	35.25
1977	19	2	18.61
1980	16	16	23.01
1984	27	2	25.90
1989	31	0	26.66
1991	29	0	22.68
1996	17	17	25.63
1998	17	5	20.08
1999	19	12	23.13
2004	16	16	24.60
2009	22	18	25.12
2014	35	0	23.64
2019	23	23	33.18

**Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)**

**Table 5.6**  
**Electoral Performance of the AIADMK in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1977	20	17	30.04
1980	24	2	25.38
1984	12	12	18.36
1989	11	11	17.12
1991	11	11	18.10
1996	10	0	7.84
1998	22	18	25.89
1999	24	10	25.68
2004	33	0	29.77
2009	23	9	22.91
2014	40	37	44.45
2019	21	1	18.72

**Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)**

## TDP

The Telegu Desam party was firstly experienced of its political carrier as a coalition partner in 1989, as a part of National Front Government at the centre. Though its Continued its coalition journey as a partner of BJP led NDA, but regarding the “Special Autonomy Status” of Andhra Pradesh the TDP has left from it was also seen as a contest different Parliamentary as well as state assemble election by making a sent adjustment with left parties also.

**Table 5.7**  
**Electoral Performance of Telegu Desham Party in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1984	34	30	44.82
1989	33	2	34.45
1991	35	13	32.21
1996	36	16	32.59
1998	35	12	31.97
1999	34	29	39.85
2004	33	5	33.12
2009	31	6	25.02
2014	30	16	29.36
2019	25	3	40.19

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)

## AGP

In a Coalition arena, the Assamese Nationalist party AGP was firstly allied with the BJP in assembly elections (2001). But in compare to other State-parties AGP was quite weak in position against the Nationalist party congress at that particular point of time. However AGP first contested the Lok Sabha Election in 1984.

**Table 5.8**  
**Electoral Performance of Asom Gana Parishad in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1985	10	7	33.4
1989	-	-	-
1991	14	1	17.67
1996	11	5	27.17
1998	1	0	12.72
1999	8	0	11.92
2004	12	2	19.95
2009	6	1	14.61
2014	12	0	3.87
2019	3	0	8.31

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)  
Lok Sabha Election was held in 1985 instead of 1984, due to insurgency.  
-The 1989 Lok Sabha Election was not held in the State of Assam

Source: Report of the General Elections in India from 1985-2014 Published by Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

Lok Sabha Election was held in 1985 instead of 1984, due to insurgency.  
-The 1989 Lok Sabha Election was not held in the State of Assam

### **Shiv Sena**

For the purpose of capturing the power in Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena had showed there interest in contesting the Lok Sabha election particularly. In 1971, at first Shiv Sena Contested the lok Sabha election, allied with the congress (O). Later it could join as a allied partner of BJP at the centre.

**Table 5.9**

**Electoral Performance of Shiv Sena in general elections**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1971	5	0	1.63
1977	-	-	-
1980	2	0	0.7
1985	-	-	-
1989	3	1	1.23
1991	18	4	9.45
1996	20	15	16.83
1998	22	6	19.66
1999	22	15	16.86
2004	22	12	20.11
2009	22	11	17.01
2014	20	18	20.82
2019	23	18	23.5

Source: Report of the General Elections in India from 1989-2014 Published by Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

-The party did not contest from any seats in 1977 and 1985 Lok Sabha elections.

**National Conference**

The nationalist party of Jammu & Kashmir, the National Conference first contested the general election in 1967. In 1999, it allied with BJP at the centre for the first time. In a State also it allied with BJP against the coalition of Congress and PDP front.

**Table 5.10**  
**Electoral Performance of J& K National Conference in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1967	4	1	24.92
1971	-	-	-
1977	3	2	33.92
1980	5	3	36.88
1984	5	3	46.88
1989	3	3	6.81
1991	-	-	-
1996	-	-	-
1998	6	3	36.35
1999	6	4	28.94
2004	6	2	22.02
2009	3	3	19.13
2014	3	0	11.22
2019	3	3	7.94

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)

**No candidate participated as National Conference nominee; Election not held; National Conference boycotted elections in Lok Sabha Elections 1971, 1991 and 1996.**

### **BJD**

The Biju Janata Dal, the regionalist party of Orissa is a sprout of Janata dal, BJD was formed as an alliance with the BJP against the congress for the purpose of sharing the power in the BJP led NDA government at the centre. However the party was fragmented in 2003.

### **RJD**

Rashtrya Janata Dal was emerged as a powerful faction of Janata Dal in Bihar in 1997. It was enhanced its political States in allaying with the congress in national politics and its often allied with CPM to hold the power at the state level politics.

### **5.5. The promising issues and the performances of regional political parties in state politics in different year:**

It has been observed that even after the linguistic reorganization of the states (1956), the different regional parties in different states were urged for regional autonomy on the basis of ethnic desire and which gradually goes for economic upliftment in particular. It has been observed that where in 1950 the demand of DMK, regional party of Tamilnadu is was stand in the secessionist demand for Dravida Nadu and in 2018 the demand of DMK is stand for

prosperous Tamilnadu. ADMK(1972) another regional party of Tamilnadu was started to raise their voice against the imposition of Hindi language by the contemporary central government of India by supporting the two language policy(following Tamil and English by removing Hindi) like DMK. On the other hand TDP (1982), the famous regional party of Andhra Pradesh stands for telegu regional pride as well as developmental regime. AGP (1985), the regional party of Assam is stand for protest against the infiltration of foreigners from Bangladesh which created an ethnic crisis in this state in particular. The National Conference of Jammu & Kashmir restarted (1967) their demand for regional autonomy for Jammu & Kashmir fall on legitimacy crisis towards the relation with the Government of India while they enjoying the special status (Art.370) on the one hand and the kashmiri identity crisis on the other. Shiromoni Akali Dal , the regional party of Punjab was primarily stand for the protection of Sikh religion. But gradually it is shifted towards a moderate path of socio-economic interests of common Sikh in Punjab. Shiv Sena, the regional party of Maharashtra (1982) has a single issue, the creation of Maharashtra for Maharashtrians of the time of its formation. However the following tables represent the picture of growing strength of different regional parties in their respective states:

Table 5.11  
Growing power of DMK & ADMK, Tamil Nadu

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	Independent Parties
1967	234	90	DMK(137) & Others (1)	6
1977	234	54	DMK(48) AIADMK(130) & Others (1)	1
2001	234	22	DMK(31) ADMK(132)&Others 46	3
2011	234	24	DMK(23) AIADMK(150) & Others 37	0
2016	232	08	DMK(88),ADMK(135) & Others 1	0

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Tamilnadu.

Table 5.12  
Growing power of TDP, Andhrapradesh

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1985	294	83	TDP(202)	9
1994	294	63	TDP(216) & Others(3)	12
2004	294	203	TDP(47) & Others(32)	11
2014	294	34	TDP(117) & Others (141)	2
2019	175*	00	TDP(23) & Others (152)	0

\*Telengana was already established as a separate state.

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Andhra Pradesh

Table 5.13  
Growing power of AGP, Assam:

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1991	126	83	AGP(19) & Others (9)	15
2001	126	82	AGP(20) & Others (5)	19
2006	126	67	AGP(24) & Others (13)	22
2011	126	83	AGP(10) & Others (31)	2
2016	126	86	AGP(14) & Others (25)	1

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Assam

Table 5.14  
Growing power of Jammu& Kashmir National Conference, Jammu & Kashmir:

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1967	75	64	JKN(8) & Others (0)	3
1977	76	24	JKN(47) & Others (1)	4
1996	87	22	JKN(57) & Others (6)	2
2009	87	29	JKN(28) & Others (26)	4
2014	87	38	JKN(15) & Others (31)	3

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Jammu & Kashmir

Table 5.15  
Growing power of Shiromoni Akali Dal, Punjab:

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1977	117	57	SAD(58) & Others (0)	2
1997	117	34	SAD(75) & Others (2)	6
2007	116	63	SAD(48) & Others (0)	5
2012	117	58	SAD(56) & Others (0)	3
2017	117	80	SAD(15) & Others (22)	0

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Punjab

Table 5.16  
Growing power of Shiv Sena (SHS),Maharashtra :

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1990	288	213	*SHS(52) & Others (10)	13
1999	288	135	SHS(69) & Others (72)	12
2009	288	191	SHS(44) & Others (29)	24
2014	288	206	SHS(63) & Others (12)	7
2019	288	204	SHS(56) & Others (15)	13

\*Shivsena in 1990, contested in Maharashtra legislative election as a registered unrecognized party.

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Maharashtra

More over in the Northeast region the support base of the regional political parties gradually strong since the period of regionalization (See **Appendix E**).

### Conclusion:

So, it is to be seen that, the nature of regionalism is multi-dimensioned as well as heterogynous in nature which eventually transformed the Indian political System from unidirectional to multi directional. The web of regionalization may see as a dynamic one, which were continuums in making with the mixture of quantitative as well qualitative charges. In this process of development the ethno-regionalism was enormously dominated by the path of modernity in particular. Which often seen as positive spirit of synthesized nation through a transcend approach.

On another perspective, the regional partners often acted as a check on the national policy making through the politics of coalition and made the governmental policy making as obligatory to well as the common policy making approach. But, so far as the integrity of a nation like India is concerned the nationalist outlook of the regional political parties, in place of their narrow regional interest is a matter of great concern today. In the essence of regionalization may instigate the spirit of demoralization regarding the issue of nation building, then the decentralized strategy of a plural country through the form of coalition may prove amicable. But the future of the coalition governments stands on a question in 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election 2014, which make a paradigm shift in Indian federal system again with the victory of Bharatiya Janata Party by a single majority after a long decade.

## Chapter – VI

### FEDERALISM AND REGIONALISM IN INDIAN POLITICAL PROCESS

#### 6. Introduction

The founding father of the Constitution of India has been adopted a unique federal system for the Country to maintain the paradox of 'unity in diversity' in general. But gradually the gravitation of Power of the Centre was segmented towards the regions in late 1960's. The tremendous diversity as well as quest for decentralization of powers paves the way for the regionalism. Consequently the politics of centralization has been covered by the politics of regionalization from that particular point of time. It was observed that the roots of this antagonism were laid on the unplanned model of development of the country in general which instigated the movement for reorganization of the states on the basis of language in particular. Consequently the linguistic decision of reorganization has been made a flood gate for the regional politics. Henceforth the 'commanding' politics is replaced by the politics of bargaining. An ethno federal India was started its journey with Union and States rather than the Union of States, which brings a qualitative as well as quantitative changes in India Political discourse. If we examine the dynamics of Indian politics, then it revealed the two aspects, federalism and regionalism are interlinked as well as inter dependable. "Regional interests, demands and aspirations around the states in India have had a considerable impact on our federal set up. The kaleidoscopic changes in the political scenario obtaining after the Fourth General Elections, in 1967 brought about a drastic departure from the pattern of the nation's federal experience. In eight of the seventeen states non-Congress Governments were installed. Most of the parties ruling the eight states had a regional base. Regionalism has at times resulted in inter-State rivalry and competition under the federal set up. There have been frictions among State relating to the drawing and redrawing of state boundaries (e. g., Maharashtra vs. Karnataka; Punjab vs. Haryana; Andhra Pradesh vs. Orissa), sharing of river water, unseemly wrangles over the location of 'Unreal' projects and the complaints against the alleged 'discriminatory' treatment by the centre with regard to disbursement of loans, grants and other financial assistance". "Whether directly or indirectly, each State Government whips up regionalism as such sentiment strengthens its bargaining position with the centre and its local political influence".(Hazary, 1991).

It is assumed that the two necessary conditions, ethno-diversity of the Country as well as the structural dimension of our Constitution are responsible for mixing the two concepts in particular. Now we can discuss the interaction of federalism and regionalism in the following way:

### **6.1. Federalism and regionalism in India: The points of interaction**

India is a Country, which represented herself as a mosaic of ethnic colors. Naturally the ethnic representation is amalgamated with the federal structure of the country for power sharing. Ethno-national sentiment was emerged out by paying loyalty to a particular region as well as a particular ethnic group rather than a nation state, because a nation is being seen as a conjugation of both political and cultural phenomenon. Henceforth India politics was seen as the reflection of the multicultural manifestations, where multinational ethnic groups have an ethno national demand. It was observed that to manage the ethnic diversity, chronologically the federal politics of India getting regionalized, which may also seen as an absence of proper distribution of legitimate basis of authority. It was also been observed that from late 1960's, the environment of consensus democracy was spread in a political life of the country where the federal system has been worked comparatively in a smooth way. It is the "Consensus democracy" which tries to give autonomy to a particular ethno-regional group in a heterogeneous society. (Lijphart, 1984)

After independence, the country was going through a phase of Congress majoritarianism where the decentralize thrust of plural society may undermine. The authoritarian federalism was rule over the Consensus federalism in particular. The nation of State rights was hampered by the strong Centre. Gradually this majoritarian trend give birth the discontent of regions and the demand for reorganization of states on the basis of language was finally shaped in 1950's, which directed against the centre oriented division of powers enshrined in the constitution of India. Consequently by this movement as well as the reorganization of the states on the basis of language in 1956, the cultural identity was getting politicized. Henceforth this was the beginning of the era of power decentralization rather than the model of power centralization moreover it was observed that this power sharing model was invoked the ethno-regionalism also. The consolidation of cultural identity and power politics prepare a ground for consensus federalism, where the regional political powers become strengthened. In a contest of multiculturalism, to fulfill the needs of the people of different region as well as maintain inter-regional parity under the condition of Cultural diversity, appealed for a regionalist path rather than national one. This added a flavor of

“Super-diversity” against the national discrimination in the platform of pluralism (Meer, 2014) for political justice in a liberal democratic system. Henceforth Federalism may come as a tool of accommodating the regional territory as well as conflict management of ethno-linguistic conflicts, and prevent the secessionism. Gradually the increasing State autonomy through political devolution as well as collective representation enhanced by the ‘Self-rule’ was coherence with the ethno-federal model of the country. It was said that, “genuine democratic federalism an attractive way to regulate ethnic conflict” ( Garry and Leary, 1993).

In a Unified State, the Centre was started to Seen as a manager of proper division of authority between the regions as well as to mitigate the ethno-regional conflict in general and pursue the regional Independence in particular. Eventually for that purpose the regional elites was appeared in the surface of Indian Politics as an agent of power sharing in an ethno-federal environment. As a power sharing institution, the regionalism was getting merged with the federal set up of the country, since the time of the formation of coalition Government. It was observed that, In India where federal setup was inserted in the country’s administrative structure by its own technique, so it is the regional powers which come and hold the proper equation of federal power by representing the plural essence of the country from traditional central aggression. So federalism and regionalism may be interacted in this way on the basis of decentralization of powers and to representing the development of plural India free from central disparity.

In the phase of centralization, the dissatisfaction as well as discontent among the regions against the governmental strategy give birth the ‘Self-rule’ rather than ‘Shared-rule’ policy structure in India. It is observed that the ethno-federalism is tends to be more Suitable in this Contest of multiculturalism ignited by the co-operative environment of ‘Consensus democracy’. Ethno-Cultural distinctiveness on the one hand and unequal economic distribution on the other getting strengthen the regionalist strategy against the national domination. The states may evoke for federal justice in particular. It was observed the political mobilization of the Country are influenced by the federal Set up, when its become society centric, which in turn getting affected the administrated Structure of the Country by transforming it from centralization to decentralization. Hence, the paradigm of decentralization getting shifted the unitary federalism into a co-operative federalism which brings a comparative symmetrical division of powers between the centre and the regions instigated by the formula of Coalition.

Henceforth, in an ethnically plural Country, the ethno-federalism becomes appeared as a federal Solution, where ethno-regional sentiment though out the country may honor. More over the regional autonomy also increases by the political empowerment which often creates an environment of antagonism between the central and the state government in general. Because regional autonomy may offer ethno-regional representation in the decision making process of bargaining was entered in Indian federal matrix. Consequently the Sub-nationalism vs. Pan Indian Nationalism was treated as a subject of debate in Indian Political discourse, which deals with the issue of “dual national identity” also (Roeder, 2010) where the regional elites has taken this dilemma of identity as their support base in electoral politics.

## **6.2. Nation state and ethno-regional attachment: a journey of Indian federalism:**

India, deals with the world largest multiculturalism as well as multinational federation. Gradually which become ethnocentric in nature by the linguistic reorganization of the states. In this context, the central power sharing was treated as crucial as much for the regional development throughout the country as well as to avoid the centre-region antagonism. It was find that, the state of Punjab, Jammu& Kashmir and northeast was going through the phase of central hostility, when the maximum use of article 356, has hampered their regional development in general. (Adeney, 2017) It was observed that the, trend of ethno-federalism is to made the country’s entity equally committed for both the notion of national and regional.

The Federation of India was established upon an enormous ethnic diversity, in compare to the others federations of the world. But, the notion of language was gradually dominant the Indian federalism in particular. There was the third phase of federal reorganization was taking place by the creation of the state of Telengana in 2014, out of the State of Andhra Pradesh. Hence, the ethno federalism has continued its journey against the political majoritarianism along with culture as well as economic and administrative proforma. ( Bhattacharyya, Housing and Mukherjee, 2017) .

In India, when the cultural heterogeneity merged with the economic inequality, poses a serious threat to the federal polity at this stage the cultural identity was acted as a source of deprivation, which create a legitimacy crisis for a national level political authority. The contemporary multicultural politics are responsible for creating regional consciousness rather then the national consciousness, which nurtured the ethnic values and ‘deterritorialize’ the nation in particular. The tensions were revolving around in an identity Politics. Therefore it

was observed that, foster the Sense of collective identity along with diversity is become the measurement of a successful federal policy. It was said that when the state's peruses the concept of homogeneity on the one hand, the centre may foster the feelings of heterogeneity on the other and in this situation a unique federal structure may be adopted as a tools of conflict resolution. (Oommen, 2009)

It was seen that most of the states of Indian federal union was created from an ethnic consideration since 1950's but when the federal balance of the country is often disturbed due to excessive centralization, the discontent has started. It was observed that if the central government of India rule the nation by law, without imposing any discretionary powers to honor the fundamental rights as well as leading an ethno-regional development in general and economic development in particular by providing inclusive democracy than an unified India which established on an ethnic line may merge the ethno-regional grievances by producing politico-cultural justice to them. Therefore the ethno-regional groups of the country may feel alienated from the nation and there feeling of nationalism was gradually converted to Sub-nationalist on regionalism in particular. As a condition for survival, their thrust for power sharing state as well as in national level was growing naturally. Though in India, the central was apex at the federal System but so far as the regional autonomy is concerned it was always goes against the central hegemony. It was observed that, regional dissatisfaction, have enhanced the Support base of regional political parties rather than the national congress party gradually. In this situation, the question was arising that how the federal government has mitigated the regional dissatisfaction? Even after the reorganization of the states on the basis of language, various regional demands for autonomy were come from the different sections of the country. Several autonomous councils were established for accommodating the ethnic interest in particular as well as regional authorities was given more power there earlier. But India's policy towards Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast, which was mention earlier, in Chapter 4(Four), has failed to prove to eradicate the regional discontent. Though these States were not able to succeed from the Indian Union but the grievances of ethno- regional minorities was able to create an alternative government at the Central Since 1977. Henceforth, to make a tie between central, state as well as region the regional powers was uplifted in the politics of India. The feeling of regionalism was emerged out for maintaining the proper federal system in the Country.

### **6.3. Centre vs. Region: a federal imbalance**

It was observed that, in a multicultural society, where centralized federalism worked, the confrontation between centre and region may occur. In this context, when the unitary federalism was unable to manage the ethno-regional conflicts in long run, the regionalism has undertake the responsibility of making the federal order region- friendly. The coalition govt. with the support of various regional parties makes a paradigm shift in India federal system, where the nationalism was maintained in the cultural context. In the coalition era, the idea of inclusive nationalism was enhanced particularly. It was also to be seen, in a liberal democratic system, regionalism was arose side by side of federalism as a source of power centre. It was said that, the term democracy often wrongly used in a developing countries as it was borrowed from western Countries. But the internal structure of India often does not permit the hostile pressure from below against the centralized authority which was newer in compare to the western countries. Especially the enormous cultural diversity often does not cope up with the modernize democracy at all.

In this context, the gap of legitimacy was creating between the ruler and the ruled. The nature of elites also transformed into a new one. The democratic pattern of developing country has been affected by the political hegemony as well as the interventionist roll of Centre. More over the inter-state relative deprivation and politics over this deprivation added an extra political dimension in the democratic life of developing countries. In this situation when the deprived sections move for power sharing with some secessionist tendency, the Unity and integrity of a country may threatened. It was seen as a need of hour to accommodate such dissatisfaction and to control the discontent of the federal matrix of the Country may invite the regional powers in the policy making process, through a coalition government in particular. Though it `has been observed that the bonafied will of the leaders to accommodate the regional development is significant because if the ruling strategy is co-operative as well as accommodative in nature, it was possible to redress the grievances of the deprived sections of the plural society.

Hence, it was seen that, federal device to manage the regional diversity is become possible by negotiation of power between central, state and regional government. Institutionalization of political power is become necessary in this context. Especially in plural India, when the ethno-regional distinctiveness is very much acute on the basis of language, culture or religion. Maturely the politico-culture conflict is grasping the roots of the Indian politics generally, which come from the personalization of power in particular, after the

Nehruvian era. It was observed that during the period of Indira Gandhi, the politics of India is “Unaccommodative” in nature which in turn proved as a non-institutional also. The roots of the regionalization of powers was started from that particular point of time and appeared in the context of federal India as a “movement for self-determination” (Kohli, 2010)

#### **6.4. Regionalism as an ethno-federative approach:**

It is assumed that in a multicultural Society the inclusive democracy can manage the ethno- regional tensions through an ethno-federative approach. It was observed that, nationalism when at the national level centre around the political consciousness the feelings of regionalism at the regional level centre around the ethnic consciousness on the other. So whenever a nation state is consolidated on power politics, on the other hand the regions are prepared for protect their cultural distinctiveness in particular. India as a multi-cultural country may propagate an ethno-nationalism in the boundary of Nation State, when the loyalty of a people is reflected on the basis of a particular culture. This is also a growth of nationalist feeling but in narrow sense when a cultural nationalism is dominated by political nationalism in a large extent, the ethnic feeling may be contaminated with various political demands. This is the major task of India federalism to accommodate this type of ethno-regional separativeness and bring them in to the mainstream of the Country. But the problem is, the ethnic group may always want to separate themselves from the main stream and to protect their cultural distinctiveness in particular. So, when the federal India was bestowed upon an ethnic demarcation, it is the primary task of the federation to accommodate the various ethnic identities in an untied proforma.

#### **6.5. Cultural fragmentation and regional consciousness of federal India:**

It was observed that, often the political Unity and cultural Identity together represent a dual nationalism. The cultural heterogeneity of plural India has claim for politico-cultural sovereignty in particular. It was observed that, where nationalism were emerged by negate the colonialism, the regionalism was emerged as a negation of negation. It was flourished against centralized political nationalism by negating the national centralization in a federal ideology. Hence, it was observed that in a true federal polity a parity should be maintain between political and cultural connection of the country, where identity syndrome may be evaluated carefully. So, ethno-federalism was appeared and consolidated by the regional powers to protect the ethno-regional identity throughout the Country as well as granting autonomy where it became necessary. Naturally, it is seen that the unity and integrity of India

is related with the ethnic congruence in particular. It was often seen as a great task of multinational ethno-federal India to manage the multiple identities within unified nation, especially when the multicultural identities gently connected with a definite territory and demand for a political affiliation for it.

So far as the nationalism in India is concerned we can find that the strength of India as a nation state is lies on the unity of the countryman besides the cultural heterogeneity. But after Independence, the nationalism getting divided in to a political as well as cultural connotation nurtured by we-they syndrome. In this context the expressed regional consciousness of the country renamed as cultural nationalism. The identity issue is deteriorated, when the economic deprivation is added a new dimension on it. Henceforth the material deprivation is worked as an enzyme, which indulges to establish a particular ethnic-identity on national scale from the feelings of negligence by the superior cultural. Moreover the linguistic considerations make the identity issue as a matter of debate. However in this context the relative deprivation on the basis of unequal development of the regions also sensitize the regional sentiment against the central government. Henceforth when this feelings of deprivation turned into a discontent the democratic setup of a country may affected.

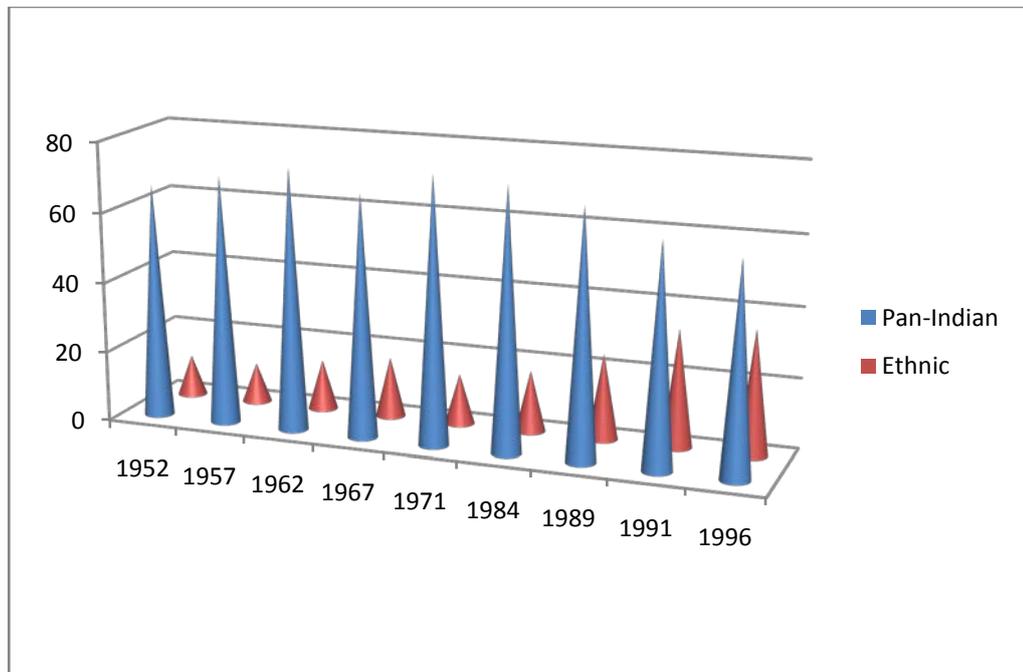
Though in a plural society, the nationalism is fragmented in national as well as regional sector, through the identity phenomenon, hence to maintain the national feelings of whole country, the cultural nationalism of region may protected in a federal polity. It has been observed that often the polity as well as cultural may be assimilated, in a federal content, without hampering the national unity and integrity of the nation. There was a quest for minimizing the national hegemony and maintaining the peaceful co-existence (Nanda, 2006) not to curtail the strength of political nationalism.

#### **6.6. A growing trend of ethno-regional participation in federal politics:**

In a democratic pluralism, an ethnic orientation often goes against the endurance of nation, because it depends on the skill full strategy adopted by the national as well as state government on distribution of power in particular. As using the issue of identity the regional forces, try to access the political power as more as possible. Henceforth to reduce the ethno-regional conflict in the Country, the institutionalize power distribution is needed. However, to tackle the ethnic confrontation by power allocation the federal system of India has tried to established a decentralize governance with a “grand coalition” (Lijphart, ,1977) in Nehruvian

era. It was seen that, the ethnic deprivation when managed with power politics, it started to control the electoral field also. The percentage of valid vote of national as well as state parties and the trend of growing vote of ethno-regional parties from 1952-1996 is presented through the following picture:

Figure 6.1



**Source:** V. B. Singh and Shankar Bose, Data Handbook on Indian Elections, 1952-84 (New Delhi, Sage Pub, 1984). Cited in “Ethnicity me pluralism, An Exploration with Reference to Indian Cases.” Narendra Subramanian, PP 492, in “Ethno- Nationalism in India” edited by Sanjib Baruah, Oxford University press 2010).

It was observed that, these electoral victories of ethnic parties, was the outburst of inefficient policy making of traditional Central government, where the centralized vision of ruling may encroach upon autonomy of State politics in India. Gradually the feeling of detachment of the ethno-regional leaders may encourage their quest for power sharing in a parliamentary democracy. And the coalition was built on ethnic line in the country since 1977. It was observed that gradually the process of nation building of India was swing on “Party-Society interactions.” (Narendra Subramanian, 2010)

### 6.7. Central hegemony vs. regional autonomy: a structural dilemma

So far as the structural dimension of the constitution of India is concerned, in a union of states, though the power was divided between the Central and the State Governments and the federal constitution granted autonomy for both in their own jurisdiction but the Central hegemony is established with its directional Orientation. Henceforth the quest for autonomy

of States is continued. Move over, the regions also emerged out for the quest of power as a need of hour. The domination nature of Central govt. gradually creates a vacuum of legitimacy. Gradually the region's of all over the country has preferred the policy of Self rule in place of Shared rule so far as economical as well as cultural aspect of India Society is concerned. The flexibility of the Indian Constitution with the age is appeared as a very relevant matter. It was seen that, it is the demand of Society for greater decentralization of powers in place of massive centralization since 1977. Where, India's democratic pluralism called for a horizontal federalism with bottom up policy in the Centre. Hence, Co-operative federalism was come up as a great check over centralization. But so far as the regional diversity is concerned, it was seen that, unequal regional development, regional backwardness make sense of relative deprivation among the region. Henceforth the regional elites come forward with movement for self- determination in particular. It was observed that, late 1960 are the people of India on a single National authority in general. Gradually the regional Support base was prepared for power completion in an electoral field.

It was observed that, the nature of party system in India getting transformed from one-party dominance to the multiparty dominance with the pressure of the time as well as the society. The Indian Political platform was gradually crowded by several regional political parties, who come up from different Social background without any inherent ideology. They stand for their regional interests only, where the territorial dimension is always getting preference. On the other hand the leaders of nationalist parties are come with a national outlook as well as national interests. Though the feeling of nationalism is common for both but the expression is different, where the nationalist party goes with the political nationalism in broader Sense the regional parities goes with the cultural phenomenon in a narrow sense on the other. It was also observed that, the antagonism was come from the centre-periphery aspect particularly. It was the situation, which compelled the peripheral groups to come out from the continuous domination of core groups. It was said that, "it is these local interests that need more state power and less of central interference." (Arora, 1989)

In late 1960's when the power of centralist congress are started to minimize, the regionalist power was come in the fore front of Indian electoral arena. Eventually in 1977, a coalition government was introduced in India parliamentary federalism where a first meet of central and regional power was represented of ethno-federalism. Hence a politico-cultural partnership has added a sustainable dimension in federal principle of Indian democracy. However the federal texture of developing India, has examined on the ground of economic

equality as well as financial justice. The role of finance commission regarding federal transfer played an important role in this context. It was said that, the fund allocation is must be equalize with the needs of the states in general and resource mobilization of a state in particular otherwise the feelings of relative deprivation may generate in a democratic society. Hence it was observed that, the economic centralization was appeared as a great challenge for the survival of federal polity in India. It has been observed that, “essentially, India's fiscal federalism displays four main weaknesses: 1. Over-centralization of economic policies. The center has micromanaged the economy, has intruded into areas assigned to the states, and has weakened the accountability of state and local governments. 2. failure to ensure unhindered functioning of the common market. 3. flaws in the design of intergovernmental transfers 4. Inadequate central vigilance over states' borrowing”. (Bagchi, 2003)

Federal System is implies an affiliated co-ordination among the several power centre of a country. But in a decentralized Unitary System the federal principle often deviated from this and the system is fall in to the purview of quasi-federal frame work. So far as the fiscal decentralization of federal India is concerned, the financial autonomy had been restricted in nature. The bargaining process between the centre and the state made the character of India fiscal federalism, controversial, where the status enjoying a limited Sources of revenue. More over an inter-regional fiscal disparity are being noticed in an acute form in an inter-regional transference of resources. It was said that, “if a Satisfactory allocation Cannot be achieved, the enhances of federation surviving without interval conflicts and external pressure are slight”(Sinha, 1981)

In a true federal environment, an economic symmetry is maintained by the national authority for the national development because, without the financial co-operation of the Center as per states needs, the States were not be able to carry out their responsibilities in their jurisdiction. The national outputs must be reaching to the regional extent also for accelerating the fiscal federal balance of the country. In India the fiscal plan was prepared on the basis of Central domination. Over the States where the States are running under the direct financial Contract of the Centre and their dependency lies on Centre Grants-in-aid in particular. More over the financial conditions of the States become worsened due to the discretionary role of planning commission. As because the planning commission was a non-statutory body, was acted just as a central mechanism which aggravated the autonomy of the states in a federal Context.

It was being observed that, the acute Central domination in federal India was seeing in the dependency syndrome of the States on the Centre in an economic sphere in general and the role of planning Commission as well as Niti Ayog in particular. This is one of the crucial factor enshrines in the constitution of India which make federal India in to a Unitary one. Hence the centre-State redesigned revenue distribution as well as inter-State distribution of grants-in-aid may eradicate the regional disparity all over the India in general. Because, the regional imbalances has been appeared as a greatest source of union-State financial conflict in Indian politics system. Henceforth the fiscal design may draw on the need basis resource generation throughout the country in particular. Because in the period of regionalization the unitary trend of federalism gradually converted in to a bargaining federalism. (Rekha, 2014.) However the following tables have indicated the financial disparity in the context of inter-state politics:

**Table- 6.1**  
**Difference in the Shares of Individual States between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Finance Commissions**

States	12 <sup>th</sup> FC	13 <sup>th</sup> FC
Andhra Pradesh	7.362	6.948
Bihar	11.037	10.934
Chhattisgarh	2.656	2.474
Goa	0.259	0.266
Gujarat	3.572	3.046
Haryana	1.076	1.050
Jharkhand	3.364	2.806
Karnataka	4.463	4.335
Kerala	2.667	2.345
Madhya Pradesh	6.717	7.131
Maharashtra	5.001	5.207
Orissa	5.165	4.787
Punjab	1.300	1.391
Rajasthan	5.614	5.862
Tamil Nadu	5.309	4.977
Uttar Pradesh	19.280	19.708
General category states	84.842	83.267
Arunachal Pradesh	0.288	0.328
Assam	3.238	3.634
Himachal Pradesh	0.522	0.782
Jammu and Kashmir	1.214	1.394
Manipur	0.362	0.452
Meghalaya	0.371	0.409
Mizoram	0.239	0.269
Nagaland	0.263	0.314
Sikkim	0.227	0.239
Tripura	0.428	0.512
Uttarakhand	0.940	1.122
West Bengal	7.063	7.276

Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Nov 27, 2010, Vol XLV No.48 (The 13<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission's Reports: Conundrum of Conditionalities, Govinda Marapalli Rao).

Table-6.2

**State-wise share in divisible pool of union taxes**

<b>States</b>	<b>Share (%)</b>
Andhra Pradesh	4.305
Arunachal Pradesh	1.370
Assam	3.311
Bihar	9.665
Chhattisgarh	3.080
Goa	0.378
Gujarat	3.084
Haryana	1.084
Himachal Pradesh	0.713
Jammu and Kashmir	1.854
Jharkhand	3.139
Karnataka	4.713
Kerala	2.500
Madhya Pradesh	7.548
Maharashtra	5.521
Manipur	0.617
Meghalaya	0.642
Mizoram	0.460
Nagaland	0.498
Orissa	4.642
Punjab	1.577
Rajasthan	5.495
Sikkim	0.367
Tamil Nadu	4.023
Telengana	2.437
Tripura	0.642
Uttar Pradesh	17.959
Uttarakhand	1.052
West Bengal	7.324
<b>All States</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: 14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission recommendation for Tax devolution, FICCI Economic Affairs and Research Division, Highlights of 14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission Report Feb 2015.

Table-6.3

**Release of Grants to State Governments as recommended by Finance Commission-XIV  
during 2018-19**

SI No.	Name of the States	Total	
		Allocation	Release
1.	Andhra Pradesh	6802.09	3203.60
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	294.13	27.00
3.	Assam	1918.92	239.40
4.	Bihar	5746.86	2099.86
5.	Chhattisgarh	1750.59	748.41
6.	Goa	83.23	11.55
7.	Gujarat	4015.95	1312.63
8.	Haryana	1615.12	548.20
9.	Himachal Pradesh	8904.95	4424.57
10.	Jammu and Kashmir	14294.61	6728.88
11.	Jharkhand	2112.92	793.57
12.	Karnataka	3665.57	1268.85
13.	Kerala	1900.06	593.99
14.	Madhya Pradesh	4992.76	2271.31
15.	Maharashtra	7501.36	2604.54
16.	Manipur	2147.53	1048.72
17.	Meghalaya	245.39	117.60
18.	Mizoram	2633.41	1313.70
19.	Nagaland	3983.97	1982.40
20.	Orissa	3044.39	1419.83
21.	Punjab	1818.14	506.92
22.	Rajasthan	5054.62	1936.76
23.	Sikkim	77.19	35.47
24.	Tamil Nadu	4441.67	353.70
25.	Telangana	2220.01	763.54
26.	Tripura	1150.80	545.76
27.	Uttar Pradesh	10973.08	3925.82
28.	Uttarakhand	828.36	351.78
29.	West Bengal	5155.87	2229.10

Source: Department of Expenditure, Finance Commission Division, FFC Release Data (2018-19). [xlsx/2018-19 doc.gov.in](#)

C N Annadurai, observed "The powers which the Central government has assumed in regard to mobilisation, allocation and pattern of utilisation of re- sources for the Plan have reduced the States to the status of supplicants for and from the Centre" (Madras Legislative Assembly Debate, 1967, quoted in Dandekar 1987). It has been observed that in a country with sharp regional inequalities in development, the Centre has a role in 'redistribution' to enable the poorer States to provide basic public services at a reason- ably comparable level. The need for such equalisation transfers has been recognised in federations like Canada where the federal transfers are widely regarded as the 'glue' that holds the nation together

(Bagchi, 2000). Kincaid observed that “The inclination of co-operative federalism was towards a 'de-centralized unitary democracy' entrusting policy-making to the national government and implementation to states and local governments” (Kenyon and Kincaid, 1991) Hence the “central to the idea of cooperative federalism is the notion that cooperation is negotiated. If there is no negotiation then co-operation becomes either coercive or antagonistic. The key to cooperative federalism thus lies in negotiation and bargaining” (Bagchi, 2000).

Since independence, the Indian economy was characterized by not only economic stagnation, but also wide regional disparity in terms of their per capita income. The division of the major states in India into the three broad groups of high- middle- and low-income states since the 1970s interestingly generates three almost contiguous zones. At the top, one finds “four states (Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat and Maharashtra) which, but for the location of Rajasthan, would mean a contiguous zone of relative prosperity, all in the western half of the country. The middle-income states (Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal) again form a contiguous zone in the southern part of the peninsula, except for West Bengal. That leaves four Hindi heartland states (Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar) to form a contiguous zone of poor states, with one of its remaining members (Orissa) just bordering the Hindi heartland and another (Assam) located at a distance. This geographical pattern of prosperity has no association with the natural endowment of the different states” (Ghosh and Das Gupta, 2009).

#### **6.8. Regionalism: as a positive force of extending federalism**

Thus, regionalism may be seen as a positive force against the centralized government by demanding an administrative equality as honoring the territorial rearrangement of the country in particular. Because the constitutional provision cannot institutionalize the federal system of a country always but the socio-cultural pressure of the country may change the federal system with the needs of the hour. The nature of political parties was seen as crucial in this unsteady political environment. Their task as a vanguard of a multi-cultural society often makes a turning point of a tradition. In a multi-culture society the several regional parties were formed to enhance the federal setup with a new alternative. Over the years, it is seen that consequent central domination makes the platform for the emergence of regional parties in the different regions of the country which gradually make the states as the competitor of the central government as a representative of bargaining federalism instead of a silent receiver of central commands. It has been observed that the combination of federalism and

regionalism is being seen in an inclusive democracy instead of a majoritarian democracy. Hence the formation of Janata Dal the first coalition Government at the center 1977 with various regional parties with other state parties as well as independent parties, make a new era in the state as well as national politics in India. It was observed that after 1977, with the increasing federal diversity India's federal system is going with the two sided pressure of centralization on the one and the regional pressure on the other. The country's political life was going through the environment of emergency on the one hand and urge for autonomy on the other.

“Federal system should not be viewed as a static system but as a dynamic one. The future of Indian federalism depends upon the continuity and change in its ability to respond to the challenges. In the whole process, the equilibrium in the balance of power must be maintained without endangering either integrity of the nation or the states. This is a real challenge to the political leaders at the national and state levels. It calls for wisdom on the part of political parties who have the major responsibility in the working of the Indian political system” (Cheluvvaraju, 1988). Hence, it was the regional political parties which made the federation of India, as a true federalized government which carried out by the coalition of the political parties. A true federal structure can manage the enormous ethnic diversity the country with a spontaneous political culture. It was observed that, the majoritarian democracy of Congress dynasty with a strong centralization was replaced by the consensus democracy of regionalism with a principle of decentralization which makes the unitary federalism in participatory ethno/ federalism in particular. A federal distribution of political power in accordance with the needs of India ethnic society was appeared in a liberal democracy, from the post 1967 period. It was observed that inter state regional disparity has made the support base of the regional leaders in the platform of electoral politics in India. The regional assertion was appeared as a sensitive issue of State politics, enhanced by the sub-regional politics in mid 1970's. Gradually the regional politics was flourished throughout India. When, a region specific interest was articulated in front of National as well as state politics in the country. It was said that, “the problem of federalism in India is political rather than ethnic. The lack of strains in the American federal system is due to the two party systems but the tensions in the Indian federal system is largely political on the other” (Sukumarannayar, 1992)

Henceforth, the regional parties here played a crucial role in formation of front government at the national level of politics by representing the regional diversities. Their

participation makes the politics of India as a politics of bargaining. The regional leaders, as an allied partners where bargaining with the central government for their regional interest and were able to extract several grants as well as fund for the development of region. In this way the federal spirit was maintained in true sense throughout the country. Often this regionalist activity for their own state is being treated as healthy for an enhancement of democrat federalism in general.( Kaka, 2014). Henceforth, the Sense of regionalism my increase the positivity of federal feelings in a path of nationalism in a broad sense, because the spirit of competitive federalism may strengthen the all round development of the country in return. But the trend of increasing federal diversity may be treated as a subject of care. “Since federalism is reconciliation between nationalism and regionalism, regionalism to a certain extent must be accepted as a part of democratic process. If regionalism becomes a constructive force, it will be good for the States as well as the Nation. In the interest of Indian federalism, the Union Government must accept the reality of the regional interests and accommodate regional development programmes giving emphasis to regional development as a part of national development to remove regional disparities”(Cheluvvaraju, 1988)

Hence, it has been observed that, the regional political parties have tried to restore the federal balance of the Country through an effective method of Coalition, by creating an obstacle against the central hegemony. In that way regionalism may describe as a feeling of federal Unity which enhanced the federal texture of the Country as well as curtailed the unitary trend in particular. Hence the federal environment of India is nurtured by the regionalization of political power from the mid 1990’s. Gradually the concept of shared rule is appeared negating the concept of self rule. Because it was seen that, since late 1980’s, the autonomy of different states in federal India has been hampered frequently by the direct central rule through the article 356. It was considered as qualitative change in Indian political discourse when the single party domination is replaced by the multi-party coalition and the coalition compulsion is treated as crucial for the national interest. It’s left its direct impact on the centripetal India to make it an eccentric one. Henceforth the regional political parties were acted as a check on arbitrary centralization and to create a balance in a federal democracy by minimizing the imposition of President Rule in different states of India.

#### **6.9. Regionalism as a power maker for states in a federation:**

Therefore, it has been observed that, from the early 1990’s in a coalition arena, the national as well as regional parties entered in to the platform of decision making, and the autonomy of the states were gradually highlighted. The states were become strong and stables

in the political discourse of the country and capable to motivate the centre towards the interests of the different regions. The multiparty system of India is represented the major coalitions like Congress and its allies; Left Front and its allies; BJP and its allies, which represent the ethno-regional India in general. Hence the regional political parties were appeared as a federal machinery to find out the importance of the states in a federal matrix, by capturing the national power. Since 1989, no single national Political Party has been gain a Single majority in Lok Sabha election in the Country. The attachment of the local people with the regional political parties instead of national political parties has been come in to the forefront of the political process which added a new federal dimension. Through the increasing power of regional political parties, the states have been emerged as a crucial partner in a federal politics than earlier. Though, the picture had changed in the Lok Sabha election 2014 again. But the increasing impact of state governments enhanced by the Regional political parties has left an enormous impact upon the Indian Political process in general. More over the inter-state incongruity nurtured by the coalition government may boost up the federal strength of the country in particular. Which also known as “a process of democratization in a federal polity.” (Pai, 1990)

This episode of Indian political process was mainly dominated by the regionalist sentiment rather than the nationalist sentiment. The regional political parties, which was seen as a conglomeration of differ splinters from National Political parties, attached with the phenomenal of Caste, Class, region as well as economy of a particular locality or region ached as a support base of the strength of a regional political party in 1990's when the Indian history was regimented by the report of Mandal Commission regarding OBC reservations on the one hand and the Hindu-Muslim Riots on the basis of Ram Mandir and Babri Masjid on the other. Consequently, the Bankruptcy of the Congress govt. in 1991 made a ground for political decentralization in particular. Even in an electoral field the Third Front as well as Fourth Front has been added a new dimension in multiply system in India. These fronts are empowered by the various regional parties as an alternative government of the country on the basis of social pluralism and revealed a new path in a federal set up.

#### **6.10. The regional thrust and territorial politics:**

This regional thrust often untied under the umbrella of “Territorial politics”. (Loughlin, Kincaid, Swenden, 2013) which has been creating a new chapter in the sphere of Political Science, referred the empowerment of the sub-state politics in particular. So far as the restructuring of the power is concerned the territorial strategy indicates the engross power

shifting to the sub-state level. A changing political scenario with regional line has challenged the capacity of national political parties for improvising the federal order of a country. The strategy of sub-state politics in the regional context often squeezes within the sphere of “denationalization”. (Hough and Jeffery, 2006). Hence, it is seen that, as a needs of hours the method of decentralization might included in the politics of territorialization in a federal system. The politics of sub-state level getting empowered by the territorial reform of the states in the era of globalization. A trend is noticed to make regional autonomy complementary with the national development. The concept of more state and more democracy is appeared for re stunting the federal order of the Country. Gradually the multiparty system is continuing with the dominating ideology of regionalization rather than nationalization. It has been noticed that, in this way the politics of regionalization paves the way for federalization in a broad Sense. Where the sub-state authorities getting empowered by the notion of political decentralization in general. The dependent relationship between core and peripheral groups gradually changed in to autonomous one. In a territorial politics the Sub-State units are more independent then earlier, where the issue of territorial identity is getting focused. This trend bring a qualitative change in a federal texture of the country by developing themselves as a “Constitutional alternatives”/ Gradually the political formula of “Self rule” is getting converted in to a “Shared rule” in the arena of “denationalization”. Often it was said that, in a Country like India, when huge diversity dominated the Country’s political life, the “federalist” nature of the political parties are appeared as a crucial phenomenon. Where the political parties at the regional level are independent in their internal matters as well as actively participate in the decision making process of the Nation in general (Loughlin, Kincaid and Swenden, 2013) where the power-sharing equation should be lies in a horizontal line in particular.

#### **6.11. Regional priority in a changing federal context:**

But the multi party systems of India again receive a jolt by the 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election 2014, when Bharatiya Janata party wins the election by Single majority. Hence, one –party–domination comes back again with a new essence. Why the political culture of the contemporary federal India was changed again in favor of one party rather than multiparty government, the matter is subject to verification. It has been observe that, when the regionalism was seen as tools of accommodating uneven economic development throughout the country, often empowered by the communalism, the positive force behind it is gradually diminish. The region based communal movements often seen as the causes of deterioration of

inter-state relations in particular. More over when the regional politics were become region specific the public preferences may hampered in general. Henceforth the national sentiment again prevails over the regional sentiment in contemporary federal age in India Since 2014. Also, it is being observed that, the highly fragmented character of the coalition politics may responsible for the temporary removal of the multiparty dominance, which proved the credential of the dominant party system by minimizing the fissiparous tendencies in the ethno-regional multiparty system and established a “holding together” federalism within a framework of Unity in Diversity. However one fact is revealed from that, after 69 years of working of the constitution, the people of the country still consider the importance of a strong centre for maintaining the national integrity of the Country in particular. Now it is remain to be seen that, under the shade of contemporary cultural nationalism how long the balance between national integrity and the regional diversity will be maintain. It was said that, “The contradictions between centralist perspectives and regionalist aspirations can only be aggravated through this process in a political context where a party system capable of sustaining our complex federal democracy in its dualistic essence is yet to emerge.” (Arora, 1989).

#### **6.12. Consociational foundation in plural society**

The ethno-political differences were the enduring reality in a plural democratic society in general. Hence in an environment of political heterogeneity the consensus building is a crucial task for a political authority in particular. The ‘Consociational democracy’ often comes in this context as a strategy of maintaining a stable democracy in a plural society on the basis of ‘segmental autonomy’. It has been observed that the political behavior of a plural society is coloured by the considerations of ethnic identities as well as the primordial loyalties. Hence in a plural society the cultural differences are coexists in a common political unit but do not combined. Therefore the adoption of the political strategy of ethnic assimilations is being treated as a precondition of nation building in a plural federation in India. In this circumstance the federation building is essential through the study of political development in the center-state framework. But as the regions are shared the heterogeneous values hence the common consensus building on the basis of a common value is complicated one. In this center-periphery context, the ‘consociational Democracy on the basis of a concurrent majority rule is highly debatable issue in the federal politics of India. Following Lijphart, “The primary characteristic of Consociational democracy is that the political leaders of all significant segments of the plural society cooperate in a grand coalition to govern the

country” (Lijphart, 1977). It has been said that, the coalition building on the basis of “size principle” (Riker, 1962) may be essential for reducing the antagonism in the highly plural societies. This ‘grand coalition’ has brought the willingness of the political leaders to compromise in the sphere of differences. The ‘grand coalition’ is protected by the strategy of ‘mutual veto’ and the minority tyranny is restrained by the principle of ‘proportionality’ on the basis of proportional financial resource distribution which makes the minimum winning coalition as less profitable. In consociationalism, the majority rule is replaced by the ‘segmental autonomy’ where the decision was taken by the all segments of the plural society in together. (Lijphart,1977).

Often the term “federalism” is equated with Lijphart’s segmental autonomy. Though the Sub National units of federation are enjoyed related autonomy in general. But the representations of the units in a federal legislature can justify the arguments in a narrow sense. Now, how long the consociational method are possible to be applied in an ethno federation like India is a matter of debate. However in this context the territorial federalism is closer to segmented cultural autonomy. Following Lijphart, It may be viewed that how long the consociational model works in Indian democracy. It has been observed that in ethnically plural country, powers sharing are very necessary for maintaining the democratic culture. India is often categorized as a quasi-consociational because of the emerging concept of coalition building (1977) as well as the linguistic anatomy by the linguistic state formation (1956) in particular. On the other hand the country was segmented on the basis of cultural aspect since 1956 through the event of linguistic state reorganization in Nehruvian era. Moreover in Indian plural society, the proportioned Representation strategy of electoral system has been represented the proportionality of consociationalism along with the proportional share of parliamentary representation by means of reservation system. In India it has also been seen that, the minorities are able to protect their rights by giving veto in a political system. The three language formula has supported this argument where the minority (non-hindi) veto was applied against the central Government decision of promoting Hindi alone as an official language throughout the country. The English language was adopted along with Hindi as a language of administration in 1965. Besides the existence of several consociational devices, It has been observed that the consociational pattern of India has not been as strong as in the earlier decades ( Lijphart,2010 ) After 1960’s it has been observed that the consociational pattern are gradually loose in Indian federal system. The politics of excessive centralization transformed the spirit of consensus into a hierarchical one. The frequent use of president rule

can minimize the autonomy of the states in general. Henceforth the confrontational strategy was ruling over the consociational strategy in particular. The role of judiciary for the extraction of separate personal laws into a 'uniform civil code' (1965) has been treated as anti consociational in nature. More over demographically in a too large country the acute application of consociational model is facing several complications. Unlike the size principle the size of India's winning coalition is very much complicated which often going beyond the quality also. The quantity of ethnic groups in India is also unfavorable of consociational principle.

According to Paul Brass besides adopting some consociational device in Indian political system a complete consociationalism was not applicable in Indian federal democracy. It is observed that consociational theory is often treated as an undemocratic one due to its lots of misconception about democracy and ethnicity which failed to understand the extending nature of ethnicity in a democratic society. (Brass,1991) It is also an examined fact that a large culturally diversified country like India, the ethnic accommodation is not only managed by a particular political system rather it is depends on a skilled attention and proper care. The role of the state as an allied partner is always viewed predominant in the plural India's ethnic conflict resolutions. It has been seen that, the consociational model given emphasize on cultural segmentation as a protection of stable democracy instead of diminishing the idea of fragmentation. In this context the consociationalism is closely associated with the theory of segregation instead of integration. But the success as well as durability of Indian democracy lies on the notion of integration. It has been observed that, the ethnicity is more provocative in Indian situation in compare to the religion as the ethnic feelings is associated with secessionism in particular which is less active in Indian contemporary religion communities. ( Barry, 1975). Often it's encouraged the procedure of suppression of terrorism. In this context as a powers sharing method the consociationalism has lost its relevance in ethno-Indian democracy in particular. It is examined that consociational theory is appeared in a plural society as an institutionalized power sharing arrangements. This explained that in a plural society, the elite sections intended to fragment the society into several ethnic components for their personal benefits of power accumulations. The Inter-ethnic relative deprivation may empowered there support base.

It has been observed that, the federalism is a system as a whole where the consociationalism is a form of government in general. Also, as a process of accommodation the consociational theory in plural country based on a mynoritism. The politics of

consociationalism has tried to modify the system of parliamentary democracy in to a consociational democracy for accommodating the internal division of a plural society built upon the principal of the minority congregation as minimizing the profits of elite sections which give emphasis on the power sharing method over the non-territorial sub-units of the democratic society. Which represent the non territorial assembled majority of the society instead of territorially scattered majority of federation. As an informal device the consociational system is more feasible which directed towards a specific issue. Whereas an organizational forms the federal system is worked under the constitutional norm and rigid in nature. (Elazar ,1985).

It has been observed that in India federal structured were maintained in federal political system where the dual paradox of unity and diversity were protected by federal means and which is being treated as an ends of strategically adoption of federalism also, producing a unique federal puzzle for Indian democracy. In these circumstances, a crucial question has been appeared in the arena of Indian politics. In which way the phenomenon of federalism has been used in India as an overwhelming structure or as a power sharing method? This is being treated as a most federal obscuring in India. Hence, to fulfill the federal ends of the country it is a crucial task of the policy makers to find out the delicate means of diversity accommodation on the basis of fundamental integrity of the country in particular. Where the cultural autonomy of territorially non demarcated sub-units also be honored as well as included in the national decision making process. Whereas country's 'shared rule's should be provided for all the ethno-regional communities of federal India in general because it is believed that, the concept of more autonomy may strengthened the democratic legitimacy of any viable political culture to a great extent. More over in India, the federal process has been working within a complicated coexisting culture of unity and heterogeneity on the on the one hand and diversity and homogeneity on the other. Hence, as a form of government federalism can used some features of consociationalism as a regime. More federalism and required consociationalism both are complementary for each other which enhanced country's capability aspect regarding diversity absorbency where the institutionalized power sharing method are involved in the process of coalition which is qualitative in nature, based on the benefits of the entire society through the policies of inclusion instead of segmentation.

However, before establishing an argument regarding the role of federal governance in a parliamentary democracy as a bridge between nationalism and regionalism or to estimate

regionalism as an indicator of ethno-national development, we have to look out the pluralist intention of policy making of Canada as well as the European Union.

### **6.13. Cultural Diversity Management: experiencing Canada, European Union, France**

It has been observed that, having a powerful federal government, Canada has maintain a sophisticated balance between the task of ‘nation-building’ and ‘province building’- which encourage the quality of mutual dependence and coordination on the one hand and ‘ intergovernmental conflict ’ on the other. Moreover the pluralist political culture of Canada have produce a serious conflict between the ‘French-Speaking majority in Quebec and the English speaking majorities in the other nine provinces’ which empowered by the essence of regionalism. This acute regional consciousness have greatly influence the political system of Canada, which denotes the combination of ‘Provincial government along with parliamentary federal institutions’ for the purpose of provincial representation. In this context the country goes for a strategy of federal negotiation between the national ministry and the cabinet representatives of different provinces.

This elitist strategy of compromising relations between ‘executive federalism’ and ‘legislative federalism’ has accommodated the regional diversity of the country to a large extent. As a result all federal government programmes throughout the country are available in French and English language.(Watts, 1998). It has been observed that, so far as the problems of linguistic minority is concerned the government of Canada has provided the constitutional safeguards for them in two ways like, ‘right of appeal to the federal government as well as bill of rights’. Which reflect in ‘The 1982 charter of Rights and Freedoms’ contained “not only the individual rights but also of group rights in relation to minority language educational rights, multicultural groups and aboriginal peoples, all judicially enforceable”

On the other hand Canada has mitigated the inter-regional financial disparity through federal fiscal equalization which is unconditional in nature directed towards the aims of the symmetric regional developments throughout the country. Canada also showing a path of granting a wider level of autonomy to the units may established unity in a multicultural society in real sense where diversity may appeared as a precondition of unity. This may shifted the multicultural loyalties into loyalties to the nation state, composed by the principle of tolerance (Watts, 1998).

The world leaders have been seen Canadian model of ethno culturalism as one of the highest attentive discourse of international politics, agreed by Will Kymlicka in ‘Finding one

way: *Rethinking Ethno Cultural relations in Canada*, Oxford University Press, 1998. It has been noticed that Canada have teaches the multi-ethnic countries of the world to hold the politics cautiously with the limits of their constitution. The Canada Model has provided a successful framework for ethnic minorities. In a federal unit, when an ethnic sub units demarcated by the federal boundary, the ethnic minorities of that particular sub units convert itself into a majority groups which ultimately reduce the ethno-regional discontents. Kymlicka has cited the example of Quebec Province of Canada in this context which reflect the accomodationist-integrationist' intention of Canadian federalism (Kymlicka, 1998). Hence the constitutional crisis of Canada emerged from its 'deep diversity' focused by Charles taylor (Taylor,) has showed the limitations of the accommodationist strategy for managing the problems of ethno-national minority (Chowdhury, 2007)

It has been observed that the European Union has surrounded by an extensive culture of diversity. The inter union cultural confrontations has effects the political system of Europe in a large content. It has been observed that, the EU has fled away from the classical integrationist model and arrived in a modern inspiring model of diversity on the basis of its extending utility in the period of modernization which gave emphasize on compulsory 'valorization of cultural diversity' in the age of global competition. Hence in European Union the concept of cultural diversity is coterminous with the concept of 'governing diversity' in particular where reflect the flexibility regarding the constitutional change as well as in the change of different provisions of policy formation instead of suppressing the diversity. The 'top-down' policy designs like 'EU- funded Programmes' has been reflected the 'culture for competitiveness'. Which encourage the method of 'Social inclusion' of the people from disadvantages community. Like the implementation of "the Project EDGAR by Academic de crateil Consisted of a top-down transfer of the European Principle of key competences." The ends of these eight key competences to established a sustainable polity, filled with the quality of employability along with 'active citizenship', 'social inclusion as well as multi linguism'. The European Union have shown a path of successful diversity management through 'a learn from cultural diversity by valorizing it first'- with a caution of right using of this learning by responsible political authority. As the experiments of these learning often based on the difficulties of 'one-size-fits all solutions; (Salgado, 2018).

So far as the politics of accommodation is concerned it has been observed that the "politics of accommodation has been guided in Corsica" by the "motivations of strong network parties through policies conducted at the sub-state level" which introduced the

growing 'possibilities of constitutional reform'. It has been argued that the "Corsican society is experiencing the beginning of a new cycle of the politics of accommodation, in which the range of constitutional possibilities may be noticeably wider" ( Fazi, 2014).

Accommodation in multi ethnic country have denotes the "recognition of more than one ethnic, linguistic, national or religious community in the state and aims to secure the coexistence of different communities within the same state". (McGary, O'Leary. Simon, 2008).

It has been noticed that the "Transforming Belgium in to a federal state was analyzed as a process hollowing out the center with disintegrative tendencies deeply ingrained in the conflict-solving strategies adopted prior to decentralization" (Hooghe,2013).

## **Conclusion**

However it has been observed that as a plural country India is more seasoned with power decentralization instead of power centralization. Therefore often it is being treated as needs of hour, to resurrection of region to get rid of the problem of domination of the national culture over the sub-national culture. It was observed that in India the contemporary political scenario does not permit a single authority to represent the whole nation, when we stand on a worldwide phenomenon of decentralization. Hence it is the politics of coalition through which the state parties can determine the strategies in the regional context in true sense. However we cannot deny the fact that we live in a unique federal system and we the people of India should come up with the different unique strategies made by the people of the country as a representative of diversity in particular. The political culture of a country where has been pendulating from one party and multi party domination within a frame of coalition. Though our Constitution as well as the political system is a dynamic in nature but so far as the separation of power between the centre and states is concerned, this principle may changed with the flexibility of the time to that extent where the minimal autonomy of a state should be honored. It is said that the success of an ethno-federal India is lying on an environment of tolerance where the autonomy of plurality as well as the requirements of oneness may complementary with each other. Because the historical legacy of India is concerned, the diversity must be protected for strengthening the notion of unity.

## Chapter – VII

### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND PROBABLE ALTERNATIVES

#### **7. Impact of regional movements and federal governance in India Since 1977: quantitative and qualitative**

As has been discussed above in the earlier chapters, there are several asymmetrical provisions in the constitution which has created the sense of regional disparity which became more intensified soon after the working of the constitution. Gradually the regional imbalances in India since independence, has produces the feelings of alienation. The autonomy movement has generated throughout the country for institutionalization of the cultural differences which emphasized the multi-culture centric national development. In these circumstances “The multicultural sensitivity and an inclusionary sense of combining authority with a nationalist mission proved to be more demanding” (Dasgupta, 2001) at the contemporary surface of Indian political system. It has been observed that, the federal processes adopted by the founding fathers are reevaluated by the regionalism in particulars because in a federal society when a prevalent majority tries to put their language on an atrophied minority, the minority section rebels, regionalism then appeared as a means to defect the attempts of the majority. (Rao, 1992).

Henceforth, whether the nature of the country falls under the purview of ‘uni-federation’ or ‘quasi- federation’ that question does not matter in this context. The present study has given emphasis on the arrangement whether the country’s contemporary sub regional needs are accommodated through the federal device or not. As the fundamental configuration of federalism is plural in nature, hence forth in a plural country like India, the federal practice is important instead of a classical federal theory, which is treated as a continuous process rather than a fixed diagram. Hence forth in a polytechnic country, the federal asymmetry has been seen as a problematic one. But demographically in a large country equalization of sub-national units remain to be difficult. The enormous heterogeneity as well as the plural character of the nation often reflects the necessity of a strong centre. But politically motivated asymmetric arrangements of federal union may encourage the feelings of detachment as well as dissatisfaction which is identified as a “secession potential” (Tarlton, ‘1970). It has been observed that in a federation when advantaged units are frequently benefited and the relatively deprived units are continuously dissatisfied on the basis of political favoritism the regional discontent reaches at its culmination. In this

situation, the compromising nature of central authority towards the local autonomy may produce the approximate federal solution in a polyethnic country like India. But when the linguistic formations are founded disputed in nature, has been treated as a problematic one. In India after the creation of Andhra Pradesh on the basis of language is often treated as “Nehrus’s major mistake”. Since 1960’s the creations of several states beyond the linguistic ground was proved the lack of continuity in the political system of India. Following Franck, In India the causes of increasing centrifugal tendency “is not a local revolt against the idea of the nation as a whole but against the idea of particular formation of the local unit” (Moraes, 1970).

It has been observed that, in a plural country the cultural mobilization may enhance the scope of ethno-political participation of a multi-ethnic country. It was also been observed that the federal political cultural is appeared as a juncture for the survival of a parliamentary democracy through the conversion of multi-party domination. It has been observed that a plural country may claim for a strong federal culture by the responsiveness of the political institutions towards the society in general where the autonomous territorial units of federation were represented in the national decision making platform in particular. As federation is a political mechanism fostered by the society where the federal solution of a plural country depends on the politico-cultural environment of the country not only confined in a legal constitutional study and which tries to balancing the dual demands of a potent union and regional autonomy. It is the formidable task of an effective union to given emphasis on the issue of regional needs primarily because, in particular circumstances, the federal compromise was the only alternative to protecting the politico-cultural balkanization. Though the nature of the cultural movements are not always fixed in nature in a plural country hence it is assumed that the timing of the federal solutions as well as the qualitative flexibility of the constitution may capable to gaining the regional confidence in general (Watt, 1996). In India as the cultural diversities are geographically distributed since the linguistic reorganization, hence the internal diversities of the country may go with the same direction within the different regional context in different times dominated by the ethno-economic depression. This established the plethora of federal necessity of power devolution beyond its traditional form of power concentration. Henceforth the age of federalism is not over rather the success of a federation may depend on the delicate use of it as an irreplaceable mechanism of plurality management. Following W.S. Livingston, “Federal government is a device by which the federal qualities of society are articulated and protected.” (Livingston, 1998).

It was observed that, a segment of the people pertain to the same race, using the similar language, having a common faith living in a distinct region, may urge for regional autonomy, emerged on the notion of relative deprivation comparing the more advanced race in the same country. Moreover in a largest democracy the problem of immigration often propagate the regional frustration. It was said that, “Regionalism is the response of unequal sharing of benefits of developmental activity.” (Pant, 1984). The lack of attention of the existing political authority towards the regional problems, has prepared a space for regional elites in a given society. Hence forth, in a plural country the regional scarcity makes the federal polity active with the dual ideology of nationalism and regionalism. The recognition of cultural identity as well as more balance development was appeared as a pre condition of the origin of regionalism more specifically in the period of modernization. It has been observed that, after the major event of state reorganization (1956) take place in an independent India, the constitutional federation was absorbing itself as an ethnic federation where the culturally integrated people were political represented. Which often identified as “the dominant method of federation building in India ”Even, it was observed that, the reorganization was take place not only on the basis of cultural linguism but throughout the country more states were reorganized gradually on the basis of religion, development issues. Hence forth, often it was said that, the issue of linguistic reorganization was used as a matter of “political opportunity.”(Bhattacharyya, Hansin and Mukherjee, 2017). However another fact also established in this context that this reorganization has strengthened the roots of cultural obligations. It sought to create ethno-linguistically homogeneous sub-national units within the territory of India. But so far as ‘supra diversity’ is concerned sub-regionalism was arrived in the cultured context which gradually rooted due to the phenomena of internal colonialism along with the asymmetrical development.

Generally regionalism has rooted out in India’s amazing diversity and consequently the regional assertions have started out from simultaneous centripetal confinement of British colonialism and the centralized hegemony of newly independent India. The present study identified the cultural federalism since 1956 as the primary input of regionalism as an ongoing process of cultural accommodation and the formation of coalition government as the secondary input of regionalism as an ongoing process of political accommodation. If we are concentrating in the early stage of nation formation, in the stage between the people and the concept of nationality we found that, the concept of nation is a new one which is exclusive as well as imaginary in nature. It is a political concept which has been emerged to secure the

concept of political oneness of people or ethnic groups within a constitution boundary. But the preliminary concept of society as well as region is an inclusive one where the cultural homogeneity is identified as a prevailing factor instead of political homogeneity. The issues of homeland comprise the key areas of ethnic mind instead of nations. In this sphere it is difficult to contextualizing ethnic federalism as a problem or a solution of institutional challenges especially when the problems have treated as pre-institutional one. Though as a political concept, the purpose of the federalism is purely a political one which enshrined in our political system in general. Hence often a structural dilemma has been occurred when the federal device has not implemented properly on ethnic ghettos.

Therefore it is very necessary to analyze the profound impact of these two above mentioned phenomena federalism as a system and regionalism as an ongoing ethnic factor in the Indian Political Process since 1977 along with the background of the growing strength of regionalism and some suggestions regarding the accommodation of ethno-regional grievances through the federal means. However the present study tries to explain the Quantitative as well as some Qualitative impact in this regard.

### **7.1. Cultural federation, 1956 the primary input of regionalism**

It has been observed that Jawaharlal Nehru said that “India was an historic unity, based on traditions on toleration, incorporation and assimilation.” (Adeney,2003) . But the problem may arise when the central authority was unwilling to bring these multi cultural identities in to the national arena of national decision making process for a long time. Gradually the politics of regionalism was appeared as a force of plural democracy. However accepting the distinctive regional needs Indian has proved itself as a relative successful multicultural federal country in the world, bearing the “Demos enabling features” (Shepan, 2001). Consequently the matter of reorganization is going beyond the language issues in general when a Punjabi of Punjab came to be acknowledged only when in 1966 Haryana was separated from Punjab on the basis of religious demand instead of linguistic one. (Baruah, 2010).

As an institutional device cultural federalism can ensure the legitimacy of political power in a fragmented society in particular. Because it is observed that having a large demography India is experiencing the incongruity of strong central control as well as a sound regional initiative in the political process. Hence the federal foundation of India is considered as the product of ‘conflicting cultures’ (Narang, 2012) of its country ignited by the political

heterogeneity. On the other hand, modernization has made the territorial integrity complementary with the national integrity where an economically strong region can produce a flexible federalism (Baruah, 1999). The emphasis has been given on federation building with a positive outlook of maintaining the maximum regional parity within a nation-state in particular. It has been observed that, the primary purpose of the trend of ethnic-federalization of India was to reconcile the large diversity into a single nation. Hence the central idea of ethnic-federalization is to manage the ethnic conflict through accommodations in general. But when the ethnic identities have been manipulated by the political organizers, the purpose of cultural federation may fail and go back to the politics of de-federalization along with a powerful centre again.

It has been observed that since independence the controversial central command over the national resources paved the way for regional discontent in particular. It has been observed that the ethno-regional movement was directed not against the nation but the national strategy of development distribution. Henceforth the regional desire of involvement in the national decision-making process has opened the decade of the politics of regionalization. Following Jyotirindra Dasgupta, the economic backwardness of Assam has focused enormous central negligence which imposed an apparent divide in the rest of the country. Hence it has been established that the ethnic riot in India is amalgamated with the developmental disappointment in particular. Therefore the inclusionary strategy of planned national development as well as resource distribution on ethnic lines is appeared as a juncture in the context of plural federalism. (Das Gupta, 1988). Hence the problem of federalism in India is primarily dependent upon the conflict of resource distribution between the haves and "have nots" which may be partially solved by the politico-cultural accommodation in 1956. Several regions of the Northeast zone have become full-fledged states in the platform of ethnic federation. Henceforth the balanced distribution of "shared rules" is appeared in the Indian political system influenced by the regionalism. In an ethnic-federation, the satisfactions of regional communities have been reflected by their involvement in the decision-making process of the state as well as the centre through the strategy of coalition later. The method of shared rule only can give this advantage in a plural country which works in favor of national unity by accommodating the country's tremendous diversity. Hence in an ethnically plural country, the 'ethno-federal' strategy is often seen as a suitable way to satisfy the ethnic demands through the socio-political empowerment in general and this kind of ethno-regional autonomy may prevent the tendency of secession in particular.

## **7.2. Increasing political participation: a trend of ‘democratization’**

This cultural federation gradually makes the political culture of the country participant in nature which intended to bring a major political change in Indian political system by replacing the one party domination (1952-1977; 1980-1989) in to a multi party domination (1977-1980; 1989- present) due to the intervening as well as ignorant attitude of the all powerful Congress Party towards the state level politics in particular. It has been observed that the increasing political awareness has bought the coalition system as an alternative ruling strategy run by different political parties. The number of political parties has participated in general election in India 1977, [5 National parties; 15 State parties; 14 registered (unrecognized) parties] ([eci.gov.in](http://eci.gov.in)) has greatly expanded in general election 2019[7 National parties; 42 State parties; 618 Registered(unrecognized) parties] ([eci.gov.in](http://eci.gov.in)) Moreover the member of political parties of different coalition government has started to increased from 6 in JanataParty;5 in National Front; 10 in United Front(M.P. Singh India's National Front and United Front Coalition Governments ‘A phase in Federalized Governance’, P. 332 Asian Survey Vol. XLI, No. 2 March/April 2001library.fes.de) 5 political parties and left parties in UPA; (Farook Ahmad Malik and Bilal Ahamad Malik, ‘Politics of Coalition in India’ p.6, Journal of Poer, Politics & Governance March 2014, vol.2, No.1 jppgnet.com) and reached 23 in ND (Tarun Gogoi ‘Indian Federalism with party system: Changes and continuity’ P. 184,International Journal of Scientific &Technology Research volume 9, issue 01, January 2000.[www.ijstr.org](http://www.ijstr.org)). These dynamic trends of multi party system In India has produced the environment of bargaining instead of command parties. The growing number of political participation in different states has been shown in the country’s general elections after the institutionalization of ethno-linguistic consciousness since 1956.

Table 7.1  
General Elections in India from 1962 to 1989; 2004 to 2019

Name of the states which created / reorganized (since 1956)	Year wise political participation (Voter Turnout)										
	First wave of state reorganization				Second wave of state reorganization			Third wave of state reorganization			
	1962	1967	1971 ₹	1977	1980	1984	1989	2004	2009	2014	2019
1 Andhra Pradesh	12302352	14124097	13420873	17220943	17363759	23136116	29916616	35704463	42086701	48467721	31674526 ~
2 Gujrat	5526904	6818682	6401309	8353883	9141539	10916331	13281560	15208353	17467688	25849655	29128364
3 Maharashtra	11721955	14391706	14391012	17404823	19018800	22451250	28256668	34221390	37007500	48740403	54111038
4 Nagaland		0 *	148125	250016	294009	394820	607429	951684	1189742	1039962 †	1007437 θ
5 Punjab	7028778	4489663 =	4163167	5725795	6103192	-----	8114095	10232519	11833883	13849496	13777295 ψ
6 Haryana		3185295	3068699	4224405	4476526	5163799	6207111	8090595	8160211	11501251	12701029
7 Madras		15922449									
8 Tamilnadu				18252182	18767818	22591943	26763788	28649320	30405063	40644282	42391653
9 Sikkim				0 &	52895	86024	138698	215294	252274	310095	353415
10 Manipur	264770	324796	265495	473895	742442	869614	875158	1035360	1342309	1415131	1620451
11 Meghalaya				264544	115575 #	409212	486967	679238	822614	1078295	1367759
12 Tripura	326605	450521	428203	606833	845729	934814	1288985	1318943	1760485	2028707	2154550
13 Mysore		8044053	7917061								
14 Karnataka				10596342	11289532	13857272	19320008	25081961	24581348 **	31053583	35159448
15 Arunachal Pradesh				52764	182909	240762	281665	383322	500701	600828	659766
16 Mizoram				102075	129533	0 @	228202	345372	326424 ***	434962	500347
17 Goa							427065	551090	564439	817440	853724
18 Chattisgarh								7140574	8556714	12256962	13622625
19 Uttaranchal →								2668413	3145818	4395561	4861415
20 Jharkhand								9362842	9142557 φ	12986625	14966781
21 Telengana											18646856

Source: Election Commission of India eci.gov.in

Note:

→Uttaranchal renamed Uttarakhand

\* There was single candidate from Nagaland constituency

= Panjub was split in to Haryana

For the first time midterm election was called

& No candidate for contesting the election

# One constituency participated from Meghalaya, nominated candidates withdraw

. their candidatures from 1- Shilong

– No law and order situation in Punjab

@ Single candidate from Mizoram constituency

\*\* Repoll

\*\*\* Defeat of Mizo National Front in Assembly election

∅Repoll

∑ Proxy vote

θ Split of Naga People Front

ψApathy on religious ground

~ Telengana was split from Andhra Pradesh

It has been observed that Bombay split into Gujarat and Maharashtra in 1960; Nagaland achieved statehood in 1963; in 1966 Haryana was split from Punjab; Madras state was renamed as Tamil Nadu in 1969; Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura achieved statehood in 1972; Mysore state is renamed as Karnataka in 1973; Sikkim achieved statehood in 1975; Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became states in 1987; the three new states Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand from Uttar Pradesh (was renamed Uttarakhand in 2007), Jharkhand from Bihar was created in 2000; Telangana state was created in 2014. (state-reorganization [www.mha.gov.in](http://www.mha.gov.in); dopt.govt.in)

### **7.3 Coalition formation, a secondary input of regionalism: a strategy of federation building**

It is observed that the central-state federal balance has varied considerably over time since independence. It is also accepted that, following American federal legacy Indian states did not enjoy the dominant status but since the regionalization the states are enjoyed the status of relative autonomy. However the tendencies towards pluralism instead of centralism were created a drastic level of center-state interdependence. But the regional demands were gradually more prone in this flexible political atmosphere. However in the context of the ethno-regional diversity, India cannot deny the utility of regionalism as a form of federal structural adjustment. More over the eventful socio-political changes has keeping this constitutional device as fluid as possible. In a multicultural society the coalition building has identified as a driving force of regionalization in general because it evolved from the contour of the social diversity which was undermined by the centralized forces since 60s. As a culturally fragmented country, Indian federation exhibits the requirement a high degree of coalition compulsion. In the government of coalition the different political parties represent the federal diversity in together. Hence the coalition politics had its direct impact on the federal arrangement of the country. It was said that “Any change in the coalition structure has a corresponding impact on the federal institutional balance of power” (Riker, 2013). On the other hand it was observed that, when one-party domination suppresses the federal spirit of a country, the coalition strategy has been arrived as a technique of regionalism with the ends of federation building. So, in this context regionalism is being treated as the producer to bringing the multi party system in India. Hence forth it will not be an exaggeration, to say that, the greater diversity of contemporary India was properly represented by the federal coalitions in particular. It was observed that, the inclusionary method often strengthen the legitimacy of the multiparty system through the federal coalition which was quite loose in

one party system. Hence, the regional parties were appeared as a crisis manager in the field of federal imbalances since 1977. Therefore, federalism has appeared as one of the political instruments along with recognition of regional identities has been able to forge together the twin values of unity and diversity within the multicultural context of India.

So, it has been said that, it is the regional forces, which made the federal bases of the country as strong as possible. The states, as one of the organ of the federal system become healthy in the era of regionalization. Through the various regional parties the states are directly involve in the national decision making process. The politics of regionalization has regenerated the centre-state relation which denotes the system of federal correlation between the two units instead of the dominant subordinate relationship. However the formation of 'federal front' consisting of TDP, TMC, DMK and AGP has represented the state's power in a moderate way. (Xaxa, 2014).

So far as the diversity is concerned the growth of regional political parties has made a significant impact upon the India political process. Though it is an age old phenomenon operated in the country in accordance to their needs consequently through the regional parties the states have got there due share in the federal matrix in general. The uneven economic development has inspired the regional political parties, fight for federal response. Gradually the regional consciousness has shifted the character of 'uni- federalism' in to a 'co-operative' one. This bought a development syndrome in the Indian federal system where the regional parties were acted as a check against the central policy making in particular.

#### **7.4. Regional accommodation: an emerging politics of bargaining.**

It has been observed that the enormous diversity of India which represented by the different regional political parties through the government of coalition since 1989, (started from 1977), exerted a deep important on Indian political process. It has been observed that the establishment of Mandal commission by the Janata Government under the pressure of its allies Revolutionary Socialist Party and all other socialist sections and its implementation during the tenure of National Front Government has been appeared as a product of caste consciousness. However gradually which strengthened the support base of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the platform of coalition. It has been observed that the politics of India has been experienced the Coalition confrontation between Bhartiya Janata Party and its principal allied All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIDMK), on the basis of "Jayalalitha's politics of brinkmanship" in 1998. Where she demanded the resignation of the Minister Buta

Singh, Ramakrishna Hegde and Ram Jethmalani who were charge sheeted in the case of bribery. On the other hand, another three name also raised in this context L.K. Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Uma Bharati, charge sheeted in the Babri Masjid demolition case. Which made the governmental stability of NDA at risk in 1998 (Jayalalitha vs. the BJP, Frontline, 1998 [frontline.thehindu.com](http://frontline.thehindu.com)). It has been observed that, the TDP has joined in NDA in 1998 to capture the state legislative assembly of Andhra Pradesh against Congress. The case of Lok Dal in Haryana also fitted in the same framework. The political of opportunism beyond ideological factor also have been seen in coalition arena when “in Punjab Sikh based Shiromani Akali Dal has allied with the Hindu based BJP”. (Alistair McMillan, "The causes of party alliances and coalitions and their effects on National coalition in India, P203, Journal of African Elections, Vol-13, No. 1, [www.eisa.org](http://www.eisa.org)). On the other hand the demand of Tamil Nadu regarding the full power transfer to the power station of Tamil Nadu instead of power Share to the 'National Grid' empowered by the 'Central Electricity Authority'. Moreover the demand of Telangana Rashtriya Samiti in Andhra Pradesh for the creation of separate Telangana state in UPA regime have been appeared as the instances of political bargaining on the basis of coalition compulsion in the period of regionalization. (Srividya astry, 'Coalition Government and its impact on Indian Federal Structure' [www.legalservicesindia.com](http://www.legalservicesindia.com)).

Hence, it has been observed that the approach of a 'Control state, during Congress domination has been replaced by the approach of 'open state' in the arena of coalition which lead a substantive amount of autonomy to the states. So far as the benefits of the States in the coalition politics is concerned it has been argued that, “if a party participates in government, not only do the psychological rewards of wielding power accrue to the party elite and its back benchers but also the party is in a position to use the power of the state to reward its friends and punish its enemies” (Browne & Franklin 1973, P. 453 cited in Alistair McMillan "The causes of party alliances and coalitions and their effects on National coalition in India, Journal of African Elections, Vol-13, No. 1, [www.eisa.org](http://www.eisa.org) P.198). So, the multi representations of regional, religion, linguistic as well as tribal identity in federal cabinet has often produced a politics of manipulation on the one hand and the politics of retaliation on the other.

However in the contemporary era of Authoritative Coalition the equation of federalism and regionalism has again experiencing the central strength regarding the “formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states”. When on the one hand Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has voiced for the formation of four small

separate states in Uttar Pradesh named Purbanchal, Harit Pradesh, Bundelkhand and Awadh Pradesh (zeenews.india.com, 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2011) the center has taken a reluctant stands. But on the other country's political process has been witnessed the sudden transfer of the states of Jammu & Kashmir from a full-fledged state to two Union territories Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh in 2019. (The Times of India, 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 timesofindia.com).

### **7.5. The trend of regionalization of political Power**

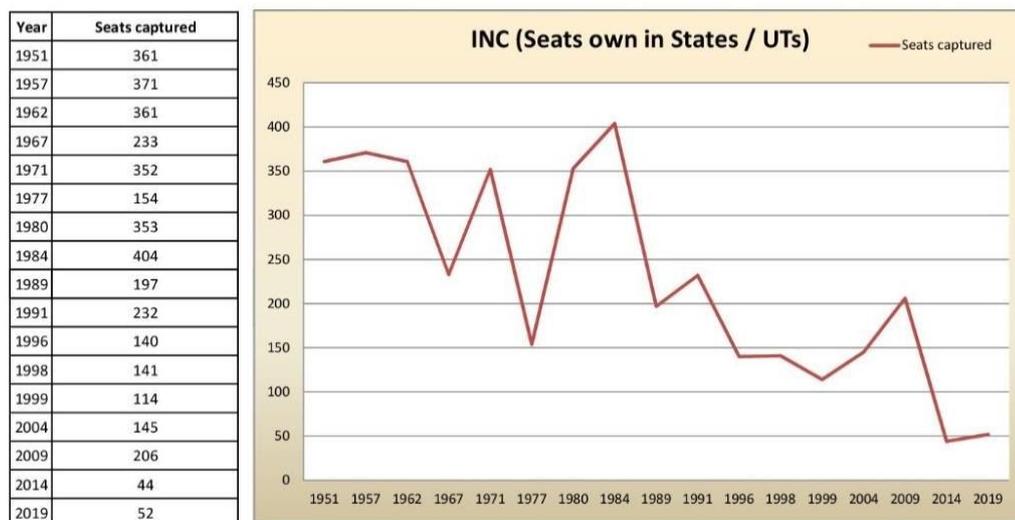
So far as the concept of political culture is concerned it was the 'evaluative orientations' of the society which have decided the political fortune of a democratic country in general. It has been observe that the regional and sub-regional grievances has uprooted the State Congress in 1967 in seven states like Gujarat, Madras, Orissa, Rajasthan, Kerala, West Bengal and Delhi. In 1977 the congress ruling of centre was replaced by the non-Congress government. But again the centralized attitude of Janata Government as well as regional discrimination has established Congress government at the centre in 1980. The Congress (I) have re started its political journey with more centralized manner since 1984 which affected the tenure of Rajiv Gandhi instead of adopting several accomodationist strategies towards the states and resulting a durable triumph of regional coalition at the centre in 1989, named National Front Government in India which ensure the political federalism along within the increasing political participation throughout the country.

In 1967 general election India, the Indian National Congress has achieved 11 Constituency out of 24 Constituency in Gujarat; 3 Constituency out of 39 Constituency in Madras; 6 Constituency out of 20 Constituency in Orissa; 9 Constituency out of 23 Constituency in Rajasthan; 12 Constituency out of 40 Constituency in West Bengal; 1 Constituency out of 19 Constituency in Kerala and 1 Constituency out of 7 Constituency in Delhi. Even the winning percentage of the candidates of Indian National Congress (54.84%) in General Election, India 1967 was not satisfactory rather the percentage of the candidates of CPM (32.20) was more satisfactory in compare to their all India level political existence. The percentage (31.30%) of the candidates of INC was deteriorated massively in General Election, India 1977 but in General Election, India 1980, the winning percentage ( 71.75%) of the candidates of INC(I) has increased and in General Election, India 1984 the wining percentage (82.28%) of INC was highly increased. It was argued that, "the year 1985 was ushered in against the ominous background of the assassination of Indira Gandhi , the Prime Minister of India , on October 31, 1984, resulted an unprecedented majority of INC once again"(Narain,1986). But the centralized trauma of the country again highlighted which was

suppressed by a sudden sympathy actually. Hence again the percentage (38.63%) of INC was quite low in General Election, India 1989 and they are not in a position to form a Government with single majority till 2020. In General Election, India 2014 the candidates of Bharatiya Janata Party capturing 282 seats out of 428 seats which has been established the one party - dominance once again in Indian political system. [Source: Election Commission of India General Election] (eci.gov.in)

Hence the journey of Indian democracy has been experiencing the era of Nehruvian decentralized autocracy; trauma of Indira`s centralized autocracy, Rajib Gandhi`s accomodationist centralized policy and reached its final destiny, through a desirable polity of coalition on the basis of pluralist democracy. Actually the environment of regionalization has weakened the strength of Indian National Congress internally and the decline of congress hegemony has been started since 1967. However the upward and downward mobilization of congress support base has been shown by the Graph given below.

Figure: 7. (c)  
INC (Seats own in States / UTs)



Source: Election Commission of India (eci.gov.in)

## 7.6 The changing nature of Indian federalism since 2014

It has been observed that since 2009 the polity of coalition was continued smoothly with its own preferential way but since 2014 the political culture of the country has changed its form again when the coalitional requisite has been changed into a redundant coalition where the Prime Minister and his coterie has been worked without bothering the compulsions of coalition government on the basis of their single dominance. But the problem arise when a

thought came in to a mind that if the country's Political culture has changed centralized paradigm in to a decentralized one then why again it is leaning to the centralized politics. It has been observed that the dominance of the Hindi belt of the country has played an active role to bring such a significant change in the age of coalition. It has also been observed that the support base of the Bharatiya Janata Party as a single unit has been started to increase since 2000 which reflected in the ballot box in the General Election 2004 when Bharatiya Janata Party has captured a good number of seats in the Hindi belt of the country with some exceptions in UPA regime. Finally in the General Election 2014, BJP has achieved an unprecedented majority. Which become more widened in the General Election 2019. This has shown the revolutionary tendency of a political culture of a particular country from the apathy of a particular political party (INC). On the other hand the political instability as well as majoritarian anarchy of coalition government may lead to the powerful evolution of BJP. Especially when in the general election 2009, the power of congress party again has started to climb; the politics of regionalization has been turned in to a politics of de- ethnicization along with the establishment of another power centre of democratic India.

However in the contemporary era of Authoritative Coalition the equation of federalism and regionalism has again experiencing the central strength regarding the "formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states". When on the one hand Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has voiced for the formation of four small separate states in Uttar Pradesh named Purbanchal, Harit Pradesh, Bundelkhand and Awadh Pradesh ([zeenews.india.com](http://zeenews.india.com), 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2011) the center has taken a reluctant stands. But on the other country's political process has been witnessed the sudden transfer of the states of Jammu & Kashmir from a full-fledged state to two Union territories Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh in 2019. ([The Times of India](http://The Times of India), 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 [timesofindia.com](http://timesofindia.com)).

However as a multicultural country Indian democracy have faced a structure dilemma since independence due to ethnic diversity the pattern of democracy have been changed in order to satisfy the needs of Milieu. Hence the ethnicity has been played a dominant role in the Indian political system. It is often argued that, "it is the development activity of the centre conducted in a democratic setting of Political competition that initially reinforced the politics of ethnicity". It has been observed that, the states which born within a severe ethno-regional environments were achieved the highest economic places in the country. It is mentioned that "from the sixties to eighties Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra and Gujarat have consistently remained at the top rank along with Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu which rapidly improve

their economic status". This development often inculcate the environment of relative deprivation when one ethnic group were 'provoked to react' against the development of another dominant ethnic groups which has permitted "a development of fluid loyalties demonstrating an inbuilt complexity of ethnic politics".( Das Gupta,1988). Henceforth India has successfully tackled the regional movements by increasing power devolution through the institutionalization of linguistic demand but it has its own limitations. Following Kymlicka, Federalism as a process of ethno-cultural accommodation has inculcated the movements of national minorities. (Kymlicka, 2010).It has been observed that, in the frame of reorganization, the units of political federalism were crated along the cultural lines. But its tendency of fragmentation may bring the limitations in particular. On the basis of the paradigm of regional conflict, in the case of Punjab, Paul Brass argued that, the reorganization of Punjab was so "imperfect" that it "has never been completed". ( Brass, 2017).

#### **7.7. The classical as well as contemporary challenges of federation building:**

It has been observed that as a political process the success of federalism is lies on the policy of conjugation by bringing the regional diversity and national integration in one frame. Following, Myron Weiner, national integration is "the process of bringing culturally and socially discreet groups in to a single territorial unit and the establishment of national Identity."(Myron Weiner, 2006). But in plural society, bring all the ethno- regional community under the one ideological dimension is comprehensive in nature. Especially the phenomena of cultural nationalism have made the task of national integration complicated. Hence forth the federation of India is trying to accommodate the extreme diversity through the art of politico-cultural assimilation in the period of regionalization. But the spirit of nation building again hampered due to coalitional confrontations on the basis of narrow power calculations. Even the national development has been compromised in front of coalition compulsion. In this context, often the politics of 'cohabitation' may standardize the nature of Indian polyarchy. It has been observed that, political mood in a spontaneous multicultural society has been swing in to a various institutional segment frequently. The perplexity of the politics of coalition often secure by the togetherness of the 'politics of cohabitation' which was seen as a comfort power sharing arrangement by passing the strains of coalition in general. In the process of 'cohabitation' the true spirit of plurality may honor by emphasizing the notion of togetherness of distractive identities. Because it has been observed that in a politics of coalition, the party identity has been given greater significance on the basis of seat

adjustment. The different parties were competed with each other for their political identities. On the other hand, the mutual inclusionary strategy of integrity is evaporated in the “politics of cohabitation.” Hence the time has come for the calm solutions of ideological conflict in the political platform and to defeat the negative appetite of ethnicity and to foster the sense of nationalism. Hence it is remain to be seen that in the sphere of centre- state relation how far the politics of cohabitation will have to bring antiqueness?(Kailash, 2010).

Though in a plural country like India, Federation is appeared as a suitable technique for controlling the enormous diversity but there are some constitutional dilemmas which raised questions against the spirit of the democracy and which is anti-federal in nature. Hence forth, often it was come in to the mind of scholar's, is some ideas of “new federalism” evolved in 1970's in the United States of America may included in the Indian federal framework, which based on the principle of greater devolution? It has been observed that, the greater state autonomy through the reductions of the state's financial needs has inserted in the philosophy of “New Federalism” (New Federalism, encyclopedia federalism.org 28<sup>th</sup> Nov 2018). Following, Richard Nixon, new federalism offer, “more money and less interference” to states and local governments and would act “not as a way of avoiding problems, but as a better way of solving problems”. (katz, 2014). Though it is an acceptable truth that, a greater financial autonomy is a pre requisite for a healthy federation in general but, though the federal background of India is quite different from the confederal background of United States of America, the matters fallen in the purview of examination. But it has been observed that since 1990's the greater federalization was take place in Indian of globalization where the treaty-based relationship between the states and the global companies, could increase the state's financial autonomy (Singh and Saxena, 2013). But still, the fiscal federalism of India is more dominated by the central government.

**i. Ethno- regionalism and elite controversy:**

Now, when the issue of identity is highlighted in the federal discourses of the country encouraged by the linguistic reorganization, 1956 the political environment has produced different result. Gradually it has been seen that, the phenomenon of cultural identity has been injected on the national decision making process by the regional elites. Because the regions which were entitled with distinct culture gradually capable to imposed their regional thrust over the central leadership in general which was neglected since a long days. More over when the identity issue is frame worked by the issue of socio-economic development going beyond the cultural issue there is no way besides the adoption of a greater inclusionary method. In

this context it is assumed that the greater political participation through the politics of 'cohabitation' can minimize the problem of ethno-regionalism in the country. Otherwise the frustrations of different region may fragment the nation. Because when politics are getting politicized, it is the mankind who affected enormously. Following Rajani Kothari, "The battle for federalism in India is fundamentally a battle for greater democracy in which the people come in to their own through social identities, organization forms and institutional frameworks with which they feel comfortable and through which they can find their potency and self respect."(Kothari ,1989). It was seen that in this context the ethnic communities were interested regarding the issue of homeland representation in the arena of national decision making, to protect their exclusive cultural interest as well as for the balanced socio-economic development. Moreover they prefer, the transfer of the rights of decision making from the central elites to the local elites. In India where language plays a decisive role in an ethnic society, naturally the several ethnic assertions have been working within the federal boundary in general.

In a multiethnic society the ethnic issues are viewed as a source of conflict between the local leaders and the state apparatus. Territorialize the ethnic demand has been seen as the target of the local leaders for acquiring the political power. Therefore the ethnic sentiments in a plural society have been used by the elites as an instrument of power politics. It is the elite sections of a country that can cherish the ethno regional assertion in a federal environment for their personal benefit instead of ethno national integration. Hence the study of ethnicity denotes the issue of politically persuaded cultural change. In this context, the primordial attachment of an ethnic group is skillfully transformed into a path of political bargaining in particular. From the instrumentalist point of view it has been observed that, the ethnicity has been seen as the pursuance of interest articulation and the ethnic cultures are manipulated by the elites to develop and maintaining its power in the political matrix (Brass, 1991).It has been observed that the event of linguistic reorganization have made our country's federation ethnic in nature. The different cultural identities that co-exist in an ethno federation are in confrontation due to the perception of relative deprivation as well as political discriminations. Hence it is assumed that again regionalism has been appeared through the regional political parties as a crisis manager in the field of federation to fulfill the gap of federal imbalances through the strategy of coalition in general since 1977.

So far as the politics of ethnicity is concerned, a major constraint has been one of the problem of perception of deprivation, an obstacle of federation building. Where, the ethnic

problems will be created first and then it will be instrumentalized. Hence the phenomenon of ethnicity is a liquid in nature which has been shaped by the elites in accordance to their political needs. Hence, the socio-economic deprivation has been instrumentalized where the ethno-national minorities are forced to think in terms of their social deprivation against other superior groups and goes for their due share of national cake. Hence in this context we cannot ignore the capability aspect of a strong centre as a monitoring device. But on the other hand, living in the age of diversity we cannot ignore the spirit of diversity rather promoting diversity has been appealed as a pre-condition of a success of a multi-ethnic polity. Hence if we want to contextualize the monitoring spirit of parliamentary democracy in a multi ethnic frame work, we may go for the establishment of multitude federalism where the regions may place in the power sharing strategy along with centre and states under the Constitutional norms.

## **ii. Delimitation as a political technique**

It has been argued that, “symbolic inequalities generate the policies of recognition and this dimension of inequality indeed been addressed through the political process” (Jayal, 2006). However the tendency of drastic political change in federal atmosphere is proved healthy if it exempted from the political exploitation as it is emerged as a challenge for federation – building in India. Where ‘Political fragmentation often used as a political technique of unity establishment as there is no fragmentation, there is no purpose for politics (Kothari, 1976). The institutional recognition of diversity often proved inadequate in Indian political system. Henceforth the federal process of the country needs to be more responsive as a political manifestation of diversity. It has been observe that according to Art.82 of the Constitution of India, the parliament by law enacts a Delimitation Act every census. After coming in to force commencement of the Act, the Central Government constitutes a Delimitation Commission for demarcates the boundaries of the Parliamentary Constituencies as per provisions of the Delimitation Act (eci.gov.in). (See **Appendix F**) Now it has been observed that often the trend of regionalism has been curtailed to some extent by re configuring the constituencies. So far as the rotation of the reservation of SC & ST seats are concerned grievances often made in the previous state of Jammu and Kashmir. It has been argued that, “accordingly in Jammu and Kashmir state assembly all the seven seats reserved for SC population fall in the Jammu region alone and no seat has been reserved in the Kashmir region. These reserve seats for SC population have not been rotated for the past four assembly elections held in the state since 1996. No seats are reserved for the ST population of

the state which constitutes nearly 12% of the state has been deprived of these constitutional rights” Hence often a demand rose for “Constitutional Amendment to delimit the constituencies in the state legislature which has required two- third majority in both the houses to pass the amendment bill” (Pandita, 2017).

### **iii. Sub-regional demands: a consequence of cultural federalism**

Following Rudolph and Rudolph, Indian federalism has experiencing the vicissitudes of traditional central power on the one hand and modern regional pressure on the other.(Rudolph and Rudolph, 2014).Whatever may be the paradox of India federation, when the concept of cultural movement has supported by the country through linguistic reorganization, the fate of a plural country has been written on that very moment. Again the different regions has demand another readjustment, institutionalization, more inclusion in the decision making platform. The feeling of dissatisfactions regarding “self rule” is converted in to the demand of “shared rule” gradually due to the absence of dynamics in the strategy of leadership may create the complicacy because all the ethnic demands were not the unanimous in nature and the common ethno-federal strategy may not be applicable in the heterogeneous platform of the country. (Bhattacharyya, Hausing and Mukherjee, 2017).The time has come to explore the particular reasons behind the growing sense of relative deprivations among the regions. Following Horowitz, “Skillful division of authority between regions or states and a centre has the potential to reduce conflict” (Horowitz, 1985).

But when the regional consciousness is confined within the regional outlook only, it is the task of unitary federation to maintain the integrity of the country by emphasizing the national outlook. Hence the success of federalism depends on the quality of management of ethnic diversity as well as to hold the country within one union. It is the formidable task of federal government to make the regional parties for their positive contribution in the nation building by reducing the regional disparity as much as possible. Hence the political process of India needed a “viable political culture” enhanced by the spirit of co-operation between federalism and regionalism (Tenginder, 2008).Hence an integrated outlook of political authority is appeared as the demand of the age instead of segregationist outlook for reducing intra regional discontent. It has been argued in this context that once the federal segregation was started in a plural country it is difficult to hold the country within the notion of integration because in an ‘ethnic democracy’ the notion of “civic quality” may disappear. (Garry and O’Leary 2007).

Though it is very tough to make a durable solution in a country where highly controversial ethnic cultural were co-existed. Though India is trying to envisage the ethnic demands within the federal context through redistribution but the ethno regional problems are to be seen as an ongoing reality in the countries contemporary political discourses. How the problems are mitigated the matter is subject to debate. The effective policy of resource development as well as resource sharing is being treated necessary for incorporating the ethnic demands in particular.

On the other hand, it has been examined that in a multi ethnic country, the execution of the notion like integration are highly complicated as well as ephemeral in nature. More over the linguistic reorganization of India made the ethnic assertions as endemic in nature. Hence the matter is under observation that how the political consequences of cultural pluralism were accommodated in a federal context. The policy making will be conducted in the horizontal federal line where a considerable attention will be paid to the local level. It has been observed that instead of minimizing the cultural differences through various accommodative schemes, the recognition of diversity is appeared gradually as a challenge of federal politics of India.

Hence, though the political accommodation of sub national units was successfully framed in cultural federation motivated by the regionalism. Which inculcate the positive impact of democratization since 1956 on the one hand, and detracting the massive centralization by the establishment of the rules of coalition on the other. But the impact of regionalism has survived and continued through the sub-national assertion again which often complicated the task of nation- building by representing the perception of deprivation. However in the age of 'valorization of diversity' we cannot ignore the ethnic minorities. More over it is the production of political awareness which has been started since 1956. Therefore again the phenomena of regionalism in the form of sub regionalism has produced the regional scarcity which compelled the political authority to think in term of political development which is necessary for federation building in the period of modernization.

The cultural exclusiveness of a heterogeneous society may honored for the purpose of national integration because in a multicultural society, the notion of cultural homogeneity is constantly working under the frequent Central imposing politics and going through the fear of losing their cultural distinctiveness. It has been observed that, a nation state is not only a political being but also a jumble of cultural communities which were heterogeneous in nature. India as a multicultural country expressed its territorial fragmentations through its different

its ethno linguistic states. The cultural instinct of the country naturally may go for the extension of cultural autonomy with the passage of time. There was an acute presence of large amount of regions in India from its ancient age but the political culture of the country may be accompanied with the quest of regionalism since 1956 when the language was appeared as one of the deciding factors of the formation of a state in particular. Consequently a new kind of power equation is pretend and the federal political system of India gradually shifted towards more regionalization when the regional politics is come and fitted in the arena of central level power politics. But it has been observed that the different type of ethno-regional demands still exist on the basis of relative deprivation based on advanced economic position of another region as well as weak constitutional position in the decision-making platform in general. Henceforth through the rational recognition of diversities instead of ethnic isolation, the primordial loyalties of a plural society may given respects as well as the national interests of the country have been protected. Moreover in India, where ethno-regional demand were constantly forming and reforming the Constitutional regime is being used as a preventive measure against the political deprivation created by the elites in particular instead of freezing the ethnic identities.

However in the arena of multiculturalism it is quite difficult to smooth running of a federal political system. So far as the economic diversity of India is concerned, the federalism often goes for greater democracy in the form of regionalization, quest for more participation in decision making process when within a federal fragments the ethnic diversity may be accommodated for minimizing the union state political contradiction. Moreover the growing federal diversity showing that the federation of India is still in the form of liquidity which tried to adjusted itself with the power concentration on the one and power dispersion on the other hand. Because it has been observed that the problems of regional disparity on the ground of federal transfer has been acute in the polity of centralization which has been continued in the new era of the polity of decentralization on a new form. An acute regional disparity is noticed on the economic sector through which the statuses of the states were labeled on the basis of their income differentiation like high-medium-low income states. Henceforth ethno-regional deprivation has their adverse effect on the federal policy of India in this circumstances the regional movements may be seen as way of protection of the federal infrastructure of the country in general.

However before reach any conclusion regarding federal resolution of ethno-regional discontent or improvise the federal framework through more institutionalization of political

power by the positive inspiration of regionalism, the research work has try to enlisted several existing politico-cultural problems of Indian political system.

**Linguistic asymmetry, the problem of identity, scarcity of development : The criterion of sub-regional movements**

However it has been observed that since Independence the centre state relations in India are mainly motivated by the economic and cultural factors in federal politics. The event of linguistic reorganization of States in 1956 has brought a turning point in Indian political process and the he linguistic consciousness eventually has ignited the democratic spirit of balanced development in a centralized state. Hence, regionalism denotes the politics of retaliation against the regional imbalance of centralized India. On the other hand the linguistic demand denotes a quest for political identity formation in particular when the world is stand for the new existence of 'Small homogeneous units' instead of a centralize nation state where the ethno-regional consciousness are being highlighted.

It has been observed that according to language census of India 2011,there are 22 languages are enjoyed the official status under the eighth schedule of the Constitution of India. From which "15 languages out of 21, has belong to the Indo-Aryan group of Indo-European family, the total speaker of this language family is 94,50,52,555;4 languages out of 17, has belongs to Dravidian family, the total number of speaker of this family is 23,78,40,116;1 language out of 14,has belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family, the total speaks of this family is 1,34,93,080;2 languages out of 66 has belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese family, the total speaks of this language is 1,22,57,382.Hence, it has been revealed that, the 1,875,542 speakers out of the total population of 1,21,08,54,977 are from local or ethnic languages. Hence the language of Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, Punjabi, Maithili, Nepali, Sindhi, Sanskrit, Odia, Konkani, Dogri Assamese, Kashmiri are from the Indo-Aryan which enjoyed the status of official/ language. On the other hand Santali from Austro- Asiatic family; Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu were from Dravidian family and Manipuri and Bodo languages are from Tibeto-Burmese family" have enjoyed the official status under the Constitution of India. [Language: Census India 2011 (censusindia.gov.in)]The speaker's strength of the 22 scheduled languages is given below:

**Table 7.2**

<b>SCHEDULED LANGUAGES IN DESCENDING ORDER OF SPEAKERS' STRENGTH – 2011</b>			
<b>Sl.No.</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue</b>	<b>Percentage to total population</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
1	Hindi	52,83,47,193	43.63
2	Bengali	9,72,37,669	8.03
3	Marathi	8,30,26,680	6.86
4	Telegu	8,11,27,740	6.70
5	Tamil	6,90,26,881	5.70
6	Gujrati	5,54,92,554	4.58
7	Urdu	5,07,72,631	4.19
8	Kannada	4,37,06,512	3.61
9	Odia	3,75,21,324	3.10
10	Malayalam	3,48,38,819	2.88
11	Punjabi	3,31,24,726	2.74
12	Assamese	1,53,11,351	1.26
13	Maithili	1,35,83,464	1.12
14	Santali	73,68,192	0.61
15	Kashmiri	67,97,587	0.56
16	Nepali	29,26,168	0.24
17	Sindhi	27,72,264	0.23
18	Dogri	25,96,767	0.21
19	Konkani	22,56,502	0.19
20	Manipuri	17,61,079	0.15
21	Bodo	14,82,929	0.12
22	Sanskrit	24,821	N

N- Stands for Negligible.

Source: Language: Census India 2011 (censusindia.gov.in)

It has been observed that languages included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India have enjoyed “cultural incentives, employment opportunities, monetary and pedagogic benefits, membership of the Official Languages Commission, benefits in the Parliament such as translation” e.t.c ([www.deccanherald.com](http://www.deccanherald.com)). Hence so far as the economic prosperity as well as cultural autonomy is concerned several new demand of inclusion in the eighth schedule in the constitution of India has been raised due to asymmetric linguistic status. It has been observed that a different language like Sanskrit [present speaker strength is 24,821(Census of India 2011 Language censusindia.gov.in)] specified in the Eighth Schedule as per the populations of speakers is too low on the other there was some languages (mother tongue) as per the populations of speakers is comparatively high like Kamtapuri language of Rajbangsi community has demanded the inclusion in Eighth Schedule. They claim about their belongingness to the language family of “Indo- European Indo-Iranian Indo-Aryan Eastern

Bengali – Assamese” (www. ethnologue.com). As per census, India 2011 the total speaker strength of Rajbangsi language is 4,75,861 (Census of India 2011 Language censusindia.gov.in).

It has been observed that, besides the categorization of 22 official languages, the six languages have been identified as a ‘classical language’ these are ‘Tamil, Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Odia’ within the year between the years 2004 to 2014. Which have been given the national weightage by including these languages in ‘National Education Policy 2020’. The Maharashtra now demanded for inclusion of Marathi language in the status of classical language. Moreover there are demands for inclusion of “38 more languages” in the eighth schedule to the constitution of India. These are:“(1) Angika, (2) Banjara, (3) Bazika,(4) Bhojpuri,(5) Bhoti, (6) Bhotia, (7) Bundelkhandi, (8) Chhattisgarhi, (9) Dhatki, (10) English,(11) Garhwali (Pahari), (12) Gondi, (13) Gujjar/Gujjari, (14) Ho, (15) Kachachhi, (16) Kamtapuri,(17) Karbi (18) Khasi,(19) Kodava (Coorg), (20) Kok Barak, (21) Kumaoni (Pahari), (22) Kurak, (23) Kurmali, (24) Lepcha, (25) Limbu, (26) Mizo (Lushai), (27) Magahi, (28) Mundari, (29) Nagpuri, (30) Nicobarese, (31) Pahari (Himachali), (32) Pali, (33) Rajasthani, (34) Sambalpuri/Kosali, (35) Shaurseni (Prakrit), (36) Siraiki, (37) Tenyidi and (38) Tulu”. (<https://www.mha.gov.in>) On the other hand it has been observed that though there is an adoption of flexible three language formula in NEP 2020, ( Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India [www.education.gov.in](http://www.education.gov.in)) but on the other hand a question may arise regarding the position of a children who belong to ethnic minority when he forced to learn a regional or state language in a government educational institution until the development of proper teaching learning process due to the lack of infrastructure of multi ethnic languages in general.

### **Assam : a case of ethnic assimilations**

Federal asymmetry may permit to continue a healthy federal atmosphere. But the policymakers should be aware at the time of asymmetric application that the asymmetrical provisions are works in according to the prescribed manner woks in a multi-cultural country like Canada and Spain (Tillin, 2007) and it may not create an inter regional as well as intra-regional asymmetry of the particular region on the one hand and the strategy of federal asymmetry may not appeared as segregationist in nature. As it was seen that on the ground of massive cultural heterogeneity as well as the growing number of linguistic minority has created an identity crisis within the people of Assam, whose mother tongue is Assamese. The state politics of Assam has experiencing the confrontation between Assamese and non-

Assamese communities frequently. A fear has dominated the region on the basis of a doubt on a sudden conversion of a linguistic minority (Bengali) in to a majority one. The growing Bengali speakers in Assam have been shown below:

Table 7.3  
**DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 PERSONS BY LANGUAGE-INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES-2011**

India State / Union territory#	Scheduled Languages										
	Total	Assamese	Bengali	Bodo	Dogri	Gujarati	Hindi	Kannada	Kashmiri	Konkoni	maithili
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
India	10000	126	803	12	21	458	4363	361	56	19	112
Jammu & Kashmir	10000	7	16	N	2004	15	2083	6	5327	N	1
Himachal Pradesh	10000	2	9	N	34	15	8588	1	83	N	7
Punjab	10000	1	10	N	7	5	935	1	1	N	3
Chandigarh"	10000	4	59	N	10	15	7360	4	13	1	30
Uttarakhand	10000	2	150	N	5	4	8915	1	2	N	54
Haryana	10000	2	28	N	1	3	8805	1	2	N	10
NCT of Delhi"	10000	5	129	N	4	24	8492	6	11	1	73
Rajasthan	10000	N	12	N	1	10	8939	1	1	N	2
Uttar Pradesh	10000	1	12	N	N	1	9408	N	N	N	1
Bihar	10000	N	78	N	N	1	7752	N	N	N	1255
Sikkim	10000	14	114	1	4	3	796	6	N	N	10
Arunachal Pradesh	10000	390	727	51	7	3	710	4	1	N	21
Nagaland	10000	87	378	37	6	1	318	2	N	N	7
Manipur	10000	9	107	1	6	1	111	2	N	N	1
Mizoram	10000	12	983	2	2	1	97	2	N	N	1
Tripura	10000	6	6573	1	1	4	211	2	N	N	1
Meghalaya	10000	134	784	16	1	1	212	2	N	N	3
<b>Assam</b>	10000	<b>4838</b>	<b>2892</b>	454	1	2	673	1	N	N	2
West Bengal	10000	1	8622	5	N	5	696	N	N	N	3
Jharkhand	10000	N	974	N	N	7	6195	N	N	N	42
Odisha	10000	N	120	N	N	4	295	1	N	2	1
Chhattisgarh	10000	1	95	N	N	15	8362	1	N	N	4
Madhya Pradesh	10000	N	15	N	N	26	8857	1	N	N	1
Gujarat	10000	1	13	N	N	8597	706	3	N	1	2
Daman & Diu"	10000	49	215	2	N	5083	3631	19	N	6	43
Dadra & Nagar Haveli"	10000	28	91	1	N	2148	2616	26	N	226	64
Maharastra	10000	1	39	N	N	211	1289	89	1	36	4
Andhra Pradesh	10000	N	7	N	N	7	369	63	N	N	N
Karnataka	10000	2	14	N	N	19	330	6654	1	129	N
Goa	10000	8	49	N	1	47	1029	466	3	6611	2
Lakshadweep"	10000	N	22	1	-	4	25	6	-	N	-
Kerala	10000	2	9	N	N	1	16	26	N	21	N
Tamilnadu	10000	N	3	N	N	38	55	178	N	1	N
Puducherry#	10000	1	12	N	N	11	51	15	N	1	N
Andaman & Nicobar Islands"	10000	3	2849	N	2	6	1929	6	1	3	4

In continuation.....

Scheduled Languages												Scheduled languages total Col 3 to 24	Non-Scheduled Languages Total
Malayalam	Manipuri	Marathi	Nepali	Odia	Punjabi	Sanskrit	Santali	Sinhdi	Tamil	Telegu	Urdu		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
288	15	686	24	310	274	N	61	23	570	670	419	9672	328
9	2	18	18	8	175	N	N	N	12	11	16	9727	273
2	N	5	130	5	896	1	1	N	2	2	8	9791	209
4	N	7	8	4	8982	N	N	N	4	3	10	9986	14
19	4	12	62	18	2203	N	N	1	53	13	100	9981	19
3	N	6	105	4	261	N	N	3	3	3	422	9944	56
6	N	5	8	6	947	N	N	1	5	4	148	9982	18
53	2	16	22	22	520	N	N	19	49	15	517	9982	18
4	N	3	1	2	332	N	N	56	1	1	97	9464	536
1	N	1	1	1	25	N	N	1	1	1	542	9998	2
N	N	N	1	N	1	N	44	N	0	0	842	9975	25
15	6	19	6260	16	32	-	5	N	12	17	33	7364	2636
29	20	17	689	49	27	N	12	N	9	12	9	2787	7213
15	48	13	220	23	11	-	1	N	6	6	6	1187	8813
5	5330	6	223	3	5	N	N	-	6	4	1	5820	4180
7	20	4	82	3	3	-	10	-	3	3	1	1235	8765
3	65	4	8	71	3	N	11	N	3	10	1	6978	3022
6	15	70	184	5	15	N	1	1	3	4	7	1465	8535
2	54	4	191	70	7	N	68	6	2	9	3	9278	722
1	N	2	127	18	7	N	266	1	2	10	182	9947	53
2	N	3	5	161	24	N	991	1	3	9	596	9014	986
2	N	2	2	8270	5	N	206	1	1	159	160	9230	770
9	N	56	1	358	26	N	7	37	4	60	31	9067	933
5	N	170	1	3	19	N	N	34	3	3	126	9264	736
11	N	152	4	30	10	N	N	196	7	12	79	9285	175
51	1	453	58	182	9	N	3	17	13	19	42	9896	104
63	2	701	34	130	12	N	2	14	22	23	32	6232	3768
33	N	6893	7	12	25	N	9	64	45	118	671	9548	452
7	N	80	1	43	3	N	N	1	84	8355	887	9910	90
127	1	338	3	10	4	N	N	3	345	584	1083	9647	353
89	3	1089	18	38	13	7	1	4	48	76	283	9883	117
8417	-	4	1	6	1	-	-	1	56	7	5	8554	1446
9703	N	9	1	3	N	N	N	N	150	11	4	9957	43
101	N	12	1	3	1	N	N	1	8837	587	175	9993	7
384	N	7	3	15	1	N	-	1	8822	596	69	9991	9
722	1	17	25	29	41	N	8	N	1520	1324	34	8524	1476

Source: Census of India 2011 Language censusindia.gov.in

On the other hand besides the Boro tribes there was another demands of a separate state hood in Assam like the demand of “separate Dimaraji Kingdom by Dimasas tribe comprising the Dimasa dominated areas of the NC Hills, Karbi Anglong, some parts of Nagaon and Dimapur (in present Nagaland)”; the demand of “separate Karbi Anglong state comprising Karbi Anglong district, Nagaon, Morigaon, Kamrup districts and Meghalaya’s Ri-Bhoi district” ( Singha, 2018).

However it has been observed that since 1956 linguistic states reorganization has exerted two major problems for linguistic minorities. A linguistic group which enjoyed

several privileges in their own linguistic states on the one hand, but the same linguistic group has faced lots of difficulties in different linguistic states on the other. Which ultimately led an ethnic confrontation and goes for another fragmentation which often denotes another readjustment of states boundaries. Again another problem is arrived when a same linguistic minority group has been treated differently in two different linguistic states. In this context the linguistic groups often face a serious identity crisis which brings a separatist attitude resulting an urge for creation of a separate state. Hence the linguistic integration often indulges the feeling of ethnic fragmentation in particular. However the assimilations of different linguistic minorities of different states in India are given below:

**Table 7.4**

State/Union Territory	Linguistic Majority	%	First Ling. Minority	%	Second Ling. Minority	%	Third Ling. Minority	%
Andhra Pradesh	Telugu	84.77	Urdu	8.36	Hindi	2.77	Tamil	1.33
Arunachal	Misi/Dafla	19.91	Adi	17.94	Nepali	9.39	Bengali	8.19
Assam	Assami	57.81	Bengali	21.67	Bodo/Boro	5.28	Hindi	4.62
Bihar (+ Jharkhand)	Hindi	80.86	Urdu	9.89	Santhali	2.95	Bengali	2.92
Goa	Konkani	51.52	Marathi	33.36	Kannada	4.64	Urdu	3.41
Gujarat	Gujarati	91.49	Hindi	2.94	Sindhi	1.70	Marathi	1.37
Haryana	Hindi	91.00	Punjabi	7.11	Urdu	1.99		
Himachal	Hindi	88.87	Punjabi	6.28	Kinnauri	1.19		
Jammu & Kashmir	Kashmiri	52.29	Dogri	24.39	Hindi	17.32	Punjabi	2.84
Karnataka	Kannada	66.22	Urdu	9.96	Telugu	7.39	Tamil	3.84
Kerala	Malayalam	96.56	Tamil	2.12				
Madhya Pradesh (+ Chhattisgarh)	Hindi	85.55	Bhili	3.35	Gondi	2.24	Marathi	1.94
Maharashtra	Marathi	73.34	Hindi	7.81	Urdu	7.26	Gujarat	2.55
Manipur	Manipuri	60.43	Thado	5.64	Tangkhul	5.45	Mao	3.89
Meghalaya	Khasi	49.54	Garo	30.86	Bengali	8.36	Nepali	2.77
Mizoram	Mizo	75.11	Bengali	8.57	Kokborok	3.83	Lakher	3.33
Nagaland	Ao	40.04	Sema	12.38	Konyak	11.3	Angami	6.06
Orissa	Oriya	82.75	Hindi	2.40	Telugu	2.1	Santhali	2.09
Punjab	Panjabi	92.22	Hindi	7.29				
Rajasthan	Hindi	89.56	Bhili	5.13	Urdu	2.17	Punjabi	1.90
Sikkim	Nepali	63.09	Bhotia	8.20	Lepcha	7.34	Limbu	6.64
Tamil Nadu	Tamil	86.71	Telegu	7.12	Kannada	2.16	Urdu	1.86
Tripura	Bengali	68.88	Kokborok	23.50	Hindi	1.66	Mongh	1.01
Uttar Pradesh(+Uttarakhand)	Hindi	90.11	Urdu	8.98				
West Bengal	Bengali	85.99	Hindi	6.08	Santhali	2.37	Urdu	2.14
Andaman Island	Bengali	23.05	Tamil	19.07	Hindi	1.66	Telugu	11.75
Chandigarh	Hindi	61.07	Punjabi	34.72				
Dadra NH	Bhili	55.03	Gujrati	21.91	Konkani	12.32	Hindi	5.05
Daman and Diu	Gujarati	91.01	Hindi	3.59	Marathi	1.24		
Delhi	Hindi	81.64	Punjabi	7.94	Urdu	5.45	Bengali	1.29
Lakshadweep	Malayalam	34.47						
Pandichery	Tamil	89.19	Malayalam	4.75	Telugu	4.31		

Source: National Commission for Linguistic Minority (India Census of 2001) [www.sgindia.org.in](http://www.sgindia.org.in)

### **Kamtapur Movement:**

The Rajbangsi Community is one of the oldest ethnic communities, who were found “throughout the undivided Bengal, Purnea in Bihar and Goalpara in Assam” ( Sanyal, 1965). It has been observed that the Rajbangsi communities of western part of Assam have demanded St status along with separate Kamtapur state. However they have achieved a development council for themselves named Koch-Rajbangsi Development Council. According to the report of Urban and Panchyat Department, Government of Assam 2020, the Rajbangsi population of Assam is at present 45 lakhs. But in the neighbor state West Bengal they have always in ideological confrontation with the pre dominating Bengali class, where they have forced to maintain a superior-subordinate relationship. Hence forth as a peripheral group they have demand a political detachment from the core groups (Bengalis) in West Bengal.

Table 7.5  
Abstract of speakers strength of Languages and Mother Tongues 2011

<b>Name of Language &amp; mother tongue(s) grouped under each language</b>	<b>Number of persons who returned the language (and the mother tongues grouped under each) as their mother tongue)</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>1 ASSAMESE</b>	1,53,11,351
Assamese	1,48,16,414
Others	9,94,937
<b>2 BENGALI</b>	9,72,37,669
Bengali	9,61,77,835
Chakma	2,28,281
Haijong/Hajong	71,792
Rajbangsi	4,75,861
Others	2,83,900

Source: Census of India 2011 Language [censusindia.gov.in](http://censusindia.gov.in)

Table 7.6

	<b>Name of the Scheduled</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>Proportion to the total SC population</b>
1	All Scheduled Castes	18,452,555	100%
2	Rajbanshi	3,386,617	18.4
3	Namasudra	3,212,393	17.4
4	Bagdi	2,740,385	14.9
5	Pod	2,216,513	12.0
6	Bauri	1,091,022	5.9
7	Chamar	995,756	5.4
8	JaliaKaibartta	409,303	2.2
9	Hari	390,619	2.1
10	Dhoba	369,808	2.0
11	Sunri (excluding Saha)	317,543	1.7
12	Dom	316,337	1.7
13	JhaloMalo	293,714	1.6
14	Lohar	279,582	1.5
15	Mal	273,641	1.5
16	Kaora	263,731	1.4
17	Tiyar	195,340	1.1

Source: Census of India 2001 West Bengal

Table 7.7

Rajbangsi Population in West Bengal( Borda Composite Demographic Indicators)

<b>District</b>	<b>Population Density</b>
Bankura	18
Barddhaman	7
Birbhum	13
DakshinDinajpur	14
Darjeeling	17
PurbaMedinipur	8
Haora	2
Hugli	4
Jalpaiguri	16
Koch Bihar	11
Kolkata	1
Maldah	9
Murshidabad	5
Nadia	6
North Twenty Four Parganas	3
Puruliya	19
South Twenty Four Parganas	12
Uttar Dinajpur	10
PaschimMedinipur	15

Source: Computed from the Census data 2011 [www.iosrjournals.org](http://www.iosrjournals.org) [Basu Roy, Roy and Basu, 2017 ]

Table 7.8

Name of the major SCs	Percentage of major SCs to total SCs population of the Zone	Name of the major SCs	Percentage of major SCs to total SCs population of the Zone	Name of the major SCs	Percentage of major SCs to total SCs population of the Zone
<b>Western Zone</b>		<b>Eastern Zone</b>		<b>Southern Zone</b>	
Bairwa, Berwa	4.26	Bagdi, Duley	6.22	AdiDravida	17.2
Bhambi,Bhambhietc	8.26	Bauri	2.50	Adi Karnataka	6.9
Chamar,Bhambhi,etc	8.42	Bhuiya	3.18	Arunthathiyar	2.6
Mahar, Mehra, etc	27.06	Chamar, Mochietc	14.12	Banjara,Lambanietc	3.0
Mahyavansi,Dhedetc	5.44	Dewar, Dhibaraetc	2.02	Bhovi, Od etc	2.7
Mang, Matang, etc	8.41	Dhoba, Dhobi	1.31	Madiga	18.2
Megh, Meghval, etc	10.34	Dhobi, Rajak	1.52	Mala, Mala Ayawaru	13.2
Thori, Nayak	2.84	Dom, Domboetc	1.44	Pallan	5.5
<b>Central Zone</b>		Dusadh, Dharietc	10.05	Paraiyan,Parayanetc	4.3
Chamar, Chamarietc	52.59	Ganda	1.33	Pulayan,Cheramaretc	2.4
Balahi, Balai	9.11	JaliaKaibartta	1.16	<b>Northern Zone</b>	
Mahar, Mehraetc	5.61	Kandra, Kandaraetc	1.08	Ad Dharmi	1.62
Koli, Kori	4.49	Musagar	5.54	Balmiki,Churaetc	4.97
Ganda, Gandhi	2.61	Namasudra	7.12	Chamar,Jatia,Chamaretc	44.65
Bhangi, Mehtaretc	2.50	Pan, Panoetc	2.45	Dhobi	3.87
<b>North-Eastern Zone</b>		Pasi	1.79	Khatik	1.48
Bhuinmali, Mali	2.29	Pod, Poundra	4.98	Kori	3.65
JaliaKaibarta	3.53	<b>Rajbangshi</b>	<b>7.73</b>	Mazhabi, Mazhabi, Sikh	4.19
Jhalo, Malo, Jhalo-Malo	2.65			Pasi, Tarmali	10.37
Kaibartta, Jaliya	22.88			Shilpkar	1.48
Lois	2.82				
Mahisyadas	5.05				
Muchi, Rishi	2.56				

Source: [www.censusindia.gov.in](http://www.censusindia.gov.in)

It has been observed that the language factor have played a vital role for continuing the trend of state building in India. The movement of separate Kamtapur state for the community of Koch Rajbangsi was started since the event of linguistic reorganization in 1956, from Assam comprising the boundary of ancient region. However the demand of separate Kamtapur state was restructured under the guidance of the Kamtapur People's party in 1995. The movement centre on the “six district of North Bengal and the Goalpara, Kamrup

and Nowgaon district of Assam”. It has been said that “near about 69% of Rajbansis are concentrated in the two district of North Bengal Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar” (Mukhopadhyay, 2005). So far as the linguistic distinctiveness is concerned they are constantly live in a fear of identity crisis with the immigrants who came from Bangladesh, known as a ‘Bhatia’. (Jana Arun K, Mimeo (nd). The inclusion of Kamtapuri language in the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India has constitutes a major part of their movement.

### **Greater Cooch Behar Movement**

Again the phenomenon of Identity as well economic ‘backwardness’ has been appeared as a pre- condition of another regional autonomy movement in West Bengal since 1998 under the leadership of Greater Cooch Behar People`s Association on the basis of a separate statehood, namely Greater Cooch Behar and later the demand of granting the status of Union territory to Cooch Behar. The contemporary dimension of Greater Cooch Behar Movement has been identified through the below mentioned letter given by Bangshi Badan Barman, General Secretary, The Greater Cooch Behar Peoples Association to the Home Minister, Government.of India, New Delhi,2014 where it has been argued that ,

“It is worth mentioning that the erstwhile Cooch Behar, one of the most important princely states of British India, categorized as class ‘C’ State under an agreement signed by Mr. Vapal Pangunni Menon, then Adviser to the Govt. of India, Ministry of States, New Delhi on behalf of Union Govt. and Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, the last king of Cooch Behar stated that the erstwhile subjects of the state were happy to be part of our nation. On the Historic occasion of handing over of power, Honorable Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel sent a message to Sri Nanjappa, Chief Commissioner of Cooch Behar on the eve of formal handing over function wishing bright political future of ethnic Cooch Behar people”.

“The intension of the Govt. of India was expressed in Mr. V.P. Menon, then advisor to the Central Govt. vide His demy official letter No.-F-15(19), P/40 dated the 30<sup>th</sup> August 1949 addressed to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar which categorically mentioned about the future status of Cooch Behar State”. “...It is the intension of the Govt. of India to administer for the present the territories of the Cooch Behar as a centrally administrated area under a Chief Commissioner.....” “(Neherupatels correspondence 1945-55, vol-7 by Durga Das)”.

“Unfortunately, the State was further got merged with West Bengal on 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 1950 by then Chief Minister Late Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. After that hasty, tactful and wrongful merger with West Bengal, the political leadership of West Bengal dominated by mainstream imported leaders never allowed the ethnic people or the erstwhile subjects of the State to see the light of development. Despite the assurances given by Pandit Jawahar Lal Neheru, then Prime Minister and Sardar Vallabhai Patel, then Home Minister, these unfortunate people remained neglected in all aspects of their socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic and most importantly remained deprived of true democratic right. Whatever, development can be seen in Cooch Behar today, its fruits are being enjoyed only by those people who are non-ethnic people and got settled in our areas. Our ethnic people who form majority in rural areas are suffering from acute poverty, unemployment and getting displaced from urban areas”.

**“Demand No.1:**

It is pertinent to mention here that during the deliberations of the last two ‘Tripartite Meeting’ held under patronage of home Ministry of Central Govt. and Govt. of Assam with the various organizations of Assam 03.09.2013 and 07.11.2013 respectively, we tried to project the various problems to the participating dignitaries of both Central as well as Assam Governments. We are thankful to Home Ministry for patient hearing to our problems during the meetings. Keeping in view of the constraints for grant of UNION TERRITORY this moment and considering the genuineness of our problems, we request your Excellency to restore the earlier status of Category ‘C’ Statehood to Greater Cooch Behar or grant Union Territory status to Greater Cooch Behar as per the Merger Agreement with adequate political safeguards to ethnic people with immediate effect”.

**“Demand No. 2:**

Our mother tongue is Rajbanshi, which is an old language and is spoken over two crore people in Greater Cooch Behar area and neighboring countries such Bangladesh and Nepal. Trace of this language can be found in old scriptures and writings such as ‘Charjyapad’ which were written much before advent of other contemporary language in Eastern and North eastern India. This Language was the official language of Cooch Behar Empire. However, due to political division of the area and non-recognition by the State, Rajbanshi language has not developed and this language is dying. With a view to save this language from getting extinct, immediate steps should be taken by Govt. The language should be given constitutional recognition and included in the eighth schedule of the

Constitution of India. We want immediate tabling of a Bill for constitutional recognition of Rajbanshi language”.

**“Demand No. 3:**

Immediate reorganization of the Cooch Behar Rajbangsi School which is providing education through the Rajbangsi language that led and guided by the Hindi and English from the primary stage. Because Rajbangsi Language is the requirement of not only for the ethnic people of the Greater Cooch Behar but also a national requirement of learning in mother tongue so the schools opened in some rural areas of the Greater Cooch Behar should be grant by the Central Govt. and grant the financial assistance to these schools and teachers”.

**“Demand No. 4:**

Post-Independence days could not be termed as happier as ought to be people of Cooch Behar kingdom, mainly the Rajbangsi speaking erstwhile subjects. The ex-Maharaja Lt. Colonel Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur had been bitterly involved with legal battles. The significance of the articles of the agreement for merger signed between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1949 was given a simple go by. An assurance was given to ex-Maharaja by V.P. Menon on behalf of the Central Govt. vide ministry of State letter D.O. No. F. 15(19)/49 dated the 30<sup>th</sup> August 1949(PARA. NO. 14) Saying that “the Government will Endeavour to associate absorption in the Indian Army”. Therefore, we demand for rising of ‘Narayani / Rajbanshi Regiment’ as an infantry regiment in the Indian Army”.

**“Demand No. 5:**

Immediately set the legal president, Amithabh Narayan, to the Debottor Trust Board of Cooch Behar, which is illegally used by D.M. of Cooch Behar and fill up the two other posts of the Debottor Trust Board by the Native members of Cooch Behar in which – 1. Ambika Charan Roy & 2. Trikulendra Narayan was posted”.

**“Demand No. 6:**

Complete the details of Amount of the Cooch Behar Development Fund for the native people of Cooch Behar, donated by the Maharaja Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of then Cooch Behar State immediately”.

**“Demand No. 7:**

The proper use of the Cooch Behar Development Fund in all over the Greater Cooch Behar area”.

( Source: The then unpublished letter collected from Bangshi Badan Barman, General Secretary ,The Greater Cooch Behar Peoples Association which has been given to “The Home Minister, Govt. of India, New Delhi, Sub: Dharna/ Rally at Jantar Mantar 11<sup>th</sup>&12<sup>th</sup> Dec,2014, for granting Union Territory(UT) Status to Cooch Behar. Dated, 12.12.2014, Ref No, GCPA/HD/08”).

Besides these, another movement has been started to flourish in west Bengal by the organization of Aadibashi Bikash Parishad on the basis of the cultural distinctiveness of the Aadibashis as well as the economic backwardness of this ethnic group who mainly resided in the tea garden areas of West Bengal.

**Gorkhaland Movement : a quest for institutionalization of identity**

After a long struggle the ethno –regional demands as well as demand for separate statehood Gorkhaland of Gorkhas have been concluded in the formations of two simultaneous Autonomous bodies named Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) under the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act 1988 and Gorkha Territorial Administration (GTA) under the Gorkha Territorial Administration Act 2011(enforced in 2012). Now if we analyse the performances of these councils the two matters are prominent, the limitations of these council on the basis of its formations and the failure of these council on the basis of development issues.

**Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, 1988 an apparent state controlled semi-autonomous council in Darjeeling District:**

Some crucial sections of DGHC Act 1988 indicating apparent states controls,

“Section 5.Constitution and composition of General Council.(1) The General Council shall consist of forty-two members whom two-thirds shall be elected, on the basis of adult suffrage, from the territorial constituencies and one-third shall be nominated by the Government and three shall be nominated by the Chairman of the General Council”.

“Section 34. (4) The election of the Chairman of the General Council shall be conducted by the elected councillor nominated by the Government to preside over the first meeting under sub- section (2). The elected Councillors shall, in the prescribed manner, elect

from amongst themselves one Councillor to be the Chairman who shall also be the Chief Executive Councillor. The presiding Councillor shall have the right to participate in the election of the Chairman”.

“Section 30. Power to impose levy and collect taxes and fees

1. Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being force, the General Council shall have power to collect within the hill areas such taxes payable under any law for the time being in force as may be prescribed.

Provided that the tax or taxes as aforesaid shall be collected by the General Council from such date as may be appointed by the Government in this behalf by notification in the Official Gazette.

2. Subject to such maximum rates as the Government may prescribe”.

“Section 48.[Principal Secretary to Council.]

1. There shall be a Principal Secretary to the Council (hereinafter referred to as the Principal Secretary) appointed by the Government in consultation with the Chief Executive Councillor.

2. The Principal Secretary shall be paid out of the Council Fund such salaries and allowances as may, from time to time, be fixed by the Government.

3. Principal Secretary shall be the Principal Executive Officer of the General Council and all other officers of the General Council shall be subordinate to him”.

**Source: DGHC Act 1988**

Table 7.9

**The socio- economic conditions of the people in Darjeeling hills under DGHC (2001 – 2011) are as follows:**

<b>Sub Divisions</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Employment (Total workers)</b>	<b>%</b>
Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division	388,107	133,551	34.41%
Kalimpong Sub Division	225,220	87,431	38.82%
Kurseong Sub Division	177,264	59,868	33.77%

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.10

Sub Divisions	Population	Employment (Total workers)	%
Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division	429,381	158,967	37.02%
Kalimpong Sub Division	251,642	95,678	38.02%
Kurseong Sub Division	194,680	65,057	33.41%

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

Table 7.11  
Household

Sub Division	Population	Parmanent	Semi Parmanent	Temporary
<b>Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division</b>				
1 Darjeeling Pulbazar	126935	5198	20642	1576
2 RangliRangliot	70125	3406	11279	558
3 Jorebunglore-Sukhiapokhri	113516	9833	14560	950
4 Darjeeling (M)	118805	NF	NF	NF
<b>Kalimpong Sub Division</b>				
1 Kalimpong I	74746	5276	9224	780
2 Kalimpong II	66830	2085	10129	822
3 Garubathan	60663	2877	8674	1039
4 Kalimpong (M)	49403	NF	NF	NF
<b>Kurseong Sub Division</b>				
1 Kurseong	94347	9150	11136	473
2 Mirik	46374	4199	4884	182
3 Kurseong (M)	42446	NF	NF	NF
4 Mirik (N.A)	11513	NF	NF	NF

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

Table 7.12  
Educational Institutions

Sub Division	Primary		Middle		High		Higher Secondary	
	Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division	564	0.14%	28	NA	36	0.009%	23
Kalimpong Sub Division	333	0.14%	19	NA	23	0.01%	12	NA
Kurseong Sub Division	289	0.14%	05	0.002%	33	0.01%	9	NA

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.13

**Public Health**

Sub Division	Hospitals	Health Centres	Clinic	Dispensaries
Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division	3	12	3	7
Kalimpong Sub Division	2	11	1	7
Kurseong Sub Division	4	6	1	4

Source: Dy. CMOH, Darjeeling, State Bureau of Health Intelligence, Govt. Of W.B., Hospitals, Darjeeling 2003 in Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Hence the above mentioned minor statistics (non-availability of data) of the socio economic condition of the hill areas under the domination of DGHC was quite dissatisfactory. The percentage of the numbers of the workers in various sectors like agricultural, industrial, cultivator, marginal and others were too low as per population less than 40% of the total population in each sub divisions of Darjeeling Hills. Even the percentage of total workers from the year 2004 to 2011 in Kalimpong and Kurseong sub divisions have decreased. The percentage of total workers from 2004 to 2011 in Darjeeling Sadar subdivision was little increased but as per growing population it was again too low. The living conditions of the people in these major sub divisions were also very poor. The majority of the population lives in kutcha houses which are semi permanent and temporary in nature as per populations, census 2011.

**Gorkha Territorial Administration, 2012 an apparent state controlled semi-autonomous Council in Darjeeling District:**

Some crucial sections of GTA Act 2012 indicating states controls,

“CHAPTER I”

“2. (a) Chief Executive" means the Chief Executive of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration”

“40. (1) The Chief Executive shall-

- a. have general responsibility for the financial and executive administration;
- b. exercise administrative supervision and control over all officers and employees of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration, and the officers and employees whose services may be placed at the disposal of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration by the Government”;

“CHAPTER II”

“25. (I) The Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Sabha shall meet for the conduct of business at least once in every three months and shall conduct its business in such manner and in accordance with such procedure as may be determined by it by regulations with the approval of the Government”.

“CHAPTER VI”

“62. The State Planning Board shall have powers to supervise and evaluate the works of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration”.

“63. In the discharge of its functions the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration shall be guided by such instructions or directions as may be given to it by the Government from time to time for the proper implementation of the objects of the Act”.

“64. (1) If in the opinion of the Government the Gorkha land Territorial Administration-

- i. has shown its incompetence to perform, or has made default in the performance of, the duties imposed on it by or under the Act or any other law for the time being in force, or
- ii. has exceeded or abused its power, the Government may by order to be published in the *Official Gazette* stating the reasons there for, supersede the

Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Sabha and direct that it be re-constituted within such period not exceeding six months as maybe specified in the order.

2. The Government shall before making any order under sub-section (1) give to the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration an opportunity of making representation to the Government in respect of the same”.

“65. When an order of supersession has been passed under section 64 with effect from the date of the order-

- a. all the Members shall vacate their office, and
- b. all the powers, duties and functions of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Sabha and the Executive Sabha shall be exercised, discharged and performed by such Sabha or authorities or such person or persons as may be appointed by the Government in this behalf”.

Source: GTA Act 2011

**The socio- economic conditions of the people in Darjeeling hills under DGHC (2012 – 2020) are as follows:**

The semi- development schemes which has been implemented in Darjeeling hills under GTA, Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division:

Darjeeling Pulbajar (Total population 126935 as per Census 2011)

- a. 3 Primary Schools, 1 High School was established; 28 teachers recruited in primary schools.
- b. 496 houses were established by the ‘Bangla Awas Yojona’.
- c. 45 persons have benefited through handicapped allowance.

Rangli Rangliot (Total population 70125 as per Census 2011)

- a. 10763 persons were included under ‘Swastha Sathi’ medical insurance scheme.
- b. 450 persons were benefited through ‘Bangla Awas Yojona’
- c. Total 6558 latrines and 4 community toilets were established under the scheme of ‘Mission Nirmal Bangla’.
- d. 129 agricultural labourars has received agricultural loan under the scheme of ‘Kishan Cradit Card’.

e. 71 families of this block have received Patta under ‘ Nijo Griher Nijo Bhumi’ scheme  
Sukhia Pokhri (Total population 113516 as per Census 2011)

a. 3771 workers were bought under the scheme of ‘Samajik Surakhha Yojona’ and 18  
persons have got the facility from ‘Karmo Sathi’ scheme.

b. 317 houses were built under ‘Gitanjali’ scheme.

Darjeeling Municipality (Total population 118805 as per Census 2011)No Data Found

Kalimpong Sub Division:

Kalimpong I (Total population 74746 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

Kalimpong II (Total population 66830 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

Gorubathan (Total population 60663 as per Census 2011) No Data Found Kalimpong (M)

(Total population 49403 as per Census 2011)No Data Found

Kurseong Sub Division:

Kurseong (Total population 94347 as per Census 2011)

a. 446 houses were built under ‘Bangla Awas Yojona’

b. 3 primary health centers were established

c. 2 Community toilets were made.

d. 2 village roads were constructed

Mirik (Total population 46374 as per Census 2011)

a. 27 schools were provided with extra rooms facilities.

b. 2 warehouses were constructed

c. 47 new roads in villages were constructed

d. 6 libraries were established

e. 36 drinking water facilities were provided

f. 19 ICDS centres were established.

Kurseong (M) (Total population 42446 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

Mirik (N.A) (Total population 11513 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

(Source: Information’s are collected from Block Offices of each Block)

Hence there was no data found regarding employment, tourism, tea gardens and forest which are the backbone of the economy of this hill area. Even it was heard from an informal source (Telephonic conversation with the official, Office of the District Magistrate, Darjeeling) that during this tenure of GTA there was no new recruitment been seen in tea gardens. More over not a single meeting was held in GTA regarding the recruitment of the post for Group C and Group D by the GTA authority. Only some civic police, covid warriors, recruitment of some contractual teacher in primary schools were done in recent years.

It has been observed that though the Autonomous Councils are established under the States regulations but these controls are being seen apparent in nature due to the absence of proper monitoring, questioning as well as documentations regarding the development as well as expenditure given by these Councils in particular.

**Government Claims regarding the Development of Darjeeling District:**

- There was a renaissance of Tourism Industry of Darjeeling since 2011.
- Total “6500 Civic Volunteers, 80 S.I.s and 566 constables” were recruited from the areas of Darjeeling District since 2011
- Fund allotted to Gorkhaland Territorial Administration for several “minor schemes like communication, education, rural electrification, Irrigation & Water ways, fisheries, sports & youth welfare, tourism, health & family welfare, minor irrigation, public health engineering sector” etc. have been undertaken by the Government of West Bengal.
- Various major schemes like the “construction of new roads connecting villages with block, sub-divisional and district head quarters, up gradation of major roads in different municipalities, construction and repair of school buildings, rural electrification, construction and improvement of community halls, riverbank and jhora protection works, Improvement of water supply in rural as well as urban areas, improvement of district hospitals and primary health centres, improvement of Mink Lake, renovation and improvement of different tourist lodges” etc. under Gorkha Territorial Administration area have been taken up for execution under Special Central Assistance Sector.

- Different schemes like “construction of Rural Roads, Minor Irrigation, Social Sector projects like construction of new school buildings and reconstruction of old school buildings, construction of bridge etc Under RIDF” are being implemented.

**Fund sanctioned to GTA for the purpose of Hill Development:**

- “Plan SectorRs.63.69 crore ; Non-Plan sectorRs.244.18crore (2011-2012)”
- “Plan SectorRs. 194.11 crore ; Non-Plan sectorRs. 351.28 crore (2012-2013)”
- “Plan SectorRs. 243.67 crores ;Non-Plan sectorRs. 403.08 crore (2013-2014)”
- “Plan SectorRs. 31.83 crores; Non-Plan sectorRs. 405.75 crore (2014-2015)”

(Source: Chief Minister’s Office Government of West Bengal wbcmo.gov.in)

**7.8. The Theoretical Frame Work of Sub -Regional Movements in India:**

Now if we analyze the nature of sub-regional movements in India in general and West Bengal in particular we find that the five major theories are dominating the entire discourse of the sub- regional movements.

**i. Relative Deprivation Theory:**

The theory of relative deprivation has been developed on two different lines, social mobility and social conflict. Marx and Engels(Marx and Engels, 1841), recognized that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined by absolute condition but by relative expectations, thus leading to conflicting situation. Gurr perceives relative deprivation as the ‘actors’ “perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities”. To him “value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping” ( Gurr, 1971).

It has been observed that there are basic ingredients of guiding forces behind any ethno-regional movements like problems of inequalities, psychological orientations of the people, situational facilities e.t.c When the gap between the relative expectations of the people and the perceived capabilities of a political system is increased the identity crisis has been emerged. This situational dilemma often led the deprivational orientations in general. Moreover as the ethnicity refers psychological feelings of cultural homogeneity naturally an ethnic community is always protective about their distinctiveness in compare to other communities. Especially they do not agree to rule by the other community. It has been observed that when a particular ethnic community was associated with a particular geographical region for a long time with a satisfactory majority, a feeling of home rule is

grown between them gradually. The feelings of separativeness have converted in to feelings of relative deprivation against the majority community in a same state.

It has already discussed in the earlier chapter that, in 1872, the first census of India was published and the total population of Darjeeling appeared to have steadily increased to 94,712 (Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72 p. 100). In 1876 W.W.Hunter wrote in his “Statistical Account of Bengal”(Volume x): “ The Nepalese who form 34 percent of the population of the district, are all immigrants from the State of Nepal. They are a ‘pushing’ and ‘thriving’ race....”.(Hunter ,1876). According to the population the Nepalese were the major ethnic group in Darjeeling. The census of India in 1881 has proved that, the Nepalese form the absolute majority in the whole of Darjeeling. From 1951 onwards, following the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 country was seen a population web from Nepal. Gradually the major uprising of the population growth in Darjeeling district from 1951 to 1961 implies the significant volume of migration from Nepal to Darjeeling.

Table 7.14  
**Total Population in Darjeeling (1881– 1951)**

<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1931</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1951</b>
155179	223314	249117	265550	282748	319635	376369	445260

Source: Census 1951, West Bengal, District Hand Books, Darjeeling

Table 7.15

	<b>Index of Population Growth Darjeeling</b>						
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1931</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1951</b>	<b>1961</b>
West Bengal	100	106	103	112	137	155	206
Darjeeling	100	105	111	125	147	173	235

Source: Census 1961, West Bengal, District Hand Books, Darjeeling

Eventually the article VII of the Indo-Nepal treaty of peace and friendship 1950 has brought a significant change in West Bengal state politics which was treated as the primary source of relative deprivations of the Nepalese of the hills who belongs to the Gorkha communities migrated from Nepal. To Gorkhas, the article VII of Indo-Nepal treaty has stolen their identity as well as their state which identified them as foreigners in their own state where they serve their duties as freedom fighters. These stages of dissatisfactions as well as frustrations of the Gorkha communities have been produced Gurr’s “decremental

deprivation”( Dzuverovic,2013). Article VII of the Indo- Nepal treaty of peace and friendship stated that, “The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the national of one country in the territories o the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature” (Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, July 31, 1950, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India mea.gov.in). Hence this treaty has stimulated the Gorkhas for going towards a long term agitations for a separate state Gorkhaland. More over besides this psychological manifestation of relative deprivation the backwardness of the hill regions of Darjeeling the economy of which stands on tea, timber and tourism has been produced an economic deprivation against relatively developed neighbouring plains regions as well as another district of the state of West Bengal.

**ii. The Theory of Strain :**

The strain theory is propounded by Neil Smelser who treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to collective behavior. He defined “collective action as uninstitutionalized mobilization for action in order to modify one or more kind of strain on the basis of a generalized reconstitution of a component of action”( Smelser, 1962). It has been observed that the structural strain occurs at different levels of norms, values, mobilization and situational facilities.

In case of Darjeeling district, there are many factors which disturbed the situational facilities, like Tea industry is facing crisis in the hill area, the ill effect of deforestation as well as the stagnant condition of tourism centers is visible in that area, which produced a constant strain against the rising problem of unemployment.

Table - 7.16

**Area, Production & Employment in Tea Industry in the district of Darjeeling**

Year	No. of Tea Garden*	Total Land under Cultivation (Hec.)	No. of persons employed in		
			Factory	Plantation	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1999 - 2000	107	26325.00	--	--	66603
2000 - 2001	112	26006.72	--	--	69651
2001 - 2002	115	26509.23	--	--	71175
2002 - 2003	100	24783.56	--	--	67746
2003 - 2004	100	24783.56	--	--	67746

(Continued...)		
Year	Production ('000 Kg.)	Average Yield (Kg./Hect.)
(1)	(7)	(8)
1999 - 2000	27522	1838
2000 - 2001	28922	2771
2001 - 2002	29368	2686
2002 - 2003	24884	2915
2003 - 2004	24765	2695
* = Most of the Tea Gardens are closed		
Sources: - 1) Darj. Planters Association, Darjeeling 2) Tarai T.G. association, Siliguri		

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.17

### Progress in Tourism in the district of Darjeeling

Year	No. of Vehicle	Trips conducted	No. of Tourist Carried	No. of Tourist Staying in Tourist Lodge	No. of Tourist Lodge* (Govt.)	Total Earning ('000 Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1999 - 2000	17	1293	14723	5247	3	2427
2000 - 2001	16	894	11598	16693	12	1397
2001 - 2002	14	540	8433	9263	12	4122
2002 - 2003	14	482	6792	8622	14	2920
2003 - 2004	4	330	6526	8523	14	3482
* = Out of Tourist Lodges only 4 are running at present.						
Sources: - 1) Manager of Tourist Lodges 2) Dy. Director of Tourism, Darjeeling						

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

### iii. The Theory of Revitalization :

This theory is developed by Wallace. According to the theory, individuals involved in cultural revitalization process usually, realize the culture as a whole and then move gradually towards a movement for cultural change. To Wallace, “a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by member of a society to construct a more satisfying culture”. Wallace analyzed the dynamics of revitalization movements in “five phases: period of cultural stability, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion, period of revitalization and period of new cultural stability”(Wallace ,1956).

In case of Gorkhaland movement, the Nepalis often disturbed by the influence of the Bengali culture and in according their point of views they said that if the trend continues then

they would be submerged into the Bengali culture. The growth of Bengali speakers from 1961 to 2001 in Darjeeling has been shown by the given chart:

**Table 7.18**

Year	Nepali/Gorkha	Bengali	Hindi	Sadan/Sadri	Kurkh/Oraon	Bhojpuri	Santali	Urdu	Lepcha	Rajbanshi	Munda	Tibetan	Bhotia	Marwari	Maitihili	Other Mother Tonguea	Total Population
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1961	369130(59.1)	115172(18.4)	47842(7.7)	9163(1.5)	17595(2.8)	91(0.0)	7993(1.3)	2505(0.4)	8171(1.3)	2534(0.4)	5638(0.9)	7679(1.2)	2388(0.4)	2008(0.3)	65(0.0)	26466(4.2)	624640
1971	446646(57.1)	162349(20.8)	99387(12.7)	----	22517(2.9)	---	9379(1.2)	4718(0.6)	10821(1.4)	---	4470(0.6)	4362(0.6)	3884(0.5)	---	---	13244(1.7)	781777
1981	540444(52.8)	2665209(26.0)	125040(12.2)	----	31845(3.1)	----	11457(1.1)	5461(0.5)	3600(0.4)	---	5069(0.5)	2269(0.2)	2825(0.3)	---	---	29739(2.9)	1024269
1991	637874(49.1)	333290(25.6)	122262(9.4)	42306(3.3)	33709(2.6)	8976(0.7)	13500(1.0)	13073(1.0)	9313(0.7)	17611(1.4)	4240(0.3)	4943(0.4)	3171(0.2)	5274(0.4)	2583(0.2)	47794(3.7)	1299919
2001	739821(46.0)	385721(24.0)	166606(10.4)	50051(3.1)	45008(2.8)	16996(1.1)	15842(1.0)	15091(0.9)	14481(0.9)	9716(0.6)	665290.4)	5902(0.4)	5559(0.3)	5390(0.3)	4579(0.3)	121757(7.6)	1609172

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

#### iv. The Cultural Pluralist Theory :

This theory is evolved by J.S. Furnivall'. This theory given emphasize not merely on ethnic distinctiveness of a group but also on the dominant subordinate patterns of relationship of a culturally distinct rulers and ruled (Furnivall,1939).

In case of Gorkhaland movement, we also had seen that, theGorkhas in Darjeeling. After Indo- Nepal treaty 1950, they treated as a migrant in India and they feel that one constantly dominated by the state as well as central govt. in economic, social and political sphere. They feel that they are forced to maintain superior-subordinate relationship in the other people state of West Bengal.

## v. The Theory of Internal Colonialism :

The Theory of Internal Colonialism has developed by A.G.Frank in his theory of dependency. This theory is further developed by Michael Hechter (Hechter, 1975). The theory of internal colonialism implied as a source of suction applied on the peripheral groups by the core group inside a country. In a plural society often a core group exerted feelings of frustration among the peripheral groups by promoting a policy of division. It has been observed that political authority of a state often adopted some politico-cultural strategies to weaken the support base of a minority group by culturally fragmenting the region.

The Gorkhas often enlisted themselves as an unfortunate ethnic minority who belongs to the peripheral community in West Bengal. The contemporary step of government of West Bengal to creating several cultural development boards in Darjeeling district may decide as on of the instances of internal colonialism. This hill peoples assumed that this political cultural strategy has injected a cultural deviation in hill politics, with an intention of weaker the support base of Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) under the leadership of Bimal Gurung. Though the Government of West Bengal claimed that through these development boards near about 800 hill peoples gets the benefit of " Awasan Prakolpo" (Source:Block Office, Rangli Rangliot, Darjeeling Sadar Sub-division,2020).

Table 7.19  
Development and Cultural Boards in the Gorkhaland Area

Sl. No.	Name of the Board	Year of Establishment	Created Under
1	Mayel Lyan Lepcha Development Board	2013	Backward Classes Welfare Department
2	Tamang development and Cultural Board	2014	Tribal Development Department
3	Sherpa Cultural Board	2015	Tribal Development Department
4	Bhutia Development Board	2015	Tribal Development Department
5	Khambu Rai Development Board	2016	Backward Classes Welfare Department
6	Mangar Development Board	2015	Backward Classes Welfare Department
7	Limbu Development Board	2016	Tribal Development Department
8	Pahadia Minority Development & Cultural	2017	Minority Affairs and Madrasha Education Department
9	Gurung Development and Cultural Board	2017	Backward Classes Welfare Department
10	Kami Development and Cultural Board	2016	Backward Classes Welfare Department
11	Khas Development and Cultural Board	2017	North Bengal Development Department
12	Sarki Development and Cultural Board	2016	Backward Classes Welfare Department
13	Bhujel Development and Cultural Board	2016	Backward Classes Welfare Department
14	Newar Development and Cultural Board	2016	Backward Classes Welfare Department
15	Damai Development and Cultural Board	2016	Backward Classes Welfare Department
16	Terai, Dooars, Siliguri Development and Cultural Board (Gorkha Community)	2018	Backward Classes Welfare Department

Source: thedarjeelingcronicle.com August 23, 2018

It has been observed that, besides the Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal, the other movement like Kamtapur movement, the Greater Coochbehar movement in West Bengal and others sub regional movement in different states in India which mentioned earlier all the movements has been fitted in this theoretical frame work. Since any moment is a multi faceted phenomenon and no single issue or cause can be isolated, any attempt at a final conclusion might prove wrong in the long run.

Hence, from the above analysis of qualitative as well as quantitative impact of regional movements and federal governance in Indian Political Process the present study tries to give some measure in the following ways:

So far as the regionalism is concerned the land of India was divided by the Socio-culturally distinctive regions like the linguistic difference between Northern Zone and Southern Zone where the south zone is belongs to Dravidian family of language group and the North Zone is belongs to Indo-Aryan family of language group. Another distinctive region is northeast region which is known as the land of tribal. Hence regionalism is in the soil of Indian Civilization.

Federalism in this outset has been seen as a mode of accommodating the regional diversity and contextualizes it in a particular political frame. Federal success of India has been depending on the conjugation of federal autonomy and regional autonomy in general which ultimately run by the developmental spirit of regionalism.

Through the 'ism' of federalism is differing from the 'ism' of regionalism which denotes the affection to toward a region. But if we have taken the phenomena of regionalism as a process of region building then it is quite similar with the notion of federalism which has been serve the purpose of nation building. In this context, the regions as an institution have been appeared in the same platform of state government as well as central government. Hence the institutionalization of regional autonomy through the constitutional reform has been highlighted as a demand of age. Which must be people oriented devolution of power, capable to ensure Socio-economic as well as politico-cultural justice. Only the creation of certain autonomous or semi-autonomous council may not solve the problem from the roots. This is one of the satisfactory ways through which the diversity of a multi-cultural country may honor and which again consolidate the process of democratization by encouraging the spontaneous civic awareness of the general masses. This may contribute to the process of region building, state building and nation building simultaneously through the viable

devolutionary federalism. Where the equation of 'Self rule' and 'Shared rule' may run spontaneously and the loyalties of the sub national units towards the nation become strong. Moreover the institutionalization become durable if the nature political authority may flexible, responsive along with the quality of tolerance towards the ethno-regional sentiment. As the federal system of India is unique in compare to the rest of the world, as it was not established by maintaining the theory of integration or disintegration of federalism actually. Hence India may able to establish and the enquire pattern of federalism by the arrangement of power between the multilevel federalism which may establish a consolidated equilibrium in a power model.

Hence the time has come when Indian democracy may prepare itself to face severe newly emerging ethno-regional requirements by the 'trial and error' principle on the basis of temperament of diversity. If we analyze the position of India to managing the ethno-regional discontents as a federal country, we cannot ignore the capability aspect of our state to achieve a relative success in compare to the older countries like United States of America, Switzerland or the contemporary failure of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia to maintain the integration of the countries. On the other hand we can not ignore the truth also that, In India there are several ethno-regional demands were raised from different states for another readjustment. Like the separate "Mithilanchal, Magadh from Bihar; Sourashtra from Gujarat; Harit Pradesh, Poorvanchal, Oudh Pradesh, Bundelkhand, Bhojpur from Uttar Pradesh; Coorg from Karnataka; Vidharba, Marathwada, Konkan from Maharashtra; Vindhyaachal, Bhil Pradesh, Malvapradesh from Madhya Pradesh; Marwar from Rajasthan"e,t.c.

As ethnicity is much closer to the human nature hence the ethno-cultural presentation has been seen a crucial claims of linguistic minority in general. It has been observed that when the end of nation building is multiple of nature, the leaders should be ready to make a strategic balance between constitutionalism and regionalism by using the federal device cautiously and sensibly within the sphere of constitutions limitations. However it has been observed that when the politics of bargaining is working in the national arena on the basis of coalition compulsion the state level politics has reflected a narrow political bargaining on the basis of cultural accommodation of regions. The bargaining has emerged by the creation of several development boards, autonomous council which has been continued between the ruling elites and local elites of political regions of a state. This implies the states sensitivity towards the local needs as well as the alternative arrangement of resources sharing under the supervision of highest political authority through constitutional protection along with the

creation of small states as per genuine needs in a plural democratic country like India. The time has come for raising voice against the internal colonialism in the state level politics which tried to suppress the diversity instead of 'valorizing' it

In the age of decentralization, the 'UN's declaration on the Rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, Religious and linguistic minorities' (United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, 1992) or the 'UNESCO Universal declaration on cultural diversity', (Portal- unesco.org, 2002) has presented the necessity of diversity accommodation in a multiethnic country in the world. Hence no country can ignore the content of diversity and not even thinking on the perspective that more political devolution of power exacerbates the ethnic division in a multi cultural country. Hence it is established that compartmentalize the sub national minorities in to sub national majority by the federal boundary actually denotes the process of institutionalization of territorial autonomy may fasten the process of democratization by enhancing the civic responsibilities of the ruled in general. More over adopting the policy of uniformity in economic distribution may remove the rest of apathy in future which strengthen the legitimacy of the political authority spontaneously.

### **7.9. The tentative role of political leadership:**

It was often said that the cultural recognition may sustain the advantages of local elites.( Erk&Anderson,2010) Hence, federal self-rule alone cannot be treated as a stable form of conflict resolution. Hence the emphasis will be given on the quality of policy making which should be designed in federal context because the principles of liberal democracy has enshrined in the federal theory and there was no alternative way in a liberal democratic country to accommodate the ethnic conflicts as well as to manage the diversities. Following Bermo, there was no place for long time survival of disintegrations in federalism ( Bermo, 2010).

It has been observed that since 1980's in the arena of coalition politics, parliamentary federalism was converted in to 'executive federalism' on the basis of central state co-ordination. After that, in the arena of regionalization, the federalism of India is working under the notion of "legislative federalism" on the basis of the empowerment of the states (Chakraborty, 2017). Since 2014, the federal governance of India knows as "National Federalism" on the basis of growing statism. (Singh, 2019). It has been observed that when the federal process is dynamic the regionalism is fluid in nature. According to Kohli the

federal political authority in a developing country are need to be more accommodative more institutionalized in their strategy of ruling rather the discontent may spreaded the environment of secession in general. Because it is assumed that the ethnic conflicts were born out from the power politics in general. (Kohli, 2010). It has been suggested that often the constant “reorientation” of the ethnic movements in to a “tolerant direction” was emerged as a successive way to combat the ethnic conflicts in general. (Subramaniam, 2010).

It has been argued that the challenge which Indian federalism has faces is political instead of cultural in nature.( Nayar, 1992). Hence the solution is depending on the strategy of governmental leadership instead the nature of ethnicity. It was said that, for achieving a successful federation of India, the two conditions are necessary. A strong centre as well as and a more strong State with autonomous regions as per ethnic requirement because a strong state may not be antithetical to a strong centre in general and the regions are the fundamental roots of regionalism. But the ideological perspective of the political process must be modified in this purpose because it was observed that politics is known as technique of retaining power as well as power concentration, but when the power become multi-centric, the problem may arise. In this context, the administrative structure of a country may flexible as per the regional needs. It has been argued that in a developing country the development can only achieved through political stability (Noda Fukuo) Though the federal polity in India is working with the reciprocal flow of diversity, It is often being said that the power decentralization on the grass route level may be one of the possible outcome of managing the territorial diversity in a federal context through the re-distribution of power to the local bodies, which denotes the restoration of the autonomy of the regions. It has been observed that, whether the federalism has been works in a plural society either co-operative or competitive in form, theoretically it is intended to decentralize the power at the apex. But when a federal government has been less interactive with the states as well as the regions has been diverted in to a “coercive federalism”. Hence the working of a healthy federal polity is depending on the principle of co- ordinations in particular. Following Kincaid “federalism requires co-operation to have competition and competition to have co-operation”. (Kincaid,2000).So, whatever may be that theory, in practice the federal situation of plural India must be associate with an inclusionary method of cultural accommodation as well as resource sharing directed by a strong central authority.

Hence, to fulfill the federal ends of the country it is a crucial task of the policy makers to find out the delicate means of diversity accommodation on the basis of fundamental

integrity of the country in particular. Where the cultural autonomy of territorially non demarcated sub-units also be honored as well as included in the national decision making process. Whereas country's 'shared rule's should be provided for all the ethno-regional communities of federal India in general because it is believed that, the concept of more autonomy may strengthened the democratic legitimacy of any viable political culture to a great extent. More over in India, the federal process has been working within a complicated coexisting culture of unity and heterogeneity on the on the one hand and diversity and homogeneity on the other. It is assumed that as a form of government federalism can use some features of consociationalism (Lijphart, 1977) as a regime. More federalism and required 'consociationalism' both may enhanced country's capability aspect regarding diversity absorbency where the institutionalized power sharing method are involved in the process of coalition which is qualitative in nature, based on the benefits of the entire society through the policies of inclusion instead of segmentation.

It is also noticed that in a country like India where the cultural diversity has been propagated by the multilingualism unlike the other countries of the world, the role of the political authorities may judge in terms of their quality instead of a large quantity, who are aware about the changing nature of Indian regionalism and the delicate use of federal device as per circumstantial necessities. Moreover on the ground of relative success of Indian federalism throughout the world compelled us to believe that the centre as well as State's sensitivity and responsiveness towards the local crisis may reducing the socio-economic unrest of the country within its constitutional heritage.

#### **7.10. An alternative mode of sub-regional accommodation:**

Hence there is a necessity of a responsible transparent political authority in a multi ethnic country like India to find out the original deprived regions of a particular state by 'valorizing' the ethnic diversity. More over in the period of growing modernization the method of ethnic conflict resolution need to be modified. Time has come for replacement of traditional method of institutionalizing minority interests representations rather there was a necessity of interests accommodations. The method of accommodation is needed to be integrated instead of segregated as per the trend of modernization. It has been observed that in Canada the agenda of separation in referendum in 1980 has been failed and 'clear cut secession from the Canadian federation was rejected by the most of Quebec's voters' (Christian Lammert, 'Ethno-Territorial Protest Movement and the Politics of Accommodation in Centralized and Decentralized Political Systems' pp. 20, Article in Federal Governance,

January 2005, <https://www.researchgate.net>). More over in Indian perspective the reforming methods have to be dynamic in nature instead of confining within policy uniformity in the perspective of ethnic grievances regarding cultural identity or development perspective. The regional policies of a federal state have been implemented as per the nature of ethnic demands. The political structure of different units like central, sub national as well as local units need to be open in the arena of communication through a viable network. The regional grievances may safe guarded through 'regional councils' by strengthening the power centers of the local elites because when the cultural deprivation may enhance by the political deprivation when there was an obstacle to fulfilling the political desire of elites, as the elite accommodation appeared as a pre condition of diversity regulation. More over a major policies regarding resource sharing may adopted and implemented by the highest authority by any means going beyond an impositions of centripetal decisions only. Let the local elites interrogate in a national decision making platform through a formal or informal way regarding the local regional matters. This inclusionary accommodative path has been successfully implemented In Corsica the territorial of France(AndreFazi, 'The Multilevel Politics of Accommodation and the Non- Constitutional Moment: Lessons from Corsica' in Jaime Lluich (ed) Constitutionalism and the politics of accommodation in multinational democracies, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan September 2014, pp.132-156 <https://www.researchgate.net> ). Hence forth we may depend on our Constitution in this context where the founding fathers have already arranged a set of an ethno- accomodatory instruments like Tribal Advisory Council, Regional Council in part X of the article 244 and 244(A) of the Constitution of India has needed an amendment to promoting it in a non tribal regions also.

Though there was some criticism has been made regarding the Schedule system when it has been argued that "the schedule system offered a ready-made model for the educated elite of communities to gain access to power without contesting the sovereignty of India....Asymmetric federalism introduced by the schedule warrants significant reconsideration" ((Baruah, 2011). But, if we have analyze another observation where it has been argued that "asymmetrical constitutional status is necessary for the protection of cultural group rights and the politics of recognition in multinational countries"(Kymlicka 2001; Taylor 1991; Requejo 2005).But the policymakers should be aware at the time of asymmetric application that the asymmetrical provisions are works in according to the prescribed manner in a multi-cultural country as per "the political philosophy that has developed in Canada and

Spain around the idea of asymmetrical federalism” (Tillin, 2007) we find that Corsica the territorial of France, has been adopted the concept of regional council as a self sufficient political entity. It has been argued that “Corsica is the first French region that has been reorganized as a regional corporation, not merely an administrative unit, but a political entity with certain independent functions and powers...the regional council of Corsica has been renamed ‘National Assembly’ ” (Christian Lammert, ‘Ethno-Territorial Protest Movement and the Politics of Accommodation in Centralized and Decentralized Political Systems’ pp. 18, Article in Federal Governance, January 2005, <https://www.researchgate.net>).

Now, as per Fifth schedule, Article 244(1) in the Constitution of India, “part C” implies that, “6 schedule Areas-(1). In this constitution the expression “Schedule Areas” means such areas as the president may by order declare to be schedule areas”. “Part A” implies that “2. Executive power of a state in schedule areas-subject to the provisions of this schedule, the executive power of a state extends to the scheduled areas therein.” “Part B” implies that, “4.2. It shall be the duty of the Tribals Advisory Council to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the scheduled Tribals in the state as may be referred to them by the Governor”(Constitution of India Fifth Schedule [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in)).

If an attempt will be made to accommodate the ethnic demands of non-tribal Communities through the fifth schedule of the Constitution, the complication may arise in several ways. At first there was no provision for the application of fifth schedule, directly to the non-tribal areas or communities. Moreover the legislation as well as judicial power unlike Sixth Schedule, has been vested in “Tribal Advisory Council” under fifth schedule, on the one hand and the feeling of deprivation has been developed to wards the segregationist nature of this provision of the constitution on the other. It has been noticed that, the embodied principles of Fifth Schedule has followed the principles of regulations of “Excluded and Partially Excluded” Areas under the “Government of India Act 1935”. Eventually the district of Darjeeling including major Nepali Gorkha Communities has been treated as a ‘Partially Excluded Area ’prior Independence which give birth the separatist tendency throughout the region initially.

As per Sixth schedule, Article 244(2) and 275(1)in the Constitution of India has implies “1. Autonomous district and autonomous regions” in “(1) the tribal areas”; “(2) If there are different Scheduled Tribes in an autonomous district, the Governor may, by public notification, divide the area or areas inhabited by them in to autonomous regions” ; “2.(1)

There shall a District Council for each autonomous district”. “(2) There shall be a separate regional council for each area constituted an autonomous region”. “ (6) The Governor shall make rules for the first constitution of District Councils and Regional Councils in consultation with the existing tribal councils....within the autonomous districts or regions concerned”; “ 3. The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all areas.....shall have power to make laws”; “4. The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of areas within the district...may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits” ; “ 8. The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all lands within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all lands within the district .. shall have the power to assess and collect revenue..” (See the Constitution of India Sixth Schedule [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in))

Now if another attempt will be made to accommodate the ethno-regional autonomy demands of the country either led by the non-tribal communities, through the application of the provisions enshrined in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India, the problem arises again in the same legal context. As there was no provision of direct application of Sixth Schedule to the non-tribal peoples primarily. But the flexible nature of Indian federal system however argued in favor of some reservation for non-tribals representations under the sixth scheduled often may not accepted by the ethnic minorities. They argued on the basis of maximum facilities in the Sixth Schedule is constitute for the tribal communities of the country in particular. However it has been observed that “Paragraph 2 has been amended in its application to the state of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003” ” Provided that the Bodoland

Territorial Council shall consists of not more than forty-six members of whom forty shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, of whom thirty shall be reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, five for non-tribal communities, five open for all, six shall be nominated by the Governor ..from amongst the un-represented communities of the Bodoland Territorial Areas District...” (Constitution of India Sixth Schedule [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in))

It has been observe that there was a declaration in the Memorandum of settlement between the Government of India, Government of West Bengal and Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1988. In according to their demand for inclusion of DGHC under sixth schedule of the Constitution of India “The Autonomous Self Governing Gorkha Hill

Council shall comprise of 33 members of whom 28 shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage out of whom 10 shall be reserve for ST's, 15 for non-tribal communities, 3 open for all communities, the remaining five nominated by the Governor from amongst the unrepresented Communities of the states under the council. Out of the five nominated members at least two shall be women.” which was taken up by the Govt of West Bengal in the Constitution Amendment Bill 2007( Amendment of Article 244 of the Constitution) presented in RajyaSabha, New Delhi, 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 2008 are as follows: “On 01-12-2005, The cabinet committee on political affairs approved the purpose to enter into an principle memorandum of settlement, to set up a new council under the sixth schedule replacing the DGHC”, (cited in a power point presentation made by the Joint Secretary (Central State), Ministry of Home Affairs.).

Table - 7.20

<b>Sub-Division</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Darjeeling SadarSub-Division	33693	8.68%
Kalimpong Sub-Division	38014	16.97%
Kurseong Sub-Division	13340	7.52%

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.21

**As per Census 2011, ST Population of three major Sub Divisions under DGHC**

<b>Sub Division</b>	<b>Total ST Population</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division	120,435	28.04%
Kalimpong Sub Division	74,975	29.79%
Kurseong Sub Division	55,547	28.5%

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

Hence a serious oppose was raised from the hill region of Darjeeling District regarding the tribal – non tribal ratio of the representation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. Consequently

the Gokhas have reviewed their demand of inclusion of the territory of Gorkhaland under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. They argued that the benefits of Sixth Schedule are fitted to their territory if the Gorkha community has been granted ST status. However the demand is started to verify by the Government of India. It has been observed that the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, has “decided to appoint ...a committee to examine and recommended granting of Scheduled Tribes status to eleven communities.... in Sikkim and others Gorkha dominated states and areas” . (Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs tribal.nic.in) ( See **Appendix G** )

Now not all the ethnic minorities are belongs to the tribal category and we cannot ignore the culture, heritage of non- tribal minorities also. More over the autonomy movements which were purely directed towards the development issue has needed to accommodate also. On the other hand though there was no contradiction between the process of new state formation and national building rather it enhances the democratic awareness of the multi ethnic country but as all the regions cannot fulfill the criterion of a full-fledged separate state also. So the time has come to focus on the configuration of Sixth Schedule regarding its applicability in non-tribal areas also as per the needs of diversity, the needs of development, the needs of our because the national challenge regarding the growing ethno-regional diversity cannot be achieved by streamlining the differences only.

However as a multicultural country Indian democracy have faced a structure dilemma since independence due to ethnic diversity the pattern of democracy have been changed in order to satisfy the needs of Milieu. Hence the ethnicity has been played a dominant role in the Indian political system. It is often argued that, “it is the development activity of the centre conducted in a democratic setting of Political competition that initially reinforced the politics of ethnicity”. It has been observed that, the states which born within a severe ethno-regional environments were achieved the highest economic places in the country. It is mentioned that “from the sixties to eighties Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra and Gujarat have consistently remained at the top rank along with Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu which rapidly improve their economic status”. This development often inculcate the environment of relative deprivation when one ethnic group were ‘provoked to react’ against another dominant ethnic groups which has permitted “a development of fluid loyalties demonstrating an inbuilt complexity of ethnic politics”.( Das Gupta,1988).

Hence it is remaining to be seen that whether the contemporary federal politics will be able to minimize the ethno-regional dissatisfactions or not in the period of one party -

dominance since 2014. So far as the political culture of India is concerned there was a qualitative difference between the Nehruvian Congress and Modi led BJP regime in general. In the atmosphere of cultural nationalism, it was said that “Often the politics of caste-identity assertion can promote harder variants of Hindu Nationalism, to fertile the political ground...” (Vanaik, 2018). It has been observed that, in the background of pluralism where country’s immense diversity has been represented through the politics of regionalization, Modi’s model of ‘patriotic devotion’ (Vanaik, 2018) has brought a definite significance there. Therefore it has been observed that the contemporary Indian federalism bearing the imposed super nationalism is going beyond the model of loose federalism. Rather the newly emerging federal politics works in an idealistic manner boost up by the idea of a powerful nation where the state is its own objective or goal (Banerjee, 2018).

Notwithstanding the above arguments it is also a fact that there has been a shift in terms of the policies not relating to the ideological issues. The step that Rajiv Gandhi had attempted in 1989 of bypassing the state and reaching out to people through direct transfers has been successfully carried out by the present central government with no real resistance from the states. Despite the demands for devolution there has been a renewed centralization. Does that mean the issue of state rights is on the wane? It is a reality however, that The Centre for many of its agendas is going to need the assistance of the states. Ultimately the Centre has to rely on state governments for implementing its own ideas and schemes. Farm Bills are a great example of this. Without the ability to deal with consensus, it will be seen that there will be political logjam that will make things difficult. To use Yogendra Yadav’s idea of electoral authoritarianism which can definitely aid in bulldozing decisions temporarily but the institutional weakness resulting out of it would definitely be more forbearing and challenging, an example being the GST Council which was touted to have a lot of federal potentials but now it is in a difficult position. Therefore, what can be deduced from that the federal centralization observable now would very soon face challenges as that are the obvious outcome of a situation where the entire structure revolves around a single charismatic leader on the one hand and the institutions weakening on the other. As it happened earlier when Devkant Baruah, the President of the Congress party during the Emergency proclaimed “India is Indira and Indira is India”, this power of Congress waned with the death of Indira Gandhi weakened but in the process also weakened the public institutions in India. This weakening was due to the lack of transparency and accountability ultimately leading to the strengthening of the regional political parties. The same trend can be noticed now which

indicates that extreme centralization would open up the possibilities of the regional political forces emerging as strong challengers as it should not be forgotten that the socio-cultural conditions have changed, citizen participation has increased as people have become aware about their rights and the influence of social media as a strong communication medium with a high degree of reach ability cannot be overlooked. Therefore, the future emergent challenge would be deeper, sharper and with wide ranging consequences that would unfold gradually and would force the central government to reformulate themselves and adopt a structure and strategy of governance based shared power between the Centre and the constituent units and the same set of rules would be required to be followed by the states while dealing with their local units. And Covid 19 experience in 2020 has actually indicated that it is better in terms of service delivery if more and more of devolution to the regional units take place.

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## Appendix A

### STATE/UT-WISE POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES (SCs) IN INDIA – 2011

Sl. No.	State/UT	Total Population	SC Population	% of SC Population
1	Andhra Pradesh	84580777	13878078	16.41
2	Arunachal Pradesh	1383727	0	0.00
3	Assam	31205576	2231321	7.15
4	Bihar	104099452	16567325	15.91
5	Chhattisgarh	25545198	3274269	12.82
6	Goa	1458545	25449	1.74
7	Gujarat	60439692	4074447	6.74
8	Haryana	25351462	5113615	20.17
9	Himachal Pradesh	6864602	1729252	25.19
10	Jammu & Kashmir	12541302	924991	7.38
11	Jharkhand	32988134	3985644	12.08
12	Karnataka	61095297	10474992	17.15
13	Kerala	33406061	3039573	9.10
14	Madhya Pradesh	72626809	11342320	15.62
15	Maharashtra	112374333	13275898	11.81
16	Manipur	2855794	97328	3.41
17	Meghalaya	2966889	17355	0.58
18	Mizoram	1097206	1218	0.11
19	Nagaland	1978502	0	0.00
20	Odisha	41974218	7188463	17.13
21	Punjab	27743338	8860179	31.94
22	Rajasthan	68548437	12221593	17.83
23	Sikkim	610577	28275	4.63
24	Tamil Nadu	72147030	14438445	20.01
25	Tripura	3673917	654918	17.83
26	Uttar Pradesh	199812341	41357608	20.70
27	Uttarakhand	10086292	1892516	18.76
28	West Bengal	91276115	21463270	23.51
29	A & N Islands	380581	0	0.00
30	Chandigarh	1055450	199086	18.86
31	D & N Haveli	343709	6186	1.80
32	Daman & Diu	243247	6124	2.52
33	NCT of Delhi	16787941	2812309	16.75
34	Lakshadweep	64473	0	0.00
35	Puducherry	1247953	196325	15.73
	<b>INDIA</b>	<b>1210854977</b>	<b>201378372</b>	<b>16.63</b>

Source: Census of India, 2011 Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment  
socialjustice.nic.in

**STATE/UT-WISE POPULATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES (STs) IN INDIA –  
2011**

<b>Sl.No.</b>	<b>State/UT</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>ST Population</b>	<b>% of ST Population</b>
1	Andhra Pradesh	84580777	5918073	7.00
2	Arunachal Pradesh	1383727	951821	68.79
3	Assam	31205576	3884371	12.45
4	Bihar	104099452	1336573	1.28
5	Chhattisgarh	25545198	7822902	30.62
6	Goa	1458545	149275	10.23
7	Gujarat	60439692	8917174	14.75
8	Haryana	25351462	0	0.00
9	Himachal Pradesh	6864602	392126	5.71
10	Jammu & Kashmir	12541302	1493299	11.91
11	Jharkhand	32988134	8645042	26.21
12	Karnataka	61095297	4248987	6.95
13	Kerala	33406061	484839	1.45
14	Madhya Pradesh	72626809	15316784	21.09
15	Maharashtra	112374333	10510213	9.35
16	Manipur	2855794	1167422	40.88
17	Meghalaya	2966889	2555861	86.15
18	Mizoram	1097206	1036115	94.43
19	Nagaland	1978502	1710973	86.48
20	Odisha	41974218	9590756	22.85
21	Punjab	27743338	0	0.00
22	Rajasthan	68548437	9238534	13.48
23	Sikkim	610577	206360	33.80
24	Tamil Nadu	72147030	794697	1.10
25	Tripura	3673917	1166813	31.76
26	Uttar Pradesh	199812341	1134273	0.57
27	Uttarakhand	10086292	291903	2.89
28	West Bengal	91276115	5296953	5.80
29	A & N Islands	380581	28530	7.50
30	Chandigarh	1055450	0	0.00
31	D & N Haveli	343709	178564	51.95
32	Daman & Diu	243247	15363	6.32
33	NCT of Delhi	16787941	0	0.00
34	Lakshadweep	64473	61120	94.80
35	Puducherry	1247953	0	0.00
<b>INDIA</b>		<b>1210854977</b>	<b>104545716</b>	<b>8.63</b>

**Source:** Census of India, 2011 Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment  
socialjustice.nic.in

## Appendix B

### POPULATION TRENDS FOR MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN INDIA – 1951-2011

Religious group	Population						
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<b>Hindu</b>	84.1	83.45	82.73	82.30	81.53	80.46	78.35
<b>Muslim</b>	9.80	10.69	11.21	11.75	12.61	13.43	14.2
<b>Christian</b>	2.00	2.44	2.60	2.44	2.32	2.34	2.34
<b>Sikh</b>	1.89	1.79	1.89	1.92	1.94	1.87	1.87
<b>Buddhist</b>	0.74	0.74	0.70	0.70	0.77	0.77	0.77
<b>Jain</b>	0.46	0.46	0.48	0.47	0.40	0.41	0.41
<b>Parsi</b>	0.13	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.06
<b>Animist, Others</b>	0.43	0.43	0.41	0.42	0.44	0.72	0.72

**Source:** Census of India, 2011 Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment  
socialjustice.nic.in

### Muslim Religion Census 2011

State	Total Population	Muslim Population	% of Total
Lakshadweep	64,473	62,268	96.58%
Jammu & Kashmir	12,541,302	8,567,485	68.31%
Assam	31,205,576	10,679,345	34.22%
West Bengal	91,276,115	24,654,825	27.01%
Kerala	33,406,061	8,873,472	29.56%
Uttar Pradesh	199,812,341	38,483,967	19.26%
Bihar	104,099,452	17,557,809	16.87%
Jharkhand	32,988,134	4,793,994	14.53%
Uttarakhand	10,086,292	1,406,825	13.95%
Karnataka	61,095,297	7,893,065	12.92%
Delhi	16,787,941	2,158,684	12.86%
Maharashtra	112,374,333	12,971,152	11.54%

Source: [www.census2011.co.in](http://www.census2011.co.in)

### Christian Religion Census 2011

State	Total Population	Christian Population	% of Total
Nagaland	1,978,502	1,739,651	87.93%
Mizoram	1,097,206	956,331	87.16%
Meghalaya	2,966,889	2,213,027	74.59%
Manipur	2,855,794	1,179,043	41.29%
Arunachal Pradesh	1,383,727	418,732	30.26%
Goa	1,458,545	366,130	25.10%
Andaman & Nicobar Island	380,581	80,984	21.28%
Kerala	33,406,061	6,141,269	18.38%

Source: [www.census2011.co.in](http://www.census2011.co.in)

### Sikh Religion Census 2011

State	Total Population	Sikh Population	% of Total
Punjab	27,743,338	16,004,754	57.69 %
Chandigarh	1,055,450	138,329	13.11%
Haryana	25,351,462	1,243,752	4.91%

Source: [www.census2011.co.in](http://www.census2011.co.in)

## Appendix C

### FAMILY-WISE GROUPING OF THE 121 SCHEDULED AND NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES – 2011

Language families	Number of Languages	Persons who returned the languages as their mother tongue	Percentage to total population
1	2	3	4
1. Indo-European			
(a) Indo-Aryan	21	94,50,52,555	78.05
(b) Iranian	1	21,677	0.00
(c) Germanic	1	2,59,678	0.02
2. Dravidian	17	23,78,40,116	19.64
3. Austro-Asiatic	14	1,34,93,080	1.11
4. Tibeto-Burmese	66	1,22,57,382	1.01
5. Semito-Hamitic	1	54,947	0.00
Total	121	1,20,89,79,435	99.85

Source: Census of India, 2011 [censusindia.gov.in](http://censusindia.gov.in)

## Appendix D

### Number and percentage of Population below Poverty line by States – 2011-12 (Tendulkar Methodology)

Sl. No.	States	Rural		Urban		Total	
		%age of Persons	No. of Persons (Lakhs)	%age of Persons	No. of Persons (Lakhs)	%age of Persons	No. of Persons (Lakhs)
1	Andhra Pradesh	10.96	61.80	5.81	16.98	9.20	78.78
2	Arunachal Pradesh	38.93	4.25	20.33	0.66	34.67	4.91
3	Assam	33.89	92.06	20.49	9.21	31.98	101.27
4	Bihar	34.06	320.40	31.23	37.75	33.74	358.15
5	Chhatisgarh	44.61	88.90	24.75	15.22	39.93	104.11
6	Delhi	12.92	0.50	9.84	16.46	9.91	16.96
7	Goa	6.81	0.37	4.09	0.38	5.09	0.75
8	Gujarat	21.54	75.35	10.14	26.88	16.63	102.23
9	Haryana	11.64	19.42	10.28	9.41	11.16	28.83
10	Himachal Pradesh	8.48	5.29	4.33	0.30	8.06	5.59
11	Jammu & Kashmir	11.54	10.73	7.20	2.53	10.35	13.27
12	Jharkhand	40.84	104.09	24.83	20.24	36.96	124.33
13	Karnataka	24.53	92.80	15.25	36.96	20.91	129.76
14	Kerala	9.14	15.48	4.97	8.46	7.05	23.95
15	Madhya Pradesh	35.74	190.95	21.00	43.10	31.65	234.06
16	Maharashtra	24.22	150.56	9.12	47.36	17.35	197.92
17	Manipur	38.80	7.45	32.59	2.75	36.89	10.22
18	Meghalaya	12.53	3.04	9.26	0.57	11.87	3.61
19	Mizoram	35.43	1.91	6.36	0.37	20.40	2.27
20	Nagaland	19.93	2.76	16.48	1.00	18.58	3.76
21	Odisha	35.69	126.14	17.29	12.39	32.59	138.53
22	Punjab	7.66	13.35	9.24	9.82	8.26	23.18
23	Rajasthan	16.05	84.19	10.69	18.73	14.71	102.92
24	Sikkim	9.85	0.45	3.66	0.06	8.19	0.51
25	Tamilnadu	15.83	59.23	6.54	23.40	11.28	82.63
26	Tripura	16.53	4.49	7.42	0.75	1.05	5.24
27	Uttarakhand	11.62	8.25	10.48	3.35	11.26	11.60
28	Uttar Pradesh	30.40	479.35	26.06	118.84	29.43	598.19
29	West Bengal	22.52	141.14	14.66	43.83	19.98	184.98
30	Puducherry	17.06	0.69	6.30	0.55	9.69	1.24
31	Andaman & Nicobar Island	1.57	0.04	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.04
32	Chandigarh	1.64	0.004	22.31	2.34	21.81	2.35
33	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	62.59	1.15	15.18	0.28	39.31	1.43
34	Daman & Diu	0.00	0.00	12.62	0.26	9.86	0.26
35	Lakshadweep	0.00	0.00	3.44	0.02	2.77	0.02
	All India	25.70	2166.58	13.70	531.25	21.92	2697.83

**Source:** Government of India Planning Commission July 2013 niti.gov.in

**Notes:**

1. Population as on 1st March 2012 has been used for estimating number of persons below poverty line (2011 Census population extrapolated)
2. Poverty line of Tamil Nadu has been used for Andaman & Nicobar Island.
3. Urban Poverty line of Punjab has been used for both rural & urban areas of Chandigarh.
4. Poverty line of Maharashtra has been used for Dadra & Nagar Haveli.
5. Poverty line of Kerala has been used for Lakshadweep.

## Appendix E

Election Commission of India – State Election, 1982 to the Legislative Assembly of  
**NAGALAND**

### PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

PARTY	SEATS			VOTES POLLED		VOTE % INSEATS CONTESTED
	CONTESTED	WON	FD	VOTES	%	
<b>NATIONAL PARTIES</b>						
1. INC	60	24	6	140420	32.08%	32.08%
	60	24	6	140420	32.08%	
<b>STATE PARTIES</b>						
2. NND	60	24	5	140112	32.01%	32.01%
	60	24	5	140112	32.01%	
<b>INDEPENDENTS</b>						
3. IND	125	12	59	157173	35.91%	40.82%
	125	12	59	157173	35.91%	
Grand Total	245	60	70	437705		

Election Commission of India – State Election, 1980 to the Legislative Assembly of  
**MANIPUR**

**PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

PARTY	SEATS			VOTES POLLED		VOTE % IN SEATS CONTESTED
	CONTESTED	WON	FD	VOTES	%	
<b>NATIONAL PARTIES</b>						
1. CPI	23	5	9	53055	7.26%	19.47%
2. CPM	2	1	1	4168	0.57%	18.30%
3. INC(I)	58	13	22	158127	21.63%	21.63%
4. INC(U)	40	6	23	69319	9.48%	14.59%
5. JNP	56	10	25	144112	19.71%	20.97%
6. JNP(JP)	1	0	1	924	0.13%	8.16%
7. JNP(S)	15	0	12	20667	2.83%	10.90%
	195	35	93	450372	61.61%	
<b>STATE PARTIES</b>						
1. KNA	7	2	3	20600	2.82%	21.36%
	7	2	3	20600	2.82%	
<b>REGISTERED (UNRECOGNISED PARTIES)</b>						
1. MPP	40	4	29	48196	6.59%	10.01%
	40	4	29	48196	6.59%	
<b>INDEPENDENTS</b>						
1. IND	159	19	119	211855	28.98%	33.60%
	159	19	119	211855	28.98%	
Grand Total	401	60	244	731023		

Election Commission of India – State Election, 1980 to the Legislative Assembly of  
**ARUNACHAL PRADESH**

**PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

PARTY	SEATS			VOTES POLLED		VOTE % IN SEATS CONTESTED
	CONTESTED	WON	FD	VOTES	%	
<b>NATIONAL PARTIES</b>						
1. INC(I)	28	13	2	72734	42.58%	43.06%
2. INC(U)	11	0	7	8361	4.89%	13.07%
	39	13	9	81095	47.47%	
<b>STATE PARTIES</b>						
1. PPA	28	13	2	70006	40.98%	42.48%
	28	13	2	70006	40.98%	
<b>INDEPENDENTS</b>						
1. IND	28	4	19	19716	11.54%	21.97%
	28	4	19	19716	11.54%	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>170817</b>		

Election Commission of India – State Election, 1983 to the Legislative Assembly of  
**MEGHALAYA**

**PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

PARTY	SEATS			VOTES POLLED		VOTE % IN SEATS CONTESTED
	CONTESTED	WON	FD	VOTES	%	
<b>NATIONAL PARTIES</b>						
<b>1. CPI</b>	7	0	7	2442	0.52%	4.78%
<b>2. INC</b>	60	25	13	130956	27.68%	27.68%
<b>3. JNP</b>	1	0	1	42	0.01%	0.65%
	68	25	21	133440	28.21%	
<b>STATE PARTIES</b>						
1. AHL	55	15	11	118593	25.07%	27.14%
2. HPD	46	15	17	91386	19.32%	24.65%
3. PDC	21	2	13	23253	4.92%	13.48%
	122	32	41	233232	49.30%	
<b>INDEPENDENTS</b>						
<b>1. IND</b>	127	3	96	106378	22.49%	27.96%
	127	3	96	106378	22.49%	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>47305095</b>		

Election Commission of India – State Election, 1983 to the Legislative Assembly of  
**TRIPURA**

**PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

PARTY	SEATS			VOTES POLLED		VOTE % IN SEATS CONTESTED
	CONTESTED	WON	FD	VOTES	%	
<b>NATIONAL PARTIES</b>						
1. BJP	4	0	4	578	0.06%	0.98%
2. CPI	1	0	0	7657	0.83%	48.08%
3. CPM	56	37	0	433608	46.78%	49.98%
4. JCS	1	0	3	540	0.06%	1.27%
5. INC	45	12	4	282859	30.51%	40.73%
6. JNP	5	0	5	515	0.06%	0.68%
	112	49	16	725757	78.29%	
<b>STATE PARTIES</b>						
1. FBL	1	0	0	6549	0.71%	45.10%
2. RSP	2	2	0	15218	1.64%	52.38%
3. TUS	14	6	1	97039	10.47%	44.79%
	17	8	1	118806	12.82%	
<b>INDEPENDENTS</b>						
2. IND	75	3	63	19716	8.89%	10.01%
	75	3	63	19716	8.89%	
Grand Total	206	60	80	972006		

## Appendix F

Name of the State/Union Territory		Seats in the House as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976			Seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008		
Sl. No.	STATES:	Total	Reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Reserved for the Scheduled Tribes	Total	Reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Reserved for the Scheduled Tribes
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	6	2	42	7	3
2	Arunachal Pradesh*	2	-	-	2	-	-
3	Assam*	14	1	2	14	1	2
4	Bihar	40	7	-	40	6	-
5	Chhattisgarh	11	2	4	11	1	4
6	Goa	2	-	-	2	-	-
7	Gujarat	26	2	4	26	2	4
8	Haryana	10	2	-	10	2	-
9	Himachal Pradesh	4	1	-	4	1	-
10	Jammu & Kashmir*	6	-	-	6	-	-
11	Jharkhand@	14	1	5	14	1	5
12	Karnataka	28	4	-	28	5	2
13	Kerala	20	2	-	20	2	-
14	Madhya Pradesh	29	4	5	29	4	6
15	Maharashtra	48	3	4	48	5	4
16	Manipur*	2	-	1	2	-	1
17	Meghalaya	2	-	-	2	-	2
18	Mizoram	1	-	1	1	-	1
19	Nagaland*	1	-	-	1	-	-
20	Odisha	21	3	5	21	3	5
21	Punjab	13	3	-	13	4	-
22	Rajasthan	25	4	3	25	4	3
23	Sikkim	1	-	-	1	-	-
24	Tamil Nadu	39	7	-	39	7	-
25	Tripura	2	-	1	2	-	1
26	Uttarakhand	5	-	-	5	1	-
27	Uttar Pradesh	80	18	-	80	17	-
28	West Bengal	42	8	2	42	10	2
<b>IL UNION TERRITORIES:</b>							
1	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1	-	-	1	-	-
2	Chandigarh	1	-	-	1	-	-
3	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	-	1	1	-	1
4	Delhi	7	1	-	7	1	-
5	Daman and Diu	1	-	-	1	-	-
6	Lakshadweep	1	-	1	1	-	1
7	Puducherry	1	-	-	1	-	-
<b>Total States</b>		<b>543</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>47</b>

Source: State / UT wise seats in the Lok Sabha [mea.gov.in](http://mea.gov.in)

\* - States excluded from Delimitation Exercise

@ Order issued by the Delimitation Commission was nullified by the Sec 10 B of the Delimitation Amendment Act, 2008

## Appendix G

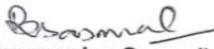
F.N.12016/6/2001-C&LM  
Government of India  
Ministry of Tribal Affairs  
(C&LM Division)

Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi  
Dated: 14.9.2016

### ORDER

In partial modification of Order No.12016/6/2001-C&LM-I(Pt) dated 2.4.16, 6.4.2016 and 17.6.2016, it has been decided to appoint Mrs. Vishu Maini, Dy. Director General of Ministry of Tribal Affairs as Chairperson of the Committee to examine and recommend granting of Scheduled Tribe Status to eleven communities viz. Bhujel, Gurung, Mangar, Newar, Jogi, Khas, Rai, Sunwar, Thami, Yakha (Dewan) and Dhimal living in Sikkim and other Gorkha dominated States and areas.

2. The Committee shall consult Government of Sikkim and all respective States where a significant Gorkha population resides and suggest as to grant of Scheduled Tribe status with a mechanism to ensure fairness of reservations for these eleven communities.
3. The Committee will submit its report and recommendations in the matter to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs within three months of the issue of this modified order.
4. This issues with the approval of the competent authority.

  
(Biswaranjan Sasmal)  
Director  
Ph. 23070508

To,

Mrs. Vishu Maini,  
Dy. Director General  
Ministry of Tribal Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Copy to:

1. Chief Secretaries of all States (excluding Haryana and Punjab)
2. Pr. Secretary, Tribal Welfare/Social Welfare Department of all States (excluding Haryana and Punjab)

**Most Immedite**

F. No. 12016/6/2001-C&LM-I  
Government of India  
Ministry of Tribal Affairs  
(C&LM Division)  
\*\*\*\*\*

Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi-01  
Dated: 14/8 August, 2017

To,

The Chief Secretary  
(As per list – except Haryana, Punjab, Sikkim, A&N Administration, Mizoram, Goa, Delhi,  
West Bengal, Odisha and Dadra & Nagar Haveli)

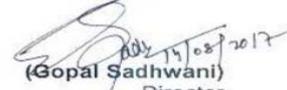
**Subject: Views/inputs of State Government on 11 Gorkha communities.**

Sir/Madam,

As you may be aware, Ministry of Tribal Affairs has constituted a Committee to examine and recommend further course of action regarding granting of ST status to eleven communities in Sikkim and other Gorkha dominated States. As a process of consultation, it was requested that Committee may be provided with views of your State, historical and ethnographic details as well as demographic profile including education, occupational status, etc. in respect of eleven gorkha communities namely, Bhujel, Gurung, Mangar, Newar, Jogi, Khas, Rai, Sunwar, Thami, Yaksha (Dewan) and Dhimal residing in respective States. A copy of this Ministry's letter of even number dated 27.10.2016 is attached.

2. Representations, if any, from the above mentioned Gorkha communities may also be provided to the Committee. Views of your State in the matter and requisite information may please be provided at the earliest.

Yours faithfully,

  
(Gopal Sadhwani)  
Director  
Tel. No. 2618 2428

Copy to:

1. Pr. Secretary/Secretary, Tribal Welfare/Social Welfare Department of all States (as per list).
2. Technical Director, NIC, for uploading a copy of letter on the website of the Ministry.

PTO

## **PUBLICATIONS**

1. 'Darjeeling Parbatya Andoloner Jatigato Bibriti: Ekti Oitihashik Parjabekhhan' PP. 171-189 in ITIKOTHA, An interdisciplinary Half Yearly Research Oriented Referred Journal of History in Bengali. Vol. VIII, No. 2, July 2020 AD, Group C of UGC- CARE List

[Since there is no online publication of the Journal 'ITIKOTHA' hence I am sending you the scan copy of the same]

2. 'Federal System in Ethno-Regional India: Contemporary challenges and opportunities' in the Journal of Political Studies, Vol.14, March-October, 2018, Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal.

ISSN 2320-3447 ITIKOTHA  
Vol. VIII, No. 2, July 2020 AD

# ইতিকথা

ইতিহাস বিষয়ক গবেষণামূলক আন্তর্বিদ্যাশৃঙ্খলামূলক  
বিশেষজ্ঞ শংসায়িত বাংলা ঐতিহাসিক জার্নাল

অষ্টম বর্ষ, দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা, জুলাই, ২০২০ খ্রিস্টাব্দ

বঙ্গীয় ইতিহাস সমিতি কলকাতা

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# ই তি ক থা

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বিশেষজ্ঞ শংসায়িত বাংলা ষাণ্মাসিক জার্নাল  
[Included in Group C of UGC-CARE List]

অষ্টম বর্ষ, দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা, জুলাই ২০২০ খ্রিস্টাব্দ

সম্পাদকমণ্ডলী

ড. সৌমিত্র শ্রীমানী (মুখ্য সম্পাদক)

প্রফেসর নির্বাণ বসু

প্রফেসর সনৎকুমার নস্কর

প্রফেসর সুচন্দ্রা ঘোষ

প্রফেসর অমিত দে



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## ইতি কথ

ইতিহাস বিষয়ক গবেষণার্নী আন্তর্বিদ্যাঞ্চলমূলক বিশেষজ্ঞ শংসারিত বাংলা বাৎসরিক জার্নাল  
অষ্টম বর্ষ, দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা, জুলাই ২০২০ খ্রিস্টাব্দ

প্রকাশক

বঙ্গীয় ইতিহাস সমিতি কলকাতা-র পক্ষে কানাইলাল চট্টোপাধ্যায় কর্তৃক  
কলকাতা ৭০০ ০০৭ থেকে প্রকাশিত

বর্গ-সংস্থাপন

জয়ন্ত ভট্টাচার্য

নৈহাটি, উত্তর ২৪ পরগনা

মুদ্রণ

নির্যাক অফসেট

৪এ, পটলভাড়া স্ট্রিট, কলকাতা ৭০০ ০০৯

গ্রন্থস্থ

বঙ্গীয় ইতিহাস সমিতি কলকাতা

মূল্য : ২০০ টাকা

## উপদেষ্টামণ্ডলী

ড. কানাইলাল চট্টোপাধ্যায় (শতাপতি, বঙ্গীয় ইতিহাস সমিতি কলকাতা)  
প্রফেসর বিনয়মহুষণ চৌধুরী (পৃষ্ঠপোষক, বঙ্গীয় ইতিহাস সমিতি কলকাতা)

প্রফেসর সৌমেন্দ্রনাথ মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রফেসর সিরাজুল ইসলাম

প্রফেসর হোসেনুর রহমান প্রফেসর পবিত্র সরকার

প্রফেসর রক্তকান্ত রায় বারিদবরণ ঘোষ প্রফেসর পল্লব সেনগুপ্ত

ড. গৌতম নিয়োগী প্রফেসর সুমিতা চক্রবর্তী

প্রফেসর আনন্দগোপাল ঘোষ প্রফেসর রণবীর মজবর্তী

## সম্পাদকমণ্ডলী

ড. সৌমিত্র ব্রীমানী (মুখ্য সম্পাদক) প্রফেসর নির্বাণ বসু

প্রফেসর সনৎকুমার নন্দর প্রফেসর সুচন্দ্রা ঘোষ প্রফেসর অমিত দে

## সম্পাদকীয় দপ্তর

ড. সৌমিত্র ব্রীমানী, ৮-বি বারাগণী ঘোষ স্ট্রিট, কলকাতা ৭০০ ০০৭

দুরভাষ : (০৩৩) ২২১৮-৪১৯৫

## ইতি কথা

ইতিহাস বিষয়ক গবেষণামূলক আন্তর্বিদ্যাভিত্তিক বিশেষজ্ঞ শংসারিত বাংলা সাংবাদিক জার্নাল  
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Vol. VIII, No. 2, July 2020 AD

### সম্পাদকীয়

#### প্রবন্ধলেখক

আনিসুজ্জামান (১৯৩৭-২০২০)

সনৎকুমার নন্দর

হরিশংকর বাসুদেবন (১৯৫২-২০২০)

সিদ্ধার্থ গুহ রায়

#### বিশেষ প্রেরক

বাংলার ইতিহাস আর আচার্য যদুনাথ সরকার—হেনোঁ-জাত শিক্তিত

বাঙালি ভ্রমণকারীর আধুনিকতায় ঐতিহ্য বিধায় রাজনীতি আর

সত্যের অসত্যের টানা পোড়েন

পুলকেশ রায়

#### প্রবন্ধ

মুর্শিদাবাদের আঞ্চলিক ভাষাবৈশিষ্ট্যের মানদণ্ডে সৈয়দ মুতাজ মিরাজের

কথাসাহিত্য: একটি নিরীক্ষণমূলক পর্যালোচনা

শিহু নন্দর

ভারতের জৈব-স্থিতিবস্থার পুনরুদ্ধারের ইতিহাস

সুদীপ মণ্ডল

বাংলার বাগদি সম্রাজ্যের সমাজতন্ত্র: জাগরণ ও উত্তরণে প্রতিবন্ধকতা

মিলন রায়

ঔপনিবেশিক পরে দার্জিলিং তরাই-এ ভূমিসংস্কার: একটি পর্যালোচনা

সুদীপ রাসনবিশ

দার্জিলিং পার্বত্য আন্দোলনের জাগতিক বিবৃতি: একটি ঐতিহাসিক পর্যবেক্ষণ

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## প্রবন্ধ

### দার্জিলিং পার্বত্য আন্দোলনের জাগতিক বিবৃতি: একটি ঐতিহাসিক পর্যবেক্ষণ

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#### সারসংক্ষেপ

একথা সত্য যে, অসত্যের পর্যায়ক্রমে মনস্তাত্ত্বিক এবং সামাজিক উভয় স্তরেই নানান প্রকারের পরিণতি ঘটাতে পারে। মনস্তাত্ত্বিকভাবে, অসত্যের, বিশ্রিততা তথা পরীক্ষার মনোভাব তৈরি করতে পারে, যার দরুন মানুষ রাস্ট্রীয় কার্যকলাপ সংক্রান্ত বিষয়গুলিতে অনগ্রহী হয়ে উঠতে পারে। আবার কখনও ক্রোধের অনুভূতিও তৈরি করতে পারে যা পৌঁছে যেতে পারে হতাশার পর্যায়। এই মানসিক অবস্থাকে প্রতিস্থাপনের জন্য মানুষ বিকল্প পথের সন্ধানে ব্রতী হয় শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে অথবা হিংসাত্মক পদ্ধতির মাধ্যমে। বেশিরভাগ ক্ষেত্রেই লক্ষ করা যায় যে, প্রাথমিক পর্যায়ে এই জাতীয় আন্দোলনগুলি ক্রমশ আত্মসানের পর্যায় পৌঁছে যেতে থাকে। এই থাকে এই জাতীয় আন্দোলনগুলি ক্রমশ আত্মসানের পর্যায় পৌঁছে যেতে থাকে। এই সাধারণ পটভূমিতে ভারতের জাগতিক আঞ্চলিক আন্দোলনগুলি সংস্থাপিত করা যেতে পারে তা রাজ্যের পূর্ব, পশ্চিম, উত্তর বা দক্ষিণ যে স্থান জুড়েই হোক না কেন। এই আন্দোলনগুলির অভিব্যক্তি যেমন স্থানভেদে পরিবর্তনশীল, তেমনি এদের পরিণাম নির্ভর করে আন্দোলনের প্রকৃতি, লক্ষ্য, পদ্ধতি এবং নেতৃত্বের ওপর। অন্যভাবে দেখতে গেলে, যোগে এই ধরনের আন্দোলনগুলির কোনো সর্বজনগ্রাহ্য হাঁচ হয় না, সেইহেতু কোনো অভিন্ন তাত্ত্বিক বা ধারণাগত কাঠামো এক্ষেত্রে প্রযোজ্য হতে পারে না। এটি ভারত প্রসঙ্গে একটি অনন্য নিদর্শন। বর্তমান গবেষণায় এই

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দিকগুলিকে সংকীর্ণ ক্ষেত্রের মধ্যে দিয়ে লক্ষ্যীয় বিষয় করে গড়ে তোলার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রতিটি আন্দোলনই তার চরম লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছানোর আগে বিভিন্ন ধরনের পর্যায়ের মধ্যে দিয়ে যায়। দার্জিলিং-এ গোখা আন্দোলনও এর ব্যতিক্রমী নয়। অতএব, সম্ভাব্য উপসংহার নির্ভর করছে, প্রগতিশীল সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক তথা অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার অনুভূমিকের ওপর এবং যা পরীক্ষামূলক হওয়াই বাঞ্ছনীয়।

#### সূচকশব্দ

অসন্তোষ, বঞ্চনা, ব্যক্তিতা, গোষ্ঠীস্বাতন্ত্র্য, আঞ্চলিকতাবাদ, ক্ষোভ, পরিসমসংকট।

#### ভূমিকা

তৃতীয় বিশ্বের প্রতিনিধি হিসেবে ভারত কিছু বিশেষত্ব প্রদর্শন করেছে, যা তাকে বিশ্বের পশ্চিমপ্রান্ত থেকে পৃথক করে। ভারতীয় সমাজকে কঠোরভাবে প্রতীহবাহী বলা যায় না কারণ আধুনিকতার দিকে তার নির্ধারিত ঝোক রয়েছে, যা ভারতের অর্থনৈতিক এবং সামাজিক প্রকৃতির অনেক বিষয়কেই সামনে এনেছে এবং যা আগে পর্যবেক্ষণের আওতায় আসেনি। এই পরিস্থিতিতে জাতিগত পরিচয় সংকট বহুসংস্কৃতিক সমাজে আরও গভীরতর হয়েছে বলে মনে করা হয়। যেখানে স্বজাতি প্রতিনিধিত্বই, রাজনৈতিক সমাজব্যবস্থার ইতিহাসে কেন্দ্রীয় স্থান দখল করে রয়েছে এবং যা মূলত গোষ্ঠীসত্তা পরিচয়েই স্বাতন্ত্র্য এবং জনপ্রিয়তা লাভ করেছে। কিন্তু যখন জাতিগত দৃষ্টান্ত বাহিত্রিক সামাজিক প্রেক্ষাপটকে অধিক গুরুত্ব না দিয়ে আভ্যন্তরীণ ক্ষুধা নিয়ে অধিক উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করে, তখনই সৃষ্টি হয় সমস্যার। বুকুলতাবাদ হল সংস্কৃতিগত পার্থক্যের একটি স্থায়ী এবং শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ যোগাযোগের মাধ্যম যা আভ্যন্তরীণ গোষ্ঠীগুলিকে স্বতন্ত্র করে তোলে। জাতিগত আন্দোলনগুলি উথিত হয়েছে ইতিহাস থেকে, এবং গভীরভাবে প্রথিত হয়েছে সমাজে। বহুসংস্কৃতিক সমাজে প্রতিটি গোষ্ঠী চায় তাদের নিজ গোষ্ঠীর দ্বারা শাসিত হতে, যা সর্বদা সম্ভবপর হয় না। পর্যবেক্ষণ করে দেখা যায় যে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়কেই সাধারণত সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ সম্প্রদায় দ্বারা শাসিত হতে হয়। অনেক সময় এই ধরনের পরিস্থিতিসমূহ সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে রাজনৈতিক বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদের আন্দোলন শুরু করার পরিস্থিতির উদ্রেক করে। দার্জিলিং-এর জনসম্প্রদায় তাদের জেলার ঐতিহাসিক মহত্ত্ব সম্পর্কে অত্যন্ত সংবেদনশীল এবং তারা মনে করে তাদের অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক, জাতিগত তথা সাংস্কৃতিক স্বার্থ অবহেলিত। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে, সংখ্যালঘু গোষ্ঠী হিসেবে চিহ্নিত গোখারা স্বাভাবিকভাবেই তাদের ভাষা ও সংস্কৃতির সংরক্ষণ ও বিকাশের জন্য পর্যায় স্বাধীনতা দাবি করে।

#### গোখা জাতির আখ্যান

‘দার্জিলিং’ নামটি তিব্বতীয় শব্দ ‘দোরজি’ অর্থাৎ বজ্রধ্বনি এবং ‘লিং’ অর্থাৎ ভূমি অর্থাৎ বজ্রভূমি থেকে এসেছে।<sup>১</sup> হিমালয়ের পাদদেশে অবস্থিত পশ্চিমবঙ্গের উত্তরের পার্বত্য জেলা দার্জিলিংকে ভূসংস্থানিকভাবে দুই ভাগে ভাগ করা হয়েছে—তরাই অঞ্চল এবং পার্বত্য অঞ্চল। তরাই অঞ্চল গঠিত হয়েছে শিলিগুড়ি মহকুমা এবং দার্জিলিং সদর তথা কাশিয়ার ও কালিঙ্গ মহকুমা নিয়ে গঠিত হয়েছে দার্জিলিং-এর পার্বত্য অঞ্চল।<sup>২</sup> বলা হয়ে থাকে যে, বর্তমান দার্জিলিং জেলার অঞ্চলগুলি সিকিম ও ভূটানের রাজাদের কাছ থেকে সামরিক বাহিনীর দ্বারা অধিগ্রহণ করে নেপাল, যা নেপালের সঙ্গে যুক্ত ছিল ১৭৮৮ খ্রিস্টাব্দের অগ্রবর্তী সময় অবধি এবং ১৮২৫ অবধি অবস্থান করে নেপালের অধিনিক্ষেপ হিসেবে।<sup>৩</sup> দার্জিলিং-এর ইতিহাস থেকে জানা যায় যে, এই অঞ্চলের প্রাতি নেপাল ও ভূটান যথেষ্ট আগ্রহ প্রকাশ করেছিল। কারণ দার্জিলিং অঞ্চলটি নেপাল ও ভূটানের সংযোগকারী ‘বায়ার’ অঞ্চল হিসেবে গড়ে উঠেছিল।<sup>৪</sup> ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণের পরে পরিস্থিতি ক্রমাগত জটিল হয়ে ওঠে। ১৮৬৬ খ্রিস্টাব্দে উক্ত অঞ্চলটি জেলা হিসেবে গঠিত হওয়ার পরে ব্রিটিশ সরকার দার্জিলিংকে একটি ‘অ-নিয়ন্ত্রিত’ জেলা হিসেবে চিহ্নিত করে, যেখানে জমি এবং জমিরাজস্ব সম্পর্কিত বিধিনিয়মগুলি জোরপূর্বক বলবৎ হত না। এই প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থা বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদের অনুভূতি জাগিয়ে তুলেছিল। তবে ১৯৭৮-এর শেষ অবধি দার্জিলিংকে একটি ‘অ-নিয়ন্ত্রিত’ জেলা হিসেবেই বিবেচনা করা হয়েছিল।<sup>৫</sup> ১৮৭৪ খ্রিস্টাব্দ থেকে ১৯১৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত একটি ‘অফিশিয়ালভুক্ত জেলা’ হিসেবে স্বীকৃত ছিল এবং ১৯১৯ থেকে ১৯৩৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত এটিকে ‘অনগ্রহণ অঞ্চল’ হিসেবে দেখা হত। পরিশেষে স্বাধীনতার প্রাক্কালে অবধি এটিকে ১৯৩৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দের ভারত শাসন আইন অনুযায়ী ভারত সরকারের আওতাধীন ‘আংশিকবহিত্ত অঞ্চল’ হিসেবে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া হয়। অতঃপর ১৯৪৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত দার্জিলিং প্রশাসনিকভাবে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সঙ্গে পুরোপুরি সংযুক্ত ছিল না, যদিও রাজনৈতিকভাবে ১৮৬৬ খ্রিস্টাব্দ থেকে এটি পশ্চিমবঙ্গের একটি অংশ হিসেবে চিহ্নিত ছিল।<sup>৬</sup> তবে ভাষা, সংস্কৃতি তথা ঐতিহ্যগত দিক থেকে দার্জিলিং-এর পার্বত্য অধিবাসীরা, সমভূমিতে বসবাসকারী লোকদের থেকে একেবারেই আলাদা ছিল। তা সত্ত্বেও স্বাধীনতার পরবর্তীকালে অধিকাংশ হিন্দুদের নিয়ে গঠিত দার্জিলিং বাংলার অংশ হিসেবে থেকে গিয়েছে। বরঞ্চ দার্জিলিং-এর অধিবাসীদের মধ্যে অধিকাংশই ছিল প্রবাসী নেপালি। ১৮৭২ খ্রিস্টাব্দে বাংলার গৃহীত প্রথম আদমশুমারি অনুযায়ী দার্জিলিং-এর মোট জনসংখ্যা নিম্নলিখিতভাবে ছিল ৯৪,৭১২-তে। ১৮৭৬ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ডবলু, ডবলু, হান্টার তাঁর *Statistical Account of Bengal (Vol. X)*-এ লিখেছিলেন, ‘নেপালিরা যারা জেলার জনসংখ্যার ৩৪ শতাংশ গঠন করে, তারা

সকলে নেপাল থেকে আগত। তারাই সবথেকে বেশি 'উদ্যমী' এবং 'বর্ধনশীল'।<sup>১৭</sup> এখনও পর্যন্ত নেপালিরাই দাজিলিং-এর বৃহৎ নুকুল গোষ্ঠী হিসেবে পরিচিত। যাই হোক, নেপাল থেকে তাদের অভিবাসন অক্ষুণ্ণই ছিল। এরই মধ্যে ১৮৮১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে দ্বিতীয় আদমশুমারি অনুযায়ী নেপালিরা পুরো দাজিলিং-এ নিখুঁত সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠতা অর্জন করতে সক্ষম হয়। ১৯৫১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ইন্দো-নেপাল 'শান্তি ও বন্ধুত্ব'-এর চুক্তিকে অনুসরণ করে নেপালিদের মধ্যে জন্মস্থান উদঘাটন নিয়ে অনীহা দেখা দিয়েছিল। কিন্তু হঠাৎ ১৯৫১ খ্রিস্টাব্দ থেকে ১৯৬১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে পর্যন্ত দাজিলিং জেলার জনসংখ্যা ৩,২৮,৭৮৪-৪,৬৪,৭৬২ পর্যন্ত উর্ধ্বমুখী হওয়াতে নেপাল থেকে দাজিলিং-এ অভিবাসনের পরিমাণ দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণের বিষয় হিসেবে পরিগণিত হয়েছিল।<sup>১৮</sup>

জাতিগত আন্দোলন সম্পর্কিত যে-কোনো অধ্যয়ন এই জাতীয় ধারণা দিয়ে শুরু উচিত যে, এই ধরনের আন্দোলনের পেছনে নানাবিধ কারণ থাকতে পারে। এর প্রধান কারণগুলি হল আঞ্চলিক ভারসাম্যহীনতা, বঞ্চনার অনুভূতি এবং অন্যান্য গোষ্ঠীর প্রাক্-প্রভাবশীল অবস্থানের বিরুদ্ধে জাতিগত দৃঢ়তার অনুভূতি। অন্য কথায় সমস্যাটি বর্ণনা করা যেতে পারে, 'আমরা-তাহারা' উপসর্গ অথবা 'সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ-সংখ্যালঘু' উপসর্গের মাধ্যমে। তাত্ত্বিক অবস্থান যাই হোক না কেন, উক্ত আন্দোলনগুলিকে ঐতিহাসিক প্রেক্ষাপটে স্থাপন করার ক্ষেত্রে গবেষণার সঠিক যত্ন নেওয়া উচিত। উল্লেখিত প্রেক্ষাপট অনুযায়ী এই সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হওয়া যেতে পারে যে, কোনো রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলনেরই কিছু মৌলিক উপাদান বা দিকনির্দেশক শক্তি রয়েছে, যেমন—সমতর সমস্যা, সামাজিক ন্যায়বিচার সম্পর্কিত সমস্যা, রাজনৈতিক অবস্থার অক্ষমতা, দার্শনিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি, জনগণের মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি, মানদণ্ডের স্তর, মূল্যবোধ, সংহতি তথা পরিস্থিতিগত সুবিধা-অসুবিধা এবং সর্বোপরি এলিট শ্রেণির ভূমিকা।

পার্শ্বত আন্দোলনের জাতিগত-আঞ্চলিক দাবিসমূহ

নেপালিদের অপ্রতিরোধ্য জনসংখ্যার প্রাধান্য উনবিংশ শতাব্দীর শেষের দিকে একটি কঠিন বাস্তব হয়ে দাঁড়ায়, যার অবদান হিসেবে দাঁড় করানো যায় *lingua franca* হিসেবে নেপালি ভাষার গ্রহণযোগ্যতা। নেপালি সাহিত্য আন্দোলনের বিকাশের পাশাপাশি নেপালি সাংস্কৃতিক সত্তা তথা কৈবল্য গোষ্ঠী-স্বাতন্ত্র্য দাজিলিং-এর স্বায়ত্তশাসনের দাবিগুলির মধ্যে দিয়ে প্রকাশিত হয়, যা সর্বদা সমপ্রকৃতির ছিল না। বলা হয়, 'the fate of Darjeeling was integrally associated with the Morley-Minto Reforms. Under that circumstances, the voice of the 'leaders of Hill people', in the absence of any viable political or social association, was registered for the first time'।<sup>১৯</sup> খ্রিস্টাব্দে তারা

ভারতে প্রশাসনিক সংস্কারের উদ্দেশ্যে গঠিত মর্লে-মিন্টো সংস্থার কাছে একটি স্মারকলিপি জমা দিয়েছিল, যার মধ্যে দিয়ে তারা বাংলার বাইরে কিন্তু ভারতীয় ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যের মধ্যে দাজিলিং-এর জন্য পৃথক প্রশাসনিক সত্তা গঠনের আবেদন করে। ১৯২৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দে যখন তৎকালীন ভারতসচিব এডউইন মন্টেগু ভারতে এসেছিলেন, তখন হিলম্যান সমিতি বাংলার মুখ্যসচিবকে একটি স্মারকলিপি জমা দিয়ে বর্তমান দাজিলিং জেলা এবং জলপাইগুড়ি জেলার কিছু অংশ, যা ১৮৬৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ভুটানের অর্ন্তভুক্ত ছিল তার জন্য একটি পৃথক প্রশাসনিক ইউনিটের দাবি জানায়।<sup>২০</sup> পরবর্তী কালে আবার হিলম্যান সমিতি ১৯৩০ খ্রিস্টাব্দে স্থানীয় পার্বত্য সমিতির সঙ্গে যৌথভাবে একটি স্মারকলিপি স্যার স্যামুয়েল হোয়ার-এর কাছে জমা দেয়, যেখানে কেবলমাত্র গোষ্ঠী জাতির সমস্যার কথাই উল্লেখযোগ্যভাবে তুলে ধরা হয়েছিল। এটি প্রস্তাবিত নতুন সংবিধানের অধীনে তাদের জাতিগত সংহতি হারানোর ভয়ে প্রতিকূলিত করেছিল। তারা গোষ্ঠী প্রাধান্যভুক্ত দাজিলিংকে বাংলা থেকে সরিয়ে একটি স্বাধীন প্রশাসনিক একক হিসেবে বিবেচনা করার অনুরোধ জানায় লর্ড প্যাট্রিক লরেন্স-এর কাছে কিন্তু ১৯৩৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দের ভারত শাসন আইনের ৯২নং ধারার অধীনে দাজিলিং জেলাটিকে 'আংশিক বহির্ভূত এলাকা' হিসেবেই গণ্য করা হয়।<sup>২১</sup> আঞ্চলিক স্বায়ত্তশাসনের ধারণাটি আমাদের সংবিধানে সাধারণত উপজাতি অঞ্চলের ক্ষেত্রেই প্রযুক্ত। জেলা তথা আঞ্চলিক স্বায়ত্তশাসিত পরিষদের কিছু নিয়মবিধি ছাড়া, স্বশাসিত রাষ্ট্রের ধারণাটি উপস্থাপিত হয় ১৯৬৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ২২তম সংবিধান সংশোধনীর দ্বারা। উক্ত ধারাটি প্রযোজ্য ছিল কেবলমাত্র ভারতের উত্তর-পূর্ব অঞ্চলের ক্ষেত্রেই। তৎকালীন পশ্চিমবঙ্গের কোনো রাজনৈতিক দল বা রাজ্য সরকার দাজিলিং-এর আঞ্চলিক স্বায়ত্তশাসন নিয়ে বিরোধিতা করেনি।<sup>২২</sup>

১৯৩১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে তৎকালীন কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি ভারত সরকারের কাছে উক্ত তিনটি পার্বত্য মহকুমাকে আঞ্চলিক স্বায়ত্তশাসন প্রদানের দাবি জানায়। তবে তা বিবেচনামূলক হতে পারে বলে সরকার উক্ত দাবিকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করে।<sup>২৩</sup> কংগ্রেস ১৯৫৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দে প্রশাসনিক ক্ষেত্রে সরকারকে সহায়তা এবং পরামর্শদানের জন্য দাজিলিংকে একটি বিধিবদ্ধ জেলা পরিষদের আকারে স্বাতন্ত্র্য প্রদানের জন্য দাবি জানায়। ১৯৫৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দে জওহরলাল নেহরু দাজিলিং পরিদর্শন করার সময় কংগ্রেস, সিপিআই এবং গোষ্ঠী লিগের প্রতিনিধিরা তাঁর কাছে পার্বত্য মহকুমার স্বায়ত্তশাসনের দাবিতে একটি যুক্ত স্মারকলিপি জমা দেন। ১৯৬৮ খ্রিস্টাব্দের ২৫ আগস্ট দাজিলিং জেলার কংগ্রেস কমিটি তাদের বৈঠকে তুলে ধরেছিল এলাকার ভৌগোলিক অবস্থান, জনগণের জাতিগত, সাংস্কৃতিক, বর্ণ তথা ভাষাগত পটভূমি এবং এলাকার অনগ্রসর অবস্থান, যা দাজিলিং

সদর, কালিম্পং এবং কাশ্মিরে মহফুজকে একটি স্বায়ত্তশাসিত প্রশাসনিক সংস্থা হিসেবে প্রতিষ্ঠা করার যুক্তিকে সমর্থন করে। তবে উল্লেখযোগ্যভাবে কংগ্রেস ১৯৭২ খ্রিস্টাব্দ থেকে ১৯৭৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত ক্ষমতায় থাকাকালীন উক্ত সময়সূচীর সমাধান তথা বাস্তবায়নের কোনো গুরুতর প্রচেষ্টা করেনি।<sup>১৪</sup>

১৯৪৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দের ৬ এপ্রিল দার্জিলিং জেলার ভারতীয় কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি গোর্থাদের গোর্থাস্থানের জন্য একটি স্মারকলিপি জমা করেছিল সংবিধান পরিষদে, যেখানে গোর্থাস্থানকে একটি স্বাধীন জাতীয় রাষ্ট্র হিসেবে তুলে ধরা হয়েছিল এবং যার সঙ্গে যুক্ত করা হয়েছিল নেপাল, দার্জিলিং ও সিকিম রাষ্ট্রকে। যেখানে উল্লেখিত ছিল 'সিপিজাই-এর হাতে দার্জিলিং জেলাটি হল গোর্থাদের জেলা এবং এটি হল তাদের জন্মভূমি।'<sup>১৫</sup> ১৯৪৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে অখিল ভারতীয় গোর্থার লিগ ছিল প্রথম রাজনৈতিক দল, যারা গোর্থার জাতিগোষ্ঠীর বৃহত্তর একরূপতা এবং অর্থনৈতিক স্বাধীনতা দাবি করেছিল। এখানে আরও অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল নেপালি ভাষার সুরক্ষা, তাদের সভ্যতা ও সংস্কৃতি রক্ষা করার জন্য নেপালের সঙ্গে বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ সম্পর্ক এবং ভারতীয় গোর্থার হিসেবে তাদের নাগরিকত্বের দাবি।<sup>১৬</sup> স্বাধীনতার প্রাক্কালে সর্বভারতীয় গোর্থার লিগ, দার্জিলিং এবং আসামের পার্শ্ববর্তী কিছু অঞ্চলকে আত্মন জানিয়েছিল আঞ্চলিক স্বায়ত্তশাসনের জন্য। স্বাধীনতার পরে তৎকালীন ভারতীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী পণ্ডিত জওহরলাল নেহরুর কাছে এই দাবি পেশ করা হয়েছিল। বলা হয়, 'Darjeeling agitation in post-Independence era has been the confluence of three inter-related influences: autonomy, language and identity'<sup>১৭</sup> পরবর্তী কালে যখন অন্যান্য রাজ্যগুলিকে ভাষা ও সংস্কৃতির ভিত্তিতে স্বতন্ত্র রাজ্যের মর্যাদা প্রদান করা হয়, তখন গোর্থাদের দাবিকে যথেষ্ট শক্তিশালী বা যুক্তিসংগত বলে State Reorganisation Commission বিবেচনা করেনি। State Reorganisation Commission-এর রিপোর্টের ১২৩নং ধারাতে বলা হয়েছে, 'The demand for linguistic states does not represent mere cultural revivalism. It has a wider purpose in that it seeks to secure for different linguistic groups political and economic justice. In multilingual states political leadership and administrative authority remain the monopoly of dominant language groups and linguistic minorities are denied an effective voice in the governance of their states. Even where there are substantial minorities having adequate representation in the cabinet, the representatives of linguistic minority groups find it impossible, owing to party discipline...to do anything effective to safeguard the

interests of the minorities'<sup>১৮</sup> দেখা গিয়েছে যে, পরবর্তী কালে SRC-র এই বিবেচনা দার্জিলিং রাজনীতির প্রশাসনিক স্বাতন্ত্র্যে এর ধারণাটিকে আরও গভীরভাবে প্রোথিত করেছিল।<sup>১৯</sup>

স্বতন্ত্র সত্তা বজায় রাখার দাবি অক্ষুণ্ণ ওঠেনি। প্রান্ত পরিষদই প্রথম দাবি করেছিল যে, নেপালিদের পরিচয় বজায় রাখতে পৃথক রাজ্য অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। ১৯৮০-এর দশকে এটি গোর্থাদের শীর্ষস্থানীয় রাজনৈতিক সংগঠন হিসেবে আত্মপ্রকাশ করেছিল। পরিষদ নেপালিদের অর্থনৈতিক মান উন্নয়নের বিষয়টিকে বিশেষ গুরুত্ব দিয়েছিল। প্রান্ত পরিষদ, জলপাইগুড়ি জেলার, ডুমুরার নেপালি ভাষা অধ্যুষিত অঞ্চলসমূহ তথা সম্পূর্ণ দার্জিলিং জেলাকে নিয়ে একটি পৃথক রাজ্য গঠনের দাবি জানিয়েছিল সংবিধানের 3(a) ধারা অনুযায়ী। যার প্রস্তাবিত নাম ছিল গোর্থাল্যান্ড। তবে দেখা যায়, 'As early as 1981, the Gorkha League submitted a memorandum to the President of India, demanding separate state of Darjeeling on the grounds of national security, development and justice to linguistic minority. Two important factors fulfilled the demand, (i) integration of Sikkim with Indian Union and (ii) foreigner's deportation drive in Assam'<sup>২০</sup>

১৯৮০ খ্রিস্টাব্দের ৩ জুলাই মুভাষ মিসিং-এর নেতৃত্বে Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিল। এই সংস্থাটি পৃথক রাজ্য ও আঞ্চলিক স্বায়ত্তশাসনের জন্য আন্দোলন এগিয়ে নিয়ে গিয়েছিল। GNLF যে অঞ্চলগুলিকে গোর্থাল্যান্ডের আওতাভুক্ত করতে চেয়েছিল তা হল দার্জিলিং, কাশ্মির, কালিম্পং, মিরিক, শিলিগুড়ি ও ডুমুরার অঞ্চলের কিছু অংশ।<sup>২১</sup> GNLF-এর প্রধান দাবি ছিল, ১৯৫০ খ্রিস্টাব্দের ইন্দো-নেপাল শান্তি ও বন্ধুত্বের চুক্তির সপ্তম ধারার রদ, যা দশলাখ ভারতীয় বংশোদ্ভূত নেপালি এবং 'নেপাল বংশোদ্ভূত ভারতীয়দের' রাজনৈতিক অবস্থান নির্ধারণ করে। ইন্দো-নেপাল শান্তি ও বন্ধুত্বের চুক্তির সপ্তম ধারা গোর্থাদের রাজ্যহীন এবং পরিচয়হীন করে তুলেছে যা একটি বড় সময়ের সৃষ্টি করেছিল।<sup>২২</sup> GNLF নির্দিষ্টভাবে উল্লেখ করেছে যে, চুক্তির সপ্তম ধারা নেপালিদের ভারতীয় অঞ্চলগুলিতে প্রবেশের অনুমতি দেয় তবে নাগরিকত্বের এবং ভোটার অধিকার প্রয়োগের ক্ষেত্রে বিধিনিষেধ আরোপ করে এবং এভাবে তারা নাগরিকত্বের সমস্ত অধিকার এবং সুযোগসুবিধা থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়।<sup>২৩</sup> উল্লেখিত, এই চুক্তির সপ্তম ধারাটি স্থায়ী ভারতীয় গোর্থার এবং অঞ্চল অধিগ্রহণের দ্বারা ভারতে আগত নেপালিদের ওপর প্রভাব ফেলেছিল। জাতিগত এবং ভাষাগত সাদৃশ্য বিষয়টিকে আরও বেশি জটিল করে তুলেছিল। উল্লেখ্য নীমানা নীতি এই পরিস্থিতিতে আরও বিপদসংকুল করে

তুলেছিল। GNLF পুস্তিকা অনুযায়ী, 'the act of visionless and mercileas treaty (that) become a curse and a permanent political blockade to the ill-fated Indian Gorkhas who are here in present India for centuries, with their own language, culture, tradition and historical homeland. And it further resulted that the whole Indian Gorkhas became destitute all over India and they have lost not only their historical homeland but also lost their national identity, as to whether they are Indian or the people of...Nepal is still unknown to them'.<sup>18</sup>

GNLF-এর আরও একটি বড় দাবি ছিল, গোর্খাদের ভারতীয় নাগরিকত্ব প্রদান। নেপালি ভাষীদের ভারত আগমনের দুটি কারণ ছিল। তা হল অঞ্চলের অভ্যুত্থিত্তি এবং অভিবাসন। দেখা গেছে যে, যখন পেরাদুন ভাকসু এবং দার্জিলিং পার্বত্য এলাকাগুলি ১৮১৬ খ্রিস্টাব্দের সুগৌলির চুক্তি অনুযায়ী ব্রিটিশদের দ্বারা অধিগৃহীত হয়েছিল, ভারতীয় সংবিধান অনুযায়ী উক্ত অঞ্চলের অধিবাসীরা নিজেদের ভারতীয় বলে মনে করতে আরম্ভ করেছিল। GNLF নেতা সুভাষ ঘিসিং চেয়েছিলেন নাগরিকত্ব এবং স্বাভাব্য এই দুটি বিষয়ের অবস্থানকে স্পষ্ট করা হোক 'গোর্খা' শব্দের অভ্যুত্থিত্তি দ্বারা।

উনিশ শতকে গোর্খারা ইংরেজদের সামরিক বাহিনীতে নিযুক্ত হয়েছিল। ১৮১৪ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানি এবং নেপালের মধ্যে যুদ্ধ শুরু হয়ে গেলে, যুদ্ধ বিষয়ে গোর্খাদের বৈয়কিক গুণাবলির প্রশংসা সর্বপ্রথম ব্রিটিশরাই করেছিল। বলা হয়ে থাকে যে, ভারতীয় ইতিহাস কেবল গোর্খাদের অধিকারাঙ্কন দিকটিকেই অভিক্ষিপ্ত করেছে এবং সময় সময় ভারতীয়রা তাদের ইতিহাসের ওপর প্রস্তুতিও তুলেছে। ১৯৮৬-১৯৮৮ খ্রিস্টাব্দে সুভাষ ঘিসিং-এর নেতৃত্বে GNLF দ্বারা একটি সাইংস আন্দোলন পরিচালিত হয়েছিল, যা মারাত্মক গতি তৈরি করেছিল। গোর্খালাভ আন্দোলন যদিও ভারতীয় একতা এবং অখণ্ডতার ওপর তাদের বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদী আক্রমণকে অব্যাহত রেখেছিল, তথাপি ভারতের অনগ্রসর অঞ্চলগুলিতে পূর্বিবাদীদের শোষণ উক্ত আন্দোলনের গतिकে আরও তীব্র করে। এই সমস্ত ক্ষেত্র প্রায়শই সমতলে বা পার্বত্য এলাকায় বিভাজনকারী শক্তির দ্বারা সাম্প্রদায়িক এবং প্রতিক্রিয়ামূলক গতিপথের দিকে পরিচালিত হয়। দার্জিলিং জেলার পার্বত্য অঞ্চলে নেপালি বংশোদ্ভূত জনজাতির ভারতীয়দের নাগরিকত্বের দাবিতে আন্দোলন প্রকৃতিগতভাবে নিঃসন্দেহে বিভেদমূলক। তবে ১৯৭০ এবং ১৯৮০ খ্রিস্টাব্দের দার্জিলিং জেলার পার্বত্য আন্দোলনগুলির মধ্যে কিছু গুণগত পার্থক্য রয়েছে।<sup>19</sup> যাই হোক, ১৯৮৮ খ্রিস্টাব্দে স্বয়ম্ভাষিত্ত পরিষদ Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC)-এর প্রতিষ্ঠা Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF),

তৎকালীন পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্য সরকার এবং ভারত সরকারের দ্বারা স্বাক্ষরিত হয়।<sup>20</sup> কিন্তু পরবর্তীতে ২০১৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে অক্সফোর্ডে বিতর্ক হওয়ার কারণে আবারও বিচ্ছিন্নতার দাবি সজীবতা লাভ করে এবং ২০১৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দে দার্জিলিং গোর্খা পার্বত্য পরিষদ ভারতীয় সংবিধানের বর্ষ তালিকার অভ্যুত্থিত্ত হয়, যা নির্দেশিত হয়েছিল উপজাতীয় অঞ্চলগুলির প্রশাসনিক কাঠামো গঠনের উদ্দেশ্যে।<sup>21</sup>

সুভাষ বিষ্ণুটি দার্জিলিং-এর বর্ষ তফশিলি মর্ফাদার সঙ্গে মিলিত হলেও, পার্বত্য অধিবাসীদের পৃথক রাষ্ট্র গঠনের স্পৃহা অবদানিত হয়নি। কারণ তারা মনে করেছিল একমাত্র স্বতন্ত্র রাজ্য গঠনই তাদের সকল সমস্যার সমাধান করতে পারে। পার্বত্য অঞ্চলের পৃথক রাষ্ট্রের এই বিষয়টি আরও ত্বরান্বিত হল, যখন কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার কোনো বাধা ছাড়াই বাড়খণ্ড, উত্তরাঞ্চল এবং ছতিশগড় পৃথক রাজ্য হিসেবে ঘোষণা করে। পার্বত্য জনসম্প্রদায়ের মনে তখন প্রশ্ন ওঠে, ভারতীয় গোর্খাদের বিরুদ্ধেই কি তাহলে বড়যন্ত্র হয়েছে? এটা কি ভারতীয় সেনাদলের বোদ্ধাদের জীবনের দাম ছিল? কেন ভারতীয় গোর্খাদের অবহেলিত করে রাখা হয়েছে? যোগেতু ভারতীয় গোর্খারা পৃথক সেনাদলে দক্ষতার পরিচয় দিয়েছে, সেইহেতু তাদের এই দাবির যথেষ্ট সারবত্তা রয়েছে কিন্তু দেশ স্বাধীন হওয়ার ৭০ বছর পরেও তারা এখনও বৃহৎ অধবেলিত। তবে এর থেকে একটি সত্য উন্মোচিত হয় যে, গোর্খা আন্দোলন কখনোই একটি সাধারণ অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের আন্দোলন নয় বরং এটি একটি পরিপূর্ণ জাতিসত্তার আন্দোলন। উক্ত আন্দোলন একটি বিদ্রোহের রূপ ধারণ করে বিমল গুরুং-এর নেতৃত্বে, যিনি ২০০৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দে Gorkha Jan Mukti Morcha-র প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন কিন্তু ২০১০-১১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে স্থানীয় নেতাদের নিজেদের মধ্যে লড়াই গোর্খাল্য আন্দোলনের এক নতুন মোড় এনে দিয়েছিল। তাদের ক্ষেত্র তৎকালীন রাজ্য সরকারের অতিভাবকত্বে প্রশমিত করা হয় এবং তৎকালীন রাজ্য সরকার, কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার এবং GJM-এর ত্রিপাক্ষিক হুক্তির মাধ্যমে ২০১২ খ্রিস্টাব্দে Gorkha Territorial Administration (GTA) নামে আর-একটি স্বয়ম্ভাষিত্ত পরিষদের প্রতিষ্ঠা হয়।<sup>22</sup>

তাৎক্ষিক কাঠামো

সুভাষ মুন্ডার অপর পিঠ বলছে যে, দার্জিলিং ও পার্বত্য পরিষদ গঠন এবং সংবিধানের বর্ষ তফশিলির অধীনে তাদের স্বায়ম্ভাষাসনের অভিব্যক্তি গোর্খাদের আকাঙ্ক্ষাগুলিকে মেটাতে সক্ষম হয়নি, যদিও সাম্প্রতিককালে Gorkha Identity-র প্রশ্নটি স্ব-শাসনের মতো অত সহজ পরিষদের আর সীমাবদ্ধ নেই। দেশের মোট নেপালি জনসংখ্যার ওপরে গোর্খা সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতিনিধিত্বের বিষয়টি এক্ষেত্রে সন্দেহের উর্ধ্বে নয়।<sup>23</sup> কাজেই তাৎক্ষিক কাঠামোর ভিত্তিতে এই আন্দোলনটিকে বর্ণনা করার প্রয়োজনীয়তা অনুভূত হয়েছে।

**(ক) আঞ্চলিক বঞ্চনার তত্ত্ব**

আপেক্ষিক বঞ্চনার তত্ত্বটি সমাজবিজ্ঞানী স্যামুয়েল স্টোফার (Samuel Stouffer)-এর অবদান। এটি দুটি মতের ওপর গড়ে উঠেছে—সামাজিক গতিনীলতা এবং সামাজিক দ্বন্দ্ব। মার্কসীয় মতাদর্শ অনুযায়ী সমাজব্যবস্থার স্থিরতা নিয়ে অসম্ভবস্তির নিরঙ্কুশ অধ্যয়ন দ্বারা নয় বরং আপেক্ষিক প্রত্যাপনার দ্বারা নির্ধারিত হয় যা দ্বন্দ্বপূর্ণ পরিস্থিতির দিকে পরিচালিত হয়।<sup>১০</sup> বলা যায় যে, আপেক্ষিক বঞ্চনার ধারণাটি সমষ্টিকরণের ওপর জোর দেয়, পৃথক ব্যক্তির ওপরে নয়। একজন ব্যক্তির অনুভূত ক্ষমতার ধারণা তার অর্থনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি, রাজনৈতিক শক্তি এবং অন্যদের সঙ্গে সামাজিক সম্পর্কের তুলনার ওপর অনেককোণে নির্ভর করে।<sup>১১</sup> এটা গোষ্ঠী জনজাতির উপলব্ধি যে, অন্যান্য রাজ্যের তুলনায় তারা পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্য সরকার এবং কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার কর্তৃক অনেকবেশি অবহেলিত, যা আপেক্ষিক বঞ্চনার তত্ত্বকে উন্মোচিত করে।

**(খ) কর্ণ তত্ত্ব**

কর্ণ তত্ত্বটি নীল স্মেলসার (Neil Smelser) প্রস্তাবিত, যিনি কাঠামোগত কর্ণকে সমাপ্তিগত আচরণের অন্তর্নিহিত গুণক হিসেবে গণনা করেন। স্মেলসার মনে করেন ক্রিয়ামূলক কাঠামোর পদ্ধতির থেকে কর্ণ সমাজের নেতিবাচক সম্পর্কগুলির ওপর অধিক মনোনিবেশ করায় এবং স্বাভাবিক পদ্ধতিতে কাজ করা সম্পর্কগুলিকে বিকল করে দেয়। কর্ণ কাঠামোয় আবর্তিত হয় বিভিন্ন স্তরের বঞ্চনা, আদর্শ, মূল্যবোধ, সংস্কৃতি এবং পরিস্থিতিগত সুযোগসুবিধার দিকগুলি।<sup>১২</sup> দার্জিলিং জেলার ক্ষেত্রে চা-শিল্পের সংকট, অরণ্য বিনাশের ভয়াবহতা তথা ভূমিস্থলের সমস্যা কর্ণের পটভূমি সৃষ্টি করার ক্ষেত্রে সহায়তা করেছে।

**(গ) পুনরুজ্জীবনের তত্ত্ব**

উক্ত তত্ত্বটির বিকাশ ঘটিয়েছেন অ্যান্থনি ওয়ালেস (Anthony F.C. Wallace)। এই তত্ত্ব অনুযায়ী সাংস্কৃতিক পুনরুজ্জীবন প্রক্রিয়াটি স্বতন্ত্রতার মধ্যে জড়িয়ে আছে, যা সংস্কৃতিকে পুরোপুরি উপলব্ধি করে এবং ধীরে ধীরে সাংস্কৃতিক পরিবর্তনের আন্দোলনের দিকে অগ্রসর হয়। ওয়ালেস পুনরুজ্জীবনিকরণের আন্দোলনের গতিনীলতাকে চারটি অধ্যায়ে বিশ্লেষণ করেছিলেন—সাংস্কৃতিক স্থায়ীত্বের সময়কাল, বর্ধিত ব্যক্তিগত চাপের স্থায়ীত্বকাল, সাংস্কৃতিক বিকৃতির সময়কাল এবং পুনরুজ্জীবনের সময়কাল।<sup>১৩</sup> গোষ্ঠীলগ্ন্যভ আন্দোলনের ক্ষেত্রে নেপালিরা প্রায়শই বাঙালি সাংস্কৃতিক প্রভাব দ্বারা বিরক্ত বোধ করত। স্বাভাবিকভাবেই এটি জাতিগত স্থিতিস্থাপকতাকে নিরূপণ করে জাতিগত সচেতনতা এবং সাংস্কৃতিক বিবেচনের মিশ্রণের দ্বারা।

**(ঘ) সাংস্কৃতিক বহুবচনাবাদী তত্ত্ব**

এই তত্ত্বটি জে. এ. ফার্নিভাল (J.S. Furnivall)-এর দ্বারা বিকশিত হয়েছে। প্রদত্ত তত্ত্বটি কেবল একটি গোষ্ঠীর জাতিগত স্বতন্ত্রকেই নয়, প্রভাবশালী-অবস্থান সম্পর্কের ওপরও গুরুত্ব আরোপ করে।<sup>১৪</sup> ইন্দো-নেপাল চুক্তির পরবর্তীকাল থেকেই দার্জিলিং-এর গোষ্ঠী জাতি ধারণা পোষণ করে যে অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক তথা রাজনৈতিক পরিসরে তারা রাজ্য তথা কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের প্রভাবাধীন এবং বাধাতমূলকভাবে তাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সঙ্গে উর্ধ্বতন-অবস্থান সম্পর্ক বজায় রাখতে হয়। উর্মিলা ফড়নিস (Urmila Phadnis) বলেছেন, 'In such a culturally divergent situation the structural requisite of a political order lead to the subordination of one group by other.'<sup>১৫</sup>

**(ঙ) আভ্যন্তরীণ উপনিবেশবাদের তত্ত্ব**

এই তত্ত্বটি এ. জি. ফ্রাঙ্ক (A.G. Frank)-এর নির্ভরতা তত্ত্বের ওপর বিকশিত হয়েছিল। তারপরে তত্ত্বটি মিশেল হ্যাচার (Michall Hechter) দ্বারা পরবর্তীকালে আরও উন্নতি হয়েছিল। হ্যাচার-এর মতে সীমান্তবর্তী গোষ্ঠীর আভ্যন্তরীণ উপনিবেশিক বিষয়গুলি, যথা বাণিজ্য, সঞ্চয় ইত্যাদি ক্ষেত্রে একচেটিয়া অধিকার ভোগ করে ক্ষমতাপালী ক্ষুদ্র গোষ্ঠী। উক্ত গোষ্ঠীগুলি মূলত রাজনৈতিক বিচারণত ও সামাজিক পরিমাপ দ্বারা তাদের ক্ষমতাকে সীমান্তবর্তী গোষ্ঠীগুলির ওপর প্রয়োগ করে যা সীমান্তবর্তী গোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে হতাশার পরিকল্পনা সৃষ্টি করে।<sup>১৬</sup> গোষ্ঠী দলনেতাদের মতে গোষ্ঠীরা হল দুর্ভাগ্যজনকভাবে সব থেকে সংখ্যালঘু গোষ্ঠী যারা সীমান্তবর্তী সম্প্রদায়ের অন্তর্ভুক্ত।

GJM-এর যুগশাখার সভাপতি শ্রী আলোক গুলংকে অনুসরণ করে বলা যায় যে, গোষ্ঠীরা পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ জনসংখ্যার তুলনায় একটি স্বতন্ত্র জাতি এবং তাদের একটি স্বতন্ত্রসূচক ইতিহাস, ভাষা, সংস্কৃতি, ঐতিহ্য রয়েছে এবং ভূসংস্থান সম্পর্কিত সম্পূর্ণ একটি পৃথক পরিবেশে তারা বসবাস করে। কাজেই স্বাভাবিকভাবে গোষ্ঠী এবং পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ জনসম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে একটি প্রাকৃতিক বিভাজন রয়েছে।<sup>১৭</sup>

**আন্দোলনের জাতিগত উৎসেচক**

তাহলে এবার দেখা যেতে পারে সামগ্রিকভাবে দার্জিলিং এবং সমগ্র পশ্চিমবঙ্গে এই আন্দোলনের কী প্রভাব পড়েছিল? প্রথমত, এই আন্দোলনগুলি পর্বত অঞ্চলের অর্থনীতিতেই অধিক প্রভাব ফেলেছিল যা মূলত চা, কাঠ এবং পর্যটনকে কেন্দ্র করে গড়ে ওঠে। নেপালিদের ভাষা এবং সাহিত্য আন্দোলন দ্বারা তাদের জাতিগত পরিচিতির ওপর জোর দেওয়ার পাশাপাশি চা তৈরি করার পদ্ধতির ওপরও ব্যবসায়িক

সমিতির আন্দোলনের ওপর এর গভীর প্রভাব পড়েছিল। দার্জিলিং জেলার পার্বত্য অঞ্চলের আন্দোলনগুলি সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক প্রেক্ষাপটের অনেক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয় সর্বসম্মুখে নিয়ে আসে, যা বহু বছর ধরে যারা প্রশাসনিক নীতি নির্ধারণের সঙ্গে মুক্ত, তাদের নজর এড়িয়ে গিয়েছিল। এই আন্দোলনের প্রকৃতি সম্পর্কে গবেষকরা সহমত পোষণ করেন না। এক্ষেত্রে সহজতম উপায়গুলির মধ্যে একটি হল, উক্ত আন্দোলনগুলিকে আঞ্চলিক আন্দোলন তথা জাতীয়তাবাদের পরিসরে নিয়ে আসা। আর-এক ধাপ এগিয়ে উক্ত আন্দোলনকে 'উপ জাতীয়তাবাদ' অথবা 'অপ্রশস্ত দেশাচারবোধ' বলে বর্ণনা করা যেতে পারে। তবে যাই হোক, এই আন্দোলনগুলির উল্লেখযোগ্য বৈশিষ্ট্যগুলি হল যে, 'জাতিগত স্বাতন্ত্র্যই সম্পূর্ণ প্রক্রিয়াতে একটি প্রভাবশালী ভূমিকা পালন করেছে। জাতিসত্তা বা একটি সুনির্দিষ্ট আঞ্চলিক সংস্কৃতির সঙ্গে গভীর স্বাভাবিক জাতীয় লক্ষণের পরিপন্থী হিসেবে বিবেচিত হয় না। কিন্তু যখন কোনো জাতিগত অনুভূতি নেতিবাচক চরিত্রটিকে অধিগ্রহণ করে, সেখানে জাতীয় পরিচিতির ভিত্তি দর্পভুক্ত হয়ে দাঁড়ায়, জাতীয় সত্তার কাছে তখনই তা আপত্তিকর হয়ে ওঠে। আঞ্চলিকতাবাদীরা এসব ক্ষেত্রে খুব উল্লেখযোগ্যভাবে সংকীর্ণ বন্ধনে আবদ্ধ হয়ে আঞ্চলিক অনুভূতিগুলিকে ধরে রাখতে সক্ষম হয়। এটি জাতীয় একা এবং অখণ্ডতা সংরক্ষণের ক্ষেত্রে যথেষ্ট বিপাকসংকুল হয়ে ওঠে। দার্জিলিং পার্বত্য অঞ্চলের আন্দোলনগুলি ক্রমশ GNLFF এবং GJM-এর দ্বারা প্রসারিত হয় এবং সম্পূর্ণ পৃথক গোষ্ঠীলভ্য প্রতিষ্ঠানের জন্য তাদের দাবি, জাতিগত আঞ্চলিকতার মূলধারা অনুযায়ী আরও জটিলতা লাভ করে। সুতরাং আমরা এই কথাটি বলে নিষ্পত্তি করতে পারি যে, যেহেতু গোষ্ঠীস্বাতন্ত্র্য এই আন্দোলনের কেন্দ্রীয় স্থান দখল করেছে, সেইহেতু বাইরে থেকে নয়, আভ্যন্তরীণ কাঠামোগত ব্যবস্থাপনার সাহায্যেই এর সমাধান সম্ভব হতে পারে। এছাড়াও উক্ত আন্দোলনটি একটি দিকনির্দেশ করছে যে ভারতের মতো বহুসাংস্কৃতিক দেশে ক্ষমতার গণতান্ত্রিক বিকেন্দ্রীকরণের প্রক্রিয়াটি ঘরাবিত করার প্রয়োজন আছে। যাই হোক, বিভিন্ন পর্যবেক্ষণ থেকে দেখা গেছে যে, জাতিগত আঞ্চলিকতার সমস্যাটি ভারতের মতো দেশে অত্যন্ত জটিল এবং বাধাতমুলক সমস্যায় পরিণত হয়েছে। সমাজ কেবল তার রচনায় জটিল নয়, বরং তা এমন কিছু বৈশিষ্ট্য প্রদর্শন করে, যা অন্যন্য তথা প্রকৃতিগত দিক থেকে অধিক্রমণ যোগ্যও বটে। এই কারণে এটি একটি বাক্যাংশে বর্ণনা করা প্রায় অসম্ভব, যাকে তুলনা করা হয়েছে সাতটি ভিন্নবর্ণের মিশ্রণ রামধনুর সঙ্গে। কারণ ভারতীয় সমাজও বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে আন্তীকরণের উপাদানগুলিকে প্রদর্শন করে, এবং একই সঙ্গে রামধনুর গঠনগত, উপাদানগত এবং চারিত্রিক বৈশিষ্ট্যগত প্রকৃতিকে ধরে রাখে।

পর্যবেক্ষণ করে দেখা গিয়েছে, ভাষাগত বিবেচনার ভিত্তিতে রাজ্যগুলির পুনর্গঠন অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রে রাজ্যগুলির সংস্কৃতির সমাজাতীয়করণ এবং দ্বিতাত্ত্বিক নীতিকে অনুসরণ করেছে। তার ফলস্বরূপ জাতিগত সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায় তাদের ভাষা এবং সাংস্কৃতিক পরিচয় সংরক্ষণে ক্রমবর্ধমান সময়ের সম্মুখীন হচ্ছে। তাদের নিজস্বের পরিচয় রক্ষার জন্য প্রথমে জাতিগত সংখ্যালঘুরা তাদের সংস্কৃতি এবং ভাষা রক্ষার জন্য আন্দোলন শুরু করে এবং পরিশেষে দাবি জানায় রাজনৈতিক স্বায়ত্তশাসনের।<sup>৩৮</sup>

### উপসংহার

সাধারণত যে-কোনো জাতিগত আঞ্চলিক আন্দোলনের পিছনে বিচ্ছিন্নতার ধারণাই চালিকাশক্তি হিসেবে কাজ করে, যা 'আমরা-তারা' উপসর্গ বা 'প্রভাবশালী-অধঃস্তন' উপসর্গের দ্বারা পরিষ্কৃত হয়। এই ধরনের পরিস্থিতি বিভিন্ন বাহিনীর পারস্পরিক আন্তঃক্রিয়ার কারণে দেখা দেয় এবং এটি বিভিন্ন সময়কালের মধ্যে দিয়ে একটি দীর্ঘ প্রক্রিয়া জুড়ে বিকাশলাভ করে।

এই তথ্যটি নিবিড়ভাবে অনুসরণ করলে বোঝা যায় যে, এটি আপেক্ষিক বঞ্চনার ফলাফল যা 'ব্যক্তিগত' ধারণাতে আবদ্ধ না থেকে সমষ্টিগত ধারণার ভিত্তিতে এগিয়ে যায়। এই ধারণাটি এই মতবাদের জন্ম দিয়েছে যে, ভারতীয় সমাজে কোনো রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলন তখনই অনিবার্য হয়ে ওঠে, যখন সাধারণ স্তরের হতাশা বোধ মানুষের মধ্যে বিচ্ছিন্নতার অনুভূতি সৃষ্টি করে। এইরকম পরিস্থিতিতে রাষ্ট্রকে সামাজিক রূপান্তরের অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ হয়ে ওঠে কারণ এইরকম পরিস্থিতিতে রাষ্ট্রকে সামাজিক রূপান্তরের বাহক হিসেবে বর্ণনা করা হয়। সাধারণভাবে বলা যায়, গোর্খা আন্দোলন সামগ্রিকভাবে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের রাজনৈতিক অবস্থার ওপর প্রভাব ফেলেছে এবং তার সঙ্গে দার্জিলিং জেলার পার্বত্য অঞ্চলও গভীরভাবে প্রভাবিত হয়েছে। আরও ভালোভাবে বিষয়টি অনুধাবনের জন্য এই আলোচনার মধ্যে তিনটি বিষয় অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা উচিত, যথা— সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক এবং রাজনৈতিক বিষয়, যদিও বর্তমানে গবেষণাটি জাতিগত রাজনৈতিক বিস্তার নিয়েই উল্লেখ প্রকাশ করে। কিন্তু তা বলে দুটি ভিন্ন দিক—সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক মাত্রাগুলিকে বর্জন করা হয়নি।

সর্বোপরি এই মাত্রাগুলি আন্তঃসম্পর্কিত এবং পারস্পরিকভাবে একেটোয়া নয়। দেখা গিয়েছে যে, দার্জিলিং পার্বত্য এলাকায় গোর্খা আন্দোলনের প্রভাব মূলত গোষ্ঠীস্বাতন্ত্র্য তথা জাতি ধারণার ওপর কেন্দ্রীভূত হয়েছিল। এই প্রভাব অনুসারে দুটি বিষয়ে অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয় বলে মনে করা হয়েছে—অভিবাসনের সমস্যা এবং ভাষাগত সমস্যা। ব্রিটিশ শাসনাধীন সময়কাল থেকেই পরিধান বা অভিবাসনের সমস্যায় একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সমস্যা হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। ভৌগোলিক সান্নিধ্যের কারণে

নেপাল থেকে আগত লোকদের অবিচ্ছিন্ন প্রবাহের ফলস্বরূপ সামাজিক উত্তেজনা তো ছিলই, তা ছাড়া এই অঞ্চলের জনসংখ্যার চিত্রের পরিবর্তনের ফলে মাঝে মাঝে সংঘাতপূর্ণ পরিস্থিতিরও সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। প্রক্রিয়াটি ধীরগতিসম্পন্ন ছিল তবে দার্জিলিং-এ ভারতের অন্য প্রান্ত থেকে যারা আভিবাসন করেছিল, তাদের মধ্যে একটি একাধ্বনি তৈরি হয়েছিল যা সহজেই শাসকশ্রেণির দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণে সমর্থ হয়েছিল, এমনকি সেই ব্রিটিশ শাসনকাল থেকে দার্জিলিং ছিল শিক্ষার কেন্দ্রস্থল যেটি নেপালি ভাষার বিকাশ এবং নেপালি আত্মস্ববোধ বিকাশে একটি বড় অবদান রেখেছিল। ১৯৬০-এর দশকের শুরু থেকেই সেখানে নতুন জীবনদর্শনের আভিযুক্তি ঘটতে দেখা যায়। এটি প্রায়শই বলা যায় যে, এই অঞ্চলে জাতিগত স্বাতন্ত্র্যের চিহ্ন রয়েছে। তবে একথা ভুলে যাওয়া উচিত নয় যে, কৈবল্য বোধটি ছিল ব্রিটিশদের অবদান এবং সেটি ছিল তাদের নিজেদের স্বার্থেই। যাই হোক, পাহাড়ে বসবাসকারী মানুষের সঙ্গে সমভূমিতে বসবাসকারী মানুষদের একটি যোগসূত্র স্থাপন হয়েছিল, যা সাধারণভাবে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের আধিবাসীদের মধ্যে সম্মিলিত সাংস্কৃতিক অনুভূতি তৈরিতেও অনেকখানি অবদান রেখেছিল। অধ্যাপক দুটিস চক্রবর্তীর ভাষায়, 'it only points out the consequences of certain state policies and decisions. Rise of segregationist movement of such a magnitude as in Darjeeling District despite a long history of trade unionism and institutional politics, indicates the limitation of the existing state arrangements which itself has created this type of movement'।<sup>১৪</sup>

বিস্তৃ কোনোরকম বিতর্কে না গিয়ে বলা যেতে পারে যে, গোর্খা আন্দোলন জাতীয় তথা রাজ্য রাজনীতিতে এক নতুন মাত্রা যোগ করেছে। এটি পার্বত্য অঞ্চলগুলির প্রকৃতিকে নতুনভাবে চেনার জন্য আহ্বান জানিয়েছে। যদিও পার্বত্য অঞ্চলগুলির অর্থনৈতিক অনগ্রসরতা Planning Commission-কে সেই অবস্থার পরিবর্তনের জন্য বিভিন্ন সময়ে প্রভাবিত করেছে। তবে উদারনৈতিক উন্নয়নের ভিত্তিতে কেন্দ্র সর্বোত্তম ফলাফল প্রকাশ করতে পারে, যতক্ষণ পর্যন্ত তাদের নীতিগুলি একদম বুনিয়ে দিতে অক্ষিত না হয়। সেক্ষেত্রে গোর্খা পার্বত্য উন্নয়ন পরিষদ যখন স্থানীয় জনগণকে নীতি নির্ধারণ এবং নীতি বাস্তবায়নের ক্ষেত্রে অংশ নেওয়ার জন্য কিছু সুযোগ সরবরাহ করেছে সেখানেই উক্ত আন্দোলনের অভিনব প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। বর্তমান গবেষণায় এই দিকগুলিকে একটি ক্ষুদ্র পরিসরে তুলে ধরার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। বিজ্ঞানসম্মতভাবে যে-কোনো আন্দোলন একটি বহুমাত্রিক ঘটনা এবং তার থেকে কোনো একটিমাত্র কারণকে পৃথক করা যায় না। হুড়াহুড়ি সিদ্ধান্তের ক্ষেত্রে যে-কোনো পদক্ষেপ ভুল প্রমাণিত হতে পারে। প্রতিটি আন্দোলন তার চরম অবস্থায় পৌঁছানোর

আগেই বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ের মধ্যে দিয়ে যায়। সুতরাং এই সিদ্ধান্তগুলি পরীক্ষামূলক হতে বাধ্য এবং সবকিছু নির্ভর করবে ভবিষ্যৎ সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক এবং অর্থনৈতিক স্তরের গতিশীল প্রকৃতির ওপর। জাতিগত সংঘাতের কারণ বিভিন্ন দেশে এবং অঞ্চলে পৃথক হয়। অতএব একটি আকার সমস্ত সমাধানের ক্ষেত্রে প্রযোজ্য নাও হতে পারে। অন্যদিকে বলা যায় বহুসংস্কৃতির পরিসরে একটি প্রগতিশীল নীতি তৈরি করার ক্ষেত্রে স্থিতিস্থাপকতা এবং পরিচিতির সমন্বয়সাধন করার ক্ষেত্রে ভারতের গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রীয় প্রশাসনের কার্যকারিতা প্রশংসার মুখে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে। কাজেই এটি সুস্পষ্ট যে বৈচিত্র্যপূর্ণ সাংস্কৃতিক মূল প্রশাসনিক সমস্যা হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। কাজেই এটি সুস্পষ্ট যে বৈচিত্র্যপূর্ণ সাংস্কৃতিক দেশগুলিতে শুধুমাত্র যুক্তরাষ্ট্রীয় একক গঠন করে বহু ব্যক্তির মধ্যে সমন্বয়সাধন সম্ভব নয়। কাজেই সামাজিক বিচ্ছিন্নতাকে রোধ করতে ব্যক্তিত্বের স্বীকৃতি এবং অন্যান্য সমস্যাগুলির প্রতি সহনশীলতার মনোভাব একান্ত প্রয়োজন বলে মনে করা হয়। তবে দেশের গণতান্ত্রিক কাঠামোর মধ্যে থেকেই একাধিক কৌশল দ্বারা বর্ণসংক্রমণের স্বাতন্ত্র্যতার ভিত্তিতে প্রকরণ করা যেতে পারে। আকর্ষণের নিরবচ্ছিন্ন প্রক্রিয়াটির মাধ্যমে একটি বিচ্ছিন্নতাজনক বস্তুই রাষ্ট্রকে তার বিচিত্র পরিচয় ধরে রাখতে সমর্থ করবে।<sup>১৫</sup>

গোর্খা আন্দোলন সমগ্র জাতিকে কয়েকটি পাঠ শিখিয়েছে, যা তাৎক্ষণিক দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করে। এই আন্দোলনকে নেহাউই একটি বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদী আন্দোলন বলে সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রগুলিকে খানিকটা অক্ষিষ্ণু করে তোলা হয়। সর্বোপরি এটা বিশ্বাস করা হয় যে, অনেকগুলি কারণ, যেমন—অসন্তোষ, হতাশা, বিচ্ছিন্নতা এবং নবনির্মাণের জন্য দাবির পারস্পরিক প্রতিক্রিয়া থেকেই একটি আন্দোলনের উদ্ভব হয়। যেহেতু এই সমস্যাগুলি বহু বছর ধরে দার্জিলিং-এর স্থানীয় জনসম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে ছিল, তাই তাদের মধ্যে থেকে অসন্তোষের বীজ যুঁজে বার করে আনানো এখন প্রাথমিক প্রয়োজন। বিয়গুনি যেহেতু অত্যন্ত জটিল ও সূক্ষ্ম, তাই যথেষ্ট যত্নসহকারে এগুলিকে পরিচালনা করা উচিত। বৃহৎ দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে এই সিদ্ধান্তে আসা যেতে পারে যে আলোচ্য সমস্যাটি বহুমাত্রিক এবং নিঃসন্দেহে এর নিরূপণের মাধ্যমে বিভিন্নতা দাবি করে। এটি লক্ষ করা যায় যে ভারতের জটিল সামাজিক সম্পর্কের তথাকথিত 'Melting Pot' তত্ত্বটি সমসাময়িক প্রাসঙ্গিক বিন্যাসকে সঠিকভাবে উপস্থাপন করে না। বছরের পর বছর, নতুন পর্যায়গুলি 'Melting Pot' তত্ত্বের পুরোনো ধারণাকে 'মূলপ্রবাহের ধারণাতে পরিবর্তিত করেছে। সদ্য বর্ণিত এই দুটি ধারণা থেকেই ব্যক্তিত্বের রাজনীতির শিকড়গুলিকে শনাক্ত করা যায়। ভারতীয় সমাজবাসনায়, বৈচিত্র্যকেই যেখানে মৌলিক বৈশিষ্ট্য বলে মনে করা হয়, সেখানে কোনো তত্ত্বই জাতীয় মূল স্রোতের ধারণাকে ন্যায্যসংগত বলে বর্ণনা করতে সমর্থ নয়। এই আঙ্গিকরণ তথা অভিনিবেশের মাঝেও স্ফাটনোৎপাদন করা হয় জাতীয় সহিংসতার কারণে পর্যাপ্ত প্রচেষ্টার ওপর।

যদিও বলা হয়, 'A host of terms like 'Sub-nationalism', 'Little-nationalism', nativism, regionalism—all depending upon the context of a particular movement—have been employed to conceptualize the phenomenon of segregationist demand and consequent political action'।<sup>১১</sup> এই প্রসঙ্গে যে বিষয়টি পৃথকপৃথক তদন্তের দাবি করে, তা হল, যে দেশে এত উন্নত সাংবিধানিক কাঠামো রয়েছে, যেখানে ন্যায়বিচার, সাম্য, সৌভ্রাতৃত্বের মতো সমস্ত সাংবিধানিক গুণাবলি সুস্পষ্টভাবে রয়েছে, সেখানে তথাকথিত ব্যক্তিত্ব অথবা পরিচয়সংকটের মতো সমস্যাগুলির উত্থানের কারণ কী? তাই স্বভাবতই কিছু প্রশ্ন গবেষকদের গবেষণার মধ্যে আলোড়ন তুলেছে, সংবিধান না সামগ্রিক রাজনীতি—কে বর্ধে? যত শীঘ্র এই সমস্যাসংকুল বিষয়গুলির সঠিক উত্তর পাওয়া যাবে, তত শীঘ্রই ভারতবর্ষের প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থার ভিত্তি আরও সুদৃঢ় হবে। তবে জাতি রাষ্ট্রগঠনের ক্ষেত্রে নিঃসন্দেহে পৃথকীকরণের পরিবর্তে, একীকরণের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিই গ্রহণযোগ্য। তবে সেক্ষেত্রে রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থায় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রীয় সমবর্তন নীতির অঙ্গভূক্তির প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। কারণ 'The federal transfers are widely regarded as the glue that holds the nation together'।<sup>১২</sup>

এছাড়া আলোচ্য প্রেক্ষাপটে, ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িয়ে রয়েছে আর-একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়, যা হল রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার ধারাবাহিকতা। জাতিগত সমস্যার সমাধানে যার কোনো বিকল্প নেই। কিন্তু দেখা গিয়েছে, 'বঞ্চনার রাজনীতি'-র পরিসরে, রাজ্য তথা কেন্দ্র সরকারের নীতিনির্ধারণে সামঞ্জস্যহীনতা এ ধরনের গোষ্ঠী স্বাতন্ত্র্যবাদী আন্দোলনগুলিকে নিঃসন্দেহে প্রশমিত করেছে। এটি নিরীক্ষিত সত্য যে, গোষ্ঠী আন্দোলনের প্রকৃতির পৌনঃপুনিক পরিবর্তনশীলতা, উক্ত আন্দোলনকে একটি জটিল পর্যায়ে উপনীত করেছে। দার্জিলিং, কাশিয়াং, কালিম্পং পর্বত মহকুমাকে নিয়ে গড়ে ওঠা গোষ্ঠীগোষ্ঠের দাবির পরিধি ক্রমাগত প্রসারিত হয়েছে। Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council গঠনের সময় থেকে। যেখানে সংযোজিত হয়েছে পর্বত অঞ্চলসহ শিলিগুড়ি মহকুমার ১৪টি মৌজা।<sup>১৩</sup> পরবর্তীকালে Gorkha Territorial Administration-এর দাবি ঘনীভূত হয়, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council-এর বিদ্যমান ১৩টি মৌজার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তরাই, দুয়ার্স সহ সমতলের নেপালি জাতি অধুষিত আরও ৫টি মৌজার দাবির অন্তর্ভুক্তির সঙ্গে।<sup>১৪</sup> বিভিন্ন সময় রাজ্য রাজনীতিতে সরকারের উদাসীনতা উক্ত প্রেক্ষাপটকে ক্রমাগত প্রশস্ত করেছে। বলা হয়, Once the pandora's box of gratification is opened, it will never the concatenate। দেখা গিয়েছে, ১৯৫১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ভারতের আদমশুমারি অনুযায়ী যেখানে তুয়াল্পে ভারতীয় বংশোদ্ভূত নেপালিদের সংখ্যা ছিল ৫,৫০০, তা ২০১১ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ১৯,০৪০-এ

এসে দাঁড়ায়। ১৯৭১ খ্রিস্টাব্দের আদমশুমারি অনুযায়ী এটা নিরীক্ষিত যে, শতকরা ৬৯.৭৮ শতাংশ নেপালি যার মধ্যে মিশ্রিত রয়েছে নেপাল বংশোদ্ভূত নেপালিও, যারা বসবাস করে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের দুয়ার্স সহ ভারতের বিভিন্ন অংশে।<sup>১৫</sup> উক্ত বিষয় সম্পর্কে কেন্দ্র তথা রাজ্য সরকারের রাজনৈতিক অবস্থান, বৃহত্তর রাজনীতির ক্ষেত্রকে ক্রমশ জটিল করে তুলেছে। অপরদিকে সাম্প্রতিক রাজ্য সরকারের দার্জিলিং পর্বত অঞ্চলে, বিভিন্ন উপজাতির জন্য পৃথক উন্নয়ন পরিষদ গঠন<sup>১৬</sup> পর্বত রাজনীতিকে পুনরায় তপ্ত করেছে। যদিও এই বিভেদ রাজনীতির অন্তরালে, বাংলার অঞ্চলটাকে অটু রাখার বর্তমান রাজ্য সরকারের প্রচেষ্টা বাংলার রাজনীতিতে এক নব অধ্যায়ের সূচনা করেছে যাকে অন্যায়সে the politics of intricacy বলে অভিহিত করা যায়। যেহেতু আজ এই বিশ্বায়নের যুগে বিচ্ছিন্নকরণের ধারণা বিশ্ব রাজনীতিতে তার প্রাসঙ্গিকতা হারিয়েছে সেইহেতু একটি দেশের বিভিন্ন আঞ্চলিক জনসম্প্রদায় যদি পারস্পরিক মিত্রতার ভিত্তিতে জাতিগঠনের ইতিবাচক ভূমিকায় অংশগ্রহণ করে তাহলেই বোধহয় জাতিগত-সাংস্কৃতিক উন্নততার মতো বিষয়গুলি কিছুটা হ্রাস পাবে এবং সংকীর্ণ জাতিস্বার্থ মিশে যাবে, জাতীয় স্বার্থের আড়িনায়। তবে সর্বোপরি তা নিতরূপে একটি দেশের রাজনৈতিক কর্তৃত্বের গুণগত মানের ওপর। তা ছাড়া এ ধরনের আন্দোলনগুলিকে ভারতের জাতিগত যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সীমাবদ্ধতার ফলস্বরূপও গণ্য করা যেতে পারে যা প্রাদেশিক পুনর্গঠনের পরিকল্পনাকে জিইয়ে রেখেছে।

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# UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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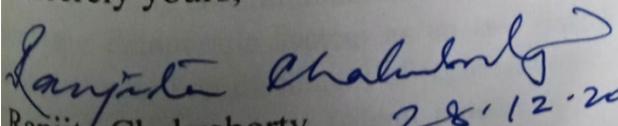
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## To Whom It May Concern

This is to certify that the article submitted by Smt. Swati Banerjee, entitled, "Federal System in Ethno-Regional India: Contemporary Challenges and Opportunities" is accepted and awaiting publication (in press) in the peer reviewed Departmental Journal titled, *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol 14, 2018 (ISSN-2278-4039).

Sincerely yours,

  
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# **Federal System in Ethno-Regional India: Contemporary challenges and opportunities**

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## **Abstract**

No system of governance can properly be understood without examining the context from which the system was born. In the context of ethno-regional diversity India has always been a federal country. Moreover the eventful socio-political changes has been keeping this constitutional device as fluid as possible. As the fundamental configuration of federalism is plural in nature, hence forth in a plural country the federal practice is important rather than a federal theory. But the historical legacy of India is concerned the diversity must be protected for strengthening the notion of unity. Though federation was appeared as a suitable technique of conflict resolution as well as national integration, some constitutional dilemmas make the study complicated which raised the question against the democratic system as an anti federal in nature. The system has been facing the challenges regarding discontent of regional units. Having some erosion in federal balance in the Constitution, the country's federal process is still alive with the cooperation of its sub-units. Similarly when the nationalism, regionalism and multiculturalism go side by side it is difficult for a federal society to walking smoothly without any constrains. Hence in a federal society where the regional issues are getting more priority the federal stability may not be assured. In this context it may assume that if a federal Constitution comes under pressure, it is the political authority of the country which may prevent it inspired by the needs of the country going beyond the power calculation.

**Key Words: Federalism, Diversity, Unity, National Integrity, regional discontent, Governance.**

## **Introduction:**

So far as the terminology is concerned federalism is being treated as a continuous process instead of a structure only. Hence the concept of federalism is not only confining in an institutional

paradigm. Following W.S.Livingstone “Federal government is a device by which the federal qualities of society are articulated and protected” (Livingstone, 1956). Since the inauguration of the Constitution of India, the nature of Indian federation has come under considerable debates among the scholars. Under the environment of the Westminster tradition, the federal system of the Country was confined within the framework of “Parliamentary Federalism”. The spirit of Indian Constitution lies in the fact that, greater federalism does not mean the concession of the parliamentary form of government specially in the country where the regional grievances has growing up over the years ( Verney, 1989). As the fundamental configuration of federalism is plural in nature henceforth in a plural country like India the federal practice is important instead of federal theory. Indian federal union perceived as a constitutionally immune against the secessionist tendency of the country because the presence of a large diversity, there is a need to protect the essence of unity for the purpose of achieving the goal of nation-building in general. Therefore the lack of attention towards the existing political authority often created a space for regional political parties in a given society. Henceforth in a plural country like India the regional quest makes the federal polity active with the dual ideology of nationalism and regionalism in particular. It was said that, “Territorial disaggregation, informed by the linguistic principle, was the dominant method of federation building in India” (Bhattacharyya, Hausin, Mukherjee, 2017).

So far as the political process is concerned, political System of different countries in general and federal system in particular, is always greatly influenced by the circumstances of a particular country as well as the political system of a country in a particular time. So the Constitution as well as the political system of a country is the production of time. Besides the federal essence, the concept of nationalist unity was played a crucial role in Indian politics particularly. As it is seen that unity and integrity of independent India was apparently saved from the threats of communal forces after partition took place, categorically on the basis of religion. Therefore to hold the healthy and unified atmosphere of the Country emerged from immediate nationalist freedom movement and to preserve the sense of oneness from the newly emerging fissiparous tendencies on the basis of ethno-linguism in particular, there was a need for a strong centre as a protector of the unity and integrity of the country (Chowdary, 2007). Henceforth, the Constituent Assembly of India prepared a unitary federal political structure under the guidance of the Union Power Committee which advocates a tight model of federalism for the newly independent country. Therefore the unitary tradition of the pre independent India, instigate the constitution makers to assume a frame of division of power with a tendency of strong centralization, even at the cost of regional autonomy. The Constitution of India therefore defined the country as “a union of states” in spite the usage of the word ‘Federal’ in the Constitution. The dominant nature of the union was compiled by Dr.Ambedkar at the time of drafting the Constitution “.....though India was to be federation....the federation not being the result of an agreement, no state has the right to secede from it. The federation is a union because it is indestructible.”(Chakraborty and Pandey,2008). Therefore, it will not be an exaggeration to say, that the federal polity in India is emerged from the conscious will of the founding fathers. Indian federalism is an indigenous in nature. It is not possible to make any comparison with the federal structure of any other Countries in the world. It

has its own features of unity in diversity which gradually enhance with the requirements of the time and purpose of the country exclusively.

India deals with the world largest multicultural federation. It was observed that linguistic reorganization of the country made its federation as an ethno federal in character. Gradually this shifted the concept of political obligation from nation to a culture by encouraging the sense of separativeness. Yet the different identities in an ethno federation were co-exist but confronting in nature on the perception of relative deprivation. Henceforth it becomes difficult for a single national authority to hold an ethnically plural country in long run. Naturally an anti Central attitude was foster among the regions. Consequently when the one party domination was converted in to a multiparty domination, the context of federalism was also changed with this changing perspective in India. The modified trend of ethno-federation has made the country's identity as equally national as well as regional. Hence in a democratic pluralism an ethnic orientation often goes against the national endurance. But its consequences depend on the qualitative strategy of nation in general. Indian 'federative society' (Verney, 1995) was established upon a unitary regime unlike the other federations of the world. But gradually the notion of ethno-regionalism has changed the dominant character of Indian federalism in to a cooperative one. Now India is one of the largest developing countries of the world where sustainable democracy has been working with a federal Spirit. But the federal fabric of the country is often persecuted by the centre state discrepancy. It was observed that, "India's plural diversity, the erosion of both traditional authority in the Social structure and of the nationalist party created a highly fragmented political Society." (Kohali, 2000).

The founder father of the Constitution adopted a unique federal system for the country to maintain the paradox of 'Unity in Diversity' in particular. The working of federal system in India was going through in different phases in the country with an experience of arena of different political parties. Federal India has been started its journey in an environment of "one- Party dominance". After the enactment of the constitution of India 1950, the leaders of nation organized themselves under the congress party with their centralized agenda. Consequently the country was going through a phase of Congress majoritarianism where the decentralize thrust of plural society may undermine. The authoritarian federalism was ruling over the consensual federalism in particular. The notion of state's right was hampered by the strong centre. However, the centralized design of Indian constitution making for the purpose of accommodating country's diversity would not be successful to a long extent. Gradually the gravitation of central power was segmented towards the region since 1960's. It was observed that the root of this antagonism was primarily laid on the unplanned model of development in general which instigate the movement for linguistic reorganization. Consequently this has made a flood gate for the regional politics in particular. According to the report of the State Reorganization Commission, the States were the organ of the Union and it must be strong and healthy, to build the body of the Union as strong as possible. On the other hand the issue of national integration always received a prime attention of the founding fathers since Independence, for the purpose of governability as well as harmonizations of a multicultural, multilingual nation like India which is heterogeneous in nature. Henceforth, the synchronous

development of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other hand left its deep impact on the working of federal political process in India ( Shastri, 1990). Eventually it has been observed that, Indian political process has become more centralized and less federal at the time of Congress dynasty. But gradually it had become less centralized and more federal with the evolution of multiparty coalition based state politics.

Henceforth this was the beginning of the era of power decentralization instead the model of power concentration. The consolidation of cultural identity and power politics prepare a ground for consensual federalism where the regional political powers become strong enough. This added a flavor of 'Super diversity' (Meer, 2014) against the regional discriminations in the platform of pluralism. Consequently federalism might be seen as a tool of accommodating the central-regional balance of power. If we examine the dynamics of Indian polity then it is revealed that the two aspects, federalism and regionalism are interlinked as well as inter dependable. The two necessary conditions, ethno-diversity of the country as well as the structural dimension of our Constitution are responsible for mixing these conceptions in particular. Following Rudolph and Rudolf, the federal system had come under severe strain having been sandwiched between the growing centralization and concentration of powers, on the one hand, and the growing strength of regionalism on the other (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1987). However, the concept of nationalism vs. sub- nationalism appeared as a subject of debate in the contemporary Political discourse of India which often relate with the issue of 'dual national identity' (Roeder, 2010). More over the regional elites have taken this dilemma of identity often as their support base in electoral politics.

It is observed that, the inclusionary method often strengthen the legitimacy of the multiparty system through the federal-coalition. This was quite loose in the one party system in India. Hence the regional parties were appeared as a crisis manager in the field of federation to fulfill the gap of federal imbalance. Hence due to influence of regional Political parties in all over region in India, the national parties were gradually unable to keep their policy of centralization and fail to form a government at the centre by a single majority. Henceforth the politics of regionalization gradually paves the way for politics of coalition. India started to be ruled by multiparty in a form of coalition since 1967 in different States and ultimately occupied the place in national matrix in 1977. So, it was seen that the ethno-regional diversity as well as the crisis of legitimacy compelled the leadership to form a coalition government with the support of various regional political parties, representing their own region by articulating their demands and aspirations. Gradually the politics of coalition become the unavoidable political reality in the political discourses of the Country. The politics of imposition was transformed into a politics of bargaining.

Since independence, the Country's political matrix has witnessing the simultaneous development of the Centralization and decentralization of political powers. It was said that policy failure as well as the gap of legitimacy may eternalize these rise and falls. It was observed that, since 1977, the operation of federal Political System in India was going through some ups and down. The first and foremost landmark changes in Indian politics during these periods, brought a severe debacle of the Congress in the sixth General election, under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. It

was generally believed that, a paradigm Shift due to linguistic State's formation as well as apparent abolition of one party dominance and growth of the regional political parties on the basis of zeal for ethno-regional identities transformed the Unitary political System in to a federal one (Kashyap,2007). Eventually a revolving tendency of 'centralization' as well as 'powerlessness' in Indian politics was identified. A simultaneous gap was found in the centralized power of nationalist leader and the 'states objectives' (Kohli,2000).

. It was observed that since 1977, the Indian politics was merged with the politics of coalition which may already exist in the state politics since 1967. It was seen as an essential feature of government of multiparty dominance. The features of inclusive democracy as well as the regional dimensions makes the way for coalition politics in Indian federal system, where for a long time national government played a dominant role with a single political majority. As a result of dissatisfactions' of a larger populations of the country on the basis of regional disparity as well as excessive centralization of powers, the politics of coalition came with the support of various regional political parties for fulfilling the demands of a heterogeneous country. In a unified state, the centre was started to be seen as a manager of proper division of authority between the regions as well as to mitigate the ethno-regional conflict in general and pursue the regional independence in particular. Eventually for that purpose the regional elites is appeared in the surface of Indian Politics as an agent of power sharing in an ethno-federal environment. As a power sharing institution, the regionalism was getting merged with the federal set up of the country, since the time of the formation of coalition Government. It was observed that, In India where federal set up was inserted in the country's administrative structure by its own technique it was the regional powers which come and hold the proper equation of federal power by representing the plural essence of the country from traditional central aggression. So federalism and regional may be interacted in this way on the basis of decentralization of powers and to representing the developments of plural India free from centralize disparity.

Therefore the politics of coalition has permanently grasping the Indian Political System from the late 80's, but if we analyze the coalition arena of our Country we can find that, from 1977 to the present scenario there were several federal coalition governments were performing at the Centre. But the Lok Sabha election, 2014, made a paradigm shift again in Indian federal System brought by the electoral Victory of Bharatiya Janata Party with single majority. The modest attempt of this article is to analyze the challenges and opportunities of contemporary federal Political System of India introducing the new era of super nationalism which has represented the competitive as well as developmental dimensions of federalism within a nationalist frame. It was observed that the 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election, 2014, restituted the era of One-Party domination in Indian government and Politics. A strong centre with winning majority has influenced the federal policy of the country in particular. The Congress dynasty was replaced by the hegemonic of Bharatiya Janata Party. Now the question is how far the present one party dominated coalition regime is successful to organize the Centre State relations, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? As we find that, the position of the States was stronger in the era of coalition politics than earlier, through the support of judiciary as well as the

inclusions of Neo-Economic Reforms. Henceforth it is necessary to analyze, the conditions of the state governments in the era of one party dominated coalition government which is dependent neither regional nor State-based political parties.

## II

### **Competitive Federalism: reconstitute regional discontent**

The term Competitive federalism referred, a healthy and desirable competition among the states in a federal system dominated by the features of 'non centralization' (encyclopedia.federalism.org). A healthy environment of co-operation and competition between the States and in conjunction with the Centre was a necessary condition for the over all development of a Country where both the Central and State governments were believing in the policy of Power sharing. But so far as the Indian federation is concerned the policy of subordination of the States to the centre instead of the coordinating partnership made the issue complicated. Hence the working of a healthy federal polity will run by the principle of coordination in particular. Following Kincaid, "federalism requires cooperation to have competition and competition to have cooperation" (Kincaid, 1991). It has been observed that, though eventually the spirit of Inter-State competition and foreign investment is gradually growing during the hegemonic period of BJP. Where we can see the healthy competition is going between the different states for enlightening digitalization. It introduced a platform for inter-State discussions and to follow each other best practices, which paved the way for a federal competition. But often the sense of competition in the ground of foreign investment was replaced by the feelings of frustration, instigated by the Center's tendency of favoritism, differentiating a particular state projecting as a best one. Which fall in the purview of 'favorable policy regime' of the Government of Bharatiya Janata Party. Henceforth the regional inequality which was started from 90's during Congress regime is remaining the same in BJP regime. There was a sharp distinction noticed in between NDA ruled and non-NDA ruled states. The draft of the political relationship of present NDA government with different non NDA ruled States like Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, and Punjab was simultaneously rises and falls in different circumstances. In this context it is assumed that, yet politics is known as the techniques of retaining power, but when the power becomes multi-centered the problem may arise. Hence in a plural country the administrative structure of a country may be flexible with the regional needs also. It has been observed that, "Vertical imbalances" create a hostile attitude of the States and region toward the union; on the other the "Horizontal imbalances" create an atmosphere of inter-States as well as inter-regional confrontation (Bharati Mukherjee,1992). Though in India, the central was apex at the federal System but so far as the regional autonomy is concerned it always goes against the central hegemony. It was observed that, regional dissatisfaction, have enhanced the Support base of regional political parties instead of strengthening the democratic federalism. In this situation, the question is arising that how the federal government has mitigated the regional dissatisfaction? Even after the reorganization of the states on the basis of language, various regional demands for autonomy were come from the different sections of the country.

In Indian federalism, contemporary NDA regime are characterized as a partial-federal rather than “quasi- federal” in 80’s or “quasi-confederacy” in 90’s (Sharma and Swenden, 2018). Though the Thirty five political parties were the allied of BJP led NDA government in 2014, but it was said that, the problems of coalition-compulsion before 2014, was resolved in Modi regime, due to its independent nature, where power was concentrated in the hands of few. Henceforth again the political Centralization is started from this power concentration, where the administrative decisions were taken unilaterally, not always with the consent of its coalition partners. In 2018, Telegu Desham party of Andhra Pradesh has withdrawn its support from NDA due to central refusal to grant ‘special category status’ to Andhra Pradesh (Hindustan Times, 2018). More over the imposition of president rules frequently in different States has undermine the federal spirit of the country again. It was noticed in earlier that, the cases in 1977 (The State of Rajasthan vs. Union of India) and in 1994 ( S.R.Bomma vs. Union of India) were held against the misuse of article 356 of the Constitution of India.

### **Major administrative Issues:**

There was an important issue which gave emphasize on centralizing tendency of Present NDA govt. was the issue of “Demonetization” which based on Unilateral decision making approach. Though the policy of demonetization was a contemporary policy in global world but the question rose on the way of applicability of this policy. It was said that “The Shock and awe of demonetization has left no one in India untouched. Equally no one has been left with any doubt as to the fact that the policy originates with the Prime Minister.” (Tillin, 2016). In the policy of demonetization government has announced for withdrawing of Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 over night without taking the consent of state governments, which had its direct impact on states economy. This works against the spirit of co-operative federalism.

If we look at the situation of Kashmir, the present government tried to establish a centralized order as like Indira regime. But it has been observed that often this aspect of centralization has bought some positive dimension in the political discourses of a country. Though some special privileges have been granted for some States under Article 371(A-J) in the Constitution of India, but Article 370 of the Indian Constitution carried by the State of Jammu and Kashmir is being treated as discriminatory in nature. It often aggravated the spirit of one Nation. So far as the ‘Union of States’ is concerned the present Government has taken a step strategically to infringe the Article 370 from the State of Jammu and Kashmir through the Presidential Power [370(3)] and bypassing the Article 368(1) of the Constitution of India. As it was stated that Article 370 is a temporary in nature [370(2)] and the power of making the Article in effective or inoperative was vested with the President of India [370(3)]. More over in according to the Article 368(1) of the Constitution of India, the Parliament “may repeal any provision” of the Constitution. But it has been criticized that the recommendation of the State Legislative Assembly [370(3)] (The Constitution of India) for the removal of Article 370 has not taken as because the State is going through the President rule. Henceforth the question may arise in the federal context, was the decision of ceasing the Article can be held till the creation of the new State Legislative Assembly of the particular State? On the

other hand it has been observed that abolition of the status as a State and transferred it in to a Union Territory may reflect again the unitary trend of Indian Federalism under Article 3 of the Constitution of India in particular (The Constitution of India). But on the other hand this initiative has eliminated one of the biggest regional discontents regarding the special status of Jammu and Kashmir as an asymmetric one. More over a comparative accommodative approach was taken by Government of India in the case of Nagaland where the Prime Minister of India signed an agreement with Naga on the basis of shared sovereignty with India (Sharma, Swenden, 2018) which again asymmetric in nature.

More over the present Ayodhya Verdict (2019) often treated as a matter of recurrence in the sphere of central dominance. The ‘politics of religion’ may explore the ‘Mandir controversy’ (1992) again.

### **Major financial Issues:**

But the Centre- State relations in financial segment may be added a true federal essence in the arena of NDA ruled government. The functioning of NITI Aayog, implementation of GST as well as the prosperity of 14<sup>th</sup> finance commission has started a new period in the journey of federal India.

It has been noticed that, Bottom-up Centralized formula was adapted by present India as a more State-friendly approach in place of top-down centralized formula of classical federal India. In doing so, the present government appointed the NITI Aayog instead of old planning commission where greater involvement of States was nurtured. In place of implementations of plan’s the NITI going through the consultations with the states, and accommodate the states in inter governmental policy making through this new institutions, the present India enhanced its step towards the co-operative model in true sense. More over various regional councils were established under the supervision of NITI. Having the purpose of spreading the sense of competition among the states, the NITI also encountered different small scale projects. It was observed that, in 2017, the NITI signed a MOU with the states government of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Jharkhand for encouraging these states in their educational grounds (Sharma and Swenden, 2018). But on the other hand it has been observed that, the NITI is criticized as an “extension of the all powerful Prime Minister’s office (PMO) which would strike at the very foundation of the federal structure” (The Hindu, 2016). It has been observed that after the replacement of the Planning Commission by the NITI Ayog, the power of the disbursement of the fund vested upon the ministry of finance under the control of PMO in particular and it is designated as a purely centralized device because through the NITI, PMO has extended its control on inter-state allocation of funds on the other hand. Hence it is a subject to observation, as NITI was a very new body at the fiscal sector in India, so it remains to be seen. Hence it was said that for the purpose of eradication of regional disparity through out the Country, the NITI may financially empowered as because there was no qualitative changes has been noticed in the sphere of centre- state relation by the establishment of NITI in general.

Another significant step was taken by the present government of India, was the implementation of GST (Goods and Services Tax) for the purpose of Inter-State co-ordination which was unilateral in nature, as it was taken without the consent of the states. But this single tax system proves it self as a unique technique for tax-reforms, which was essential for the preservations of states fiscal autonomy as well as infrastructure developments of the States. The GST was implemented for the aim of abolition of inter-State tariff barriers towards achieving a unified national market as well as to encourage the country's industry for global competition. As the tax now was shred by both the central as well as state govt. so, it was said that, the GST regime "Strengthened the shard rule dimension of fiscal federalism" and this was highly "federalizing" in nature (Sharma, 2005, 2009). It should be expected that the GST should minimize the inter-State disparity in financial sector. But it may be suggested that besides this one tax or shared tax system the decentralization of manufacturing units of the country should be implemented for the enhancement of Countries Federal structure. More over in a qualitative analysis it is found that, the Central Government has dealt with the resource recycle procedure for maintaining parity between the richer as well as poorer States and for doing so the present Government has brought various developmental projects in a State like Northeast (North East Special Infrastructural Development Scheme). But so far as the 'Act East Policy' is concerned it is more relevant to the foreign policy of the country. So far as the socio economic justice is concerned a question often arises that having some structural uniformity does the particular model verify the principle of justice? (Rawls, 1971) In a federal country the policy of a nation is being distributed equally through out the country. But if we depart from the principle of equality then the benefit of the departure should go to the least advantaged. It has been observed that, in the platform of GST, the states have lost their fiscal flexibility in general. It has been added more power to the central jurisdiction instead of enhancing the fiscal efficiency of the states.

It has been observed that, through the 14<sup>th</sup> finance commission the central government of India has tried to make a good tie between centre and states governments and tried to meet up the inadequacy of resources of the state government in according to their needs. It is said that the "Fourteenth Finance Commission has been a water shed in centre state fiscal architecture, as it has not only transferred 42% of central taxable resources to the states as against 32% earlier, it also seeks to meet both plan and non plan gaps of the state governments with greater equity as the leitmotif of devolution package." (Misra and Ghadai, 2015) Through this 14<sup>th</sup> finance commission, the central govt. has adopted a flexible attitude to ward the state Governments in the sphere of designing the developmental programme and create the atmosphere of competition among the states. These reflect the federal thrust of the centre-state relations in India. Though it was observed that the released revenue of centre for the states was equiponderated by reducing the centrally sponsored schemes and the total number of transfers of state is terminal in nature. Yet, it is said that , "the commissions devolution schemes has brought about a qualitative shift in terms of the composition of transfer by increasing the decentralizing component in total transfers and minimizing the centralizing components." (Sharma and Swenden, 2018).

It is an acceptable truth that a greater financial autonomy is prerequisite for a healthy federation in general. But though the federal background of India is quite different from the confederal background of the United States of America, the matter is fallen in the purview of examination. It has been observed that since 1990's the greater federalization was taken place in Indian political process due to the influence of Globalization and the treaty-based relationship between the states and the global companies could increase the state's financial status. But still the fiscal federation of India is more dominated by the central Government in compare to the political federalism. In this context the issue of equal federal transfer has been appeared as one of the dominating factor. In Canada "the federal transfers are widely regarded as the glue that holds the nation together" (Bagchi, 2000). It also depends on bonafied will of the leaders to accommodate the regional development. If the ruling strategy is co-operative as well as accommodative in nature, it was possible to redress the grievances of the deprived sections of the plural society.

### **Politics of super nationalism of contemporary federal India:**

However it has been observed that, the politics of personalization moulded by the strong essence of nationalism is regenerated in the contemporary federal discourse of India when the Bharatiya Janata Party has enjoyed unchallenged parliamentary dominance in the national political scenario. But the political culture of India is concerned there was a qualitative differences between the Nehruvian Congress and Modi led BJP regime in general. In the atmosphere of cultural nationalism, it was said that "Often the politics of caste-identity assertion can promote harder variants of Hindu Nationalism, to fertile the political ground..." (Vanaik, 2018). It has been observed that, in the background of pluralism where country's immense diversity was represented through the politics of regionalization, Modi's model of 'patriotic devotion' (Vanaik, 2018) has brought a definite significance there. Therefore it has been observed that the contemporary Indian federalism bearing the imposed super nationalism is going beyond the model of loose federalism. Rather the newly emerging federal politics works in an idealistic manner boost up by the idea of a powerful nation where the state is its own objective or goal. The contemporary Indian politics has restructured the tight model of federalism where the centre, the states, the regions all are diluted within the concept of 'one nation', governed by the 'all powerful Prime Minister Office'. It is remaining to be seen that whether the contemporary federal politics will be able to minimize the ethno-regional movement or not. However it is the formidable task of a political authority to hold the country's integrity in a healthy federal atmosphere. Therefore in a plural society the delicate use of the federal technique is considered as a pre condition of a successful democratic polity.

Moreover the highly fragmented character of the coalition politics may complicate the situation in particular. This may responsible for the temporary removal of the multi party dominance and the establishment of the credential of dominant party system for the removal of fissiparous tendency within the ethno regional thrust. From which one fact is revealed that after 69 years of the working of the Constitution of India, the people of the country still consider the importance of a strong Center for maintaining the integrity of the Country in particular.

### III

#### **Challenges of contemporary Indian Federalism:**

As a plural country usually India was facing several challenges over the issue of nation building through federal means. A political bargaining between the Central and the States was seen as the result of coalition compulsion in early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Major challenges came in to the fore front of India politics, in the form of different ethno-regional as well as secessionist movement during this period. It was observed that, in a multicultural society, where centralized federalism worked, the confrontation between centre and region may occur. In this contest, when the unitary federalism was unable to manage the ethno-regional conflicts in long run, the regionalism has undertake the responsibility of making the federal order region friendly and the feelings of nationalism was maintained in the cultural context. In the coalition era, the idea of inclusive nationalism was enhanced particularly. But the internal structure of India often does not permit the hostile pressure from the bottom against the centralized authority which was newer in compare to the western countries. Especially the enormous cultural diversity often does not cope up with the modernize democracy at all. In this context, the gap of legitimacy was creating between the ruler and the ruled.

But when in a plural democracy the government at the centre has taking several major decisions for the country with the PM and his coterie without bothering the consent of States, then it may fall in the category of “iron law of oligarchy” (Mitchel, 1911 ). But on the other hand if we go with the aspirations of our constitution makers it was the unity and integrity of India which rests on the principle of a strong centre. On the other hand a more important segment that is a stable government at the Center is very much complementary with a more autonomous States is being appeared in the contemporary political discourse. One may suggest that the time has come for the replacement of the politics of coalition by the ‘politics of Cohabitation’ because the survival of a polyarchy has been depended on the quality of a federation in the context of multiculturalism. In the process of ‘cohabitation’ the true spirit of plurality may be honored by emphasizing the notion of togetherness of distinctive identities. It was seen as a comfort power sharing arrangement in particular ( Kailash,2010). More over the politics of decentralization of powers, particularly in the field of economy is becoming more relevant, when the success of the contemporary federal matrix is depends on it. If we go with the arguments that after seventy years of independence, the states became too adult to manage their own administration and the excess central interference beyond necessity may aggravated the essence of federalism. Then we can find that the picture of the Centre –State relation of our country rests in a vertical line where central Government was enjoyed the hegemonic status in compare to the autonomous states. But on the contrary we should not forget the historical background of federal India which was very much indigenous as well as exclusive in nature and far away from the principle of the origin of federation like either integration or disintegration.

More over if we entered into the arena of regionalization, the debate was going over the issue of nationalism vs. regionalism. In India, when the cultural heterogeneity merged with the economic inequality, poses a serious threat to the federal polity at this stage the cultural identity was acted as a source of deprivation, which create a legitimacy crisis of National authority. The contemporary multicultural politics are responsible for creating regional consciousness rather than the national consciousness, which nurtured the ethnic values and 'deterritorialize' the nation in particular. The tensions were revolving around in an identity Politics. Therefore it was observed that, foster the Sense of collective identity along with diversity had become the measurement of a successful federal policy. It was said that when the state peruses the concept of homogeneity on the one hand, the centre may foster the feelings of heterogeneity on the other and in this situation; a unique federal structure may be adopted as a tools of conflict resolution (Oommen,2009).

### **Conclusion:**

Whatever may be the ambiguities, the federal system denotes the political dimension of a society fostering the political unification as well as power decentralization. But the contemporary federal environment of India has been facing enormous challenges when its classical unitary trend is involved within the federal structure of the Constitution to a large extent. This is the ambiguities of Parliamentary Federalism. In this context the federal system envisage the principle of 'constitutional decentralization, rather than the 'discretionary decentralization' ( Elazar, 1987). But the collaborating relationship instead of subordinating relation between the Centre and the State has appeared as a surviving ideology of contemporary federalism. Therefore often it is being treated as needs of hour, to resurrection of region to get rid of the problem of domination of the national culture over the sub-national culture. It was observed that in India the contemporary political scenario does not permit a single authority to represent the whole nation, when we stand on a world wide phenomenon of decentralization. Hence it is assumed that a qualitative 'grand coalition' (Lijphart, 1977) is may appeared as a juncture. Because when the top down instead of bottom up policy are treated as necessary in the contemporary Indian federalism, it is the politics of coalition qualitative in nature instead of quantity through which the state parties can determine the strategies in the regional context in true sense. But in the context of a multi ethnic country where the power is regionalized the policy of 'grand coalition' has facing the obvious challenges. Because a 'winning coalition' on the basis of qualitative strength of coalition partner instead of size quite dissimilar with the heterogeneous nature of Indian politics. On the contrary the country has the need of a qualitative power sharing arrangement on the ethno-regional ground for the enhancement of federal quality in particular. However we can not deny the fact that we live in a unique federal system and we the people of India should cope up with the different unique strategies chosen by the people of the country as a representative of diversity in particular and the political culture of a country where has been pendulating in between one party and multi party domination within a frame of coalition. Though our Constitution as well as the political system is dynamic in nature but so far as the separation of power between the Centre and States is concerned, this principle may change with the flexibility of the time to that extent where the minimal

autonomy of a State should be honored. It was said that a success of an ethno-federation of India is lying on an environment of tolerance where the autonomy of plurality as well as the requirements of oneness may complementary with each other. Because the historical legacy of India is concerned the diversity must be protected for strengthening the notion of unity. But on the contrary when the purpose of federalism is diverted from the national unit to sub-national units naturally the federal structure needs to reform.

As we had seen that, there was a deep impact of globalization on the contemporary Indian polity, where the Indian federalism is influenced by the degradable economic development of the country in compare to the western as well as the Southern regions of the world. Such a circumstance to fulfillment of the growing demands of the states for balanced development, may implies the increasing powers of central government in general and economic centralization in particular. On the other hand, a legitimacy crisis was created by the globalization, when for the purpose of making the internal sovereignty strong enough it was necessary for the central govt. to strengthen the local self government which creates a legitimacy vacuum for the State governments (Tremblay, 2003). So, it has been observed that federalism of India going through the several challenges in an era of one party as well as multi party domination and in all spheres a gap is highlighted between the political power centre and their problem solving approach. Federation is an aspect of political process and the problem of federation is political one. In this context the political centralization is necessary for maintaining a successful federal order. But economic centralization was often treated as anti-federal in nature as igniting the sense of dissatisfaction as well as detachment. More over when the matter is connected with cultural recognition the complicity may arise. The political representation of distinct identities may appear in this process which demands the politics of inclusion. Henceforth we may conclude by saying that "One size fits all" can not work in such a plural as well as heterogonous country like India. But at the same time we can not ignore the capability aspects of our country since Independence to hold the country integrated within major occurrences as well as an intricacy through the federal means. Because when the regional consequences are confined within the regional out look only, it is the duty of a unitary federation to maintain the integrity of the country by emphasizing the national outlook. It is a formidable task of a federal governance to make the regional parties as the positive contributor in the process of nation building. Hence the emphasis will be given on the quality of policy making in particular. But the policies should be designed in a federal context by keeping in mind the federal rules in general. Hence power negotiation instead of power concentration is appeared as needs of hour and so far as the global integration policy is concerned the political organs of unitary federation of India must be coordinating in character, going beyond the classical concept of central hegemony. India has always been a federal country in the content of its culture, socio-economic, political diversities and the political process of India has been needed a viable political culture is enhanced by the spirit of cooperation. On the other hand if we concentrate on present scenario it was the civil society organization which may provide a substitute balance in the arena of modernization. So if the role of the civil society of India may spontaneous and vibrant in nature, the federal future of our country may alive amicably.

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