CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

"Federalism is, by its very essence, a compromise and a pact. It is a compromise in the sense that when national consensus on all things is not desirable or cannot readily obtain the area of consensus is reduced in order that consensus on something is reached. It is a pact or quasi-treaty in the sense that the terms of that compromise cannot be changed unilaterally. That is not to say that the terms are fixed forever, but only that in changing them, every effort must be made not to destroy the consensus on which the federated nation rests."¹

A federal form of government springs not from a theory or reasoning but is a historical product. The federal form of government came into existence where a unitary form of government was not possible owing to a strong sentiment of local patriotism.

According to K.C. Wheare, "Federalism is the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are, each within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent."²

Even India, in its history of 65 years, has been able to sustain a federal structure with an accommodative co-operation and bargaining spirit between the centre and the states. As rightly pointed out by W.H. Morris Jones, Indian Federalism is a kind of "co-operative federalism where bargaining took place between the centre and the state, but ultimately a solution came out, and both agreed to co-operate."³ According to Ivor Jennings, "India has a federation with a strong centralized tendency."⁴

The nature of centre-state relation in India is determined by the way in which the centre and the states, manage the powers allotted to them, and how the

centre maintains its relations with the states depends upon the fact that there should be co-operation between the centre and the states.

The success of a federal system depends upon the nature of centre-state relations. If there is cordial relationship between the centre and the states, the country will run smoothly and the public policies will be implemented, without much of criticism. But, if the centre-state relations are not in good spirit, the implementation of policies will be a hard nut to crack. The centre-state relations are influenced by several factors like public opinion, pressure groups, state level politics, media, constitution, leadership, lobbies and political parties.

Federalism and political parties are closely intertwined. They play a very significant role in determining the federal process. Political parties represent the urges and aspirations of the people and they are instruments by which interest articulation is carried out. Federal policies are formulated by political parties and parties are the institutional links which bring cordial centre-state relations, which will lead to a formation of rational federal system.

Political parties act as spokesman of various issues as they are representatives of the public. A smooth working of federal system will depend upon the party perception of issues in centre-state relations. If there is only one party ruling both at the centre and states, as we had Congress up to 1967, there would be national consensus on various issues. But with emergence of regional parties in the states the national consensus has been lost, and there are divergent political perceptions between the centre and the states.

A political party acts as harmonizing agent between the centre and the states. A political party guides policy makers: as the members of the executive are also members of political parties, they are guided by the party ideology, principles and electoral promises.

The plural and federal character of our polity has been asserting itself in the party domain for quite some time. Of the 50 parties that are now recognized as national and state parties, 44 have been national parties which are marginalized or have become objects to the regional parties. During the past two decades, most
parties have performed the role of ruling as well as opposition parties at different levels, simultaneously or at different periods. The working of parties over the past 50 years or more can be described as one of partial success and atrophy.  

Political parties are indispensable to any democratic system, and they play the most crucial role in the electoral process in setting up candidates and conducting election campaigns. In recent years, we have witnessed a succession of unstable governments, and the reason for such a recurring phenomenon is said to be the archaic and chaotic functioning of political parties.

Political parties and the party system in India have been greatly influenced by cultural diversity, social, ethnic, caste, community and religious pluralism, traditions of the nationalist movement, contrasting style of party leadership and clashing ideological perspectives. Two major categories of political parties in India are national and state, and are so recognized by the Election Commission of India on the basis of certain specified criteria. As of today, there are six national parties (seven) after the split in the Janata Dal in August 1999, and 38 regional parties recognized as such by the Election Commission of India.

The National Parties are Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, Communist Party of India, CPI(M), Bahujan Samaj Party and Janata Dal. As per the latest notification (June 29, 2000), the Election Commission has decided to de-recognize seven regional parties in some states based on their poll performance. These are Harayana Vikas Party, NTR-TDP, Rashtriya Janata Dal in Manipur, Samajwadi Janata Party in Chandigarh and Samata Party in Harayana. Meanwhile, the CPI (M) and the Republican Party of India have been served notices of de-recognition.

Another major party, next to congress party is the Communist Party of India. It is still strong in two or three states and is considered to be one of the national parties for its prominent role in the Indian National Politics.

The Communist Party of India was inspired by the Russian Revolution. It had its roots in Soviet Union. The party was born in Tashkent in 1920 as the brainchild of M. N. Roy. Ever since, Communist Party of India achieved political Independence in the late 1940s, the Communist Movement in the country has been increasing under pressure from the domestic situation within India. In simpler terms, Indian Communism has been under pressure to be increasingly Indian. After the split in the Communist Party of India in 1964, the challenge of India- its social and political culture and systems- has been, and continues to be, the principal preoccupation of the two Communist Parties, that is, CPI and CPI (M).

In the following paragraphs, an attempt is made to review the working of the Communist parties and their role in shaping the centre-state relations in order to have an understanding of the “real” nature of Indian federalism.

In 1969, the two Communist Parties, especially CPI(M), were consistently interested in urging a new approach to the political, administrative and economic aspects of centre-state relations.

The Communist Party of India stands for “Changes in the Federal Constitution of the country so as to divert the union government of its overriding powers to interfere in the affairs of the states, and in order to widen the autonomy of the states, especially in the matter of the states, and especially in the matter of finance and state economy.”

India is a parliamentary democracy. It has multiparty system. Before independence, the first political party which emerged was the Congress. After Independence, several other political parties have also emerged in India. One of the most important political parties is the Communist Political Party. The Communist Party of India was inspired by the Russian Revolution. It had its roots in the Soviet Union. The party was born in Tashkent in 1920, as the brainchild of M.N. Roy.

There are different views about the exact date of birth of the Communist Party of India. But commonly accepted date is 26th December, 1925. Whereas, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which split off from the CPI, claims that the party was founded in the USSR in 1920.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was formed in 1964 after a split in the CPI. The CPI (M) has established its stronghold in Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. Though its influence has been declining over the years, the party has toned down its Marxian ideology and has fought elections in alliance with other Left parties including its parent party, the CPI.

Centre-State relations constitute a major component in a federal form of government. The policies of the central government have a major impact on the federal process of a country. Various issues of centre-state relations have played key role in the federal process of India. Almost all the political parties give a large content to issues of centre-state relations in their policies and programmes. Since its inception, the CPI and CPI (M) have taken critical standpoint on various issues pertaining to Indian federal system such as Art.370, giving special status to Jammu and Kashmir, Art. 356, Appointment of Governors, Distribution of Revenue and Creations of New States and Deployment of CRPF. It is very significant to understand the attitude of the CPI and CPI (M) towards centre-state relations.

Statement of the Problem:

Political parties play a prominent role in determining federal policy and centre-state relations. The relationship between the centre and the state depends upon the nature of relationship between the party at the centre and the state level. If there is only one party ruling both at the centre and in the states, there will be no question of centre-state conflicts. On the other hand, if there are different parties ruling at the centre and the states, there will be probability of more centre-state conflicts on the whole.

Political parties in any democratic polity are supposed to be vital links between the state and the civil society. Parties in India have failed to perform the
basic functions of government and opposition on account of a number of reasons. Very few parties take their own constitutions seriously.\(^8\)

India presents a picture of gradual shift from the one party rule to the multi-party system. And the climate of coalition politics in the country. This development is mainly due to the decline of the Congress Party, while the Congress party continued to enjoy a stable and comfortable majority at the centre throughout the 1980's its support base in the states suffered considerable erosion. When the National/United Front governments came to power at the centre political parties stated that India has entered into shaky coalition politics. However, political verdict of 1996 and 1998 elections have amply demonstrated that coalitions are going to stay in the country.\(^9\)

The Political scenario of the fifties and sixties is replete with rivalries among dominant groups within the National Parties. The groups that failed to assert themselves and gain control of party machinery eventually left the party and launched political parties of their own.\(^10\)

The Federal system of government in India originated after the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, which paved the way for double set of government, one at the centre, and the other at the periphery. "The Government of India Act 1935, for the first time in India's constitutional development, opened the way for the states to be brought into a federal structure."\(^11\)

Since independence, and up to 1977, India has a one-party dominant system at the centre: the Congress had captured power both at the centre and in many of the states. But, after 1970's, when regional parties came to the fore front in many states, a divergent perception on policy matters developed between the centre and the states. After the beginning of coalition era the centre-state relations have become moderate, because many regional parties are partners in the central government.


\(^10\) Ibid.

One of the upcoming issues with which Indian Federalism would have to deal is the changing nature of law and order and, issues of Terrorism. This has necessitated greater role of army and para military forces, especially in Jammu and Kashmir, the North-East, and now possibly in Naxal-infected area. It has become a national issue, but there are clear differences of opinion between political parties over this. Its best example is Prevention of Terrorism Act, which has been differently interpreted and differently implemented by different states, and not all of them are above board. Cyber crimes, and other types of White-collar crimes, are not limited to boundaries of a state, and are national and international issues. There is a Federal dimension in dealing with issues that transcend state boundaries: under whose powers is the issue of law and order? If the Union intervenes in the state boundaries for tackling law and order problems, it becomes a contentious issue.¹²

During single dominant multi-party system of the Constitution and the Government of India were broadly quasi-federal in nature. But in the 1990’s the Government of India became truly Federal. The Party system transformation and judicial interpretation of constitutional process contributed to the growth of Federalism in India. At initial stages the judiciary initially interpreted the Constitution in ways that contributed to unionism, but at a later phase the interpretations have been to the advantage of Federalisation, especially in case of Bommai case of 1994.¹³

In this study, an attempt is made to examine the attitude of CPI and CPI (M) towards centre-state relations in India since 1990. Here, we have selected only the Communist Political Parties for our study as the major political parties in India. In this study, an attempt is made to analyse the CPI and CPI (M)’s approach towards centre-state relations. To facilitate the study, various issues of centre-state relations like Art.356, Appointment of Governor, Art.370, Jammu and Kashmir, Creation of New State and Deployment of CRPF and Distribution of Revenue are

¹³ Ibid., P.11.
chosen. This study does not cover all the major political parties due to the time constraint of this research work and also for the reason that the focus of the study is basically on CPI and CPI (M) Parties. Very less research work has been done in this particular area. The idea of starting this study from 1990 onwards is to examine how pro-active the communist parties have been during coalition area towards federalism.

We have already noted that the attitude of the CPI is one of regarding the Congress as largely a force of progress, of uniting with the masses rallied behind the congress, and winning over those rallied behind the rightist parties in a joint struggle against their right reactionary leadership combined with the rightist wing of the congress leadership.

In connection with the attitude to be adopted to parties other than the congress, the only correct approach for the Communist Party would be to recognize that all these parties are in a greater or lesser degree parties of the Indian bourgeoisie. The Communist Movement should adopt the tactics of separating and supporting the democratic essence of the various demands put forward by these parties and of fighting the anti-democratic twist given to them by the leadership of these parties. No question should arise of extending mechanical support to the Congress party because it is the party of the progressive bourgeoisie as against these parties that are led by reactionary elements.14

A brief discussion of the attitudes of important political parties is as follows:

The Congress (R) party, led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, emerged as successor to the undivided party and continued to be the central government. The congress was aware of the fact that instability of governments was rampant before 1971. Hence, the congress wanted a strong centre. As in the past, the centre-state relations did not get a mention as such. Further, in the context of the threat from an alliance of four parties, the importance of a strong and stable centre was

emphasized by Mrs. Gandhi during the election campaign. Thus, it seemed that anything other than a stable and strong centre was to be treated as unimportant.

The Swatantra Party in 1971, in an unusual move, accepted the Congress resolution of June 28, 1970 as its Election Manifesto. The party, in this manifesto, defended the present constitution, and also subscribed to the demand for an impartial judicial body for setting inter-governmental disputes. Commenting on this issue, M. R. Masani said:

"We do not, however, believe that the constitution needs any change. We believe that the constitution, if properly worked in a spirit of give and take, can meet the needs of what we want, which is some more autonomy for the states." 

In 1971 the Jana Sangh, however departed from its traditional advocacy of a unitary state for India. The Jana Sangh demanded "A commission on constitution" to make recommendations for changes, if any, in the right of the experience of the last two decades. The party emphasized in its 1971 election manifesto on the institutionalisation of the centre-state relations. It demanded appointment of an inter-state council under Article 263 & also suggested that inter-state boundary disputes as well as the demands for separate states should be passed on a statutory commission.

The CPI adopted the most moderate line. It in its manifesto demanded a constitutional amendment "To provide for more powers to the states, consistent with the basic unity of the country." With this change, the party departed from its 1967 position. The CPI also demanded abolition of the past governor.

The CPI (M) which now holds the most extreme view on the subject vehemently opposed the existing framework of centre-state relations. The party unit's manifesto (1971) demanded a fundamental change in the system of centre-state relation and made these specific demands:-

16 Communist Party of India (Marxist), Election Manifesto, General Election, CPI(M) Publication, New Delhi, 1998, p. 11.
a) Abolition of the posts of Governors and of the President’s rule in the state.

b) Revision of the allocation of powers and functions between the states and centre with a view to making the states power real.

c) Complete control by the state governments over all their officials, including those who belong to all India services.

An analysis of the manifestoes of major political parties shows that all, except run-the Congress (R) and the PSP,-treated the centre-state relations as an issue. As contrasted with 1967, in 1971, most of the political parties in their manifesto’s, even included demands for changes, there by enhancing the issue awareness. It may be because the political parties might have been quite aware of the A.R.C. report on centre-state relations, 1969. Specific mention of centre-state relations was made also because of the experiences gained by the opposition parties in toppling operations by the center. Therefore, most of them, though not all, favored more power for the states.

The CPI and CPI (M) as usual cried for the unity of the left and democratic forces, and for more autonomy of the states.

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India considered that: "Political and Constitutional development in our country have reached a stage when a comprehensive review of the constitution and other laws, as well as the practices governing the centre-state relations, is necessary. The 11th Congress of the CPI also supports the demand for national dialogue for restructuring centre-state relations by suitable amendments to the Constitution and by other measures, in the light of experience. It called upon all left and democratic forces to raise a United Voice for re-examination of centre-state relations with a view to giving wider powers to the state and to providing them with greater financial resources.”

The CPI (M), on the other hand, has obviously expressed its attitudes towards centre-state relations in the West Bengal’s Memorandum adopted on 1st December 1977. They are:- “The CPI(M) in its Memorandum points out while

criticizing the constitution of India and centre, that, the Constitution that came into existence in 1950, though described as federal, was essentially unitary in character. It further remarks, since 1967 the demand for greater autonomy has been growing to make state's autonomy real and effective.”18

The CPI viewed centre-state relations in its National Council meeting in quite a different way. The Party Resolution after going through the state of affairs had made concrete and constructive proposals for restructuring centre-state relations on a rational basis.

The CPI, however, in its National Council meeting, criticized that the Congress leaders did not reconcile themselves to the new reality and continued to act in a manner which could hardly import a sense of belonging to the states and promote a sense of national integration. It further stated that since most of the time in the post-independence period the congress leaders have been in power at the centre, as well as in the states, they have utilised this situation for according the federal concept and governing the country as if we have a unitary constitution.

Review of Literature:

A number of scholars have made significant contributions to understanding issues and problems of centre-state relations. In this study, an attempt is made to understand the issue of centre-state relations in India since 1990 from the CPI and CPI (M) perspective.

We shall only examine briefly the major works in the field in order to make clear how the present study relates to the previous work or in what distinctive manner it contributes to that literature. The following few works on the subject have been referred:

K.C.Wheare's classic, "Federal Government" is a comprehensive treatise and a basic book for a beginner to understand the meaning of federal government, prerequisites of federalism, and also to know how federal government should be organized and how federal government works? So, it is a valuable contribution to our study.

18 Ibid.
“State Politics in India”, edited by B.L. Fadia critically examines the dynamics of federalism and centre-state relations with special reference to the recommendations of the Sarakaria Commission Report. The study deals with nature and determinants of the Indian federal systems, with its historical background, its features, the working of centre-state relations, trends and problems, the nature of the party system and political dynamics of Indian federalism and state politics etc. Hence, this is quite a useful work to our study.

Sartori, Giovanni’s book, “Parties and Party System: A Framework for Analysis” emphasizes on how different types of party systems perform very differently in different parts of the world. The study also gives a good account of different party systems.

“Communist Party of India’s Path to National Regeneration and Socialism” by Adhikari, G.M. This book is very important to know about the origin, growth and aims and objectives of the CPI and CPI (M) and its organization and CPI (M) attitude to formation of government. Hence it is very useful work of Adhikari to our study.

William H. Riker’s book, “Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance” is another valuable contribution to the present study. The study focuses to the origin of federations in the different part of the world viz., India, Canada and so on. The author has also attempt to present through brief but a very good account of the role of the parties in a federation.

Dr. M.G. Khan’s research work, “The Party System and the Federal Process in India Since 1968,” a thesis submitted to the Karnataka University, Dharwad, is a brilliant analysis of the link between party politics and federal process in India. The author examines various issues from the party perspective; the findings of the study reveal that a cordial relationship between centre and states in India entirely depends upon inter-party relationship. Besides these works, there are some more works mentioned below which have been of help for my research work.
"Indian Politics at the Cross Roads", edited by Anil Kumar Jana is based on the nature and magnitude of India’s socio-political problems. It covers wide range of subjects like federalism, regional and social movements in India. On the other hand, it also covers the issues which have influenced and shaped the political process over the years.

"Rethinking Indian Federalism", edited by Rasheeduddin Khan, broadly reflects the macro rubrics of Indian federalism’s quest for a new federal identity and recasting centre-state relations in order to build a co-operative federal polity; it is a good supportive document for the current work.

"Indian Government and Politics", by S. S. Awasthy is very important to know about the meaning of federalism, the key concepts of federalism, features of federalism, nature of Indian federalism and a strong feature of Indian federalism. This book is really relevant to our study.

Maurice, Duverger’s book entitled, “Political Parties, their Organization and Activity in Modern State” is a study of the evolution of party structures. The second part of the book deals with the party systems, two party system, multi-party system and single party system. Therefore, it is one of the few available contributions to our understanding of the party systems in general.

Rajani Kothari’s works on, “Indian Politics and the Developing Political Pattern in the States” were excellent studies with a comprehensive analysis of processes in India. Thus, the author’s works are valuable to our understanding of the one-party dominance and party system in India.

Horst Hartmann’s book, “Political Parties in India”, explores the conditions for modern political parties to develop in an underdeveloped country. In analysing the parties, the author has focused on how the parties have developed and have built up their organization, how the parties portray themselves in the context of Indian politics and how parties operate in the elections at the centre and state levels.
"Parties and Party Politics in India", edited by Zoya Hasan, focuses on the Communist Politics in search of hegemony, parties and party system and the emergence of new coalitions. Hence, it is a very useful work to our study.

"Coalition Governments in India: Problems and Prospects", by K.P. Karunakaran, throws light on the concept of coalition, CPI and CPI(M) and the impact of Indian political system and parties. This is no doubt a useful book for my research work.

"Contemporary Indian Politics" by S.K. Khanna, is very good book on coalition politics in India, the manifesto of the CPI and CPI (M) and regionalism in Indian politics.

The book, "State Autonomy in Indian Federation: Emerging Trends" by Dr. Chandra. Pal, is very important to know about the meaning and definitions of nature of federalism and strong features of Indian federalism.

Verinder, Grover's book, "Party System and Political Parties in India", tries to give a clear picture of the Communist Parties – premises, promises and prospects of the Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist) and impact of political parties in India. Thus this issue is a valuable source for our study.

Dr. M. S. Rana's book, "Indian Votes" (Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha Election 1999, 2000), is very important to know about the national parties, election manifesto's of CPI and CPI(M) and election data and poll analysis. Hence, it is an important work for our study.

"The Annual Register of Indian Political Parties: Proceedings and Fundamental Texts" by Moinzaidi, A., is very important to know about the origin, growth, aims and objectives of the CPI and CPI (M) and their organization. Hence, it is a very useful work of Moinzaidi to our study.

"Struggles of Indian Federalism" by Bonita Aleaz, is a very good book which examines the centre-state relations in India with special reference to changing concept of federal relations, issues of greater state autonomy and Article 356.
“A Short History of the Communist Party of India” by Balram, N.E., is very important to know about the origin, growth and aims and objectives of the CPI and CPI (M) and its organization and formation of government. Hence, it is a very useful work of Balram to our study.

“Centre-State Relation: the Perspective”, edited by Markande, K.C., is based on nature and magnitude of India’s socio-political problems. It covers a wide range of subjects like federalism, regional and social movements in India. On the other hand, it also covers the issues which have influenced and shaped the political process over the years.

“Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in Indian Since Independence” by Suri, K.C., throws light on the concept of changing nature of party competition, ideology, organization CPI and CPI(M) and challenges and prospects and a typology of parties and impact of Indian political system and parties is no doubt a useful book for my research work.

“Changing Dynamics of Indian Federalism” by Ara Zeenat, is very important to know about the meaning of federalism, key concepts of federalism, features of federalism, nature of Indian federalism and emerging trends in Indian federal system and the role of political parties and a strong feature of Indian federalism. This book is more relevant to our study.

“Indian Federalism: Emerging Trends” by Hussain, Hamid, is very important to know about the meaning and definitions of nature of federalism and strong features of Indian federalism and constitutional provisions of Indian federalism, and coalition era. These issues are more relevant to our study.

“The Oxford Companion of Politics in India”, edited by Niraja, Gopal Jayal., and Pratap, Bhanu Mehta, focuses on the Communist Politics in search of hegemony, parties and party system and the emergence of new coalitions. Hence, it is a very useful work to our study.
ARTICLES:

1. Sardamani, K., "Communist Parties have Let Down the People in Kerala", Mainstream. May, 2009: This Article gives the clear picture that on May 18th, 2009, the ruling CPI(M) led government in Kerala completed 3 years in office. There would have been rejoicing even if they did not take stock of their successes and failures. On the economic front, unemployment, which was always a grave issue in Kerala, has been assuming new heights since the start of the global economic crisis and return of the workers from the Middle Eastern countries.

2. Bishnu, Saibal., "What Lalgarh signifies for the CPI(M)" Economic and Political Weekly. 2009: There is an undoubted alliance of the Maoists, Trinamool Congress and the Indian National Congress in Lalgarh and elsewhere in West Bengal where the opponents of the CPI(M) are trying their best to capitalise on the latter’s electoral rout in the Lok Sabha elections.

3. Basu, Deepankar., "The Left and the 15th Lok Sabha Elections", Economic and Political Weekly. Vol.XLI, No.22, May 30, 2009: It explains the electoral debacle faced by the left parties in the 15th Lok Sabha electing is due to the fact that the state governments led by the left followed the very same neoliberal policies that the parties opposed and were able to halt at the central level.

4. Surjeet, Harkishan Singh., "An Outline History of the Communist Movement in India", CPI Publication. 1993: It covers a period beginning with the formative days of the movement to the present times. It outlines the developments and sets out all its important land marks basing itself on the resolutions adopted by the policy making bodies of the undivided Communist Party and, since its formation of the CPI (M).

5. Sitaram, Yechury., "CPI(M)'s Approach on Certain Policy Matters", CPI(M) Publication. 2005: It explains that the 18th Congress of the CPI(M) discussed and adopted Part II of the political organizational report, 'on certain
policy matters' which deals with many pressing policy issues that have occupied the attention of the party comrades in recent years. In this background, it was absolutely necessary for the party to discuss as its highest forum our attitude to major questions that are arising in the present period. It is to meet this need that this section of the political organizational report discussed-party's approach to globalization in general and withdrawal of state from meeting social obligations.

6. **CPI (M): Political Organizational Report, CPI(M) Publication, 2002**: Since the 16th Congress of the party, on most important national political issues, there has been a common approach between the CPI(M) and the CPI. However, there were some differences in the states and in the recent period on the question of attitude towards the Congress there is a divergence of views. On the one hand, the CPI at the national level is part of the efforts to form a third alternative and in UP elections. They were allied to the Samajwadi Party' on the other hand, the CPI's going with the Congress, wherever possible, if it benefits it electorally such a contradictory approach cannot help in strengthening Left Unity.

7. **Article, “12th International meeting of Communist and Workers Parties” Communist Today, January-February, 2011**: The CPI is at the forefront of these struggles and is the main mass mobilise. In recent times, several struggles, marches and all India strikes and actions have been organized together with the CPI(M), RSP, AIFB and other Left parties as well as. With progressive and democratic non-left organizations. In the midst of these struggles, the left and democratic front governments in West Bengal, Kerala etc have been a source of hope. The CPI and other left parties have strong bastions of bases in many of the Indian States.

8. **Sen, ArupKumar., “CPI (M) and Politics of Governances”, Mainstream, July, 2009**: The new paradigm of political identified by Chatterjee may be helpful in understanding the Communist Party of India (Marxist’s) politics in West Bengal in recent years and it is unfortunate that the popular protest in
West Bengal against the CPI (M) rule is being expressed in the language of violence. But, the CPI (M) leadership cannot evade their responsibility for the present state of affairs.

9. Chakrabarty, Bidyut., "Federalism and Change: India in the First Fifty Years", New Age, January, 2002: It explains historically federations have been created in two ways. The first was the coming together of independent units in such a way that each unit surrendered its sovereign states to form a common union. The second path was the opening up of unitary systems, usually old imperial systems, in order to provide representation to territorially based social groups in an effort to create a consensual state system.

10. Document, "Constitution of the CPI", CPI Publication, 2002: The CPI shall strongly fight for the cause of social justice. The age old outlook and practices of social inequality are very strong in our society. The fight against caste thinking and caste practices is essential for the unity of our people. The CPI shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principles of socialism, and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

11. Interesting Document, Vasudevan, Nair Nagar., "CPI: 20th Party Congress Documents", CPI Publication, March, 2008: It explains clear picture that three years have passed since the last 19th Congress of our party. These have been years full of momentous events in various spheres of life. During these years the UPA has been in power after the NDA had been voted out. The Left parties extended their support to it from outside in order to ensure a stable secular majority in Parliament. The CMP called for and reflected a change of direction of policy and not a continuation of the policies pursued by the NDA. During these years there were instances of positive cooperation and support by the CPI and other Left parties to the UPA government on measures which it look consistence with the CMP and of sharp conflicts and struggles on issues which were vocative of the CMP.
The new turn in the political situation after the Lok Sabha elections has led to the CPI (M), CPI, the Forward Bloc and the RSP working together closely. From the formation of the UPA government to the formulation of CMP and in defining our attitude to the policies adopted by the government, the left parties have strengthened their coordination, and are working together. Strengthening the left and increasing its intervention is essential to utilize the favorable opportunities available at the present juncture. CPI (M)-CPI cooperation is at the heart of bringing about a higher level of left unity. Our two parties share the common and glorious heritage of the communist movement which was born in the midst of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Conceptual Framework:

The definition of concept is essential to understand the use of the term and the essential nature of the concept.

Federalism:

One of the ways into which the modern governments are classified into unitary and federal forms is on the basis of centre – state relations. Federalism is derived from the Latin word ‘Foedus’ which means ‘Treaty’ or ‘Agreement.’

According to K. C. Wheare, “Federalism is the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent.”19

Federal system, according to Daniel J. Elazar, “Provides a mechanism which unites separate politics within an over arching political system so as to allow each to maintain its fundamental political integrity.”20

Dicey defines, “A federal state as a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with maintenance of state rights.”21

J.W. Garner defines Federal System in the following words: “Federal government, as contra-distinguished from a unitary government, is a system in which the totality of governmental power is divided and distributed by the national constitution or the organic act of parliament creating it, between a central government and the government of the undivided states or other territorial subdivisions of which the federation is composed.”

Therefore, a federal system can be defined as a political system having two sets of governments: one at the centre and one each for provinces and powers of each government are determined by the constitution.

**Centre - State Relations:**

Federalism as a system of government involves a certain pattern of relationship. Centre-State relations mean the functional relationship between the union and provincial governments. It refers to the interaction between the centre and the state governments for a definite purpose. Every Federal Constitution necessarily contains provision regulating centre-state relations. There are generally four areas of potential conflict—the legislative, the administrative, the judicial and the financial. Here, the centre and the states co-ordinate on national issues, concerning to the state or group of states.

Centre–State relationship is amenable to changes in environmental situations. Thus a change in the latter has its impact on the former. There is a great effect of political parties, interest groups, and administrative practice upon inter-governmental relations. This is particularly true of a federal political system which is subject to centripetal and centrifugal tendencies which are conditioned by various forces from time to time. The centre - state controversy cannot be solved permanently. Issues of controversy shift from generation to generation with changing socio-economic and political conditions compulsion.

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The Party:

The term ‘Party’ is derived from the Latin word, “Partire” which means to “share or to divide.”

According to Webster’s International Dictionary, “A party is a group of persons organized for the purpose of directing the policies of the government, especially by providing the principal political personnel, and usually having as a basis for common action one or more factors as a principle, special interest and tradition upon which they have substantial agreement.”

Burke defined the party as “A body of men united to promote the national interest by their joint endeavors upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed.”

Giovanni Sartori states that “A party is any political group that presents at elections and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office.”

Objectives of the Study:

The present study deals with the following objectives:

1. To critically examine the nature of the Indian Federal System.
2. To study the origin, growth and organization of the Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist).
3. To analyses the approach of the CPI and CPI (M) towards Indian Federal System.

Hypothesis:

In order to explore the potential for research, the present study has set up the following hypothesis:

1. Communist Political Parties of India have always pleaded for more autonomy to the states.

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Methodology:

In order to find out the truth involved in the problem, certain steps have to be taken in a certain order, and the ordered steps are called ‘a method’. So, unless right methodology is followed, truth cannot be arranged in correct order. Hence, in order to discover the exact truth, the following methodology has been drawn in this study.

Documentary Method:

Sources wherein the expressed thought embodied is systematically analyzed and useful issues are taken into consideration. The documentary sources include the primary sources and secondary sources. Accordingly, the data collected from primary sources are Party Resolution, Election Manifestoes of the CPI and CPI (M), Reports and so on, and from secondary sources are books, articles, etc.

Historical Method:

Past knowledge is considered to be pre-requisite for present knowledge. This method is used to trace the origin and growth of certain institutions such as federalism, parliamentary democracy etc. Without the knowledge of the past institutions, it is difficult to understand their true nature at present.

Descriptive Method:

This method is used for collection of data, since mere collection of data does not constitute research, unless the data are properly interpreted to find the causal connections and relations. Thus, this method is employed for the interpretation of the data.

Comparative Method:

In this method the outcome of the issues and its practical relevance to the existing political environment is weighed and subsequent issues are raised. With the help of this method it is possible for the researcher to come to some conclusion.
Conspectus:

On the basis of the nature and scope of the research topic this study has been divided into five chapters.

The first chapter is an introductory one, which deals with statement of problem, review of relevant literature, objectives, hypothesis and research methodology.

The second chapter examines a brief sketch of the nature of the Indian Federal System.

The third chapter deals with the origin, growth and organization of CPI and CPI (M).

The fourth chapter provides details about the role and the attitude of the Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist) towards Indian Federal System.

The last chapter is a concluding chapter, which highlights the findings of the study and comes out with some suggestions.