In conclusion it may be stated that the demand for greater autonomy for states is based on a genuine desire on the part of the states to play an effective role in the developmental process of the nation and also to promote national unity and integration. The demand is neither destructive nor anti-national. Autonomy is not only a question of wider jurisdiction for self-rule but also in an important sense, a question of adequacy and dignity both among the political class and the people at large. The demand for autonomy is not a demand to weaken the centre. The demand is motivated to restore necessary federal balance. The Indian constitution provides for a federal system of government with a strong centre. The strong centre became paramount centre under the influence of a variety of factors. Now there is a need to reverse this trend to maintain the autonomy of the states. There is a general consensus that in a country like India with its vast size, with regions at different levels of development and linguistic, cultural, religious and other diversities federalism is most appropriate form of government. Hence every attempt should be made to preserve the federal system and not to weaken the spirit of it. The Indian federalism thus seeks to reconcile unity with multiplicity, centralization with decentralization and nationalism with localism. The pattern of union-state relations is not static; it is dynamic and is constantly changing for finding a new balance in response to the centripetal and centrifugal forces operating in the country.
To the question whether the foundation of Indian federal system have been well laid and whether they meet adequately the needs of national security, solidarity and economic development without rendering state autonomy nugatory. In answer to this question two mutually contradictory answers are generally given. On the one hand there are critics who complain that the constitution of India has not been working according to the true intentions of the founding fathers and that the powers of the centre have been augmented to such an extent that India has virtually become a decentralized unitary system of government. They also criticize the impact of national planning that has suppressed the federalism and made the states financially dependent on the centre. On the contrary, there are observers who feel that the centralization resulting from national planning is essentially, the result of a fortuitous situation, that is, the continuous domination of a single party at the centre and in majority of the states. But this situation obviously cannot last forever. The linguistic reorganization of states has made the states more homogeneous and has accentuated their tendency to assert for greater autonomy.²

So far we have been dealing with the political parties in the context of the issues involving the union state relationship. One of the very significant extra constitutional factors in a federal set-up is the party system. It is the party system, which determines in a significant manner the urges for maintenance and articulation of regional diversities. Both the pattern of social diversity and the operation of the party system shape the consensus formation in a significant manner, and determine the operational structure of federalism. During 1950 i.e., under Nehru's leadership, the centre provided unchallenged
national leadership and policy guidance to the states, but left a large measure of political autonomy to them in practice. During the period of Mrs Gandhi’s dominance of Indian politics, the federal system was transformed. The boundaries between central and state politics were eroded and state party bosses were destroyed. The predominant pattern was one of central intervention in state politics, that is to say, penetration by the central government through party politics, including constant efforts to divide state political organizations, including even the congress itself, in order to maintain the supreme authority of Indira Gandhi and her control over the entire country. It also involved increasing use of central government funds for patronage use of central government funds for patronage purposes in the states and to establish an independent base for her in countryside through such measures as the anti-poverty programmes. During the period between 1967-71, the union state conflict was at its peak. The states under the non-congress Governments asserting their rights and the union governments refusal to accept such assertion created resentment among the several states. Thus the centralization of the power in the hands of the centre and the emergence of different regional parties demanded more autonomy to the states. In course of time, regional political parties became strong and played an important role in forming the government at the centre in coalitions formed in 1989,1991,1996, 1999 & 2004. And thus demand for greater autonomy for states made in these coalition governments became more difficult to ignore than formerly since the coalitions survived at the mercy of these regional parties. Hence the first hypotheses formed in this study that demand for state autonomy is the consequence of one party dominant rule is proved.
Parties have become a game of opportunism, manipulation, bargaining, persuasion and a cut-threat competition for political power. The constitution makes no mention of the party system in the country and thus the role of the ruling party should be studied as a very significant extra-constitution agency at work. It is the party through which the leaders of the union government manage to solve many crucial issues of the federal system. Many important issues of legal and political significance are sorted out through the mechanism of the party itself. However as the role of the party operates on non-federal lines, it has had its definite impact upon the working of the federal system. The top leadership of the party, known as the High Command, controls the entire organization in matters of distribution of tickets for elections, making and unmaking of state ministries, selection or removal of the Chief Ministers, imposition of emergency under Article 356 and a host of other things where the state level leader ought to be free to tackle themselves in a federal pattern of administration. In view of the above, the paramount role of the congress party amounting to the more and more dilution of the principle of federal system led to, what may be termed, the 'cry for justice' made by the opposition parties to have necessary revision of the constitution in a way that the area of provincial autonomy could be safeguarded against arbitrary and unilateral encroachments of the centre over the units of the Indian Union. Thus due to the resentment caused by the one party dominant system, the multi party system emerged including regional parties and national parties playing an important role. The regional parties have been quite instrumental in modifying the strained centre-state relations by demanding more
autonomy to the states. Thus with the increasingly important role of regional political parties in forming the government at the centre demanded for a restructuring of the centre-state relationship, the underlying intention being to lift the states from the position of excessive dependence and subordination and to give them a larger share of power and authority. Thus the second hypotheses formulated i.e., state autonomy has been the outcome of party politics is also proved.

Findings of the study

The following are the major findings of this study, the analyses indicates that, if the constitution of India would not had provided us a federal character of government, then there would have been no issue of centre-state relations become so controversial and perhaps we would not have given more importance to the emergence and role of regional political parties and the concept of regionalism as well.

➢ The reorganization of states on the basis of language has made the states more homogenous and has accentuated their tendency to assert for greater autonomy.

➢ After the general elections of 1967, when non-congress governments were formed in many states, the demand for greater autonomy became insistent.

➢ The demand for greater autonomy for states is based on a genuine feeling and a desire on the part of the states to play an effective role in the developmental process of the nation and also to promote national unity. The demand for greater autonomy
within the existing constitutional frame is neither destructive nor anti-national.

➢ The Demand for greater state autonomy has become a cover for ideological strategies against the centre, notably by the communist dominated United Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal after the fourth general election or an expression of aggressive cultural separatism as in case of DMK in Tamil Nadu and Akali Dal in Punjab. Thus, demand for autonomy in Indian federal system has assumed the character of states' rights.

➢ The DMK and the AIADMK parties have been acting and performing with a very balanced outlook regarding the demand for state autonomy. The stability, durability, civil order and legitimacy factors have been manifested in a conspicuous manner, with reference especially to the promises made and follow up performance in making a demand for state autonomy. Tamil Nadu government has not only laid a very firm foundation for growth and development but it has also passed the way for implementing some very revolutionary and highly progressive reforms in demanding more powers to the states. The government has provided a momentum, which is indicative of a new dynamism in the government and politics of Tamil Nadu.

➢ Telugu Desam party reveals the distinctive and perhaps significant emerging trends of Indian Political System as a whole. The emergence of Telugu Desam party established a new dimension to the political culture of our system.
The nature of federal system in India changes according to the changes in the party system. The main reason for Centre state tension is difference of ideology among the political parties. The ruling party at the centre always desire to maintain status quo, support the concept of “strong centre” while parties like DMK, AIADMK, Akali Dal and CPI (M) desire radical changes in the federal structure and support the concept of state autonomy or the concept of strong states.

Regional political parties are not a new phenomenon. Several regional parties have existed in the country for the last so many decades. They have held power or still holding power in many states such as Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Goa, Assam and other states in the North – Eastern region.

Regional political parties have been formed essentially to look after the interest of their own states, and they demanded more powers towards the states, and work for their development. But it is not right to ask them to be confined to their own states without any national programme and perspectives.

The regional parties have awakened the consciousness of the people in their very different status and locales. They have made clear to the congress about the needs of their groups, ideologically and politically. Finding that secessionism and violence would not pay, they operate now with more efficiency in the parliamentary arenas as opposition. They expect to play a leading role amidst the diversity of India in future.
Regional political parties prove extremely beneficial in certain circumstances especially when regional political parties are in a position to form a government at the state level in coalition with other parties.

**Suggestions**

The present study deals with the following suggestions for the successful working of dynamics of state autonomy and regional politics—a study in southern states of India, which can be made by considering the past experience.

- The modern trend and need to make the federal government strong and this cannot be denied, but that does not mean weak states. The relationship between the two governments should revolve around coordination and cooperation and as such the spheres of action or activities have to be delimited with some precision.

- The Indian union being the federation of states to see that all its components are equally strong and growing. The resources necessary for the growth and development of the country should be so distributed so as to reach all the states and all the states are equally benefitted.

- The inter-state council should be set up in order to avoid Centre-state conflicts.

- The planning commission should be made an independent and autonomous body.
At present, the central government has extended its role considerably in the states' sphere of activities, which ought to be curtailed.

Right now co-operative federalism in India having lost its support base in the congress system is in search of a new anchorage amidst pressure of democracy, national development, regional growth and state autonomy.

Indian federalism can successfully face its manifold problems if all the government work in cooperation with each other, the union government and state government in our federal system are not independent of each other rather interdependent, and they have to act not at cross purpose but in unison for the maximization of the common good of the people of India. Federalism is thus always in the process of evaluation and constant adjustments. It, therefore, seems to be most opportune time to undertake a study of the Indian federalism in depth to take stock of the developments hitherto, to evaluate the trends of emerging demand of greater state autonomy, frictions and difficulties in the areas of centre state relations and for finding solution for these differences with a view to making Indian federalism a more viable system so that India may meet the great challenges of development, defence etc.
REFERENCES


3. Ibid.