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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The paper covets to draw attention to the origin and growth of coalition politics in India. The manuscript wants to emphasize the fruition of coalition governments in India. The assessment of coalition politics and a scrutiny of how far coalition remains vivacious nevertheless stable. However tough it is to make policy decisions once of ideologies forms the political government. Coalitions are shaped to avert a common enemy from the government and capturing the political power. Evenly fascinating is the reality a coalition devoid of ideological mornings survives till the rival is defeated. However manufacturing political adjustments, main beliefs may have to be set out-of-the-way and in this course Ideology becomes the primarily to suffer. Once the election success is ended, differences come to the float up and the formation of coalitation collapses like a bunch of cards. On the basis of facts, history and research one has to admit India lives in affairs of state of Coalition. In general the piece of work also throughs light on the pros and cons of coalition politics.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Coalition is a trend of a democratic multi-party system where a large number of parties unite for the purpose of operationalize the government which is or else not possible. A coalition is formed when many groups come into familiar conditions with each other and define a programme or agenda on which they are planning to work. A coalition government forever remains in pulls and pressures mostly in a dynamic socio-economic, multicultural and multinational country like India. The term "coalition" springs from the Latin word 'coalition' that means 'to go' or 'grow together'. Therefore, it means that associate act of coalescing or uniting into one body or alliance. It indicates the mixture of variety of bodies or components into one body or whole. within the political sense it is used to point out an agreement or impermanent union between numerous political groups for the control or exercise of political power. Professor ogg defines coalition in the encyclopedia of social sciences, as "cooperative arrangements underneath distinct political parties or at all events members of such parties unite to create a ministry". Thus, it may be believed that result of the exigencies of competitive multiparty system in a parliamentary type of democratic system is coalition. It is a observable fact that where two or more political parties close to create a government, dipping their basic ideological variations within the event of the lack of any

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single party to realise a possible majority within the representative house(lower house) of the assembly.

## **Objectives**

In the current study, it is safe to say that coalition politics has settled in Indian federal system. On a deeper analysis, it is reflective of a societal transformation; where a larger number of hitherto covert groups of Indian society are getting mobilised and politicised. In the situation, once again, several factors need to be examined. In this aspect, this study focused on the following:

- 1. To study the evolution of coalition politics in India.
- 2. To examine the history of coalition politics in India.
- 3. To narrate the strength and challenges of coalition politics.
- 4. How and why coalition politics became deciding factor in India.

### **METHODOLOGY**

The present study makes an endeavor to look in the coalition government in origin of coalition politics in India. It is mainly a fact finding study based on the exploratory method. This study is based on secondary sources of knowledge that includes Assembly debates, Manuals, Daily News Papers, Periodicals, articles published in Journals and books etc. thus this study is based on the Historical and descriptive approach.

International scenario of coalition politics: Coalitions are quite unusual in England and experiments have not proved to be very victorious. That is why when faced with the prospective coalition of Russell and Aberdeen in 1852, Disraeli declared: "England does not love coalition" in continental countries where there is a multi- party system, coalitions are the rule not the exclusion. There have been coalitions in Switzerland, France and Scandinavian countries. According to Cambridge dictionary, coalition means "the joining together of different political parties or groups for a particular purpose, usually for a limited time, or a government that is formed in this way". According to ogg, "the term coalition as employed in political parties, or at all events members of such parties unite to form a government or ministry"

Origin and Legacy of Coalition Politics in India: Coalition politics is not new observable fact in Indian political affairs. India has a lot of diverse identity groups and these unique groups had remained in union with one another since centuries. This social union is one of the major features of Indian society. The All Indian National Congress (INC) became the driving force behind the national movement and reinforced the social coalition. India saw its first coalition during election in 1937 between the Muslim League and All India National Congress (INC) through the Provincial governing body elections that was held underneath rules of the 1935 Act. Prior to the independence Jawaharlal Nehru headed the first political coalition rule in 1946. It was coalition between the All Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. Though, the exit of Muslim League from the Indian electoral system after independence strengthened the domination of the Congress Party. After the freedom the Indian national Congress dominated Indian electoral system both at the union as well as state level for at least twenty years through its intra-coalitional character. The appearance of multi-party coalition system in India today has its ancestry in the coalitional character of Congress Party. The Indian national congress (INC) was a leading example of coalition political affairs par excellence. So to grasp the origin of coalition politics at the centre government of India it is enviable to divide it into following phases.

Politics of the Congress system (1947-1967): The Indian national Congress (INC) was unquestioned political power during first two decades after independence. This domination was for the most part ensured by the all around character of the Congress Party, Rajini Kothari said:"The Congress was a characteristic catch all party, making an attempt to include all the additional relevant segments of political reality, together with nice several oppositional segments. It had been like a Hindu society in miniature, agglomerative and accommodative given less to specificity and thirteen differentiations and additional to agreement and catholism. The Indian national congress (INC) was a "grand alliance" with an excellent historic background and itself representing the Indian-nation in most of its essential." This diversity in the nature of Indian national Congress was supplemented by internal competition. The distinctive characteristic of Indian political process in first twenty years after independence was a party system characterized by "dominance co-existing with competition however lacking a trace of alteration." This prevents opposition parties not to be much determining factor in change in power at both the levels centre and state. The position of opposition in the first two decade after freedom of India was

distinctive in the sense that in its place of providing choice to the Congress government it influences the factional groups within the Indian national Congress. These factional groups within ruling party played the character of opposition. The lack of unified opponent and appreciation to first- past- thepost voting system, the Indian national congress was competent to uphold its dominance. However it will be mistaken to believe that the Indian national Congress has dominated the whole nation in the first two decades subsequent to independence. In 1952 state election assembly the Indian national Congress won comprehensible majority in all the states except for PEPSU, Madras, Orissa and Travancore-cochin but managed a clean majority in Rajasthan. Its opponent in Madras was saved by the partition to create new state of Andhra Pradesh, however, the Communists Party of India abases the Congress rule in November, 1954 and the Presidents rule was imposed. The state assembly election was held in 1954 at Travancore-Cochin were coalition government was shaped by Praja socialist party with the support of the Congress. The Coalition government formed in Orissa by Gantantra Parishad and Congress in 1957 which survived till 1967. In Kerala from 1960-1964 coalition government dominated. It had been the coalition between Muslim league, Congress and PSP." In spite the Congress dominance coalition politics at state level was from the very inception.

Indian national Congress divide and First Coalition at the Centre (1967-1979): The Congress fiasco in the fourth general election fueled internal strife within the Indian national congress. The Indian national Congress dominated by syndicates became influential in the Congress Party decision making. In July 1969 at Bangalore session of AICC, marked the indra Gandhi's move towards the Congress split as intended to reassure her. She vividly spoke about radical economic policies that upset the conventional group in the Congress party. However the main causes of controversy between Mrs. Gandhi and syndicates were the filling nomination of the President of India. The Syndicates chosen Sanjeev Ready, as opponent to Indira who preferred was V.V. Giri but later chosen Jagjivan Ram, prior to the issues could have sorted out Indira Gandhi expelled Morarji Desai the finance minister for the reason that of his indifference towards her financial policies. The subsequent step was fourteen commercial banks was nationalized. After that it resulted the divide in the Indian national Congress in 1969, the ruling Congress headed by Indira Gandhi and Congress (O) stewardship of Dr Ram Subhag Singh. Followed Congress split in 1969; the party had to enter into an inherent coalition even at the Centre with the dravida munnetra kazagam (DMK) and Communists Party. Undoubtedly it was the Congress government but it was in minority and it had a lawmaking understanding with these two supporting parties.

The fifth election was vital in India's electoral politics, in this election the opposition political parties together with defected cluster of the Congress shaped an electoral alliance to provide the Congress (R) a united front in the election, the Congress (O), the Jana Sangh, Swatantra party and the SSP shaped National Democratic Front (NDF). This experiment of electoral alliance did not allow fruits for the opposition political parties as a result, Congress won the election in complete way by attracting the electorates through radical catchphrase of 'Garibi Hatao'. Therefore Congress (R) in the headship of Indira Gandhi shaped the government at the centre. This was the start of new Congress dominanation phase

that differs from the previous Congress dominance period under J.L.Nehru and L.B.Shastri. The declaration of emergency proved terribly expensive for the Indira Gandhi's Congress faction. The instant result was defeat of the Congress Party in the sixth general election. The opposition parties under the stewardship of J.P. Narain determined to offer a united front to the Congress in the coming election. The opposition political parties like the the Jana Sangh, the Congress(O), the Bharatiya Lok Dal and the Socialist Party fused into one party which named as the Janta Party. The major blow for the Congress was unexpected split within the party in which prominent leaders like H. N. Bahuguna, Jagjivan ram and Nandini Satpathy abandoned the party and shaped the Congress for Democracy. The Janta formation conjointly came into electoral understanding with CPM and regional forces like DMK, Alkali Dal, to present the Congress a united front in the elections. The opposition parties under a common banner highlighted the extremes of emergency, particularly forced sterilisation and restrictions on civil liberties in their election campaign. They called the voters to vote for democracy against the dictatorial rule of the Indira Gandhi. The election outcome gave the Congress a big blow as the Janta Party emerged as leading party with 330 seats and the Congress managed to won only 154 seats, and its associates, 21 by AIADMK and 7 seats won by CPI. Congress lost greatly in the northern India were it managed to win only two seats out of 234 seats it contested but the Congress strengthened its position in the south India by winning 92 seats as comparatively higher than the 1971 election. An important feature of sixth general election was the emergence of two party systems. The Congress domination saw downfall by the emergence of the Janta Party and the electoral competition began to become severely polarised. The integration of the opposition parties into the Janta Party and its alliance with regional forces such as CPI (M), DMK, and Alkali Dal had created largely the two party competitions. The Janta coalition, although short lived yet assumed huge importance in the post independent political progress in India. It laid the base of coalition politics in India and which became apparent after 1989 lok sabha election and continued to this day.

Resurgence of the Congress party Domination (1980-1989): The view of two party system distorted soon as the Janta Party saw defection and lined way for the restoration of Congress rule under Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi for ten years. In the general election of 1980 the Congress Party won 351 seats emerged as the leading party in the Lok Sabha and followed by Lok Dal as the second largest party with 41 seats. The Left Front had a strength of 53 seats, it consists of CPI (M)-(35), RSP-(4), Forward Block-(3), and Kerala Congress (Mani group)-(1)." When Mrs Gandhi regain to power in 1980 Lok Sabha, she revitalized her previous approach of relying on a small group by ignoring organisation machinery of the party. Mrs. Gandhi did not pay attention to reorganize the party organization and her son (Rajiv Gandhi) followed the same, which led to the deterioration of party's social base. After the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi on October 31, 1984 the Congress party unanimously chooses Rajiv Gandhi as her descendant. In the general election of 1984, the Congress got benefited by the sympathy of the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. The Congress Party portrayed election campaign as in a way that nation in danger. Congress benefited from this, result was a massive victory, which resulted 401 seats that was biggest in relation to its earlier victories. The Left Front, the

National Front and BJP shaped an alliance in some 400 constituencies to defet the Congress, so that the opposition vote did not divide. Thus, the Congress was in a very precarious position as the opposition parties were committed to defeat it.

From the Coalition Instability to Stability (1989-2004): The Lok Sabha election of 1989, was held under the guise of two popular waves, the 'Hindu wave 'and the 'anti-Congress wave'. The Janta Dal got advantage of the later and the BJP got benefit of both. The 80 seat success of BJP in the 1989 general election was product of 'Hindu wave' and the opposition In this election two trends became apparent the emergence of BJP as an alternative to the Congress and the decline of the Congress Party. A major shortcoming minority government of National Front was that it did not develop a Common Minimum Programme and did not lay down prescribed mechanisms to resolve internal disputes within the coalition government. this coalition soon found itself in trouble when Devi Lal decided to organise a lobby group against V. P Singh and the V.P Singh government in order to counter the former took a swiftness decision to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. The 1996 general election once again produced a splintered mandate and hung- Parliament. No party could establish the government on its own. Furthermore, the Congress once the leading party in Indian political system was concentrated to second position for the first time with 141 seats only. The BJP and its allies partner came first with 187 seats but also failed to obtain clear majority to form the government. The chief improvement of 1996 election was the formation of alliance against both BJP and congress. In 13th general election of 1999 NDA led by BJP apparent as the leading coalition to claim to form the government. While the election results were announced the NDA got 299 seats. The choice of people to fetch back the NDA in power was the positive endorsement of the coalition politics. The NDA government led by BJP consists of 24 political parties as some parties like Mizo National Front, national conference, Sikkim Democratic Front and other smaller parties were the partners of post election coalition. The NDA government had completed five years of rule and had led a decade of uncertainty over coalition governments.

United progressive alliance (UPA) 2004-2014: Ninth coalition was created in May 2004 underneath the headship of a well known Economist Dr. Manmohan singh namely (UPA) united progressive alliance supported by Rashtriya Lok Dal with five MP's, (NCP) Nationalist Congress Party with 9 MPs, Jammu & Kashmir National Conference(JKNC) with 3 MPs, Indian Union Muslim League with 3 MPs, Kerala Congress (Mani) with 1 MP and others left parties. External support was given by Bahujan samaj party (BSP) with 21MP's, Samajwadi Party with 22 MPs, Rashtriya Janata Dal with 4 MPs. In 2008, The General Secretary of the CPI (M) Prakash Karat, announced Left Front withdraw support over the issue of Indo-U.S. nuclear Deal. even though many up's and down's the government survived in the midst of controversies Over "vote for cash" scam which never disclosure in coalitions. In May 2009, the UPA-II was under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan singh as a Prime Minister for the second term in fifteenth general election Chaired by Shri Sonia Gandhi as was done in 2004. The 15th general elections were held with voters of 714 million larger than the voters of the European Union and United States of America jointly. UPA-II was short of 10 seats to reach the majority number of 272 as necessary to shape

government at the union. UPA-II had the outside support of Bahujan Samaj party with 21MP's, Samajwadi party with 23 MP's, Janta Dal Secular with 3 MPs, Rashtrya janta Dal with 4 MP's, others with 3MPs and others. The Samajwadi Party, the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Rashtriya Janta Dal ,and The Janata Dal (Secular), all determined to do so to Kept BJP away of government control for the next five years.

National democratic alliance 2014 - to present: 2014 and 2019 Elections: The BJP, for the first time, secured a clear majority singly in both the 2014 and 2019 elections that led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the BJP leads the Coalition of the National democratic alliance. The current NDA government is comprised of 19 parties and one independent candidate for the Lok Sabha 2019 elections including AIADMK, Janta Dal (United), Shiv Sena, Pattali Makkal Katchi, Shiromani Akali Dal, Tamil Mahila Congress, etc. as the major parties.

## Strengthening of coalition politics

- ) Coalition politics over comes single party majority headship defect by having to settle a much different and wider public opinion, both in terms of policy and characteristics, as reflected in the contracts of various political parties approaching together to offer the Government of the country.
- In a coalition Government ministers are perpetually selected from diverse supporting parties and therefore they represent diverse and even vague viewpoints. In coalition politics diverse guiding principle supporting groups, who are also part of the Government, bring to bear on Government pressures that at last effect its *policy* activities and clear path for good for larger public interest.
- Multi-party system can be viewed as a promising solution to upright raise the level of growth, as has really been seen in India in the course of recent years. The debilitating of single party Government has been joined by rise of the economy, since there has been noteworthy inter-play of variety of opinion, and more prominent compromise deviating policy orientations.
- By consolidating resources and forces with others, political parties can raise their influence and achieve objectives they could not accomplish on their own.
- Parties can expand their appeal and enlarge their vote share by joining forces with others. This may make opportunities to safe and sound for legislative seats to shape a government and accomplish other specific political objectives.
- They can offer opportunities to handle cleavages (religious ethnic etc.) and expand cooperation in government.
- By distributing resources –people, money political parties can alleviate each other's shortcomings and advantages from partner strengths.
- The public might see coalition-building as an honorable attempt to think about other's outlook and look for conciliation.
- Coalition partners can learn from one another and accordingly reinforce their individual associations depend on those experiences.
- The public may correlate singular parties with coalition victories, serving to enlarge support.

Coalitions may offer a source for consensus and compromise. This might be basically important for issues where policy predictability and stability is extremely enviable. e.g., constitutional reforms

## Weakness of coalition politics

- In a coalition politics the leader of State is consistently responsible to find him playing a more active position in Government creation.
- Collective Responsibility is conceivable to keep up contained by coalition cabinet with Prime Minister as the bedrock. But it is hard to accomplish this ideal in a coalition Government that in a single party Government.
- The Prime Minister of a coalition Government cannot neither select his associates nor implement control over him.
- A coalition Government is probably going to be less competent to bear breaches of party discipline than a single-party Government. The coalition associates are limited by agreement, inherent or open, on policy and performance, and unorthodox votes by any backbencher may make threats the Government's majority as well as the very foundation of coalition.
- The dealing power of the parties is a function of the allocation of parliamentary seats, and the sharing of the parties' policy preferences.
- Lawrence Lowell contends that, the parliamentary framework will give a nation powerful and competent Government only in case of a single majority party.
- To discover familiar ground with associates, each political party must come across the center view on its principles, priorities, and surrender some control.
- In coalition system political Parties lose some authority over messaging and decision-making, and may think it hard to maintain a distinctive outline that distinguishes them from their coalition partners.
- The public may detect that political party chiefs have abandoned their main beliefs to appreciate the plunder of power.
- The public may link individual political parties with detested coalition policies, thus deteriorating party hold up in succeeding elections
- The need to confer with and reach agreement among coalition associates can form government decision-making more multifarious and or slower.
- Poor communication inside a political party on coalition objectives, benefits and goals can increase intraparty tensions, spilits and divisions.
- Coalitions with an overpowering majority are able to grow weaker or marginalize democratic opposition groups.
- For leading political parties to face no actual scene of losing, coalition frame can be a way to designate decline or eliminate groups before they boost into competitive threats over the long-term.

#### Conclusion

India is country with unity in diversity and the coalition politics reflects this diversity. After gaining independence the comprehensive character of the Indian national congress had represented to all shades of Indian society. But with the course of time the transformation in the socioeconomic profile of the nation new political groups emerged and searched for space in the political expansion. The Bhartiya Janta Party after 1990 in the course of its Hindutva ideology arose as the substitute to Congress Party at the nationwide level however not well-built enough to pledge claim for government due to restricted political and social base. It show the way a stable coalition government from 1999-2004. From 2004 to present we see the coalition politics follow stability in india whether it is preelection coalition or post election coalition. Coalition governments are unavoidable in India by its nature of diversity. Through which it is reflecting the Indian democratic system as well as the federal structure of the nation. It is necessary to have responsibility every political party whether National or state to consider in the direction of not only the power but also development and national security. Instead of captivating the situation as a chance if coalition parties consider about development in the all areas there must success of democracy. We have seen Many times fall of governments that to till 1999 we are able to notice only failed coalitions. But later we see coalition period till today is stable. Despite the fact that Single party is winning the popular number for the reason that of pre-alliances it will be remained as the Coalitional government. Coalitions have seen the ups and downs in completion terms due to different manifestos. For the development of the country and as a major democratic nation coalitions are complementary to democratic process, today coalitions as we seen Stable and inevitable in India and hung parliaments norm of the day.

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