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Review Of Research



COALITION GOVERNMENT IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

Dr. Ranbir Singh

Associate Professor and Head, Deptt. of Political Science, M. D. University, Rohtak.

ABSTRACT:

ndia is the largest democracy in the world and individual freedom is its real base. In the present time, the concept of single party domination rule is over and India has entered into multi-party coalition government era. Coalition government has become an integral part of present political system in India. Coalition government is a product of parliamentary democracy. The emergency of Regional Political Parties has mainly contributed towards the concept of coalition governments in India during the period of 1990-2010. The Regional Political Parties make pre-poll and post-poll alliances with a strong national party. The arrangement of sharing of seats in Assembly and



Parliament elections lead to successful formation of a coalition government. Even in the developed nations of Europe, Australia and Japan have coalition governments. Principles of adult franchise, free and fair election, independent judiciary and powerful media, multi-party systems are backbone of a working and healthy democracy. People have power to change the government through ballot paper only. This paper covers various aspects of coalition governments in India nd discusses some constitutional phenomena.

KEYWORDS : individual freedom, Regional Political Parties, political system.

INTRODUCTION

COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA: PRESENT SCENARIO:

In the present scenario in India, Coalition Politics has almost become a tradition and an integral post of dominant political system in the country. Coalitions politics is a product of parliamentary democracy itself. Hence, this concept is now generally accepted and discussed in political science. It is a requirement of a Multiparty system in a democratic set up. It is a practice of Multi-party government where many small parties agree for the purpose of making the Government where one party is unable to form a Government on its own strength. When no single party reaches the majority marks in the house, other small parties agree to come together on the basis of an agreed common minimum program overlooking their large differences so as to make a majority in the house. This arrangement is possible only in a multi-party system.

Concept of Coalition: The term coalition is derived from the Latin word 'coalesce" which means 'Co-together and ales- to grow up' i.e. to go or to grow together "1.

It is commonly said that "A Coalition can take place only within the contexts of mixed motives in which both conflict and common interest are simultaneously present and must govern the course of action chosen" 2. In the words of ogg "Coalition as employed in Political Science, commonly denotes a cooperative arrangement under which distinct political parties or members of such parties unite for form a Government or Ministry" 3.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT ADOPTED IN INDIA:

India is the largest democracy of the world and Indian society is known to be of the oldest in the world. The Parliamentary system of Government is based on the British Constitutional system "The Government of India Act 1919, introduced certain features of federalism that is division of subjects into central and state subjects: 4. The Indian Constitution provides for a federal system with States and Union Territories as its administrative units and a strong central Government. The constitution of India further provides for a democratic system wherein adult people participate in all processes. They elect their Government and Government is responsible to the people. The people can change their Government. "The President of India is clearly defined as the constitutional head of state with nominal powers. The union council of Ministers headed by the Prime Ministers is essentially comprised of elected members of the union Parliament. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible for all its acts to the parliament and wields the executive authority. The parliament can remove the Prime Minister by passing a vote of no-confidence against him and union cabinet has the power to get the Parliament dissolved by the President. " 5.

The Parliamentary form of Government was adopted in England in Seventeenth Century, In France 1830, Italy after second world war and in India, 1947. So many other countries have also adopted this system such as Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Canada, Australia, Norway, Japan and Germany.

CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF COALITION GOVERNMENT:-

The parliamentary Government basically functions on the principals of majority rule. According to article 53 (1) of Indian Constitution, the executive powers are vested in he President who can use them either directly by him or his subordinate officer. But he is to exercise the executive powers on the aid and advise of council of Ministers. Under article 75 (1) responsibility falls on President's incumbency to appoint the Prime Minister and other Ministers subsequently on the advice of Prime Minister.

In a general election, two types of situations arise in Lok Sabha after the counting of votes:

(A) A single political party gets a clear majority in the Lok Sabha. In case of a clear majority of a single party in the Lok Sabha, the President has no choice but to call the leader of that party to form the Government.

(B) No political party gets a clear majority in Lok Sabha/assembly. For example, in the thirteen Lok Sabha no political party got a clear cut majority in Lok Sabha and it was a hung parliament. Whenever there is a hung parliament/assembly, the role of President/governor becomes vital in making of Govt. at centre and state level. Since the scenario of a hung Parliament/assembly has become a recurring phenomenon in India, the role of President and Governors has also become the matter debate. " 6.

Some political experts have expressed their views saying that in a fluid situation when no single parties gets a majority in the election, the following options should be considered: (a) To accept the convention and first invite the leader of single largest party to form a coalition Government even if it does not have a majority, e.g. after the 9th Lok Sabha election which was held in December, 1989. The Congress Party then was the single largest party with 194 seats. But it refused the offer to form the Government. Then the President R. Venkataraman invited Sh. V.P. Singh to form the Government being leader of the second largest party (Janta Dal/National Front and seek a vote of confidence in the Parliament within thirty days of assuming the office of Prime Minister of India. 7

Similarly, after the 11th Lok Sabha election held in May, 1996, President Dr. Shakar Dayal Sharma called the leader of single largest party in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee to form the Government and was given fifteen days time to prove his majority on the floor of the House. Atal Bihari Vajpayee brought confidence motion on thirteenth day and as a result of its defeat, Prime Minister tendered the resignation of his council of ministers to the President. Then former Lok Sabha Secretary General, Sh. Subhash Chander Kashyap said in this context, " Determining majority support through a head count needlessly involves the President in the

controversy. "8.

After the 12th Lok Sabha elections, it was a burning issue as to whom the President would call to form the Government. Shri Prakash the Former Governor of Bombay gave the observation that "The head of the executive is perfectly within his rights. In fact, it is his duty to call in these circumstances, the leader of the largest group to form the Government" 9. It seems to be sound and within the purview of Principle of Parliamentary democracy.

Even this can be followed when any political party is unable to get a clear majority. Governor exercised the option to first invite the leader of the single largest party to form government. In 1952, C. Rajgopalchari of was called to form a Government in Tamil Nadu having the leader of single largest party and Governor in Orissa also followed the same steps in 1952 and 1957. The Governor of Rajasthan, after the fourth election, invited Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia to form the Government as a leader of single largest party.

The other option is to invite leader of largest post-poll alliance which commands an overall majority in the new house. In the present Politics, the existing trends started in 1996 after the 11th election and as no single party could get a clear mandate at centre and in many states. I the 11th , 12th and 13th general elections to the Lok Sabha the results were a fractured mandate.

In this scenario, the possibility of formation of government by a pre-poll alliance or by a post-poll are the only options to avoid frequent election. The post-poll alliance was adopted in India at central level first time in 1989 after the 9th general election to the Lok Sabha. In this election, no political party got a clear majority and the single largest party refused the offer to make the government. At that time, an idea of forming a government by post-alliance with other like minded parties at central level was firtst evolved. The position of main political parties in parliament was Congress party-194, BJP-82, National Front-145, CPI (M)-55. The President of India had no option but to call a post-poll alliance to form a government under Sh. V.P. Singh.

Earlier to this post-poll alliance, the pre-poll alliance was partly successful and a collation Govt. was formed in 1979 but later on due to defections in Janata Party, the then President Neelam Sanjiva Redyy invited Chaudhary Charan Singh, a leader of the pre-poll alliance to make the government with the support of congress party. and giving him three weeks to prove is majority on the floor of the House. The appointment of Chaudhary Charan Singh as Prime Minister was challenged in some Hon'ble High Courts. But the Hon'ble Court upheld the decision of the president. Lateron, the case reached even the supreme court where Jutstice Sabyasachi Mukherji, held that the Prime Minter had not flattered in his choice to accept offer of the president which was based on his own assessment. The Supreme Court further added in its verdict that considering the facts and circumstances of the case and considering the conventions' so far followed and recognised the President was legally and constitutionally justified in calling upon Chaudhary Charan Singh to form the Ministry. 10.

After the fifth General Election, various states such as UP, Rajasthan, Orissa, Haryana, Punjab, Kerala, Fujarat and Bihar had hung assemblies and had coalition governments on the basis of post-poll alliances.

© To simply leave it to the house to elect its leader. In certain extraordinary circumstances the interests of the Country may find it prudent to form a national government. This kind of government may be worked out to effectively deal with a national crises like war or prolonged natural calamity. In England, collation governments were formed during the First and Second World War. Every political party was involved in the coalition/national government in proportion to its representation and strength. In India during the transfer power from Brittan to India, the nation was passing through the turmoil of partition. The India National Congress had big majority but Nehru, a supporter of a socio-politico-coalition government, included Dr. B.R. Abedkar, CH-Bhabha, CD-Deshmukh, Dr. John Mathur and Dr. Shyama Parsad Mukherjee who were not related to any party but were made Ministers in the Cabinet. There are various examples of coalition government formed under a leader of the house by chosen consensus for the top job and having the consent o every participating political party. Formation of a national govt. is possible and achievable provided the situation so warrants during national crisis and war only. Winston Churchill was appointed as "wartime Prime Minister as the head of national Government. The very important factor should be existence of a pre-poll alliance to make a coalition government. The President of India take steps to deal with a hung Lok Sabha having fractured verdict. In such circumstances, the

President by certain powers that are subjective, discretionary and at the same time also constituted President can call the leader of pre-poll alliance to make the government. It is crucial time for the President to deal with such a constitutional crisis.

After the General Elections held in 1966 and 1977, it was a transition from single party government to coalition government. "The Lok Sabha Speaker P.A. Sangma rightly said in his views, "Normally in a parliament, we have a single party government with multi-party opposition. This time it is just the reverse. We now have multi-party government with single party opposition". 11.

In India the coalition government usually workds on the basis of a pre-poll alliance since the day of First General Election, e.g. in West Bengal and Kerala the coalition governments on the basis of pre-poll alliance have been formed on many occasions.

At the centre, first a coalition government based on the pre-poll was formed in 1977 under the leadership of S. Moaji Desai and after the ninth election held in November, 1989 the Janata Dal and National Front formed coalition governments on the basis of pre-poll alliance. Post-poll alliance is usually made when no single party gets a simple majority and most parties decide to come together to avoid re-elections in quick succession with no hope of any party getting a working majority. All coalition parterres agree on a mutually accepted common minimum programme for smooth functioning or the coalition government.

There have been four occasions when the President did not find any leader suitable for inviting to form a Government and as a result the parliament was dissolved. If the President does not find any working solution for forming a stable Government, he may put the ball back in the court of voters by dissolving the Lok Sabha. Sukumar Murlidharan has rightly said that "The arena to conduct the test of majority is not the presidential mansion but he floor of the Lok Sbha and finally the popular franchise. " 12.

Recent example Coalition Government in Goa and Manipur in 2017 formed on the basis of post poll alliance.

February- March 2017: Five State assembly elections were held in Uttarakhand, Uttar Pardesh, Goa, Punjab and Manipur. In these elections, the BJP formed Government with two - thirds majority in Uttar Pardesh and Yogi Adityanath became the Chief Minister. In Uttarakhand also the BJP formed a government with a two third majority. In Punjab the congress party formed the Govt. with two - thirds majority and Captain Amrinder Singh took the oath as Chief Minister of Punjab. But in the Goa and Manipur no political party was able get majority in the assembly. The Party- wise position in Goa after elections held in 2012 and 2017 along with their vote percentage has been shown in the tables given below:

Party	Seats won in 2012	Seats won in 2017	Change
Congress	9	17	+8
BJP	21	13	-8
MGP	3	3	No change
Others	7	7	No change

Total Seat of Goa Assembly: 40

Vote Percentage Party wise as under

Party	Seats won in 2012	Seats won in 2017	Change
Congress	39%	28.4%	-2.4%
BJP	34.7%	32.5%	-2.2%
MGP	6.7%	11.7%	+4.6%
Others	27.8%	27.8%	0

In a late evening development on Sunday, Goa Governor Mridula Sinha appointed Defence Minister, Manohar Parrikar, leader of Bharatiya Janata Lesgislative party as Chief Minister of Goa with the support of 13 MLAs of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), three MLAs of MGP, three MLAs of Goa Forward and two independent MLAs, thus having a total strength of 21 MLAs in the House of 40. But the Governor did not invite the single largest party leaders as per earlier conventions. It is a fact the despite being the single- largest, the congress failed the approach the governor to state its claim to form the government according to the past conventions. Congress, which won 17 of Goa's 40 seats, only approached government Mridula Sinha for being give the preference to form the government without stating member and details of its supporting parties and members. The congress party criticized the role of Governor but had itself miserably failed to submit its own claim with details of its supporters to form a Govt. us them a reasonable time frame. It was only after this, that the leader of the BJP legislature party submitted his claim to form Govt. along with requisite letters of support from parties and Independents who had accompanied of Manohar Parrikar to the Governor residence for the purpose of spot verification of support claimed. It was also a post-poll alliance.

In Manipur no political party was able to form the Government as none of them could get a majority in the assembly. The Party- wise position in Manipur assembly after the elections held in 2012 and 2017 along with party wise vote percentage shown in the tables given below:

Total Seat of Manipur Assembly: 60

Party	Seats won in 2012	Seats won in 2017	Change
Congress	42	28	-14
BJP	0	21	+21
NPF	4	4	0
Others	14	7	-7

Vote Percentage Party wise as under

Party	2012	2017	Change
Congress	42.4%	35.1%	-7.3%
BJP	2.1%	36.3%	+34.2%
NPF	7.5%	7.2%	-0.3%
Others	48%	21.4%	-26.6%

N Biren Singh Leader of the BJP Sh. oath as chief minister of Manipur at the Raj Bhawan in Imphal on 15/03/2017. The Governor, Najma Haptullah invited the BJP-led coalition under N. Biren Singh to form the next government in the state after being assured of requisite support from regional parties and Independents. Since March 11, the day of the results, both the Congress and the BJP had claimed support in order to form the next government. Although the Congress emerged as the single largest party with 28 MLAs, the BJP, with 21 MLAs, claimed to have the support of NPP (4), NPF (4), LJP (1), and three others. Then the Governor of Manipur invited the N.Biren Singh to form a coalition. Government with other parties and independents. The congress party also criticize the role of Governor saying that according to the convention being the single largest party should have been given the chance to form a government but Governor invited Mr. N. Biren Singh to make a government. But contrary to their claims, congress failed to approach the Governor with requisite numbers to stake their claim is form to Government Hence their criticism of the Governor was totally misplaced

It is a generally said that India has entered into an irrevocable coalition era and the days of single party rule are over. The emergence of regional political parties is one of the main contributors towards coalition politics in India. It has been taken as granted by the people that the regional Political Parties may serve and protect their regional interests in a better way. It was clearly not only a failure but a Political blunder on the part of Congress party that despite being the single largest party that they did not approach the Governor in time to stake their claim to form the Govt. In fact as the situation unfolded subsequently, they did not have numbers in their favour and were only expressing their grievances by mounting unjustified criticism on the Governor to hide their own weaknesses and fail was besides dandling percentage of popular vote in their favour.

CONCLUSION:

The constitution of India establishes the parliamentary form of government at States and the national level. In the parliamentary system government is responsible to the legislature. The President of India enjoys certain executive powers as the constitutional head of the government. But the real powers are vested in Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha. The members of Lok Sabha are elected by the people under the principle of adult suffrage and single non-

transferable vote.

In the present scenario, it can be rightly said that India has entered the coalition era and the day of single party rule are over. The regional political parties have played the main role towards coalition politics in India. The pre-poll alliance and post-poll alliance with one national party are executive to form coalition government in States and Lok Sabha for sharing power on the basis of number of seats. The era of coalition government began in India in 1952 at State level. Coalition government is not a bad experience. We may not say that it cannot work. It has been working through years in many developed countries like Italy, Germany, Japan, Australia in our country Kerala had itself has 25 years experiences of coalition government and West Bengal too has experienced long wells of coalition of govt. As we have discussed earlier, there are two types of coalition government, pre-poll alliance and post-poll alliance. A pre-poll coalition better and lasts longer. But the same cannot be said of a poll alliance. It is often a raq-tag loose combination of desperate groups eager to grab power. It s more of an opportunistic arrangement rather than one based on any principles whatsoever and hence falls apart soon. Commenting on post-poll alliance, and later Chief Justice of Bombay High Court, a lending lawyer, M.C. Chagla had said, "A post-poll alliance does not have the same sanctity or constitutional credibility as a pre-poll one" The former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee himself admitted that the coalition government is easy to make but difficult to run. A former Governor of Punjab had said about the coalition government that a pre-poll alliance is a political adjustment while post poll alliance is merely an agreement to share the political power. Sh. NC Sahni had also said that of the two types of alliance, a pre-poll alliance is adjustment between the genuinely interested parties and post-poll alliances to share political power is often an opportunistic game to run the government. Both alliances have merits and demerit. A pre-poll alliance provides a common platform to the parties to attract the voters on the basis of joint their manifesto. In the situation of a hung assembly or the Lok Sabha the discretionary power of both Governor and President come into play. Here it may be said that the courts have consistently taken the view that the power of Governor and the President as the case may be similar to the power of the crown under the British Parliamentary system. The Governor and President play an important role to make the Chief Minister and the Prime Minister. But his attitudes of constitutional heads must be the same for both, the single party government and a coalition government. The Constitution provides that in such a situation, the President for the Governor as the case may be, must satisfy himself that the leader for the largest party or of a group of parties supporting him has the requisite majority and will be able to prove a stable govt. But in conclusion, it must be said that a pre-poll alliance is a far superior arrangement than a post-poll alliance which most cases is nothing more than a desperate last ditch attempt by mutually antagonistic and ideologically warring groups t grab political power by hook or by crook. Hence, a govt. on the basis of a post-poll alliance should be avoided as far as possible, as the fact of unity among the disparate elements in such cases is the result of horse trading and many other such corrupt practices included in by political parties and groups who have neither any principles nor any concern for the people who they claim to represent.

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