

CHAPTER - THREE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A good number of scholarly works have been written on political parties and coalition governments during the 20th century based on the experiences of Britain and the European countries. But the classical works have been mostly biased in favour of single-party majoritarian governments and they have regarded multi-party governments as non-durable. More objective and comparative transnational studies appeared towards the end of the century and they seemed to take the coalition phenomenon as natural and related to political culture. The growth of the scientific interest in the study of European coalition politics led to the development of two approaches:

1. the European politics tradition and the game-theoretic tradition. The chief contributor to the latter tradition has been William Riker whose *Theory of Coalitions* (1962) has become the source of the theory of minimum winning coalition.

Lawrence C. Dodd challenges the time-old theory that a durable Cabinet (*Coalitions in Parliamentary Government*, 1976)

requires a majority party government and argues for a fundamental alteration in the existing conceptions.

Vernon Bogdanor (*Coalition Government in Western Europe* (ed.), 1983) describes the working of coalition governments in the democracies of Western Europe. The influence of coalition politics on Cabinet, Parliament, policy outputs, etc. are studied here in the context of countries like West Germany, Norway Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Ireland.

Ian Budge and Hans Keman (*Parties and Democracy — Coalition Formation and Government Functioning in Twenty States*, 1990) analyse the actual behaviour of some four hundred governments in twenty post-war democracies and try to find answers to questions relating to the formation of governments, distribution of portfolios and how parties influence policy.

Michael Laver and Norman Schoefield (*Multi party Government —the Politics of Coalition in Europe*, 1990) have tried to reconcile the theoretical and empirical approaches to the study. Their work offers an accessible approach that bridges the distance between the 'European politics' and 'game theory' traditions of political science. Five basic themes are examined: the identity and

motivation of actors in the game; the eventual membership of the coalitions they form; their durability; the pay offs that are shared; and the impact of constitutional, behavioural and historical constraints on the process of coalition bargaining.

Jug Steiner's comparative analysis (*European Democracies*, 3rd edition, 1955) is another major contribution in this area.

Joseph A Colomer's edited volume (*Political Institutions in Europe*, 1996) contain several sections on the individual nations of Europe.

Jan-Erik Lane and Svante O. Ersson (*European Politics : An Introduction*, 1996) explains the character and trends of European politics and devotes a major part of the work for the analysis of European coalitions.

Bradley Richardson's work (*Japanese Democracy*, 1977) pays attention to the recent coalitional developments in Japanese politics and thus takes a look towards Asia.

So far as politics in India is concerned, innumerable books and articles have been published. But specialist works on coalitional aspects, theory or practice, have been limited in number. A few works deserve mention. K.P. Karunakaran's edited

volume (Coalition Governments in India: Problems and Prospects, 1975) analyses some theories and concepts about coalition making and gives brief reports about some States in India.

S.C. Kashyap's edited work (Coalition Government and Politics in India, 1997) broadly examines the question in the context of the United Front coalition at the Centre.

D. Sunder Ram's work [Indian Parliamentary Opposition (ed), 1996] contains two reprinted articles on coalition politics in India, by Iqbal Narayan and Ramakrishna Hegde written much before coalitions appeared at the Centre.

Indian Politics at the Crossroads (1998) edited by Anil Kumar Jana presents three chapters dealing with the different aspects of coalition politics. Many articles have been published in various journals dealing with current politics of the country.

There are a few works on coalition politics in the Indian States including Kerala and West Bengal.

John P. John (Coalition Politics in Kerala, 1983) examines the working of the coalition ministries of the 1950s and 1960s.

K.V. Varghese (UF Government in Kerala 1967-69, 1978) makes all exhaustive study of the coalition led by E.M. Sankaran Namboodiripad in 1967-69.

E.J. Thomas (Coalition Game Politics in Kerala after Independence, 1994) looks at coalition politics from the game theory point of view.

A. Balakrishnan Nair (Government and Politics of Kerala, 1994) makes a comprehensive study of Kerala politics including coalition phases.

There are other writers, too, like T.J. Nossiter (Communism in Kerala: A Study in Political Adaptation, 1982),

N. Jose Chander [Dynamics of State Politics-Kerala (ed), 1986] who have paid attention to some aspects of coalition politics in Kerala. It may be noted here that some Ph.D. dissertations have been submitted to the University of Kerala which relate to some major aspects of coalition politics.

A.A. Sebastian's work (Role of Chief Minister in Coalition Governments: A Study of Kerala, 1994) and Raju Abraham's thesis (Role of Political Parties in State Legislature, 1990) are outstanding contributions.

Anjali Ghosh (*Peaceful Transition to Power*, 1981) makes a detailed and perceptive study of the coalitional games played by the Communists and non-Communists during 1967-77 in West Bengal.

P.R. Choudhary's work (*Left Experiments in West Bengal*, 1985) deals with the political history of West Bengal during two decades-1960s and 1970s.

Surabhi Banerjee's biography of Jyoti Basu (*Jyoti Basu : The Authorised Biography*, 1997) covers the political developments of West Bengal from a biographical perspective. A number of articles have been published on Kerala and West Bengal in current journals and dailies, in addition.