

PSC 100/The Ohio State University

India Lectures: India - The Unlikely Democracy?

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I. Demographic info - It s about variety (ALL are CIA figures)

The society of the vast subcontinent, varied and complex in its rich heritage, is among the oldest in the world. Five thousand years of history have nourished the growth of a great civilization, vitalized through cross-cultural contact and characterized by diversities of culture and race, caste, religion and language. It is the nature of this assimilating and syncretic culture which has produced such variety. In India there are examples of every know type of social division: six major religions (4 born here), two major language families, three races and over two thousand castes, hierarchically ranked, endogamous and occupational.

Here is some background information:

[show current map]

A. Physical

1.27 mln sq mi

56% arable

Thar desert to Gangetic flood plain; mountains to Deccan plateau to Malabar coast

B. Economics

GDP: \$460 bln at exchange rates (\$2.2 tln at PPP)

35% below poverty line

agriculturally self-sufficient since 1970

52% literate (66 Male, 38 Female)

| Sector | Share of GDP | Share of Labor Force |
|-------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Agriculture | 25 | 67 |
| Industry | 30 | 18 |
| Service | 45 | 15 |

C. People

1.02 bln

1/3 under 15 (in US comparable figure is 20%)

II. Historical background

A. Precolonial

1. Mughal Empire

As we will discover later, the notion of India is a relatively recent construction. Therefore speaking of ancient Indian history is contestable. India used in any pre-1947 context refers to the areas which were to make up British India and its vassal princely states- this includes what is encompassed in the modern states of India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. There were some attempts at bringing unity to the subcontinent prior to the arrival of the British. The Mauryan Empire of the 3-4th centuries BCE under Ashoka encompassed much of the northern and central areas of the subcontinent from the Hindu Kush to the Bay of Bengal. This was a Buddhist empire. It was at its greatest extent relatively short-lived.

By the 16th century (1526) the Mughal Empire, an Islamic one, under Akhbar had become the dominant force. But still limited compared to contemporary experience in Europe. Neither the Mughals who reigned for 3 centuries nor the Hindu emperors before them extended their sway over the whole of India. India was a concept not a political entity. Islamic authority never established itself in the extreme south and there were continuous revolts by the Jats, Rajputs and Sikhs along with rising competition from the Marathas. This lack of unity was exploited and exacerbated by European colonial powers when they arrived soon afterwards.

Traditional India has been characterized by localism a fragmentation not simply of

cultural-linguistic regions but of villages themselves. In the past the villages were little affected by the changes of governmental authority. For the villager it did matter who ruled in Delhi: Mughal Maratha or Englishman. His concern was with his crops, the next monsoon and with the annual visit of the collecting officer. The last his only contact with the state. Even the most sophisticated administrative system as that employed by the Mughals penetrated the village for almost wholly extractive purposes. These zamindars were revenue officers who held police and magisterial roles. Though there is evidence of skimming off the public purse, they were agents of the Empire. In all the Mughal Empire was a weak state with inconsistent property rights enforcement which retarded growth. Several of the small states on the periphery of the Mughal Empire had more successful development, leading to nascent industrialization by the 17th century that is before Britain's not a nail policy. This was a major point for the later nationalists. See Sudhindra Bose's dissertation for further details.

2. arrival of Euro trade posts: England, Holland, France, Portugal

The British entered the struggle for a commercial foothold in India through the East India Company founded in London in 1600 during the reign of Akhbar. Within a few years the company had secured limited trading privileges from the Mughals and by the end of the century had established commercial enclaves at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. As Mughal power declined in the 18th century the British pushed for more extensive privileges and wider territories. The Mughal Empire's lack of capacity for law enforcement led the EIC to create its own security forces. In expanding their hold the British played one ruler against another annexing a widening

range of territory. The princely states led a precarious existence: the price of preservation from conquest was the acceptance of British suzerainty. Security of trade ultimately meant extending Pax Britannica over the whole subcontinent. By the time of the Mutiny, Britain directly ruled 3/5 of India with the remainder held by more than 500 princely states subject to British control and intervention.

As successors to the Mughal Empire the British sought to bring order to the subcontinent, reorganize the revenue system and create strong political authority. Inland transit duties, inadequate roadways and banditry inhibited the growth of trade. In the course of pacification, the British constructed roads, canals and railways opening the interior to *direct* extraction of raw materials and the development of trade. When reforming the revenue system, the British mistook the zamindars for landlords and under Permanent Settlement confirmed them in their jurisdictions thus creating a new class of wealthy landlords at the expense of the peasants.

The Company was generally neutral on social and religious matters much to the chagrin of Utilitarians and Evangelicals in Britain. Soon the missionaries came. Both groups found little in India that they liked but much to condemn and to change at the individual (conversion) and governmental (policy) levels. Some reforms brought outcries from the orthodox although supported by some reform-minded Hindus. Regardless, reforms threatened the old order. Brahmins (you'll find out who they are when we talk about caste later) who were overrepresented as sepoys (soldiers) and were also concerned about conversions in their own ranks. They feared they would have to serve overseas (as the Indian Army would often do later) breaking a prohibition against leaving India. At the same time, Muslim resentment was rising with the annexation of Oudh for misgovernment.

B. Colonial

1. Sepoy Mutiny of 1857

In this atmosphere of mistrust mutiny broke out in 1857 when soldiers discovered that the cartridges for their new Enfield rifles had been greased with the animal fat of both the cow and the pig. To use the cartridge you had to bite it open. This was not the reason for the Mutiny so much as a last straw. In revivalist action Muslims rallied to the Mughal Empire in Delhi, Hindus to the heir of the last Maratha head minister. Discontent centered in Oudh but there was no unity of purpose. The Maratha princes did not support the actions. The Sikhs in Punjab who were subjugated only a decade earlier did not want to see a restoration of the Mughals so they actively supported the British

The South remained unaffected by the Mutiny. The Western educated elite supported the British. The Mutiny was crushed with a combination of foreign and domestic forces. The Mutiny was not looking forward to national independence but backwards to the restoration of the ancient regime, as Nehru has termed it, a feudal rising .

Britain's response did however contribute to the awakening of Indian nationalism which would come to fruition less than a century later. Doubtful of the Company's governing competence, the Crown assumed control from EIC. India became a colony and Britain became the largest empire in history.

2. Gladstone vs Disraeli on the Civilising Mission (UK Empire - what was it about)

As the legacies of the British Empire would cast a long shadow over the subcontinent, some consideration of institutions of the British Raj would be useful. Furthermore, these policies are connected to events on the home islands. Recall what is happening in Britain in the early 19th century: Britain is democratizing by bringing more middle class citizens into the franchise. They come in with two inclinations (1) moralism which we associate with this Victorian period and (2) the enlightenment belief in individual meritocratic advancement through education. The middle class was revolted by the hedonistic practices of the aristocracy and sought to use a return to Christian morality to differentiate themselves from it. At home, this led to severe social restrictions (many of which are still present today) and abroad reform-minded missionaries who saw non-believers as sinners who could only be redeemed through conversion and adherence to social guidelines. Under this perspective many practices of India would have to be abolished. For the Empire they had this civilising mission in mind (which the EIC was not doing). Kipling called this 'white man's burden'. Missionaries were not all bad - some contributed to the development of human capital and famously abolished such practices as *sati* but Victorian England was not all that enlightened either. Secondly, they wanted to allow innovation and inquiry by laying an education infrastructure for the elite in any case as had been done in the UK. Lord Macaulay issued his famous Minute of 1835 which argued an English-oriented indigenous elite should be created to staff the civil bureaucracy to reduce payroll and transmigrational requirements for colonial governance. For this there was a need to create a comprehensive set of educational institutions in the English medium to create a common civic culture, a class of Indians who embraced British political culture. The schools

were built for this purpose with many of the excellent students from them completing their studies at Cambridge, Oxford or the LSE. These native Englishmen ironically would eventually form the core of the pro-democratic liberation leaders (people like Nehru and M Gandhi). These individuals were trained to govern and interact with western states. Within two decades the Presidencies (areas of direct British rule) created Ministries of Education, 5 universities, 60 arts, 130 technical, 14 medical and 50 teacher s schools enrolling 2.7 million students. Along with this, the commitment to the freedom of the press (like in the UK) was extended to both Brits and Indians. By the late 19th century, there were 600 vernacular papers operating along with major English medium papers in the presidency towns. The British also built a road and rail system, telegraph and penny-post which provided social communication. The British had broken down many of the traditional barriers to collective action - inadvertently one would assume. This gave rise to associational life with organizations which were voluntary (do something to become a member), contractual (written constitutions, defined aims) and institutionalized (regular meetings, standing committees) but were local, elitist and largely Hindu (Hindus were more likely to study in English medium schools.) Nonetheless, the organizational foundations of an alternative center of power had been laid. At the same time, Indians had little to say about how they were being governed whether in either of the two Indias the Presidencies (where the British ruled) or Princely States (which were not democratic at all). Decision-making was limited to the panchyat -style village level if at all. As the elite now could communicate (transport, organization, literacy and a lingua franca of English having been provided) the ability to contest institutions became a real possibility.

[show India under the British Map]

3. Seeds of Nationalism

Sensing this, an Englishman A O Hume called a congress together in Bombay in 1885 to serve as a safety-valve to deal with a variety of issues. This would become the Indian National Congress - a political party 21 years before Labour was founded in the UK (1906, the year the Muslim League was founded). This Indian National Congress had 72 attendees and was originally formed not as a party but a deliberative body. Primarily of the educated elite, both Hindus and Muslims, it would become the core of the national liberation movement. This movement's own democratic institutions would offer ample practice, instilling democratic principles, for the time it would lead to participation in colonial institutions.

4. Struggle of National Liberation

The national liberation movement can be divided into three time periods: the period of the moderates (1885-1905), the period of the extremists (1905-20) and the Gandhian era (1920-47). The moderates, led by G K Gokhale, felt (1) India was not ready for democracy (2) the British will be fair (3) there is no need for potentially uncontrollable mass action and (4) gradual reforms should be sought for the elite. The British dealt with the moderates, who kicked the extremists out of the INC. extremists were also incarcerated. But within the Congress, an extremist wing grew impatient. Bal Ganghadar Tilak and Mohandas Gandhi sought to replace the demand for administrative reform with a call for *swaraj* or self-rule. They demanded more rapid change backed by mass action. After Gokhale died Tilak became leader of the INC. pursuing the aim of an

integrationist national movement, Tilak and Gandhi called the Lucknow Congress in 1916 to seek a rapprochement between the Congress and the ten year old Muslim League - the Muslim League had splintered off to extract Muslim-specific concessions from the British. But the British were using the division to divide and rule. What also concerned the Muslims was the Hindu symbolism rampant in the Congress embodied in such terms as Satyagraha (truth-force , civil disobedience) and Ahimsa (nonviolence) both Sanskrit not Arabic terms. Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were able to agree on (1) demands for political reforms (2) separate elections on a communal basis to assure Muslim representation (3) weighting Muslim minorities beyond their real numbers and (5) a communal veto - if 75% of a religious community opposed a bill it could be vetoed. Meanwhile, the British, waging a war near home, were getting worried. After some minor administrative concessions - embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which decentralized authority and made some ministers subject to popularly elected legislatures but retained a veto for London - faced with increased radicalism, they entrenched passing the Rowlatt Acts (1919) which permitted arrest on suspicion and banned political meetings of five or more. Congress organized a mass meeting of some 20,000 - a clear violation of Rowlatt - at Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar. British forces under General Dyer blocked the only entrance and had his company open fire until they exhausted their ammunition. 379 were killed and 1200 wounded. The House of Lords in London gave Dyer a vote of appreciation. Incensed and unconvinced by Tilak's leadership, Gandhi assumed control of the INC, proclaiming cooperation in any shape or form with this satanic government is sinful. Gandhi would later negotiate but from a much stronger position as he brought in the thus far unmobilized masses. In 1920, INC adopted the Nagpur Constitution which declared their aim: freedom within the British commonwealth if possible,

without if necessary

Gandhi launched a series of civil disobedience campaigns which focused on the salt tax - a tax which punished everyone, importantly including the lowly peasant. Britain had created for itself a legal monopoly on the production of that basic commodity, forbidding any other production of it. Gandhi resolved to march 241 miles from his ashram to the sea where he would take salt from the sea and thereby violate the law. This 24 day march included mass demonstrations, general strikes or hartals, boycott of British goods, and civil disobedience throughout the Raj. Within a year 60,000 people were incarcerated

Under extreme pressure in India and from manufacturers on the home islands, the British accommodated in the Government of India Act of 1935 which provided for self governance at the provincial level while expanding the franchise from 3% to 18% of the population (including women). This was real autonomy and Congress resolved to work within the system. In the 1937 elections under this act INC did well in Hindu areas (formed government in seven of eleven provinces) but in Muslim separate elections the Muslim League did horribly and local parties won in Muslim majority areas. The INC resigned in a 1939 protest over India being volunteered into war with consultation or consent (act of the Viceroy). Congress offered to return in exchange for provisional national government. When the British made noises about after the war, Gandhi hardened his position demanding the British immediately quit India (1942). Congress was banned and its leaders incarcerated for the duration of the war. Meanwhile, the Muslim League was ingratiating themselves with the British. A small - by far outnumbered by the 2 million Indians who served with the Allies - Indian National Army (INA) led by Subhas Chandra Bose joined with Japan's call of Asia for the Asiatics to violently overthrow the British Raj. As they lacked

numbers and could never link up with Japan the INA was for nought despite the heroic place accorded it in later tradition.

Towards the end of the war, Labour came to power in Britain. They wanted to peacefully decolonize, not subject to the highly-profitable commercial interests of the Tories. PM Clement Attlee moved quickly to see early realisation of full self-government in India. The problem now lay in conflict between Congress who claimed to represent all of India and the newly consolidated Muslim League which claimed the same for the Muslim subset. The Muslim League demanded partition. While Jawarhalal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel by this time were resigned to the inevitability of partition, Gandhi was not. Not wanting to deal with this any longer His Majesty's Government set June 1948 for the transfer of power to Indian hands.

5. Partition/ Rules of Accession

Presidency areas where Muslims were in the majority would go to Jinnah's Pakistan with the balance going to India. Punjab and Bengal - areas in which both Hindus and Muslims were present in large numbers were partitioned. But members of both groups were trapped on the wrong side of the border. Four million Hindus and Sikhs fled West Pakistan while six million Muslims went the other way. In that year - 1947 - half a million would be killed in communal violence. We will never know who started it.

There were also 562 princely states to integrate into Pakistan and India. The leadership of each state, however constituted, was given the choice to accede to either successor state. The princes were able to retain their titles for their own lifetime and were their guaranteed lands. Many

were made governors. Both states agreed to the accession rule and followed it for 559 cases. By independence only three had not made a decision: Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. The former two were surrounded by Indian territory and had Hindu majorities but Muslim leaders. They were invaded by Indian forces and acceded. Kashmir is on the border between India and Pakistan had a Muslim majority but a Hindu ruler. When Pakistan invaded, the Maharaja asked India for military assistance which India refused. Only after formal accession did India intervene. Kashmir is now partially occupied by both India and Pakistan whom have fought two wars since independence over it.

C. Independent

1. Completing the Union

Since independence, non-British colonies on the subcontinent have been added to India. The smaller French and Portuguese colonies were handed over. The much larger Portuguese colony of Goa was the subject of negotiation for more than a decade of impasse after which India resolved the situation by invading the colony

India currently has border disputes with China stemming from the 1962 war, and with Pakistan and Bangladesh from a series of three wars.

Unlike many of the states formed from decolonized areas in the years following the second world war, India has remained a functioning democracy for *almost* all of that period. India and Indonesia have been independent for roughly the same amount of time, from 1947 and 1949

respectively. During this time, Indonesia experienced four regime subtypes: Parliamentary Democracy, Personal Dictatorship, Military Dictatorship and currently Presidential Democracy.

Two elections have been held. India has undertaken 13 parliamentary elections and was democratic for all but two years. This is very rare for the developing world.

Aspects of the more recent history will be covered as part of the topical discussions.

III. Social Cleavages

Before discussing the cleavages, let me debunk a myth about political violence. G Bingham Powell did a comparative study on political violence. Using his numbers, when taken on a per capita basis, India has less political riots per year than US and UK. The numbers were .12, .22, and .21 riots per year per million of population, respectively. This was during the 1970's including the Emergency in India. Yes, there has been violence but it is not really out of proportion with other consolidated democracies.

The social cleavages are intertwined and in some cases cross-cutting. With these divisions it is hard to find any majority.

Three Language groups

Indo-Aryan 72%

Dravidian 25%

Other (mainly Mongoloid) 3%

[table of languages]

Languages

Ethnologue identifies 398 languages but estimates range up to 1,683 (850 in daily use)

1. Hindi is spoken by a plurality of the population, slightly less than 1/3 as 1st language (show Hindi Heartland on map)

2. Official languages: 2 national; 18 regional

Hindi 180 m

Bengali 71 m

Telegu 70 m

Marathi 68 m

Tamil 62 m

Urdu 48 m

Gujarati 46 m

Malayalam 35 m

Kannada 35 m

Oriya 32 m

Punjabi 27 m

English and Hindi are common lingua francas used by an additional 57 m and 183 m respectively as second languages.

3. Linguistic nationalism in politics

At independence, both English and Hindi were the national languages. But by 1965 English was to lose that status. While Hindi was lingua franca of the North it was little spoken in the South so this policy change would disadvantage those populations in seeking Union government positions and contracts. Northern parties wanted only Hindi as Natl language. DMK among others agitated for state language rights

4. Policy to address

i. Linguistic states

The Linguistic States Movement beginning in 1957 sought to redraw the state lines on linguistic lines. This was supported by commission findings. On the plus side this would (1) recognize the legitimacy of those cultures (2) respond to mass demands and (3) complete the integration of the princely states in a consistent manner but (1) it institutionalized little nationalisms (2) some colinguists would undoubtedly be left on the other side of the border (3) there were administrative costs to reorganization and (4) where does the subdivision stop?

[India 1951 map]

ii. Tri-Lingualism

Another approach agreed to by Nehru was tri-Lingualism. For Hindi-speaking states, Hindi, English and one other regional language would be required; for other states it would be Hindi, English and their state language. This was the agreement but neither Hindi nor non-Hindi states followed through. Outside of the Union government facilities, Hindi is of little value in Madras today but is a practical requirement in Delhi.

5. Some examples of regional insurrection:

Kashmir

Over the last decade some 30,000 people have died in insurrectionary violence in Kashmir's own Intifada, led by the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. From the Indian government's perspective, these separatists are terrorists carrying out bombings against symbolic targets and the like. They are provided safe haven in Azad Kashmir (Pakistan-occupied Kashmir) and ISI support. Bounties are paid for each death incurred, with more money for military casualties. These forces seek to liberate Kashmir from Hindu domination. For India, Kashmir must be retained for the preservation of territorial integrity and as India's only Muslim-majority state it symbolizes India's commitment to secularism.

Assam

Assam, in the northeast of India, has one of the highest concentrations of tribals in the country. The volatile situation in Assam is complicated by the unrest engendered by the occupation of tribal lands by both Assamese and Bengalis. From the 1960s various Assam plains tribal groups have called for the formation of a separate state within India for the protection of tribals languages, cultures and economy. The most important has been the call for Bodoland. It is not tribal demands however but the foreigner issue that has been the center of the political turmoil in Assam in the past two decades. Bengalis long dominated Assam state administration but the extension of their control over the economy after independence stimulated demands for job protection. This is exacerbated by criticism that the Union government is being neglectful of the state - not controlling Bangladeshi illegal immigration. Led by the All-Assam Students Union, the agitation began as a purely ethnic one encompassing both Hindus and Muslims but is becoming more communal as outside organizations (Jamiat-I-Islami and RSS) have become involved. During the early 1980's, six years of agitation left 5,000 dead. In 1986, an agreement was made with the Union government on the immigration issue: those who arrived after 1965 would be disenfranchised, those from between 1966-71 would become citizens in 1995, those illegally immigrating after 1971 would be deported. The Centre also committed more funding to economic development of the state and safeguards to protect cultural assets. The accord diffused the mainstream struggle but the Maoist United Liberation front of Asom (ULFA) embarked on a terrorist campaign for secession, securing effective control in some areas. Again the ULFA signed an agreement in 1992 but some extremists vowed to continue their struggle.

Punjab/Khalistan

In many ways, the conflict of the Punjab is the most important of these for its questioning of a key democratic institution which will be described later. Following its electoral law in 1980 the Akali Dal - the Sikh political party - submitted demands to the Prime Minister and backed it up with violent agitation in India's most prosperous state. This was a continuation of an earlier struggle for the protection of Sikh culture, religion and the Punjabi language. In 1966, the Centre acceded to Sikh demands for a separate state of Punjab but redistributive and cultural issues (recognition of Amritsar as a holy city) remained. By 1973, demands had been raised to almost full autonomy including issues delegated to the Centre. Given the success of the Sikh community, its representation in the military and administrative service and the wealth of Punjab, there was little sympathy for claims of discrimination. Many Hindus also did not agree that Sikhism was indeed a separate religion. The troubles in Punjab however focused on ethnic balance. Sikhs constituted 55% of the state, but Sikh out-migration coupled with prosperity drawing Hindu agricultural labor threatened to upset the balance. From time to time Akali Dal found itself unable to control the Vidhan Sabha when Non-Jat Sikhs allied with Hindus. Communal violence grew in the early 1980's. To bring order, Indira Gandhi imposed President's Rule dismissing the Congress (I) government and deploying forces. After some assassinations, the entire state went under martial law. Sikh agitators began to transform the Golden Temple into an armory and safe haven for terrorists. The violence intensified to nearly 10 per day. The Army stormed the Golden Temple in a bloody three-day siege leaving 576 dead (June 3, 1984). 44 other places of worship were struck simultaneously. Four of the six generals involved were themselves Sikh but this did not placate the militants. The attack (Operation Bluestar) was seen as sacrilege. 2,500 Sikh

soldiers mutinied (a small but significant share of the 120,000 in the armed forces) but were put down in short order. Punjab was effectively under military control, Akali leaders jailed. On October 31, 1984 PM Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two Sikh members of her security detail. This was a breakdown of military subjugation to civil authority as were the earlier mutinies. Riots ensued mostly in Delhi killing 2700, but Punjab was peaceful. Rajiv Gandhi saw it as his first duty to resolve the Punjab issue. He released a number of Akali leaders, opened an investigation into the communal violence and appointed a commission to look into the matter. The recommendations were (1) protections against discrimination (2) promotion of Punjabi language (3) Sikh control of their temples and (4) consultation with the Akali Dal. Akali Dal formally agreed. Extremists on both sides, however, objected. When elections were next held Akali Dal won, leading some to be reassured. But within three years the violence resumed with militants receiving support from Pakistan. Some 16,000 have died in this conflict which is not resolved. Akali Dal is a member of the BJP alliance.

B. Religion

1. Hindu 81%

Hindus form the majority in most of India vary substantially among the states as a proportion of the population. Hinduism while uniting India in the embrace of the great Sanskrit tradition also divides the subcontinent. Each cultural-linguistic area has its own little tradition and local gods and it is within the little traditional rather than in the realm of Brahminical Hinduism that most villagers live their religious life. As the elastic pantheon of Hinduism absorbs local and imported traditions it is modified by them. These local beliefs and local gods are exemplified in the

temples which are dedicated to a variety of deities. Hinduism is decentralized in terms of hierarchy and not focused on a single text.. This makes it hard to organize nationally on for political purposes.

2. Muslim 12% (1950 10%) (third largest after Indonesia and Pakistan)

Muslims form a majority only in Jammu & Kashmir but comprise a large minority in West Bengal, Kerala and formerly Mughal areas. Due largely to higher fertility rates, the Muslim population is growing faster than others.

3. Sikh 2%

Sikhs are concentrated in the Punjab (slight majority 55-60%) and Delhi. They are relatively over-represented in Administrative Service and Military (20% of the officers) and are relatively wealthier than the Indian population at-large.

4. Other: Christian (2.3%), Parsi, Jain, Buddhist

5. Secularism/Materialism in the new urban middle class

The new urban middle class tends not to be very religious in the clericalist sense. Religion is a matter of family tradition and social activity. They may go to festivals and give money but few are willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for it or necessarily vote on that basis.

C. Caste

Each ethno-linguistic group has its own caste system.

1. Caste Hindus (Varna - mutual responsibility for the functioning of society)

- a. Brahmin (priest, scholar)
- b. Kshatriya (warrior, rulers)
- c. Vaisya (merchants, traders, bankers)
- d. Shudra (farmers, herders, artisans)

2. Dalits (untouchables in unclean occupations). 17%

Untouchability is officially outlawed but has not ended

3. Jati

Jati are small social group divisions which hold across religions. There are some 2,000 of these. Very localized. Small geographical area within a linguistic region. It is within these Jati which people marry and otherwise associate. The jatis are based on traditional occupation.

Ranked by perceived occupational purity. Dictates dress, cuisine and lifestyle.

4. Relative relevance

Jati are more influential than the varna or broader caste categories as these are where people interact politically and socially. To function in society people may not need to come in contact with more than a few Jati. Yet in the way society is constructed the cooperation of many are necessary.

5. Policies to address: reservations for Scheduled Castes 17% and Scheduled Tribes 8% and recently OBCs 52% in party seats, school admissions, bureaucracy and contracting. This is called

Compensatory Discrimination

D. Class

[Show class distribution chart]

starting to become more important

comes with industrialization

but unionization is very low totaling some 6-7 million

trade unions are linked to political parties - BJP, Congress, CPM

E. Urban / Rural

70% live in rural areas

urbanites are markedly wealthier and more literate and connected to the global economy

cities are experiencing massive immigration from rural areas

cities have disproportionate political influence - economic policies favoring industry and service over subsistence agriculture (price caps on commodities: rice)

IV. Political Culture

A. What is democratic political culture?

This comes from Almond & Verba *Civic Culture*

At its core political culture is the beliefs about the system of politics, not behavior.

-consensus on legitimacy of key democratic institutions (principles)

*majority rule

*political equality

*protection of minority rights/political tolerance

*legitimacy of opposition/competitive politics

*willingness to compromise/cooperate

*normative commitment to democracy (diffuse support)

*political efficacy (that individual participation matters and is effective)

*legitimacy of participation

*interest in public affairs

Inglehart has added to this list *gradualism

and I will add *subordination of the military to civilian authority

-interpersonal trust - this is the basis of collective action as such reciprocity reduces the transactional costs of monitoring and enforcement

-cognitive orientation: knowledge and understanding about how the system works

The literature views it as more necessary for these values to be held at the elite rather than the mass level.

B. Why does it matter?

Political culture (alternatively called civic culture) is hypothesized to contribute to the *stability* and quality of democracy, already established. There is substantial dispute in the literature as to the amount of variation explained by political culture. I find it not to be anywhere close to a necessary condition for democratic stability but can be a contributing factor if everything else goes wrong. There are many hypothesized factors which can support regime stability or its subset democratic stability: economic growth, full employment price stability, income equality, efficacy & competence institutional design, certain aspects of the interstate system, little salient subcultural pluralism, etc. A democratic political culture can be added to that list. If the economy slows and particularistic demands overwhelm the channeling institutions, etc this political culture may deposit sufficient residual diffuse support to sustain the system until macroeconomic conditions improve or societal demands are addressed. As we shall see in India the democratic political culture survived even institutional change and economic difficulty to reassert itself in 1977. If the characteristics outlined above are present, the chances for democratic stability *ceteris paribus* are good. Despite all that was going against it from a stateness standpoint, India had political culture going for it at the elite level and also institutions which will be discussed later.

C. Civil society/associational life

Growing out of the American context of pluralism, a number of scholars such as Putnam have suggested for an important role for civil society - which as you will recall is typified by a multiplicity of voluntary organizations concerning themselves with a variety of topics in differing domains which are independent of the state. Some have further specified the concept to further

exclude organizations linked to political parties. In any case something representing corporatism would be excluded.

According to Pradeep Chhibber, India has (1) very little social capital and (2) political parties play a role often filled by voluntary associations in other democracies. In fact we find all sorts of organizations linked to parties. The BJP and Congress would both have trade unions, both have business organizations, both have cricket teams, etc. These would be separate and mutually exclusive. This creation of separate sets of groups which do not share memberships would not improve the chances for democratic stability. And Indira Gandhi tried to link the Congress organizations to the state in a corporatist attempt.

Why do parties play this role? They are filling a gap in the provision of organizational skills which can get beyond collective action problems. Also remember the model is Congress which was a liberation movement and catch-all party. Furthermore it embodied Indian identity. It created the initial national organizations which is very different than fascist corporatism in a Europe of established nation-states stamping out existing organizations and replacing them with its own.

D. construction of nation linked to democratic institutions

One further comment on diffuse support for democracy. Indianess as has been hammered home is not any identity which can find its basis in ethnicity, religion or race. It has not selected or constructed a national unifying language like Indonesia. What can Indians point to which unifies them? It is Indian democracy its principles and institutions. National pride and patriotism has become fused to diffuse support for democracy.

V. Institutions

India has very lengthy written constitution: 395 articles, 9 schedules and 80 amendments. Compare to UK with no written constitution or the US 7 articles and 27 amendments. It was written primarily by Dr Ambedkar, a leading Dalit, in the Constituent Assembly from 1947-50. The Constituent Assembly faced the problems of every developing state: the consolidation of central control; the alleviation of mass poverty and the security of the state. During the time these institutions were being created, there was a series of crises: the communal violence of partition, the assassination of Mohandas Gandhi, a war with Pakistan, and the integration of the princely states. The features of this Constitution would reflect the imperatives of that time in seeking to balance representativeness and stability, creating a democratic but strong state. The Congress Assembly Party had a heavy influence on the drafting whose product was the embodiment of the Nehruvian wing of the nationalist movement. The preamble reads:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all

Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly do hereby, adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution

India was to be a parliamentary democracy, federal, republican and secular. This was Nehru's dream but not a Gandhian constitution which some in the assembly favored - a

decentralized state built around the village panchayat. Why these aims?

Parliamentary Democracy - built upon the institutions gradually extended during the British Raj and in which political elites had made their names, diffuse legitimacy in these to some degree had already been built

Federal - also had a place in pre-independence institutions beginning with dyarchy in the 1919 Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and substantiated as federalism in the Government of India Act of 1935. Further it reflected the diversity of the country, interests of provincial politicians in attendance at the Assembly and fears over excessive centralization the British had used to subjugate 400 million Indians

Republican - symbolized India's symbolic divorce from the British Crown. India would be a Dominion in the Commonwealth of Nations but choose its own Head of State.

Secular - meant that India would not be a restored Hindu raj, Bharat, thereby legitimating Pakistan and the Muslim League fears for the 40 million Muslims remaining after Partition. Despite the demands of conservative Hindus in the Assembly led by Sardar Patel, there would be no retaliation against domestic Muslims nor favoring of Hindus in patronage and policy. India would have impressive protections for the freedom of religious expression and equal protection for all citizens.

The Constitution established seven fundamental rights

- (1) right of equality [equal protection, equal opportunity, bans untouchability, bans public discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, race, sex, or place of birth]
- (2) right to freedom
- (3) right against exploitation

(4) right to freedom of religion

(5) cultural and educational rights [linguistic minorities can conserve their own language and teach it in schools]

(6) right to property, and

(7) right to constitutional remedies

The Constitution relied heavily upon the Government of India Act of 1935 as the source for some 250 of its articles with little or no change. In this way institutional interruption was limited. But there is actually a blend of systems. We can see elements of both the British and American approaches. Nehru went to Cambridge and Ambedkar, Columbia. Also there are similarities to the German Basic Law under consideration at the same time.

Here are some of the basics of the institutions:

A. President - Head of State

current: K R Narayanan (1997-2002) first Dalit Pres, Congress from Kerala

elected to 5 yr term by electoral college composed of all MPs in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha *and* the Vidhan Sabhas proportional to population to represent the states and the Union as a whole.

Members vote on a ballot with both first and second preference; potentially a victorious candidate could lose on the first preference if there were sufficient second preference votes. If there is no majority on first preference, second preference is included.

Often VP s are elevated to Presidency. Usually Pres are very old after long legislative and/or party career

can be re-elected, can be impeached by Parliament for violating the Constitution

have party affiliation, nominated by parties for election

no formal veto power but can withhold assent from non-appropriation bills requiring the bill to be passed again by Parliament, Presidents have become increasingly activist using social pressure to support democratic aims since the time of Indira Gandhi's premiership

duty is to preserve/protect/defend the constitution, powers exercised in accordance with the advice of the Council of Ministers but not bound to follow this advice

President nominates some MP's, invites party leader to form government (this need not be of the largest party)

if govt falls or resigns, Pres can order new elections OR invite another leader to form a govt

upon advice of PM, appoints other ministers

upon advice of Council of Ministers, appoints Governors and justices of Supreme Court and High Courts

under Article 123 on the advice of PM the President may promulgate ordinances when Parliament is not in session if conditions demand it; these presidential ordinances have the power of an act of parliament, but must be presented to parliament within six weeks of its reconvening

Emergency powers (article 352), in special conditions e.g. threat to security of the state by war or external aggression or by internal disturbance, a breakdown in the constitutional government of a state and/or a threat to financial stability, the President can suspend right to freedom and constitutional remedies. These automatically lapse if not approved by Parliament within two months. This has been used three times: during the 1962 war with China, the 1971 war with Pakistan and the 1975-7 Emergency. After the Janata Party came to power in 1977, they lifted the Emergency powers, repealed two acts which provided for preventive detention and

arrest without charge and with the 44th amendment changed the internal emergency requirement from internal disturbance to the more demanding armed rebellion

An emergency can be declared within a state for a breakdown of law and order. The government of that state can be sacked and President's Rule imposed. Without Parliamentary extension this direct rule expires after six months. This power has been abused (especially by Indira Gandhi) displacing opposition governments

The VP is elected by both houses of Parliament in joint session and steps in as Acting President when necessitated by death, removal, resignation or incapacity

B. Prime Minister - Head of Govt / Council of Ministers / Cabinet

Prime Minister

current: Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1999-2004) of BJP alliance

invited by Pres to form LS coalition

typically from largest LS party

must maintain LS majority (or fall)

by tradition, from LS (exceptions: I Gandhi and Rao who won hastily-arranged by-elections)

PM selects ministers for the Pres to appoint. Ministers must be members of Parliament - either the Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha. A non-member can be appointed if he/she becomes a MP within six months

in the Council of Ministers there are more than fifty cabinet ministers, ministers of state and deputy ministers; too many to effectively and efficiently approve all proposals

like UK, collective responsibility (may not publicly criticize policy; if must resign)

The Cabinet is a subset of the Council for those ministers holding the most important portfolios;

few votes are taken; relatively little policy originates there (only 2% of govt business); some 15-20 ministers are members

Cabinet Committees are where policies are created. These have only a few ministers for a specific policy area. Prime Minister, Home Minister and Finance Minister are members of many Cabinet Committees

Cabinet Secretariat - is the section of the Administrative Service which supports cabinet ministers in their work. The Secretariat guards access to the PM and provides senior advisors headed by the Principal Secretary. This is a staff of some 200. Within the Secretariat as well is the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's MI-5

C. Rajya Sabha Council of States

250 members on 6 yr terms (staggered like US Senate)

up to 12 appointed by Pres for significant contribution to the nation in literature science art and social service

remainder selected by Vidhan Sabhas

low population states are over-represented

meets in continuous session, cannot be dissolved

non-appropriation bills can originate in either house

has right to be consulted on policy; no distinct role has evolved

if LS bill is rejected or amended by RS, LS needs only to re pass it and transmit to Pres, RS

cannot block legislation

many constitutional amendments however require 2/3 of both houses to pass

D. Lok Sabha Council of the People

[map of Lok Sabha constituencies]

this is the more important house

545 members

of which 543 elected directly using SMDP of territorial districts using the 1971 census (why? Not penalize effective family planning efforts)

By 1991, constituency size varied from 31,665 in Lakshadweep to 1,744,592 in Bombay's Thane suburb [show map of state LS seats]

Of these MP's 530 are from the states and 13 from the Union Territories

up to 2 nominated by the Pres for the Anglo-Indian community (if none elected)

there are reserved seats for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST)

up to 5 yr term

must meet at least twice per year and no more than six months between sessions

PM can call elections

elects a Speaker (role is like in UK)

question time (like in UK) - increasingly popular now over 60,000 questions submitted per year

has seven standing committee, mainly for oversight

PM heads govt in Parl as coalition leader

to be the official opposition, a party or group must have at least 50 MPs; no one did until 1969

when Congress (O) did

while debate is conducted primarily in English and Hindi, other languages can be used. A number of MPs have refused to use the national languages, preferring a regional language

financial bills must originate in Lok Sabha

E. Supreme Court

court system is unitary

has power of judicial review

exclusive jurisdiction for disputes between Union and states or amongst states

has Chief Justice + 25 associate justices

appointed by Pres, serve until age 65

may be removed by LS (like impeachment)

litigation is overwhelming the judiciary system: 150,000 pending for Supreme Court, 2.8 mln for the 18 High Courts and 30 mln for the court system as a whole

SC has been key in defending Civil Liberties and Environment and combating Corruption

F. Indian Administrative Service (IAS)

successor to the UK established Indian Civil Service (ICS)

at independence ICS was 52% British staffed

with the British gone and many Muslim officers leaving at partition, the ICS was decimated

ICS was integrated into the new IAS

of 17 mln govt employees some 5000 are IAS, the elite cadre of the bureaucracy

IAS officers are generalists getting training on the job and working in a particular field for only 1 or 2 years

there are separate IAS cadres for each state; individual IAS officers are permanently assigned to particular states; one half of IAS come from outside of the state to which they are assigned as a check on corruption

there is no Central cadre but IAS officer are deputed from state cadres

recruitment to IAS is done by competitive examination (1 in 700 make it)

with growth of the private economy, the IAS has become less appealing for the best of the best

overtime the IAS has become more diverse with now 20% of recruits women and 30% scheduled caste/scheduled tribe/OBCs

G. States (25 of them)

states have institutions like the Union

1. Governor - like president

appointed by Pres after consulting with PM and CM. Gov is from outside the state to provide neutrality

2. Chief Minister - like PM

3. Vidhan Sabha Legislative Assembly - like Lok Sabha

4. Reserved vs concurrent powers

Centre: defence, foreign affairs, income taxation, finance, communication, railways

State: agriculture, education, public health, irrigation, local govt, police, land taxation

Concurrent: labor, economic planning, price controls, subsidies

H. Union Territories (7)

LS may legislate on a broader range of issues

VI. Parties

1. Elections: Rules of the game

a. System

Run by the independent Election Commission (3 member body, appointed by president to 6 year term, mandatory retirement at age 65)

now Electoral system = Single Member District Plurality (SMDP) or first-past-the-post (before 1962 there was a mix of single- and multi-member districts)

SMDP as you will recall is the electoral system of the UK and is common in democratic ex-British colonies. Maurice Duverger argued in 1969 *le scrutin majoritaire à un seul tour tend au dualisme des Partis* (transl. The simple-majority single-ballot electoral system favours a two-party system). But buried in *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State* is a further specification of the hypothesis, that this phenomenon operates at the constituency-level, viz., SMDP supports a two party system *in that district*. India has seven major national parties (BJP, Congress, BSP, CPI, CPM, Janata Dal Secular, Janata Dal United) plus 40 recognized state parties (won 4% of their state's LS seats and/or 3% VS; active for five years). [Do not need to be a registered party to stand for office (in 1999 elections there were 122 unregistered parties plus independents). Being registered gets priority use of free symbols, two sets of electoral rolls and free air time on Doordarshan during general elections (for state party, in state only)] Returning to the party system, SMDP favours two parties in that district which we generally find but when aggregated to the national level, the Lok Sabha is multiparty leading to unstable coalitions.

Examples: DMK vs CPM in southern Tamil Nadu, Congress vs CPM in Kerala, Congress vs BJP in Punjab, Janata Dal vs BJP in Bihar etc

Voting requirements:

*Universal suffrage at 18 (by the 61st amendment (1988));

*must be a resident (no absentee) unless working abroad for Union Government (embassies, etc);

*register and vote at current residence

SMDP encourages extensive party organization to be able to contest nationwide. Congress growing out of the liberation movement had this (and still does to a degree). BJP also emerged from a social movement represented by the RSS and has wide and deep roots in the Hindi-speaking heartland of Northern India

India's politicians may contest for two constituencies simultaneously; sometimes, popular leaders do so to show off the spread of their personal support, but more often it is to hedge their bets. If they win in both, they must pick one to represent and throw the other open for by-election. Indira Gandhi did this in 1977

b. funding

membership dues, contributions, public meetings, business, trade unions, NRI s, publishing, cooperatives, industrial groups and the underworld/kickbacks

Congress has typically been the best funded

Funds go to the center and then are redistributed to state organizations

fund-raising limits

MP: Rs 1.5 mln

MLA: Rs 600,000

these limits are regularly violated with MP spending going to Rs 50 mln and the BJP and

Congress averaging Rs 20 mln per Lok Sabha seat

c. candidate selection

chosen by party organization

Congress formalized the selection criteria in 1967: (1) applicant's record of party loyalty (2) commitment to party programme (3) legislative or other constructive experience and (4) whether the selection broadens the base of support

as selection of candidates may indicate the status of factions within a party these can become hotly contested

they seek to have institutional interests represented and tap into vote banks

beginning candidates will be assigned to unlikely constituencies to prove loyalty. Senior officials will stand in one or more safe districts

2. Profiles of major parties

a. BJP

currently the largest party is LS

center-right

led by Vajpayee since founding

formed in 1980 out of the old Jana Sangh; sought to build a Hindu nationalist party that would be more moderate, more open and more democratic but retain its RSS core and cadre

BJP manifesto has five commitments

(1) nationalism and national integration

(2) democracy

(3) positive secularism - common set of values distilled from Indian civilization

(4) Gandhian socialism

(5) value-based politics

BJP has oscillated between militant Hindu nationalism based on ethno-religious mobilization for its RSS base and moderation for coalition-building

like Congress, BJP combines the features of a party and a movement

has little support outside of the Hindi-speaking heartland where it is dominant; supported almost exclusively by relatively high-caste Hindus

became powerful during a wave of communal violence across North India in the early 1990s

[Janata diagram]

b. Congress [CP(I)]

[Congress diagram]

Congress is one of the world's oldest parties - founded in 1885. Since the time when this party was the core of the nationalist movement there have been repeated splits, fragmentation, organizational weakness and personalization of power which have been transformative events.

One Party Dominance: The Congress System (1947-67)

From the pre-independence elections until the split of the late 1960's Congress was the most heterogeneous and differentiated party. The only one of national scope with its organizations extending into each state, each district. Until 1967 the critical arena of competition was *within* the competitive Congress System which was created to ensure the continuance of a political community. There was a dominant party of consensus and a party of pressure which served as an opposition party to constantly criticize and influence party policy by influencing elements at its margins and retaining a latent threat of defection. To survive, the consensus must be flexible and able to absorb pressuring elements. But any consensus was severely factionalized. Congress as the vehicle for national liberation brought together an eclectic set of people and interests. Claiming exclusive legitimacy as the nationalist party, it sought to resolve conflicts and blur ideological distinction in the quest for consensus. The factions which emerged as organized groups could be tapped by opposition parties - Jana Sangh, Swatantra, Socialists, Communists - affording disproportionate influence. The response to such divergent interests, trying to coopt issues from the opposition led to policy contradictions. With ideological partisan identification gone, Congress came to rely upon patronage, favors, promises and bargains. As the electorate became integrated into modern political elite selection, the parties traditionalized to clientilism. Congress, the movement against the status quo had become it, an advocate for much of what it had formerly opposed. With the loss of a mission, represented traditional factions led to a paralysis in local government.

As Congress was becoming ideologically factionalized it was also being federalized to mirror the federal state organization for which it sought office. Increasingly independent state parties formed the starting point for ascension within the organization. A new generation of state party leaders, active after the worst of the independence struggle captured state organizations. These bosses with their state political machines steadily gained national influence

Schism: Collapse of the Congress System (1967-77)

a. Congress splinters

Again, for the first two decades of sovereignty the Congress party dominated political life nation-wide at all levels and for a further decade at the Union level. The Congress System began its demise after Nehru's death in 1964. In this first crisis of succession in which selection was contested, he was succeeded by Lal Bahadur Shastri for two years until he died. In 1966, Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister selected not by Parliament but by a working group of the Congress Party - state bosses called the Syndicate from AP, TN, Maharashtra and West Bengal, managed by Kamaraj Nadar. These were all bosses from outside of the Hindi-speaking heartland. The choice was made by the party organization and validated unanimously by the Congress Parliamentary Party.

Congress chose Shastri and Indira Gandhi on the assumption that each had no independent bases of support and thus could be controlled by the state party bosses as opposed to Morarji Desai from Gujarat who wanted the premiership both times but was not seen as controllable. They assumed wrong. 1967 - the year a post-independence generation came to voting age - was a watershed year. The Syndicate was responsible for ticket allocation (a British term for choosing who gets to run under the official party line symbol) but these official candidates began losing elections especially in the states where the key Syndicate bosses were situated. Congress lost one-third of the Lok Sabha seats and eight state governments.

Mortally weakened, in 1969 conflict between PM Indira Gandhi and the Syndicate

materialized over the fight for the Presidency - a basically symbolic office - when Dr Zakir Hussain died and the Vice President V V Giri took over as Acting President. Indira Gandhi wanted Giri to be elected President; the Syndicate favored Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, one of their own from Andhra Pradesh, to better control Indira Gandhi. The right wing backed C D Deshmukh. On the first count no candidate won, but with second-preference ballots Giri won. Incensed, Indira Gandhi was expelled from the Congress Party but she won the confidence of many Congress MP s with CPM and DMK support. This established the Prime Minister as the effective Party Leader. Indira Gandhi, however, lacked party organization. The result, aided by advances in mass communications was the rise of the personal party: she reviewed all ticket allocations.

The Election Commission allowed two Congress parties the Congress (R) Ruling led by Indira Gandhi and Congress (O) Organisation run by the Syndicate. Indira Gandhi did not allow the supporters of any one state leader to get a majority so that each would be dependent upon her.

b. the 1971 elections Garibi Hatao (Abolish Poverty)

Fearing an eventual loss of support Indira Gandhi called elections for 1971 and delinked national and state elections such that state conflicts/issues would not interfere with voting for Union candidates. They would not be elected at the same time. In the 1971 elections Congress (O) won 10% of the vote for 16 MP s while the Congress (R) got 48% - more than Congress prior to the split in 1967 got as new voters were mobilized - for 352 seats - an absolute majority. Indira Gandhi ran on the platform Garibi Hatao which means Abolish Poverty. But there was no clear economic program and coupled with the costs of refugees and war in 1971 and severe drought, strong economic results were not apparent. After two years, these centralizing statist Welfare State Policies began to draw substantial protests. During a National Railway Strike the Railway Minister was assassinated. In Bihar, the Socialist Jayaprakash Narayan advocated for the localization of power and land reform. Lock-outs disrupted the functioning of enterprises.

In this climate two things happened. On June 12 1975 Indira Gandhi was found guilty of

electoral corruption by the UP High Court on two minor but non-permissible charges (1) a member of the government worked on her campaign and (2) using public employees for party purposes. She was acquitted of more serious bribery and intimidation charges. The consequences were severe (1) her 1971 election was invalidated (2) she had to resign as Prime Minister and she was banned for elective office for six years. Secondly, The next day, in Gujarat the Congress (R) state government was defeated by Morarji Desai. In response it was replaced under the President's Rule provision prompting a national march on Parliament. For the first time since independence local protests threatened to become national.

Led by Narayan, the Opposition called for Indira Gandhi's immediate resignation and the police and military not to obey illegitimate orders and urged to join the popular grievances. Hartal or general strike was ordered.

c. the Emergency / 42nd amendment

Fearing political death, Indira Gandhi took action. She called the party leaders - who were dependent upon her - together to publicly support her and the Congress Parliamentary Party passed a resolution (6/24/75) calling for Indira Gandhi to continue as Prime Minister.

The National Emergency was declared. This was martial law. The opposition was jailed. Press censored. There was a program of compulsory sterilization, primarily of the poor. Critically, the court of judicial review did nothing at this time. However on the positive side, The military was not involved in implementing these policies.

How could an authoritarian regime be put into place in a democratic state? There are two constitutional provisions of President's Rule: Article 356 allows that when a state's government is unable to govern, the President (on the advice of the Prime Minister) governs through his appointee, the governor. Indira Gandhi used this provision six times as often as her predecessors combined. Article 352 permits emergency rule in cases of internal or external disturbances which threaten the integrity of India.

Under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act some 35,000 political prisoners were incarcerated and Guidelines were imposed upon the press. Intended to be more long-lasting was the 42nd amendment with the following provisions (1) courts could not judge the constitutionality of law (2) fundamental rights of the citizens (freedoms) were transformed into values or goals not legal rights (3) the President can amend the Constitution by proclamation for a period of two years not subject to Parliamentary review and (4) the President is bound by the advice of the Prime Minister. After the Emergency the 42nd amendment was declared unconstitutional. The Emergency was characterized by (1) control of intermediate elites (2) corporatism (linking Congress constituency groups to the state in the National Apex Body - Chamber of Commerce + National Trade Union Council + National Forums [youth, farmer, women]) (2) no mass media news against the stability of the government could be published (3) expansion of intelligence (Research and Analysis Wing) and coercive services which spied on political opponents and their supporters (4) creation of Central Reserve Police (5) Central Industrial Security Force (in the steel mills of Bihar) (6) Border Security Force and (7) a provision which enable the Prime Minister to quarantine dissent to prevent the nationalization of dissent Police were placed not under local control but had to report to the Prime Minister. All these reduced dependence on the military which was not participating Emergency institutions

d. the 1977 election Indira Hatao (Abolish Indira)

After two postponements, Indira Gandhi called elections in 1977 (by the Const under normal conditions would have been 1976 at the latest). Her intelligence showed wide popular support with the opposition leaders jailed, press censorship and prices had been brought under control (inflation was 30% at imposition) but they were unable to determine the people's true sentiment. From 1976 Sanjay Gandhi had gained increasing influence focused on his family planning programme. This would be the key grievance. There were vasectomy quotas and raids by government officials on villages and poor neighborhoods. Another of his priorities - slum

clearances - generated enemies.

In the run-up to the elections Indira Gandhi relaxed some press restrictions and freed political prisoner opposition figures. The opposition was disorganized and stood no chance, she figured. But the opposition united in the Janata Party under the motto of Indira Hatao (Abolish Indira) and Jagjivan Ram defected from Congress (R) forming the Congress for Democracy (CFD) having seen his own power eroded. They joined with Akali Dal, DMK and CPM. Congress held the support of AIADMK and CPI. The Janata Election Manifesto defined the basic issue: the choice before the electorate is clear. It is a choice between freedom and slavery; between democracy and dictatorship... Congress (R) campaigned for progress and stability but for whatever economic development there had been, the Emergency had adversely affected most Indians: labor denied the right to strike, salaried workers had wages garnered, shopkeepers were harassed by the police, capital controllers investigated for taxes, , the intelligentsia persecuted and many others extorted. Indira Gandhi suffered the course of dictators seeking a popular mandate: she had no barometer of her public support. She thought Congress would win. She was wrong.

In what was perhaps the most important election in Indian history, the Janata alliance won 330 seats (298 for Janata/CFD alone) to Congress s 154. A schism however appeared: 92 of Congress s seats came from the South where Janata made virtually no progress. The Emergency had been imposed more rigorously in the Hindi-speaking heartland of North India which in 1971 had supported Indira Gandhi most strongly. Congress at the national level became for the first time the loyal opposition.

Competitive Politics and Unstable Coalitions (1977-present)

Since the 1977 election, Congress (I) has been returned to power at the national level a couple times. Other parties - BJP, Janata, etc - have ruled as well. No one has developed the dominance that Congress had earlier. Congress contests in more districts than any other parties and may win a plurality of the votes summed across all districts but under SMDP has recently

found confidence elusive.

Now both the BJP and Congress lead significant alliances at the national level

currently the official opposition

center-left

traditionally supported in South India and in the North among OBCs, Muslims and Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Congress has recently lost many Scheduled Castes to the BSP, Muslims to Janata Dal and Samajwadi Party and the South to regionalist parties. By 1998 the profile of a Congress (I) voter tends to be female, older, poorer, less educated and low-caste. Among the traditional constituencies only the Scheduled Tribes have remained loyal. Support is more dispersed than BJP. Congress (I) suffers from a lack of leadership, corruption and communalization.

c. CPI in Kerala and CP(M) in West Bengal

communist

CPI founded 1928; initially tied to UK Communists and Comintern

strong in the South, joined nationalist movement in early 1930s; broke with Congress when Germany invaded the USSR; called for supporting the UK war effort; while Congress leaders were jailed CPI built grassroots student, peasant and labour organizations. Deemed antinational at independence for participation in the war, criticism of Gandhi and support of the Muslim League's Pakistan demand. Denounced Congress in all areas of policy and with strikes/uprisings until the mid 1950's when Moscow warmed to India. CPI supported progressive policies and participated in Parl govt. in 1957 won in Kerala forming the first democratically elected communist government.

There were however deep divisions in the communist movement between those willing to cooperate with Congress and those advocating revolutionary struggle. The split became evident

with the Chinese invasion in 1962. The CPI condemned Chinese aggression and called on its members to unite in the defence of the motherland. Many leftists quit in response. By 1964 the CPM (Marxist) was formed from these dissidents. CPM questioned the authenticity of CPI communist credentials and began its electoral onslaught against Congress - the party of the bourgeoisie and landlord classes. Elections were to be an instrument of struggle. Even among the CPM the most ardent Maoists opposed elections favoring armed struggle. In 1967, with the Naxalite uprising they formed the CPI (M-L) (Marxist-Lennist) to initiate immediate armed struggle, liberation of the countryside and encirclement of the cities - the Maoist formula. When Congress split in 1969, CPI backed Congress (R) but permitted state parties to go their own way. The communists became regional in orientation. Communism formally has a class basis but now drew support from a local, diverse social base. Ideology has become diluted by the end of the Cold War and responsibilities of governance.

The communist movement has been cursed by fragmentation. Over time the parties mellowed and became more reformist than revolutionary

As of 1999 elections there were 43 communist parties: CPI, CPM, AICP and 40 splinters of CPI (M-L)

CPM is strong in West Bengal where it has ruled since 1977

CPI has weak dispersed support recently losing to CPM in its home Kerala which is hindered by SMDP

d. Akali Dal in Punjab

regionalist

Punjabi, Sikh nationalist

founded as a movement in 1920's to bring temples under the control of the orthodox Sikh community

contested as a party after independence seeking to establish a Punjabi-speaking state which was achieved in 1966

Akali Dal has never done very well electorally, leading coalitions in Punjab only with Congress (O), Jana Sangh and CPI; later with CPM and Janata Party. At the national level, Akali Dal's inability to draw support from outside their base has limited their Lok Sabha strength to only 13 seats

e. DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu

regionalist

Tamil nationalist from the 1900's

dominated Tamil Nadu since 1967

the Dravidian movement - to purge South India of Brahmin tyranny - formed the Dravida Kazhagam (DK) party in 1944 which did not contest elections but merely agitated. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) formed in 1963 seized upon the linguistic reorganization of the states to transform anti-Brahminism into Tamil nationalism which appealed to non-Brahmin and Brahmin alike in Tamil Nadu. Starting in the cities among the students, DMK support was expanded to the countryside in a fight against Hindi imperialism. A number of Tamil film stars, writers and directors added glamor to the movement. In 1967 DMK crushed Congress in a landslide, led by star Annadurai (Anna) who died in 1969. Film director M Karunanidhi succeeded him but was challenged by film star MGR who formed the break-off All-India Anna DMK. AIADMK is now led by J Jayalalitha who was MGR's romantic heroine in scores of pictures. Both the DMK and AIADMK have been allied to Congress at one time or another. AIADMK is now a BJP coalition partner.

3. The campaign

a. mobilizing the electorate

Political consciousness is remarkable with little variation in partisanship and turnout between urban and rural areas. The key is whether factional struggle is relevant at the local level creating competitive constituency politics. However turnout does correlate to some degree with literacy.

How do you campaign in a country with 52% literacy (used to be much worse) and only 1 television for every 15 people?

- * symbols for parties (e.g. lotus blossom for BJP, hand for Congress (I))

- *larger-than-life cutouts of party leaders

- *mass processions with decorated floats, elephants, and a throng of party cadres taking on a festival atmosphere

- *motion pictures and traditional folk dramas are staged - especially popular with DMK and Telegu Desam

- * video raths trucks driving around with mounted video screen delivering presentations

- *mass public meetings which mix political orations, popular music performances and celebrity appearances (there is also a history of film stars becoming politicians since well before Reagan in the US)

The public events are critical along with party organizations. In 1991 Rajiv Gandhi appeared in 240 constituencies at events like this

There are manifestos (like in the UK) which contribute little to mass voter appeal but parties devote substantial effort to hammering them out. This more of a communication to the political and media elite. Important for newspaper endorsements

b. changes/trends

Has changed over the years as literacy improved and television became more common. This has focused campaigning on the party leaders (potential Prime Ministers) who appeared on Doordarshan and All-India Radio at the expense of party organization. This has led to a personalization of elections

Becoming more like western elections: TV advertising (on private stations), print adverts in newspapers and magazines, billions of handbills are distributed

Election results are typified by two large national blocs headed by BJP and Congress. A third way - the United Front - by 1998 could be pronounced dead.

4. Process of voting

With 605m voters in 1998 the 12th Lok Sabha elections for which 47 parties and 4,708 candidates stood for 539 contested seats were the largest in world history. The Election Commission has quite a logistical task. At a cost of Rs 5 billion, 4.5 million officials are deployed to 900,000 polling stations. No citizen should have to travel more than 2 km to vote. When the first elections after independence were held in 1951-52 polls stayed open for four months; by 1998, it had been reduced to 6 days.

The burdens of voter registration are placed on the Election Commission. They do a house-to-house canvas and make it publicly available so mistakes can be corrected. Photo id cards must be presented at polling station when voting. When confirmed with the official rolls, the voter's finger is marked with indelible ink.

Since 1962, the voter privately marks a paper ballot with a rubber stamp bearing the symbol of their party preference. The ballot is then deposited in a single box in public view.

Spoilt ballots are less than 3% of those cast. Representatives of candidates are welcome to be present at ballot counting which takes place under police protection in a central location for the constituency.

Turnout has grown from 45% (1952) to 62% (1998); highest in more literate (Kerala) and more politicized (West Bengal) states

5. Recent electoral results

a. Results

1999: 25 seated parties; two alliances (BJP 41% LS; Congres(I) 34% LS)

National Recognized 68%

BJP 33.5%

BSP 2.6%

CPI 0.7%

CPM 6.1%

INC 21%

JD(U) 0.1%

JD(S) 3.9%

State Recognized 29.1%

AIADMK 1.8%

DMK 2.2%

Telegu Desam 5.3%

Akali Dal (M) 0.4%

Nat 1 Conference 0.7%

Shiv Sena 2.8%

Registered Unrecognized 1.8%

Independents 1.1%

VII. Economic Development

a. development plans/ history

At liberation India emerged from a regime of initially mercantilist colonial development which was losing its metropole. There were four consensus goals: (1) rapid economic growth (2) self-reliance (3) full employment and (4) social justice. Of these only self-reliance has been achieved with strong economic growth appearing during the 1990's.

In 1947 there were two models of the successful hegemonic powers with radically different approaches to development. Among the Congress elite three distinct economic plans emerged from Nehru, Gandhi and Sardar Patel. Gandhi felt a westernized pattern of industrial development would be dehumanizing and socially undesirable. He wanted decentralized political and economic structures based upon village self-sufficiency. Nehru and Patel favored a strong centralized industrialized state capable of meeting security and developmental challenges. Nehru was a socialist who considered capitalism outdated exploitative and immoral. For him centralized planning and government ownership was the answer. What remained of India's private sector would be highly regulated. Patel distrusted planning and favored private sector development. After Gandhi's assassination in 1948, the debate was between state-led or private industrialization. This debate was not settled until 1956 creating great uncertainties in the meantime. Foreign businesses divested, domestic capital stopped investing and production fell. Facing crisis a decision was made. There would be a mixed economy with public undertakings in three industries - munitions, atomic energy and railways-, public rights to establish enterprises in six more - coal, iron and steel, aircraft production, shipbuilding, telecommunications, and minerals. 18 key industries would be heavily regulated. Foreign capital was invited for the

industrialization but would be regulated by the state and have ownership limited.

The development was guided by five year plans. In the initial one agriculture received the lions share of funding but later on the agricultural surplus would be mined for industrial development. The zamindars as an economic class - created there by the British as aforementioned - were abolished as intermediaries between the tillers or peasants and the state. Large landowners were to be dispossessed. In this land redistribution programme, holdings were to be limited to 30 acres; this was not achieved. In 1956, specific industries were scheduled for development funding and a state role. By the end of the decade development appeared to be taking off. But (1) the plan s implementation was missing targets and (2) consensus was breaking down. Conservative elements challenged Nehruvian socialism and demanded privatization. IBRD and foreign aid sources seeing perpetual crises of exchange called for reduced regulation to diminish transaction costs thereby stimulating the economy. The Indian business community politically stronger due to the growth sought to unburden themselves from heavy taxation and regulation. Government studies showed development was not alleviating poverty. So, Political elites reacted and liberalized 1963-6, decontrolling several industries, freeing small business from licensing and reforming procedures. For agriculture, the 1960s saw the arrival of capital-intensive green revolution strains which would bring India food security by the 1970's and make it a net exporter by the 1990's. If growth and self-reliance were being advanced, redistributive justice was not. Between 1969 and 1973 populism made a comeback as Indira Gandhi constructed a coalition of leftist, socialist and communists. ISI was reinstated with state-led development, nationalization of basic industries and banks, tariff protection of infant industries and capital controls. But by 1973 Indira Gandhi no longer politically needed the far left and India was suffering the

consequences of her folly, intensified by the oil shock. Inflation spiraled to 30%, production fell and the economy ground to a halt. Regulation burdened the economy for a decade, the most regulated in the non-communist world. Plagued by corruption and bribery it came to be known as the Permit Raj (reaching its apex under Rajiv Gandhi). For an industrial project 50 categories of approvals were required taking up to three years. Technological innovation and competitiveness were hindered. For that decade initial gradual steps were taken to undo the damage but these were insufficient.

India has been liberalizing for the past decade. In 1991 currency crisis precipitated by the loss of remittance hard currency due to the Gulf War forced India to seek IMF assistance. Liberalization was the requirement. V P Singh, Rajiv Gandhi's Finance Minister had broken with the past focusing on economic liberalization, technology, efficiency and rooting out corruption. Indian industry lost its state shield and was told compete or perish. Industries were deregulated. Licensing streamlined. Taxes reformed and tax evaders pursued. Corruption remained a problem with Congress the major recipient of bribes. However, inequality was worsening and self-sufficiency being undermined. The debate continued.

But for the reformer the facts were clear. The system was broken. Other developing countries especially China and Indonesia started in the same position or worse off than India and had seen life expectancy, income and literacy rise. India remained a non-entity in world trade. Indian enterprises were not competitive. Current policies had resulted in deep crises. There was however opposition to reform from business. The Bombay Club - representing domestic capital - feared reforms that would open the Indian market to foreign, even NRI, ownership. The emphasis of this group was on economic swadeshi (self-reliance) with tariffs, capital controls and

protectionism in a globalizing world. Regardless, a consensus had formed on gradual liberalization which has held across government instability. Foreign investment - for the BJP, preferably from NRIs - is deemed essential to address problems of infrastructure insufficiency. These capital controllers demand liberalization of regulations and transparency. As economic policy stabilized, economic stagnation has been broken with industry growing at 8.5% annually, market capitalization soared 12-fold in a decade, foreign investment poured in and inflation was reigned in.

In 2001, self-reliance has been largely achieved, growth is strong and inequality has been lessened from 50 years ago but still over one-third of the population remains in poverty. There is self sufficiency in heavy industry, food production, nuclear and higher education. Shortfalls in obtaining objectives remain in distribution (1/3 malnourished), corruption (there remains a high cost of doing business), over-regulation and primary education (literacy remains low).

b. institutions / monetary policy

central bank=Reserve Bank of India - not very independent

as India has not had a hard currency (& many transactions end up being made in USD or UKP) for much of its history, control over monetary policy is limited. In 1994 the rupee was made partially convertible and capital accounts were permitted for NRIs and Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs). The RBI intervenes occasionally to stabilize the currency as it is now openly traded.

the Reserve Bank of India has been so ineffective on the inflationary front, it is not even mentioned in many books on the country. Compare to German post-war development in which Bundesbank inflation-fighting has been so important. If India is to further its economic

development, the institutions of monetary policy will need review,

c. policy performance

i. economic growth

India's Annual Growth (Das, Gurcharan. *India Unbound* (2001))

| Year | % GDP | % Population | % GDP/capita | Notes |
|---------|-------|--------------|--------------|--|
| 1900-50 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.0 | Stagnant under British surzeinity |
| 1950-80 | 3.5 | 2.2 | 1.3 | independent, "Hindu Rate of Growth" |
| 1980's | 5.8 | 2.1 | 3.6 | Indira/Rajiv reforms, tax cut |
| 1990's | 6.5 | 1.8 | 4.7 | Rao's market reforms & privatisation. NB series of economic liberalization reforms executed by minority governments of different parties |

ii. income inequality

(show inequality pyramid)

for comparison (CIA, 1994 data):

| | Brazil | India | Indon | Pakist | Poland | Russia | Sweden | USA |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|
| Low10 | 0.8 | 4.1 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 4 | 3 | 3.7 | 1.5 |
| High10 | 47.9 | 25 | 30.3 | 27.5 | 22.1 | 22.2 | 20.1 | 28.5 |
| Ratio | 59.88 | 6.10 | 8.42 | 6.71 | 5.53 | 7.4 | 5.43 | 19 |

iii. Foreign exchange

now (pre-global slowdown) 6-7% annual growth; \$45bln in forex reserves

vii. Trade deficit

give # s

Imports \$61 bln [oil, machinery, fertilizer]

Exports \$43 bln [textiles, jewelry, chemicals, leather, engineering goods (IT, bio)]

Deficit \$18 bln

would be a problem but for remittances in hard currency from West and Gulf and aid

viii. Fiscal policy

major budget deficits (# s)

revenue \$44 bln

-75% comes from indirect taxes such as tariffs

-only 14 mln people pay direct taxes (income tax)

-marginal rates for corporate and middle-class individual income tax is high - 48%

spending \$73 bln

deficit \$29 bln

effect on cost of use of money (drives up interest rate)

80% of India's budget goes to defence, government payroll, consumer price supports, agricultural subsidies and debt service. Debt is \$99 billion (\$85 bln of this is pre-1991 debt) - more than 20% of GDP at exchange rates - mainly to foreign creditors. 2/3 of this debt is multilateral or bilateral.

Annual debt service is \$15 bln.

[VIII. Int'l Factors; Foreign & Security Policy

1. During cold war

Non Aligned Movt

Global Disarmament

2. Now

Nuke test

Pakistan

Great power aspirations]

IX. Comparisons vs Indonesia

A. Cleavages

- no precolonial unity
- no revolutionary mobilization
- no constructed national language as unifier
- caste but Indo has similar ethnic & religious conflicts

B. Institutions

democracy vs dictatorship

- representation of interests
- political stability

C. Parties - strong parties for successful democracy

- weak in Indo
- Cong weakened by I Gandhi

D. Elites - role of leaders

Good: Sukarno(pre indep), M Gandhi, Nehru

Bad: Sukarno (after), Suharto, I Gandhi

X. Conclusions

Why is India a democracy?

Will it continue to be so? (stability)

Is democracy an impediment to economic development and growth?

XI. Suggested reading

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Wolpert, Stanley *A New History of India*

Sundaram, Sathyan *The Organizational Characteristics of National Liberation Movements and Democratic Stability in Post-Colonial States: India, Pakistan, South Africa, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe* (forthcoming)

C. Institutions

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Hart, Henry *Indira Gandhi's India* (1976)

Kochanek, Stanley *The Congress Party of India* (1968)

Weiner, Myron *Party Building in a New Nation* (1967)

E. Political Culture

Chhibber, Pradeep *Democracy without Associations* (1999)

Diamond, Larry *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*

F. Social Cleavages

Weiner and Katzenstein *India's Preferential Policies* (1981)

G. Economy

Bose, Sudhindra *Some Aspects of British Rule in India* (1916)

Bhagwati, Jagdish *India in Transition* (1994)

Frankel, Francine *India's Political Economy* (1978)

Ghai, Dharam *The IMF and the South* (1991)

Nayar, Baldev Raj *The Political Economy of India's Public Sector* (1990)

Robison and Goodman *The New Rich in Asia* (1996)

Rudolph and Rudolph *In Pursuit of Lakshmi* (1987)

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Postwar Development of India and China: Is the Hindu Rate of Growth the Price for

Democracy? (1997, unpublished)

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