
Fabio Luis Barbosa dos Santos
Universidade Federal de São Paulo

BRICS Winter School, UNICAMP, August
2019

Period	Political Configuration
1947- late 1960s / early 1970s	Congress system / Congress dominance
1970s – 1980s	Gradual breakdown of Congress system
1985-1989	Some moves toward opening up economy under Congress, especially in Telecom sector
1989-1991	Short-lived non-Congress coalition governments
1991-1999	Congress carries out liberalization of economy
1989-1992	BJP starts on its Ram Temple campaign; destruction of Babri Mosque
1999-2004	First BJP- led alliance in power
2004-2014	Congress led Alliance (United Progressive Alliance) in power for two terms
2014-2019	BJP led National Democratic Alliance
2019-	BJP returned to power





Europe

Mediterranean Sea

Egypt

Arabia

Somalia

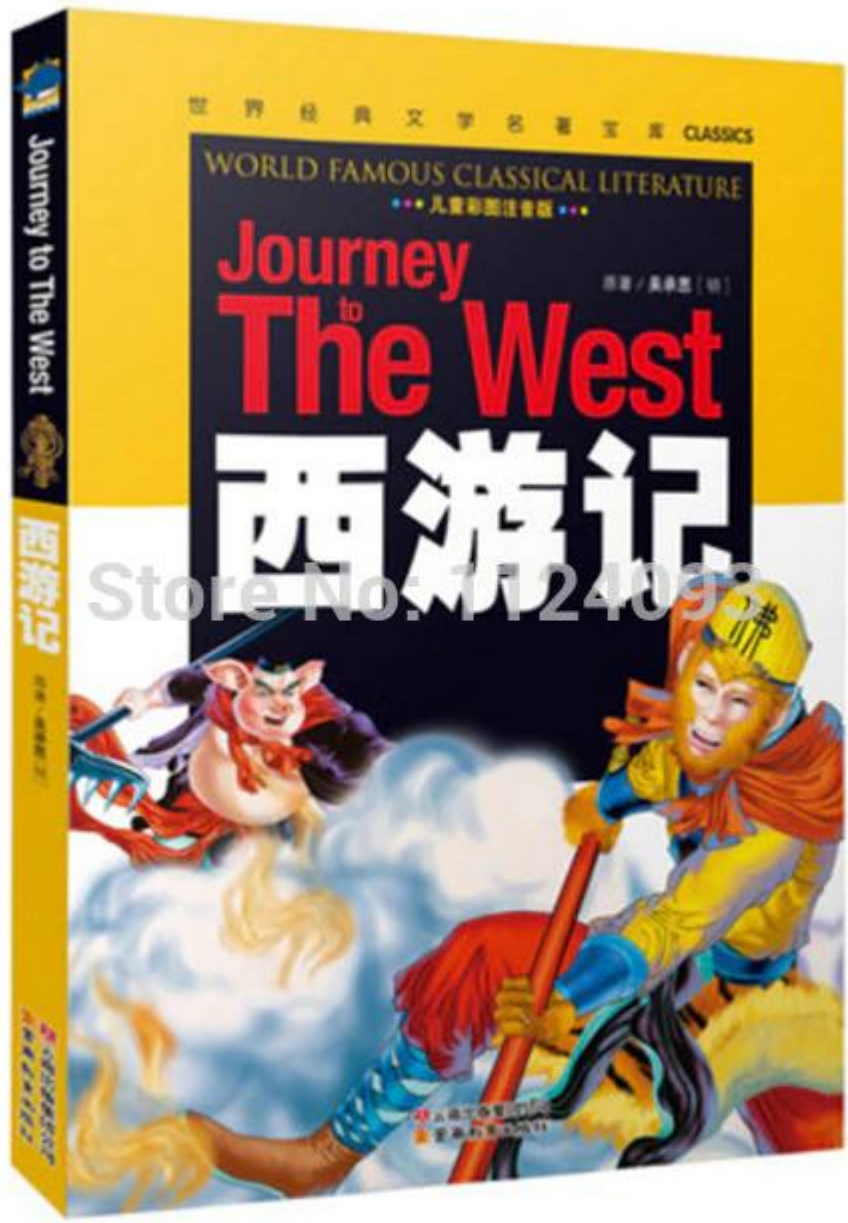
Persia

India

Indian Ocean

China

Java



Store No: 712409







Table 1: Multiplication table for Roman numerals.

\times	I	V	X	L	C	D	M
I	I	V	X	L	C	D	M
V	V	XXV	L	CCL	D	MMD	v
X	X	L	C	D	M	v	x
L	L	CCL	D	MMD	v	xxv	l
C	C	D	M	v	x	l	c
D	D	MMD	v	xxv	l	ccl	d
M	M	v	x	l	c	d	m







PAUL
McCARTNEY
FRESHEN UP

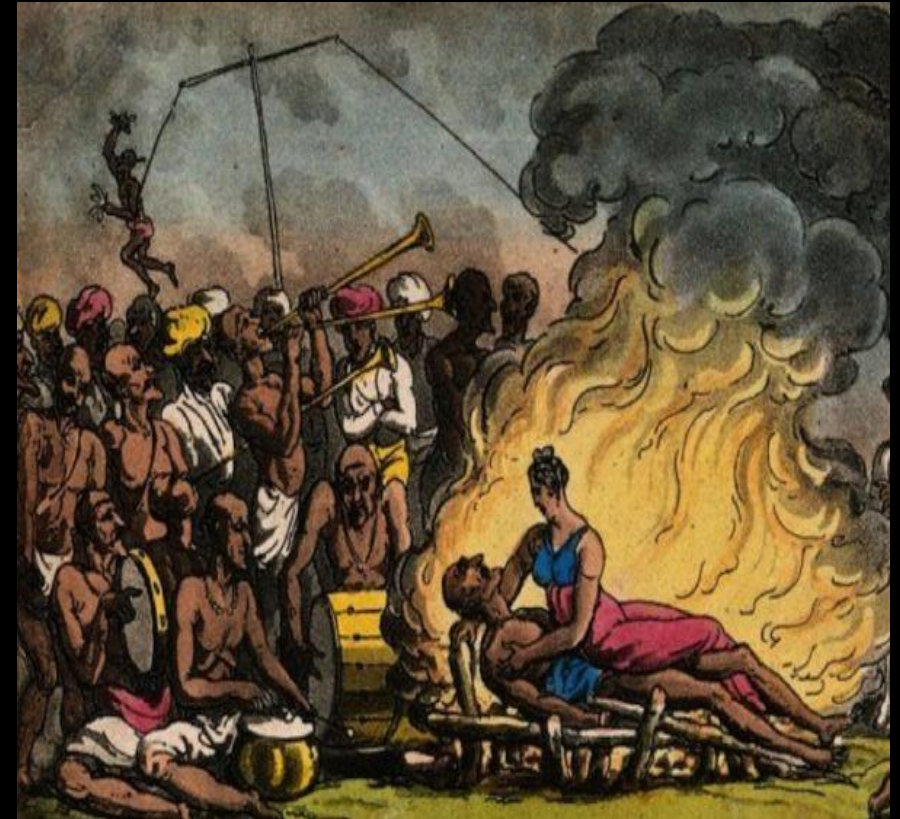
30 DE MARÇO, CURITIBA, ESTÁDIO COUTO PEREIRA

WELCOME,
PAUL!





'Benefits of British rule'



Sati (widow burning ritual) forbidden





neilsatyam





Swadeshi



A procession promoting the Swadeshi Movement in New Delhi, July 1922. Photo: Topical Press Agency / Getty Images

Quit Índia (1942)



Manifestação popular em 1942



Selo postal em referência ao Quit Índia



Independency (1947)



Citizens celebrate India's independence from British rule in the streets of Calcutta. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

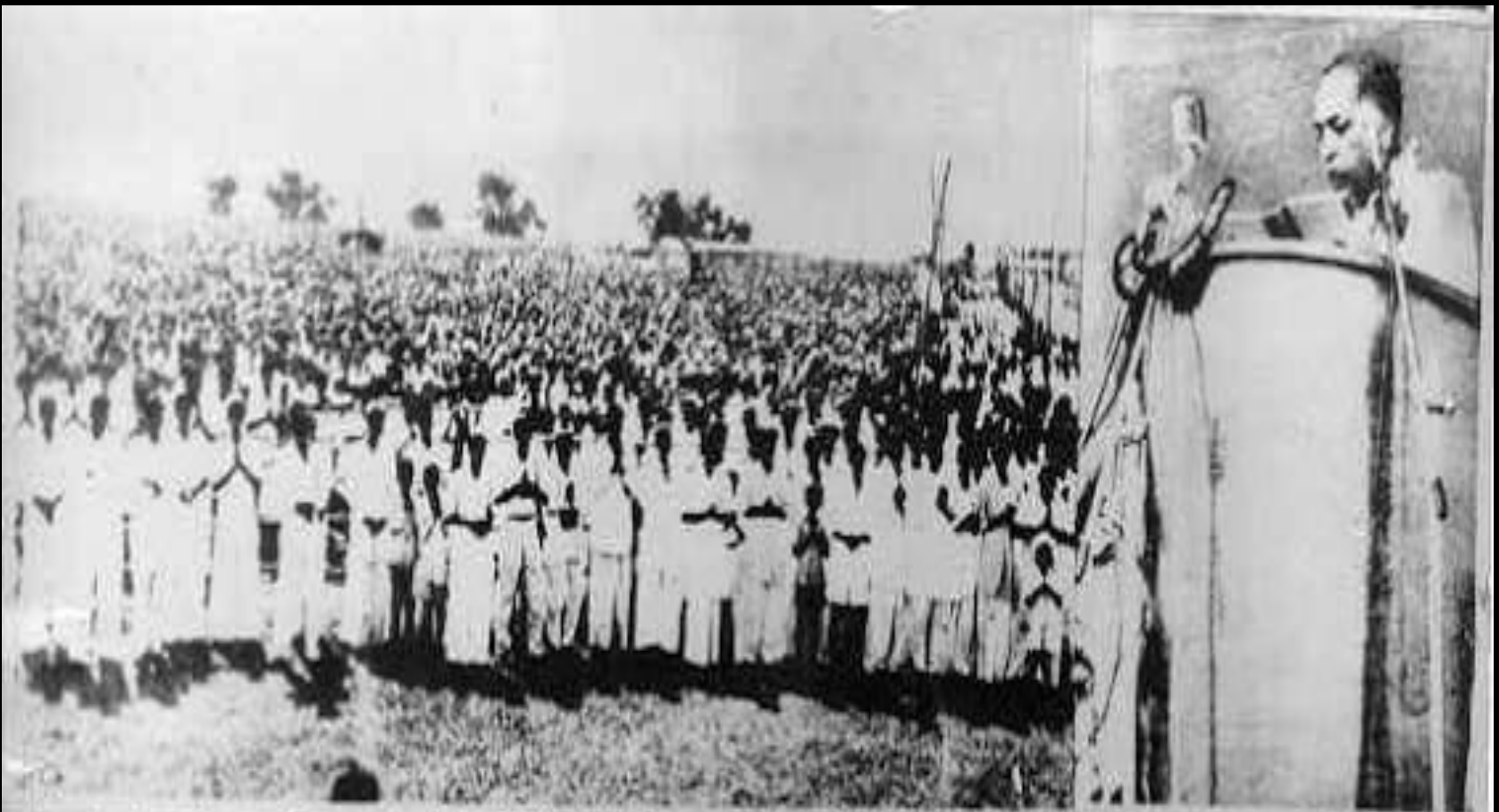


Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addresses parliament after Independence and partition 1947.

Constituent Assembly



8th February 1947: Indian statesman Jawaharlal Nehru (1889 - 1964) moves the resolution for an independent republic in a historic moment at the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi. Original Publication: Picture Post - 4325 - India : The Last Chance - pub. 1947 (Photo by Bert Hardy/Picture Post/Getty Images)



Dr. Ambedkar giving the Deeksha to thousands of his followers at Nagpur on October 14, 1956.

Period	Political Configuration
1947- late 1960s / early 1970s	Congress system / Congress dominance
1970s – 1980s	Gradual breakdown of Congress system
1985-1989	Some moves toward opening up economy under Congress, especially in Telecom sector
1989-1991	Short-lived non-Congress coalition governments
1991-1999	Congress carries out liberalization of economy
1989-1992	BJP starts on its Ram Temple campaign; destruction of Babri Mosque
1999-2004	First BJP- led alliance in power
2004-2014	Congress led Alliance (United Progressive Alliance) in power for two terms
2014-2019	BJP led National Democratic Alliance
2019-	BJP returned to power

In the direction of a non colonial
Nehruvian India
economic development within the

framework of capitalism in the

Third World

Congress as the party of Independence

Economic nationalism:

- ISI
- Central Planning, modelled on the Soviet
- Mixed economy – state having control of “commanding heights”
- Protection for domestic capital
- In late 60s / early 70s, nationalization of banks, expulsion of remaining MNCs

I. The Congress System/ The Two Hegemonies

The BJP as arising in a context put in place by the Congress, but also in the space created by its decline (Achin Vanaik)

The social context of extreme diversity – regional, caste, religious, linguistic.

Parliamentary system; multi-party elections

The Constitution and its principles (key role of its chief architect, Dalit leader Dr B.R. Ambedkar)

- secularism,
- affirmative action,
- in 1970s, Indira Gandhi added “socialism”

The Congress system as a broad church carrying along a variety of tendencies, all largely pragmatic..

- ideological basis – centrist, liberal, broadly “secular”
- class basis – domestic capital, landlords, state elite
- organizational basis – limited cadre base, destroyed by 1970 by Indira Gandhi, who centralized power

An underpinning of authoritarianism –

- strong centre, and suppression of movements for regional autonomy
- deployment of army in NE, Kashmir, etc
- Emergency (1975-1977) and what it represented

And the importance of charismatic, personalistic rule – Nehru, Indira Gandhi; Indira Gandhi has been called a populist

the country's major banks were nationalized (1969),
as were the insurance industry (1971-72)

1970's: State control intensified

and the coal industry (1973),
restrictions on foreign investment were strengthened.

the share of foreign capital in the early 1980s was relatively small

II. The breakdown of the Congress system

Begins late 60s on, and Emergency is to some extent a response to that

Deepens with resistance to the Emergency

Rise of regional parties – DKs in TN, Andhra, NCP in Maharashtra, CPM could also be seen as regional, Akalis in Punjab; BJD in Odisha

III. 1991 – Liberalization carried out by Congress government

Balance of payments crisis

IMF loan

Domestic technocratic elite consensus (epistemic communities located in bureaucracy, MFIs, etc)

Indian capital wanting to expand – ISI, investment in infrastructure, protected markets, had created the capital basis for this sector to grow

Liberalization policies: easing of licensing requirements for industry; liberalization of FDI rules; export-orientation; move toward WTO membership; beginning of labour reform; moves toward privatization of public sector enterprises, and public-private partnerships in infrastructure (highways, ports)



Why support liberalisation?

- Big Indian business perceived international association as a way to overcome the limits of an internal Market that had been growing slowly for decades;
- Other players perceived international partners as a lever to dispute the internal market, against traditional groups;
- Many were tempted by the privatization of public assets, while agribusiness intended to export while not giving away subsidies.
- Aspiration for modernization of consumption pattern, amplified under the influence of the Indian diaspora

Impact of liberalization

High growth – 7-8% over 1990s

Growth of middle class, with consumer power

Rise of Provincial Propertied Classes – use money from agriculture to expand into business, real estate, commerce in small towns

Some sections of capital displaced with opening to foreign companies

New sectors take off – Information Technology being key

But by early 2000s:

Massive land dispossession – factories, highways, ports, tourism, energy projects, mines

Displacement and forced migration

Decline of agricultural productivity

Intensification of resource extraction – mines, forests

Jobless growth – in technology intensive sectors

Most growth in services rather than manufacturing – low paid, precarious work

IV. The Rise of the BJP

Forerunner to BJP – Jan Sangh – founded in 1951; became part of the Janata Party which was established to oppose the Emergency in 1977

BJP was founded in 1980

1989 - BJP starts on its Ram Temple campaign;

1992- destruction of Babri Mosque

Its rise parallels the liberalization (neoliberal globalization) of India's economy

First full term in power – 1999-2004

Narendra Modi was Chief Minister of Gujarat state from 2001-2014.

National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2005)

National Rural Health Mission joined actions to expand rural infrastructure (Bharat Nirman).

social security system coverage was expanded,

financial assistance programme for widows and disabled people living below the poverty line (Indira Gandhi National Widow / Disability Pension Scheme)

Midday meal program, among other initiatives.

Second term: Right of food Act (outraged upper class)

Congress interlude (2004 - 2014)

BJP back in power (since 2014)

The Gujarat Model:

Hindutva – changing textbooks

Building connection with diaspora – giving “Overseas Citizen of India” rights

Massive, highly subsidised land sales, labour reform, minimal environmental regulation

Tight control of bureaucracy, policy; highly centralised, secretive decision making

‘Fast tracking India’

The 2002 pogrom against the Muslims – 2500 killed in the space of 3 days in the most brutal kinds of ways, Muslim women raped, their bodies mutilated, as police were instructed to pull back and watch; millions of dollars worth of property destroyed, thousands displaced.

national

Restrictions on civil society

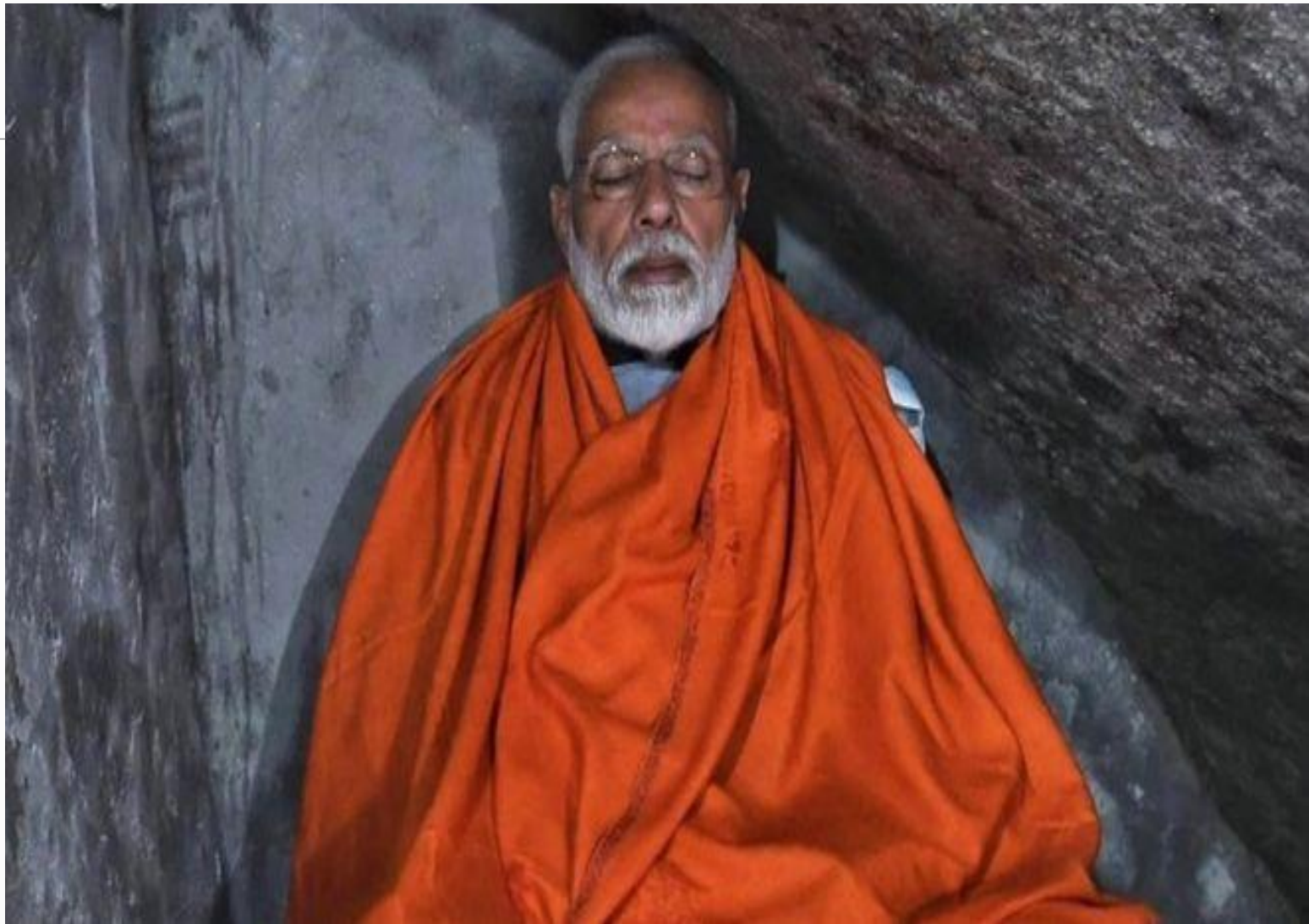
Attacks on intellectuals, universities, media, as “Western” “Liberal” “Elite”

Attack on public institutions

BJP back in power (since 2014)

Technocratic policy-making, policy as spectacle
Repudiation of Nehruvian developmentalism – both ‘secularism’ and ‘socialism’

Celebration of ‘democracy’ – no official declaration of emergency – thus authoritarian-populism rather than classical fascism (Stuart Hall, Federico Finchelstein)





The political economy of Hindutva

Multi-class support

Big capital - easing of land acquisition; and of labour and environmental regulation; contracts

The provincial propertied classes

The middle classes

Diaspora

Urban traders and petty bourgeoisie

- thus not only globalization's cast-outs, but its beneficiaries as well

Under BJP from 2014-2017

Economic growth is now shown to have slowed to 4.5% per year from 2011-2017 (before that, it was 7%)

Unemployment is at a 45 year high.

Agrarian crisis – low prices for agricultural produced; indebtedness of farmers

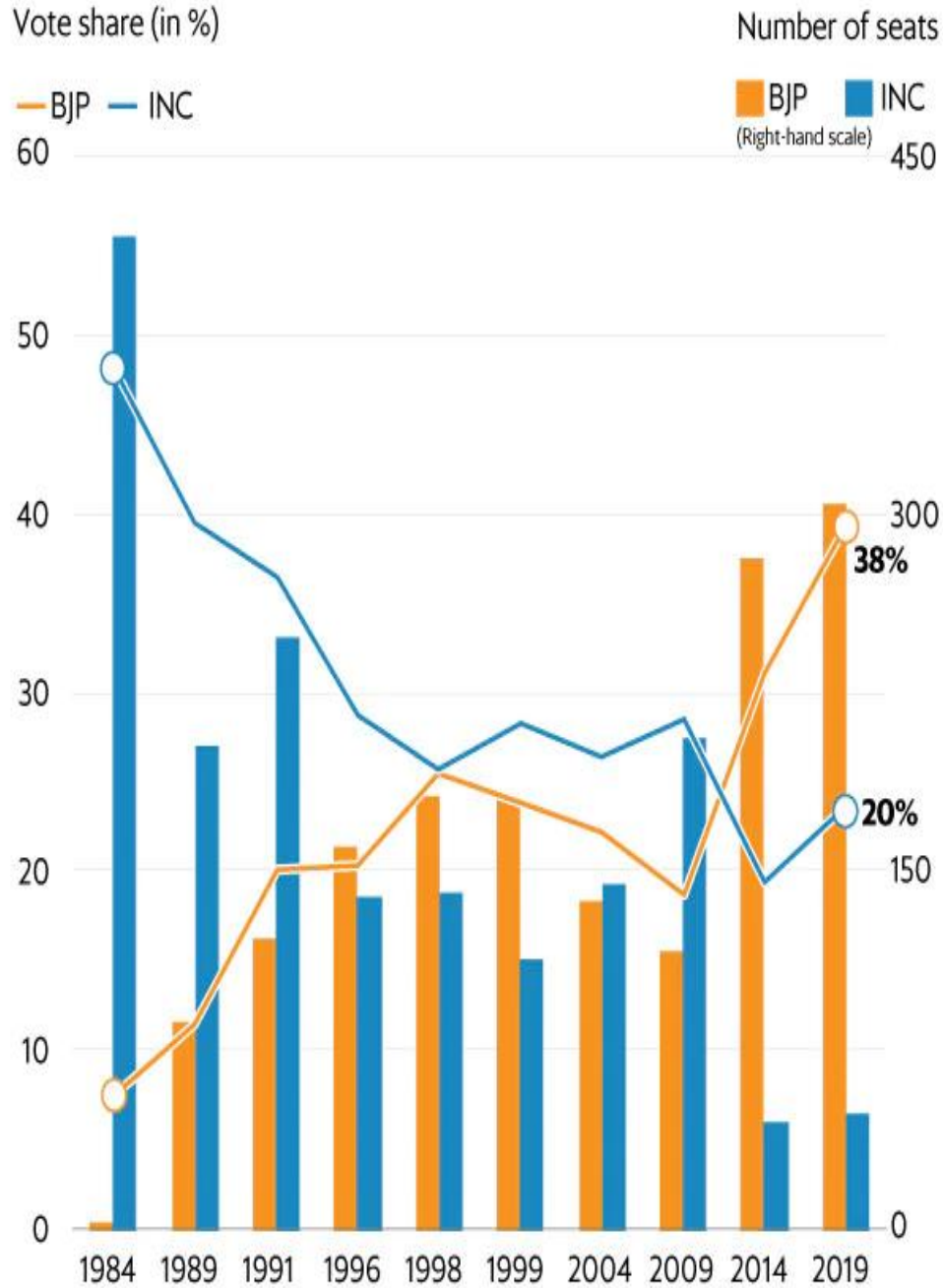
Growth of violence against minorities (Muslims, but also Christians) and Dalits (oppressed castes)

Growing evidence of corruption

2019 Election Results

Party / Alliance	Seats	Vote Share
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	303	37% (up from 31% in 2014)
BJP+ Allies = National Democratic Alliance (NDA)	353	
Indian National Congress (INC)	52	19%
INC+Allies = United Progressive Alliance (UPA)	91	
Other parties	98	
Total	542	

BJP's political dominance now matches the Congress' dominance of the 1980s

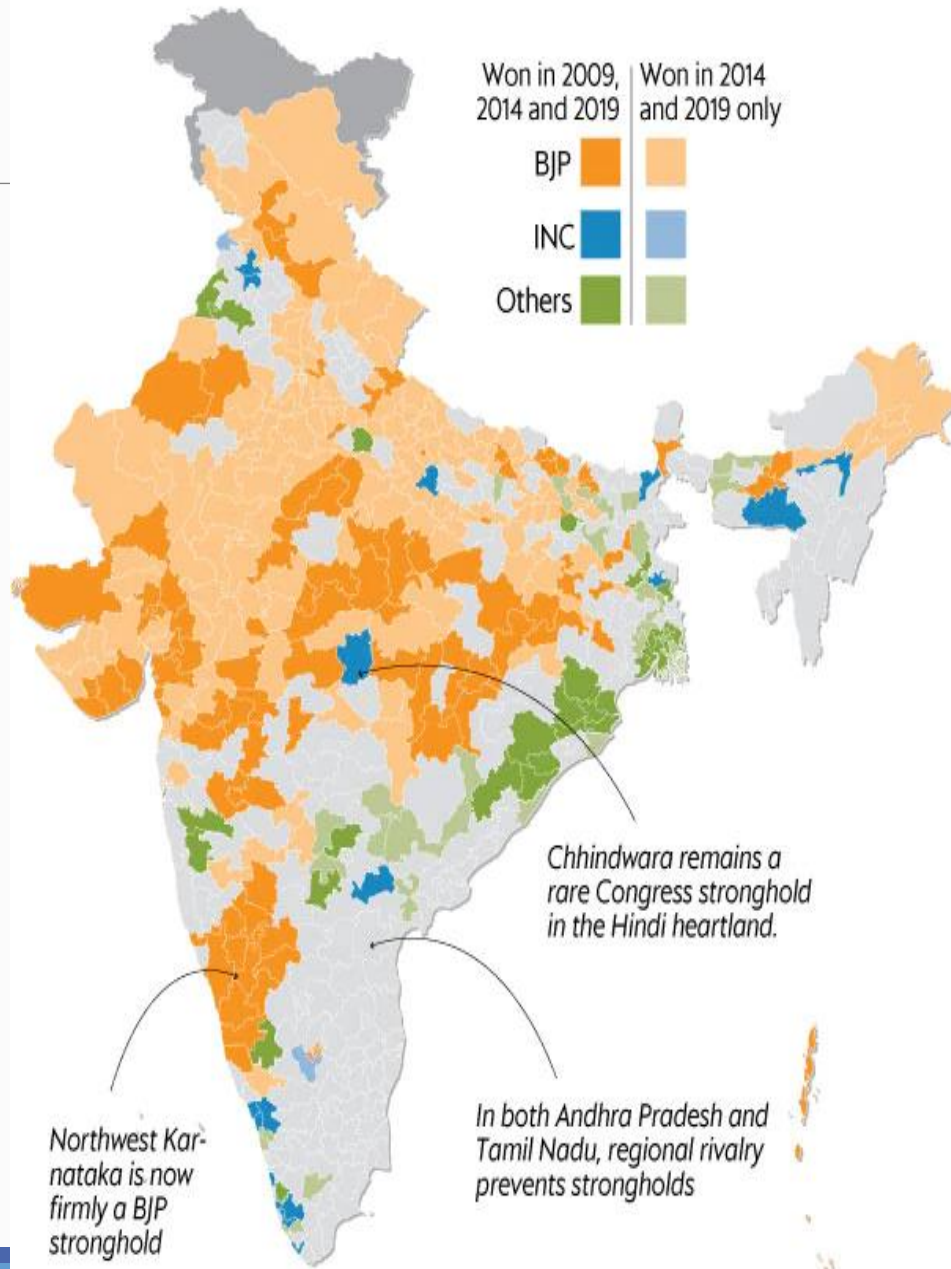


All data based on leads and wins as of 6:00 pm.

Source: Election Commission of India, Howindialives.com, Trivedi Centre for Political Data - Ashoka University

Chart 5

BJP has now established strongholds in the Hindi heart-land while Congress strongholds are dwindling



What does this victory mean? How has this been interpreted?

– Pankaj Mishra wrote in the New York Times: “Modi seduced India with envy and hate: The prime minister has won re-election on a tide of violence, fake news and resentment.”

- All agree that the economy is in crisis, that there have been few achievements on the development and governance fronts. But all agree that this was immaterial.

- What are the conditions under which policy platforms (even if we know them to be more promise than likelihood) become irrelevant to elections?

