



**European Institute for Asian Studies**

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# The 2004 Indian Elections (and Foreign Policy/Security implications)

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# 2004 Indian General Elections

## VOTERS

- 675,000,000 eligible voters.
- Voting on 4 days spread over 2 months.

## CANDIDATES

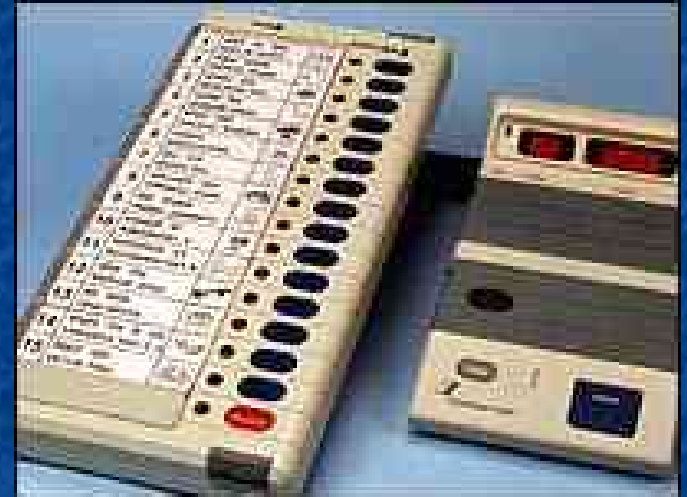
- 542 seats in the Lok Sabha.
- 5398 candidates (inc. 2369 independents) and 300+ political parties.
- Simultaneous elections for the state governments of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa and Sikkim.

## INFRASTRUCTURE

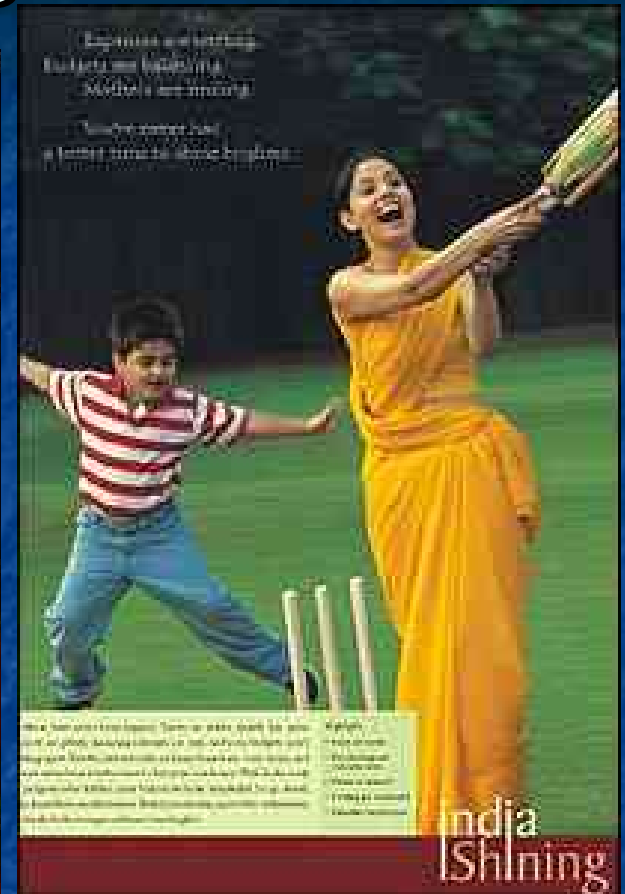
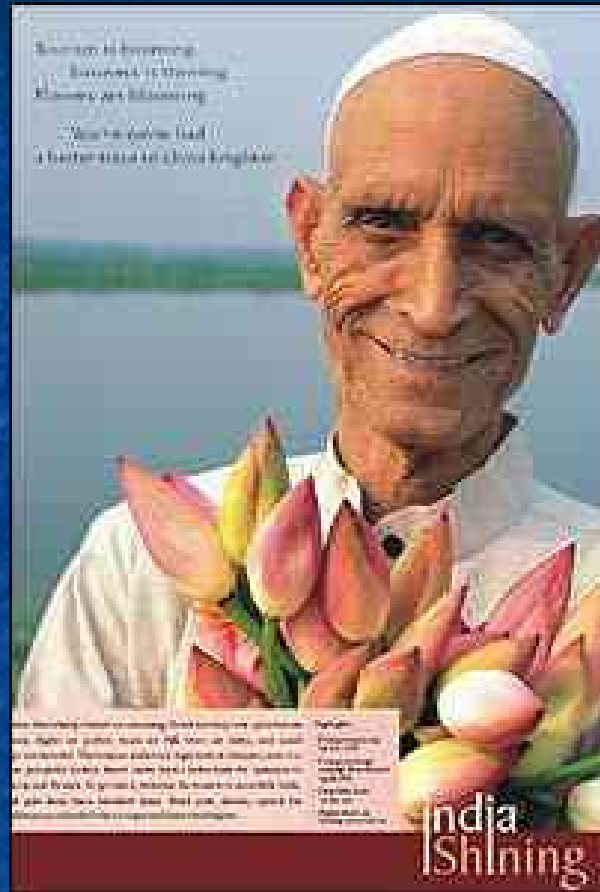
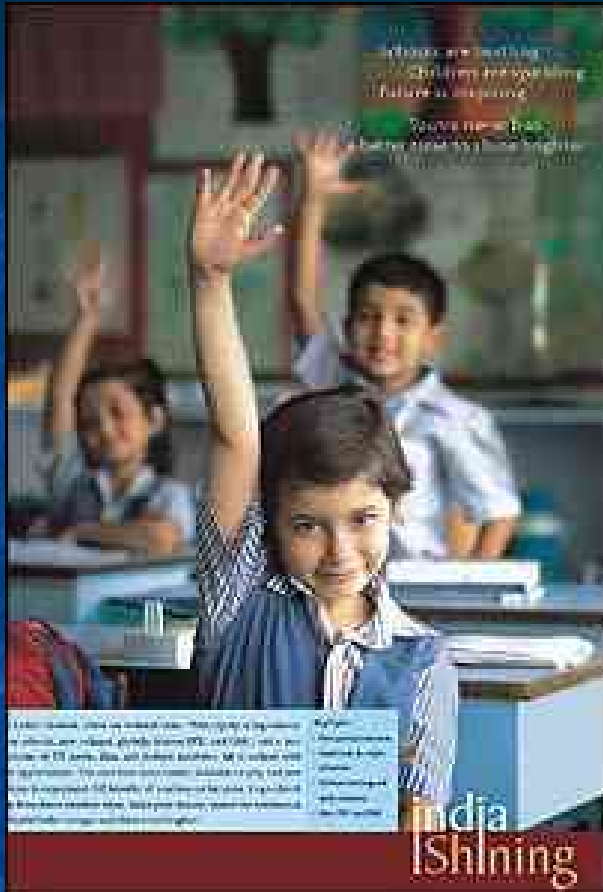
- 1,025,000 electronic voting machines used.
- 700,000 polling stations.

## TURNOUT

- 387,453,223 votes cast.
- 57.4% turnout.



# “India Shining”



“Now is our chance to bury the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty once and for all.”

—BJP Cabinet Minister

In Feb, *India Today* predicts NDA to win 335 seats.

“Congress used to be the party that represented the poor, the Muslims, the tribal groups and the lower castes. We are now the party that represents all regions and groups in India.”

—Sudheendra Kulkarni, senior BJP official in the PMO

# BJP-led NDA out!

BJP did well in traditional strongholds of **Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan** and **Chhattisgarh**.

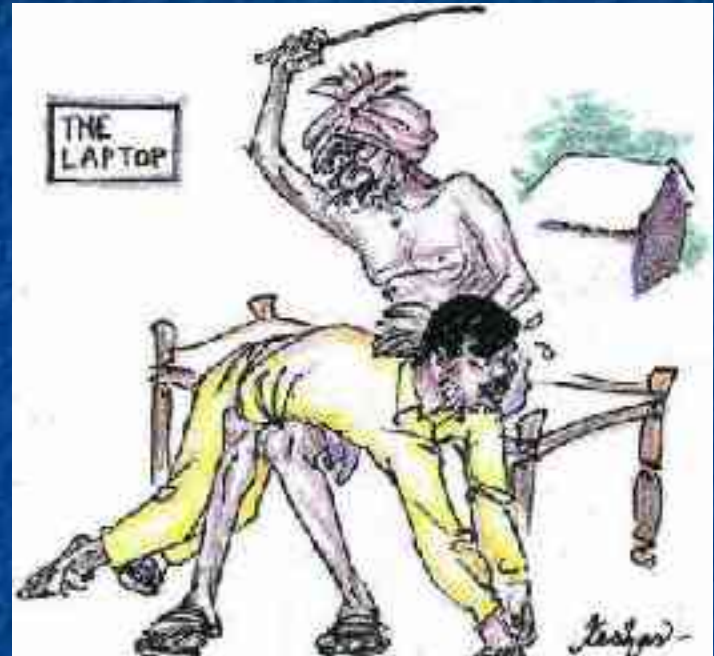
BJP lost big in **Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Delhi, Haryana** and **Gujarat**.

Three BJP allies suffered badly:

- In **Tamil Nadu**: AIADMK of Jayalalitha
- In **Andhra Pradesh**: Telegu Desam Party of Chandrababu Naidu
- In **West Bengal**: Trinamool Congress of Mamata Banerjee

Twelve NDA ministers voted out, including:

- Foreign Minister **Yashwant Sinha**
- Human Resources Development Minister **Murli Manohar Joshi**
- Minister of Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution **Sharad Yadav**



NDA ally **Chandrababu Naidu** of the Telegu Desam Party loses Andhra Pradesh.

# King Cong, Queen Sonia

—Times of India



Sonia Gandhi



Rahul Gandhi



Manmohan Singh



Priyanka  
Gandhi

“The BJP’s publicity is directed at 10 percent of India who live in the cities and own computers and mobile phones. The campaign is either by-passing the rest of the country or is deeply irritating to it. We are not worried.”—Kapil Sibal (now MP from Delhi’s Chadni Chowk)



# Indian National Congress and allies

Parties	Leader	Area	Won	Share	Swing
<b>INC - Indian National Congress</b>	<b>Sonia Gandhi</b>	<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>26.42</b>	<b>-1.88</b>
RJD - Rashtriya Janata Dal	Laloo Prasad Yadav	Bihar	23	01.99	-0.80
DMK - Dravida Munnetra Kazhagan	M Karunanidhi	Tamil Nadu	16	01.81	+0.08
NCP - Nationalist Congress Party	Sharad Pawar	Maharashtra	9	01.77	-0.50
PMK - Pattali Makkal Katchi	Dr S Ramadoss	Tamil Nadu	6	00.56	-0.09
<b>TRS - Telengana Rashtriya Samithi</b>	<b>Ghulam Nabi Azad</b>	<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>00.63</b>	<b>+0.63</b>
JMM - Jharkhand Mukti Morcha	Mukti Nath Upadhaya	Jharkhand	5	00.47	+0.20
MDMK – Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	V Gopalasamy	Tamil Nadu	4	00.43	-0.01
LJSP – Lok Jan Shakti Party	Ram Vilas Paswan		4	00.61	+0.61
JKPDP – Jammu & Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party	Mufti Mohammed Sayeed	Jammu & Kashmir	1	00.07	+0.07
RPI(A) – Republican Party of India (A)	Ramdas Athavale	Maharashtra	1	00.09	+0.09
KEC(M) – Kerala Congress (M)	C.F. Thomas	Kerala	1	00.05	-0.05
AC – Arunachal Congress	Gegong Apang	Arunachal	0	00.02	±0.00
<b>Total</b>			<b>220</b>	<b>35.10</b>	<b>--</b>



# National Democratic Alliance

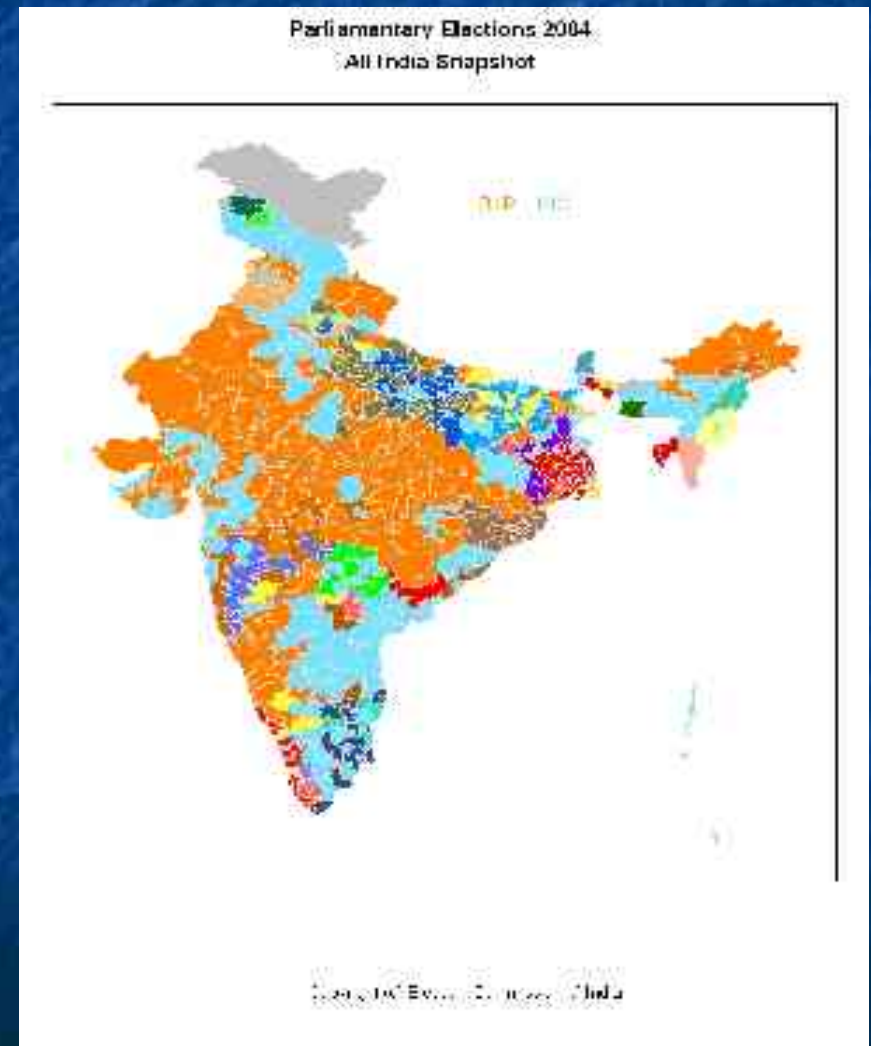
Parties	Leader	Area	Won	Share	Swing
<b>BJP – Bharatiya Janata Party</b>	<b>AB Vajpayee</b>	<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>21.72</b>	<b>-2.03</b>
SHS – Shiv Sena	Bal Thackeray	Maharashtra	<b>12</b>	01.80	+0.24
BJD – Biju Janata Dal		Orissa	<b>11</b>	01.30	+0.10
SAD – Shiromani Akali Dal	Parkash Singh Badal	Punjab	<b>8</b>	00.90	+0.21
JD(U) – Janata Dal (United)	George Fernandes	Bihar	<b>8</b>	02.11	-0.99
TDP – Telegu Desam Party	N Chandrababu Naidu	Andhra Pradesh	<b>5</b>	03.03	-0.62
AITC – All India Trinamool Congress	Mamata Banerjee	West Bengal	<b>2</b>	02.01	-0.56
NPF – Nagaland Peoples Front	Wangyuh Konyak	Nagaland	<b>1</b>	00.18	+0.18
MNF – Mizo National Front	Vanlalzawma	Mizoram	<b>1</b>	00.05	+0.05
AIADMK – All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhaghan	SJ Jayalalitha	Tamil Nadu	<b>0</b>	02.19	+0.26
<b>Total</b>			<b>186</b>	<b>35.29</b>	<b>--</b>

<b>Other Parties</b>	<b>Leader</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Won</b>	<b>Share</b>	<b>Swing</b>
<b>LEFT FRONT</b>					
CPM – Communist Party of India Marxist	Jyoti Basu	W. Bengal, Kerala	<b>43</b>	5.65	+0.25
CPI – Communist Party of India	A B Bardhan	W. Bengal, Kerala	<b>10</b>	1.39	-0.09
RSP – Revolutionary Socialist Party	K. Pankajakshan	West Bengal	<b>3</b>	0.44	+0.03
AIFB – All India Forward Bloc	Debabrata Biswas	West Bengal	<b>3</b>	0.35	-0.00
<b>OTHERS</b>					
SP – Samajwadi Party	Mulayam Singh Yadav	Uttar Pradesh	<b>36</b>	4.12	+0.36
BSP – Bahujan Samaj Party	Mayawati	Uttar Pradesh	<b>19</b>	5.13	+0.97
<b>IND - Independents</b>	<b>NA</b>	<b>NA</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4.11</b>	<b>+1.37</b>
<b>JD(S) – Janata Dal (Secular)</b>	<b>H D Deve Gowda</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>1.53</b>	<b>+0.62</b>
<b>RLD – Rashtriya Lok Dal</b>	<b>Ajit Singh</b>	<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0.58</b>	<b>+0.21</b>
AGP – Asom Gana Parishad	Prafulla Kumar Mahanta	Assam	<b>2</b>	0.53	0.21
JKN – Jammu & Kashmir National Conference	Farooq Abdullah	Jammu & Kashmir	<b>2</b>	0.11	-0.01
IFDP – Indian Federal Democratic Party	P C Thomas	Kerala	<b>1</b>	0.07	+0.07
KEC – Kerala Congress	P.J. Joseph	Kerala	<b>1</b>	0.09	-0.01
AIMIM – All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimmen	Salahuddin Owaisi	Andhra Pradesh	<b>1</b>	0.11	-0.01
BNP – Bharatiya Navshakti Party		Gujarat	<b>1</b>	0.04	+0.04
NLP – National Loktantrik Party			<b>1</b>	0.09	+0.05
SDF – Sikkim Democratic Front	Pawan Kumar Chamling	Sikkim	<b>1</b>	0.04	+0.01
SJP(R) – Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya)			<b>1</b>	0.08	-0.00
+ 256 parties	NA	NA	<b>0</b>	--	--
<b>Total</b>			<b>136</b>	<b>27.41</b>	<b>--</b>

# The United Progressive Alliance (UPA) in the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha

Parties	Seats
INC (145) and allied parties	220
BJP (138) and coalition parties	186
All other parties	136
<b>Lok Sabha Total</b>	<b>542</b>

United Progressive Alliance (UPA)	Seats
INC and allied parties	220
Left Front (CPM, CPI, All India Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party)	59
<b>Majority (272)</b>	<b>279</b>
Offering support: Samajwadi Party (36), Bahujan Samaj Party (19), Janata Dal(S) (3)	58
<b>Effective (?) Majority</b>	<b>337</b>



# UPA Cabinet Ministers

■ <b>Dr. Manmohan Singh</b>	<b>(INC)*</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b> , Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Department of Space, Department of Atomic Energy
■ Shivraj Patil	(INC)**	Home
■ P. Chidambaram	(INC)	Finance
■ K. Natwar Singh	(INC)*	External Affairs
■ Pranab Mukherjee	(INC)	Defence
■ Mani Shankar Aiyar	(INC)	Petroleum & Natural Gas; Panchayati Raj
■ Ghulam Nabi Azad	(INC)*	Parliamentary Affairs; Urban Development
■ H.R. Bhardwaj	(INC)*	Law & Justice
■ P.R. Dasmunsi	(INC)	Water Resources
■ Sunil Dutt	(INC)	Youth Affairs & Sports
■ Smt. Meira Kumar	(INC)	Social Justice & Empowerment
■ P.R. Kyndiah	(INC)	Tribal Affairs; Development of North East
■ Kamal Nath	(INC)	Commerce & Industry
■ Sis Ram Ola	(INC)	Labour & Employment
■ Mahavir Prasad	(INC)	Small scale, Agro & Rural Industries
■ S. Jaipal Reddy	(INC)	Information & Broadcasting; Culture
■ Arjun Singh	(INC)*	Human Resource Development
■ P.M. Sayeed	(INC)**	Power
■ Shankersinh Vaghela	(INC)	Textiles
■ T.R. Baalu	(DMK)	Road Transport & Highways
■ Dayanidhi Maran	(DMK)	Communication & Information Technology
■ A. Raja	(DMK)	Environment & Forests
■ Laloo Prasad Yadav	(RJD)	Railways
■ Dr. Raghuvansh Prasad Singh	(RJD)	Rural Development
■ Shibu Soren	(JMM)	Coal; Mines & Minerals
■ Ram Vilas Paswan	(LJSP)	Chemicals & Fertilizers; Steel
■ Sharad Pawar	(NCP)	Agriculture; Consumer Affairs, Food & Public Distribution
■ Dr. Anbumani Ramadoss	(PMK)	Health & Family Welfare
■ K. Chandra Shekhar Rao	(TRS)	Minister without Portfolio

\* = Rajya Sabha

\*\* = Lost seat in election

# External Affairs, Defence and Security



Prime Minister  
**Dr Manmohan  
Singh**



External Affairs  
Minister  
**K. Natwar Singh**



Defence Minister  
**Pranab Mukherjee**



National Security  
Advisor  
**J.N. Dixit**

# Foreign Policy 1

## GENERAL

- "India will pursue a foreign policy not tied to any dogma".  
—External Affairs Minister **K Natwar Singh**
- "I do not visualise any problem in a multi-party government. We may have divergent views but there is convergence of views when it comes to securing the country".  
—Defence Minister **Pranab Mukherjee**

## INDO-US RELATIONS

- "Basically, a course correction is required. The Vajpayee government had tied India's foreign policy to America's strategic goals... We want to revert to an independent foreign policy. In South Asia we should not be seen to be acting as the chief agent of the US. The new government has to make its policy clear on Iraq. Bottomline: End of American occupation there... We are not for NMD nor for talks about it".  
—CPI(M) politburo member **Prakash Karat**
- "We are for the closest relations with the US".  
—External Affairs Minister **K Natwar Singh**

## CHINA

- "Trade and investment with China will be expanded further and talks on the border issue pursued seriously".  
—Draft Common Minimum Programme

# Foreign Policy 2

## SOUTH ASIA

- Instead of flaunting its global pretensions, we want India to “make South Asia the primary focus area”.  
—CPI(M) politburo member **Prakash Karat**

## PAKISTAN

- “Dialogue with Pakistan on all issues will be pursued systematically on a sustained basis”.  
—UPA Common Minimum Programme
- “The dialogue for friendship and good neighbourliness with Pakistan will continue and will be intensified in all areas and differences will be ironed out through negotiations”.  
—External Affairs Minister **K Natwar Singh**
- National Security Advisor **J.N. Dixit** “was recently reported to have declared... that India’s policy towards Pakistan should be in tune with that country’s (hardline) attitude, and even accused the government of ‘missing the opportunity to cross the LoC that came up after the terrorist attack on Parliament [in December 2001]’”.

# Security

## INDO-ISRAEL RELATIONS

- "The tilt towards Israel should end. We don't want any strategic tie-up with Israel. We want active sympathy for the Palestinian movement."  
—CPI(M) politburo member **Prakash Karat**
- Indo-Israeli defence cooperation to continue. —Defence Minister **Pranab Mukherjee**

## DEFENCE DEALS

- Major defence deals like building of French Scorpion submarines and multi-role fighter aircraft for the IAF would go through to fulfil the strategic needs of the armed forces.  
—Defence Minister **Pranab Mukherjee**

## ANTI-TERRORISM

- "Internal security threat and external security threat have got inter-linked because of cross-border terrorism and in such conditions there can be no divestment of the army from its counter-terrorism role".  
—Defence Minister **Pranab Mukherjee**
- UPA to scrap Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA).

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

- The INC promises an "initiative to have credible, transparent and verifiable CBMs in treaty form to minimise the risk of nuclear and missile conflict with Pakistan or China".  
—Security Agenda: Issues before the Nation (Security, Defence, and Foreign Policy)
- National Security Advisor **J.N. Dixit** is "expected to be instrumental in implementing the government's pledge to take a leadership role in promoting universal, nuclear disarmament and working for a nuclear weapons-free world."



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# 8<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabhas

