INDIAN ELECTIONS 2014:
DOMESTIC AND REGIONAL FALLOUT

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Abstract

The dominating story of the 2014 Indian elections was the clear triumph of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its leader Narendra Modi, together with a matching defeat of the Indian National Congress. In the run up to Delhi, the new political elite presided over a mix bag of two streams: the wave of 'Hindutva' and quest for economic revival. Interplay of the two will continue to provide a gauge for the direction of Indian politics and for the extent of their success or failure. This paper discusses the main ingredients of the election-relevant Indian scenario with reference to peculiarities and issues in the electoral process; the play of Hindutva ideology in the contemporary phase; and implications of the election results for the region and Pakistan. This discussion takes place in the backdrop of Indian political system, main players in the arena and new realities in the making. The main argument of the paper is, the success of BJP in elections offers both, promises of growth and apprehensions of decadence at domestic and regional levels. However, the reversal of economic progression or inability to deliver, can motivate the BJP to find distractions in the neighborhood.

Introduction

The 2014 elections in India unfolded a resounding victory for Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the rise of Narindhra Modi as the country's Prime Minister. This change in India's political spectrum has been exceptional in an otherwise stagnant milieu of past three decades, and thus carries with it newer connotations for the country's domestic scene and interface with the neighborhood. In the run up to Delhi, the new political elite presided over a mix bag of two streams: the wave of '*Hindutva*' and quest for economic revival. Interplay

of the two will continue to provide a gauge for the extent of their success or failure.

The BJP obtained a majority mandate amid high expectations to deliver in the backdrop of a stagnant economy, increasing urbanization, a burgeoning youth population and rapidly changing regional security environment. Notwithstanding the promises of socio-economic development, any failure of the leadership to deliver on this count may prompt them to find distractions in the neighborhood. The study thus argues, the success of BJP in elections offers both the promises of growth and apprehensions of decadence at domestic and regional levels.

This paper discusses the main ingredients of the Indian scenario with reference to peculiarities and issues in the electoral process and its aftermath; the play of Hindutva ideology in the contemporary phase; and implications of the change for the region and Pakistan. This discussion takes place in the backdrop of Indian political system, main players in the arena, one year report card of Modi's government and new realities in the making.

The Electoral Map

To recall, the sixteenth Lok Sabha that brought forth 'historic victory' of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is the outcome of an electoral process carried in 543 parliamentary constituencies from 7 April to 12 May 2014.[1] The process was spread across 28 states and 7 union territories.[2] In terms of official data, 814 million people were eligible to vote, with an increase of about a hundred million voters since the last general elections in 2009.[3] The turnout in these elections remained around 66.4%.[4]

In essence, the National Democratic Alliance led by the Bharatiya Janata Party, won a sweeping victory by taking 336 seats of 543.[5] Conversely, the United Progressive Alliance, led by Congress could win only 58 seats.[6] There has been a remarkable increase in Hindu vote from almost twenty

percent to thirty-one percent in this election. The drivers behind this phenomenal change in Indian political arena include: the ten years of Congress incumbency, economic slowdown and charisma of Narendra Modi. A look at the report card of top 15 political national and regional parties explains that BJP's victory impacted mainly the national parties, and with a few exceptions, did not affect the regional parties.

The following table compares the top 15 parties of 2014 and 2009 elections in terms of seats.

Table: Seats' comparison of top 15 national and regional political parties: 2014 and 2009
Ranked by the number of seats in current Lok Sabha[7]

Party	Popular votes cast	Votes percentage	Seats won 2014	Seat comparison 2009	Party Type
Bartiya Janata Party	171657549	31	282	116 +166	National
Indian National Congress	106938242	19.31	44	206 -162	National
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	18115825	3.27	37	9 +28	Regional
All India Trianmool Congress	21259681	3.84	34	19 +15	Regional
Biju Janta Dal	9491497	1.71	20	14 +6	Regional
Shivsena	10262982	1.85	18	11 +7	Regional
Telugu Desam	14094545	2.55	16	6+10	Regional
Telangana Rashtra Samithi	6736490	1.22	11	2 +9	Regional
Communist Party of India	17986773	3.25	9	16 -7	National

(Marxist)					
Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party	13991280	2.53	9	9=0	Regional
Nationalist Congress Party	8635554	1.56	6	9 -3	National
Samajwadi Party	18672916	3.37	5	23 -18	Regional
Aam Admi Party	11325635	2.05	4	4=0	National
Janta Dal (United)	5992196	1.08	2	20 -18	Regional
Bahujan Samaj Party	22946182	4.14	0	21 -21	National

The outcome of the electoral process mirrored some glaring anomalies that are rooted in the country's political system. To illustrate, the defeat of Congress in terms of seats in Lok Sabha, has been viewed as 'far worse than anything in its long history' of dominating Indian politics: it won only 44 seats, less than one-sixth of its rival's 282. However, it is interesting that in terms of vote percentage, BJP had a 12% edge over the Congress while it gained 600% superiority on the rival in terms of seats. Moreover, Bahujan Samaj Party, despite third in vote percentage (4.14 percent), failed to obtain a single seat in the parliament. Another window on the anomalies is provided by the fact that Muslims who constitute over 13% of Indian population, could get only 24 seats (4%of the total 543 seats) and ruling party (BJP) does not have even a single Muslim MP in the Parliament.[8]

Significance: Broad Contours

Modi-led BJP victory is significant for a number of reasons. It was the first time that BJP gained power on its own, without need for a coalition. This signals that Modi faces no bottlenecks at the legislature in the pursuit of his agenda. Second, though BJP's '*Hindutva*' trademark brought it many

votes, it was largely Modi's message of economic growth and resurgence that motivated voters, even among those who are not inclined towards *'Hindutva', in Modi's camp.* Third, in the elections, Indians saw, in Modi, a charismatic leader with a message of Indian resurgence–a choice between a new future and a discredited past. Fourth, the BJP's success signalled the return of Right wing parties in Indian political spectrum. Fifth, in view of significant regional transformations now underway, the outcome of elections carries unavoidable linkages with the neighbourhood. In this context, it is important that we carry an in depth study of the emerging trends and come to grips with what may be the implications for the region and Pakistan.

Indian Political System: A Bird Eye View

To recall, India is a federal democracy with parliamentary system of government that reflects unitary characteristics. Its legislature is a bicameral parliament system which is divided into upper house, Rajya Sabah (council of states), and lower house, Lok Sabha (House of the people).[9] The electoral process in the country is based on the system of single seat constituency and there is no space for second ballot to ascertain the absolute majority.[10] Therefore, outcome of the electoral process is dependent on the majority vote cast in that constituency. Thus, the winner may not necessarily be a representative of majority. Although BJP won the elections and formed an independent government, voter percentage in the above table show that less than a third of Indians voted for it. Moreover, the political process does not *ipso facto* recognize the role of religion in terms of seat allocation and candidature, and therefore, reflects the secular characteristic of Indian state.

Over the years, India has transformed from an exceedingly centralized state ruled by one political party to an 'increasingly fragmented nation', influenced growingly by regional parties and more and more governed locally by unstable multi-party alliances. "In the general election of 2009, Congress and BJP faced each other in only seven of the 28 States".[11] In other

areas, one of the two national parties faced a regional party. Caste, communal and regional tensions keep haunting Indian political arena, sometimes even frightening its venerable secular and democratic ethos.

A counter to above argument maintains that the fragmentation of the electoral mandate among different parties is a result of unique development of democratic structure in India, which may be seen in other South Asian countries as well. Thus, the proliferation of political parties is a reflection of the absence of multi-polar competition within one family or even ideology that dominates the party system; consequently, competition takes place outside the party in the shape of another party. Whatever the reasons for electoral fragmentation among the Indian propertied political elite (middle class), there exists a strong consensus over the issues of democratic-capitalist order, India's place in regional and international levels and Pakistan.

Players and their manifestos

In the elections, three major parties BJP, Congress and AAP had similar manifestos focused on development, priority to education and other progressive measures. The significance of Hindu ideology was highlighted by both BJP and AAP but Congress refrained to do so. On the other hand, there was the bittersweet 11-party third front united by the twin goals of strengthening secularism and combating corruption. Conversely, Congress focused on the role of women in the development of the state while AAP portrayed that the elimination of the corruption from the state's institutions was its priority. Interestingly, a record 34 percent of the 543 elected members of the lower house of parliament face criminal charges.[12]

The election manifesto of the BJP was focused on the internal security issues, development and generation of resources. It also emphasized on the renegotiation of Article 370 of the constitution and establishing a unified civil code. Regarding internal and external regional security threats, it

already showed its hard stance by maintaining minimum credible deterrence and no first use of the nukes.[13]

Political system of India is reflective of its political elite, impacting country's domestic politics. On one side, there are hardcore elites focusing more on Hindu culture and agenda. On the other, there are elites who want to focus more on the economic revival. It, however, is an acknowledged fact that domestic factors impact the shaping of foreign policy.[14] Nonetheless, before moving towards the discussion of regional concerns, it is pertinent here to recap the peculiarities and issues that prevailed during the elections.

Peculiarities and Issues in the Electoral Process

The 2014 Indian elections were held under a politically charged domestic front. The process was closely monitored and its outcome highly speculated both at home and abroad. Domestic issues such as economic degradation and rising corruption remained at the forefront of parties' campaign. Understandably, incumbency and charisma factors were highly influential in the electioneering. Moreover, minority vote bank, emergence of third and fourth fronts and rise of regional parties were also among peculiarities of the elections. These issues and peculiarities are detailed in the following discussion:

Prominence of Domestic Issues

During the elections, domestic issues: corruption, a faltering economy, increasing inflation, unemployment, protection for women and national security were some of the key concerns that remained at the top in debates. This time, there was less focus on foreign relations. The incumbent Congress was accused by both, the AAP (or known as Common Man's Party) and the BJP for failing to curb corruption. This was mainly because, the Congress's term was marked by high-profile cases of alleged or proven corruption. These included but were not limited to the 2010 Commonwealth Games and the jailing of Laloo Prasad Yadav,

the former Railways Minister. The AAP, particularly had put the corruption at the top of its election campaign. Considering that an anti-corruption movement had given birth to the party this came as no surprise. The AAP had made a spectacular debut in Delhi elections during 2013. The BJP in its election campaign, focused on developing infrastructure, reviving the economy. Denying the BJP's corruption accusations, the Congress focused on portraying itself as a "pro-poor" party.

Accent on economy

The economy was the main issue and an impact-making factor in the campaign for all the parties.[15] Notwithstanding India's status with the famous BRICS (along with Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa), the country's lagging behind the expectations has signalled the "biggest disappointment of the lot".[16] This disappointment is visible in slowdown of Indian economic growth rate from approximate 7% to 4.5%. In 2013, Bloomberg had highlighted the slowing economy of India. It had also referred to stagnant policymaking and an inefficient bureaucracy.[17]

India's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) declined marginally by 0.6% to $20.76 billion in the first 11 months of the 2013-14. Investments in the services sector, including banking, insurance, research and development and outsourcing among others, dipped by 54% to $2.18 billion during April-February period of in 2013-14.[18] India's gross domestic product (GDP) growth fell to 4.5% during 2012-13, which according to the Central Statistical Office (CSO), was "the worst performance since 2002-03".[19] Amidst these declining economic conditions, the charismatic Modi came forward within economic agenda which laid a crucial part in the success of the BJP.

Incumbency and *Charisma* factors

Fatigue of Indian voters and acute dissatisfaction with the ten years' Congress rule was shown in the election results. Although incumbent cy was an inevitable fact for Congress,

the shocking crush at this scale had not been predicted. Modi started his campaign focusing on the issues of 'development' and 'good governance' but this was interspersed with 'identity politics', as he invoked 'religion' and 'caste' elements to his advantage. He also focused on fulfilling the rising aspirations of people and youth in particular. The Congress, on the other hand, projected Modi as a divisive leader, who would destroy the secular fabric of the society. It put forward Rahool Ghandi as the new blood, custodian of Ghandi dynasty and for Congress, a person who could cut its losses of incumbency but to no avail.

Not strictly a two-way competition

The election did not represent a two-way competition. India experienced a complex fragmented party system which in turn, means rise of regional parties and perhaps, of third/fourth force. There were traditional Congress and BJP parties while other contestants were: an alliance of 11 regional parties as third and AAP probably as fourth factors. This in fact, reduced the average margin of victory in a constituency. Nevertheless, no alliance or force could stop BJP to snatch the bulk of the seats in the parliament. A significant impact of multi-party competition however was evident in stark difference between percentage of votes verses total seats obtained by a party in 2014.

Rise of regional parties

Another significant development in Indian politics is its extensive regionalization and north-south divide between the national and regional parties in the arena. The BJP maintains its impressive lead at the centre. However, in the southern and eastern parts of the country, the regional parties continued to dominate the scene. The regional parties maintained their overall strength while giving rise to *Mamata Banerjee* in Bengal and Jayalailita in Tamil Nado.[20] Interestingly, the difference in the votes and seats of BJP and Congress as illustrated in the table above, reflects also the collective strength of India's many regional parties.

Minority vote bank

Most surprising fact about the election results was that largest minority vote bank in India, Muslims that form the fourteen percent of the whole Indian population, could get only 24 out of 543 seats; a pathetic four percent. Most surprising of all, though Modi may have included two Muslims in his cabinet, 282 BJP representatives in Indian parliament do not include a single Muslim.[21]

'Hindutva' Reviewed

BJP's victory in the elections under the leadership of Modi signalled towards the revival of '*Hindutva'* ideology despite an accent of Indian leadership on economic growth. The term synonymous with Hindu nationalism, was initially coined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who proclaims the term as embracing 'all the departments of thought and activity of the whole being of our Hindu race".[22] In actuality, the ideology aims a fusion between the Hindu culture and the public culture of India, that Muslims and Christians can remain Muslims and Christians in the private sphere, in the mosque and the church, but in the public sphere they have to show allegiance to Hindu symbols.[23]

The term *"Hindutva"* has hard and soft manifestations. The hard Hindutva 'unite and militarize' Hindus against alien religions, like Christianity and Islam.[24] Followers of hard '*Hindutva'* consider only Hindus to be 'primary citizens' of India and covet to make the followers of other religions 'alien' secondary citizens. "They want to convert India into a country of the Hindus, for the Hindus and by the Hindus."[25] Denying the multi-cultural and secular-democratic traditions of the country, they identify only themselves as the true nationalists. The Hard Hindutva also contends that the religio-political issues should be resolved in favor of the Hindus even outside the bounds of the constitution. The soft '*Hindutva'* has the same aim and principals but without the fundamentalist or violent part.[26] It applies the policy of appeasement and conciliation towards minorities. The soft Hindutva however

seeks satisfaction of Hindu agenda within existing Indian constitution.

Modi seems to be following the policy of soft Hindutva. His success in the elections denotes that he was able to bring about consensus in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) cadre and the popular Hindu vote on the soft Hindutva. There seems to be an agreement to transform the Indian state and society on Hindu ethos through a long-term process of economic success and cognitive changes in the nationalist discourse through the control of state instruments. On the other hand, fears of Modi again turning over to hard Hindutva are not without reason.

During last two decades or so, parties associated with Sangh Parivar such as BJP, the Bajrang Dal and the Vishva Hindu Parishad have gained prominence in Indian society. As a result, incidents of violence against minorities (more notably against Muslims) have become more prominent. In this regard, brutal incident of Babri mosque and 2002 Gujarat bloodshed of Muslims and violence against Christians in 2013 are a few in a long list. Considering Modi's past with RSS as an activist member since he was a boy, some on the Right may have expectations that he will follow the hard Hindutva. For example: building the temple in place of Babri mosque in Ayodhya; pushing to adopt a single uniformed code for all communities and abolishing religious personal laws; or changing the constitutional status of Muslim-majority Kashmir.[27]

In the contemporary scenario, the 'rise of Hindutva' has an inevitable interface with the 'quest for the country's economic revival'. It is therefore, expected that the drivers for economic revival will be one factor to contain the extremist manifestation of Hindutva.

Newer Realities in the Indian Scenario

The new realities in the Indian scenario include: rising role of regional parties; burgeoning role of religion; uncertain

future of Congress; contemplations on success / failure of BJP; and withering away of coalitions era.

Much has been written about the rise of regional parties in India. Milan Vaishnav of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace notes that, "rather than erode the stature of national parties, regional parties have more or less stabilized in terms of their relative power".[28] The number of states where regional parties gained greater shares of votes than either of the main national parties remained roughly the same, however, in some of the larger states—UP and Bihar—BJP popularity eroded the strength of regional parties. Nevertheless, national parties have yet to make inroads in states such as Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, or Tamil Nadu, where regional parties remain dominant.

Religion also remains a strong factor in Indian political life. According to exit polls, only 9 percent of Muslims voted for the BJP[29] which, although up from 4 percent in 2004, suggests that the largest minority religion remains excluded from the largest centre-right party. Although Modi, in his initial speeches after victory, sounded high-minded and made the right gestures about running the country for all, bringing everyone along, the question arises as to whether he would be able to shrug off his past with RSS. He also opined that the BJP's success transcended religious appeals and caste politics. Political posturing and dialogues aside, the BJP and Modi himself did make some use of caste and religion, as he played up his "other backward classes" background while campaigning in Uttar Pradesh, or as he criticized Bangladeshi (Muslim) infiltrators in Assam and West Bengal.[30]

Congress surely is passing through its most difficult phase. Since independence in 1947, for most of India's democratic history, the Lok Sabha has been dominated by the Congress. It had, by and large short periods out of power but the 2014 elections proved to be a disaster for the party. It simply did not lose power; it had to face a devastating defeat. This has raised questions about the possibility for the resurgence of Congress or end of Gandhi / Nehru dynasty. Nonetheless, it is

not totally out of the picture yet. The party carries the potential of a revival in view of its present 91 percent vote bank in case the leadership factor comes back into life.

BJP's government under Modi is relatively an 'unknown commodity' as the party's first tenure was limited in terms of time and space. . Second, it is for the first time, that any party other than Congress has gained such a decisive victory. Third, the scorecard of BJP and its leadership sends mix signals. On one hand, it presents the successful Gujarat economic model, while on the other, it is mistrusted due to party's connections with fundamentalist Hindu streak and shady past. Therefore, this success raises more questions than gives answers.

The coalition period that descended on India about a quarter century ago, ended with this election result as the BJP has crossed the magic number of 272 seats in the 543-member Lok Sabha on its own and does not need any allies – pre-poll or post-poll – to run the government. The flip side of it does not mean that it is sunset time for regional parties because parties like AIADMK (Tamil Nadu), Trinamool Congress (West Bengal) and Biju Janata Dal (Orissa) have done very well without the support of any party, national or regional. Not to mention the fact that for any government to run the affairs of the state smoothly, the support of these regional parties is essential. Moreover, BJP at present, does not have the majority in upper house of the parliament. Thus, for the approval of such acts that need clearance from both houses, it would need support of other parties.

Aspirations and Achievements: One Year of Modi's Government

The efficient media machine of Modi-led BJP election campaign created expectations that his strong leadership will bring rapid growth to India, prosperity to its impoverished millions and vault the country to instant great power status.[31] However, almost a year into office, there is an uncertain view on how much the administration would be able to meet the people's expectations and fulfil its proclaimed promises. A

measure of progress in economic domain is no doubt evident from Modi's multibillion dollar deals with the West and China. But the effects of these deals at home front would not yet visible for some more time to come, the progress on 'make in India' seems lacking and the 'common man' has perceptibly not witnessed the change. Moreover, the government's report card related to the minority rights and treatment remains questionable.[32] In addition, the results of states' elections held so far, send mixed signals for the country's future political map: for instance, on one side, BJP won the state elections in Maharashtra and Haryana, while on the other it had to suffer an embarrassing defeat from AAP in Delhi.[33]

Since Modi government came in to power, the RSS has launched a multi-pronged approach to propagate its ideas, often with the help of the state machinery. Appointments of RSS workers in the government and efforts to influencing the country's policies in defence and education are just few examples to quote.[34] This rising influence of RSS in the country gives credence to the argument that the BJP elite are promoting 'Hindutva ideology' in the cover of economic growth.

On the other hand, India has continued to keep its options open with all major stakeholders in the international arena while maintaining a tilt towards the US. Modi has also been successful in securing cooperation of France in civil nuclear technology field. At regional front, while Modi's invitation to the heads of all South Asian states on oath taking ceremony had blossomed hopes for a better future, but later his government's posture towards Pakistan and discontinuation of dialogue process showed an inconsistency in approach.

Current Scenario: Regional Security Paradigm and Implications for Pakistan

The elections and its aftermath offer a six-fold view of Indian polity and its current interface with regional and international community:

First, the successful elections and one year of transition confirms vitality of the country's democratic process and its institutional strength. This plays an important role in India's interface with other regional and global actors.

Second, with economic growth, geo strategic disposition, large market and burgeoning population, India acquired the capacity to act on issues of primary strategic and economic concern to the world powers including United States, China and Russia. For the last few years, India has been losing its economic growth. Though 2014-15 indicators show India's growth rate at 6.9%, but this increase is more due to statistical manipulation (changing the base year for calculation to 2013 from 2010) and less because of economic policies. Nevertheless, a higher rate of growth, improved infrastructure, expanded trade, and better governance are goals Modi has set to take his country forward. Therefore, a more economic focused agenda may be expected from the Modi's government.

Third, Modi's leadership has been welcomed in international arena in spite of the pre-election adverse images related to his performance on human rights. He had then not only been refused diplomatic visa to USA as Chief Minister but even his ordinary visa was withdrawn in 2005. Nonetheless, with this remarkable victory coupled with the country's huge size and vast potential, Modi is now no doubt the toast of foreign leadership. However, this power puts a great responsibility on Modi's leadership. He now needs to improve the country's impoverished population, provide security to minorities and deliver on his promises to cleanse himself of the past stigma.

Fourth, for Modi's leadership and assessment of success/failure of his policies, Pakistan factor remains a litmus test. The report card of India's successive postures vis-à-vis Pakistan has only enforced the latter's threat perception regarding India's 'grand strategy' as an 'existential threat to its survival'. Despite regime changes in New Delhi and Islamabad and numerous wars, cease-fires, diplomatic initiatives and

bilateral talks, Kashmir's status is as unresolved today as it was 67 years ago, and relations continue to be overtly hostile. On the other hand, it also needs to be remembered that the last time these touchy issues between the two states nearly got resolved, was not under a Congress government but a BJP-led one. With a person so concerned about his legacy, one would expect Modi to try and resolve issues with Pakistan for the well-being of his own country. In a nutshell, India cannot become a world power till it resolves its major issues with Pakistan.

Fifth, BJP has a record of productive engagement with the current Pakistani Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif. In fact, the last time that an Indian Prime Minister travelled to Pakistan was under the Sharif tenure in February 1999. That visit by BJP Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee led to the signing of the Lahore Declaration which was intended to transform the India-Pakistan relationship. Under the terms of the agreement both the countries pledged that they would avoid a nuclear arms race as well as non-conventional and conventional conflicts. Prime Minister Modi's agenda of rapid economic growth, infrastructure development, trade, and investment sends positive signals for bilateral relationship, but last one year have not witnessed any substantial progress. Rather the relationship has remained tense. Moreover, it may be remembered that nationalist Hindus rhetorically engage Pakistan to legitimize their vision of Hindu India at home and improve their standing among secular Hindus and Indian Muslims.

Sixth, Modi seems to have followed rather a soft Hindutva-based discourse this time because of two factors: soft image that serves as India's strength and BJP's desire to break away from the past stigma of sectarian violence. The continuation of this style will largely depend on how the government will succeed to deliver in economic domain. If Modi's leadership can quickly achieve positive results on the economic front, it can thus remain popular. If, however, he is not successful on the economic front, there will be strong criticism not only amongst the liberals but also in his own camp. He may then

resort to finding the scapegoats. Hindutva-based polarization strategy at home or cross-border terrorism in the neighborhood will be amongst his first choices.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding all its problems, India remains a vibrant and functioning democracy that transmits images of continuity, and therefore promises a greater role in the arena. With regards to BJP and Modi's future posture, one key question will be the influence of RSS on the new government. In this regard, multiple scenarios are being unfolded. These range from hopes for economic revival and development to resurrection of hard Hindutva. In international arena, India yearns for a self reliant powerful role on the globe, amalgamated with its regional agenda i.e. achieving a status of a power that could dictate and influence its neighbouring states. Therefore, BJP's inability to deliver at home front or setback in economic development, can pave the way for fundamentalist sectors in Indian society to steal the show.

Notes

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