

# Index

2G scam, 139, 148–53, 174n78,	All-India Congress Committee
189–90, 210	(AICC), 65, 77n17, 108–09
	83rd Plenary Session of, 143
Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 168	All-India Radio, 66
Adarsh Housing Society Scam	All India Students' Association, 143
(2002), 138	All India Trinamool Congress
administrative bureaucracy	(TMC), 137
corruption in, 206	Ambedkar, B. R., 131n129
politicization of, 206	American imperialism, 24
Administrative Reforms Commission,	Anand Marg, 62, 70
80n49, 172n51	anti-CAA protests, in BJP-governed
advocacy coalitions, 21	states, 232
Agnivesh, Swami, 147	anti-corruption movements, 2-3, 5, 7,
agrarian society, 56	13, 20, 41n39, 98, 159, 227,
Ahluwalia, Montek Singh, 177n128,	232
198, 200	in Brazil, 233–34
Ahmed, Fakhruddin Ali, 56, 69, 71	in Bulgaria, 241
Aiyar, Yamini, 230	credibility crisis in India and, 4–6
Akali Dal, 62	function of, 236
Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha,	India Against Corruption (IAC)
172n48	movement (see India
Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Prasad	Against Corruption [IAC]
(ABVP), 82n61	movement)
Allahabad High Court judgment,	in Indonesia, 237
against corrupt campaign	Jayaprakash Narayan movement
practices, 66–67, 70	( <i>see</i> Jayaprakash Narayan
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra	movement [JPM, 1974–
Kazhagam (AIDMK), 51n103	75])
All-India Conference of Educators	in Malaysia, 239
for Secularism, Socialism, and	mobilization of religious nationalist
Democracy (1975), 99	groups within, 24



## INDEX

National Coordination	Bhagwati, Jagdish, 198–99, 219n72,
Committee (NCC), 66	220n73, 221n79
in Romania, 243	Bhagwat, Mohan, 142
in Turkey, 235–36	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 12,
anti-corruption ombudsman, 158. See	14n11, 91, 152, 182, 228, 241.
also Jan Lokpal Bill, Lokpal	See also National Democratic
(anti-corruption ombudsman)	Alliance (NDA)
anti-corruption reform measures, 187	anti-CAA protests in BJP-
anti-national activities and	governed states, 232
associations, 102	association with Baba Ramdev, 185
legislation banning, 102	Citizenship Amendment Act
anti-poverty programs, 114	(CAA, 2019), 231
anti-social behaviors, 28	concepts of the Indian nation
Antony, A. K., 147, 156	under, 229
Article 370, revocation of (2019), 23,	economic order under, 229
231	election manifesto, 231
Arya Samaj, 172n48	Hindutva ideology, 229
Arya Veer, 172n48	ideological homogenization under,
Association for Democratic Reforms	230
(ADR), 224n106	support for the IAC, 183
Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal, 235	Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD), 62
Austin, Henry, 117n2	bhrashtachar hatao (remove
auxiliary hypothesis, 23, 34n1, 44n59	corruption) movement, 116
additionally inspections, 20,0 min, 1 mes	Bhushan, Prashant, 144
backwardness, notion of, 204	Bhushan, Shanti, 144
Balachandran, K., 72	Bihar famine (1966–67), 57
balance-of-payments crisis (1991),	Bihar Movement. See Jayaprakash
189, 196–97	Narayan movement (JPM,
Balogh, Thomas, 114	1974–75)
bandh (strike), 167	black money, issue of, 58, 185
banks, nationalization of, 101, 107–08,	Blyth, Mark, 26, 44n54
128n105	Border Security Force, 103
Supreme Court's striking down of	Brazil, credibility crises in, 233–35
ordinances on, 111	anti-corruption demonstrations,
Barooah, D. K., 66, 68, 70, 72	233–34
Barr, William P., 227	Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 233
Bedi, Kiran, 141–42, 144, 171n40	"national pact" of reforms, 234
Bersih (clean) movement (Malaysia),	Odebrecht scandal, 234
239	Rousseff, Dilma, 233-34



#### INDEX

Workers' Party coalition (PT), 233-34 Bretton Woods, 198 Bulgaria, credibility crises in, 241-42 anti-corruption protests, 241 Ataka Party, 242 Bulgarian Socialist Party, 242 Movement for Rights and Freedoms, 242 Movement for Rights and Freedoms party, 242 nationwide protests over austerity measures, 242 Oresharski, Plamen, 241-42 bullying and intimidating subordinates, 28 bumiputra (indigenous Malay), 239 bureaucracy, distrust of, 32 bureaucrats, management of, 206 business-state nexus, 209 cabinet members, parliamentary control of, 8 Camdessus, Michel, 198 Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 234 Carras, Mary, 101 Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), 139 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) alleged meddling in Indian politics, 41n38 Central Reserve of Police, 103 Century Bank (Indonesia), 237-38 Chandra, Naresh, 178n144, 202, 246 Chatterjee, Bhola, 64 Chaudhuri, Rudra, 134n151 Chavan, Y. B., 68, 93, 115 Chidambaram, P., 149, 159, 160, 162, Citizen's Charter, 159 Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA, 2019), 231, 251n29 anti-CAA protests in BJPgoverned states, 232 citizenship, principle for, 231 citizenship verification processes, government's push for, 232 citizens, rights of, 32 civic activism, 207 in rights-based movements, 31 coal allocations scam, 139, 141 CAG report on, 142 coalition government, 1, 3, 9, 32, 35n8, 48n79, 51n105, 135, 201, 203, 214, 222n94, 237, 242-43 coalition politics, 49n89 institutional inflexibility of, 165 cognitive locking, 45n63, 119n6 collusive corruption, democratization of, 212 Common Minimum Program (CMP), 136, 204 communal organizations, 110 communal violence, 110, 123n61, 146, 232 Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M]), 51n103, 160 Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) Reports, 8, 138-40, 153, 160, 191, 216n44 on coal allocations scandal, 142 exposure of government corruption, 140 Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), 143 Congress (O), 55, 62, 128n100 right-of-center Congress, 105

307

167, 177n128, 184, 198



Congress (R), 55, 56, 90 AICC meeting, 108–09, 111 constitutional bills, 113 difference in manifestos compared with right parties, 110 government under Indira Gandhi, 111–16 "Harijan" (Scheduled Caste)	coronavirus pandemic, 231–32 corruption scandals, 3, 54, 57 2G spectrum, 139, 148–53, 174n78, 189–90, 210 Adarsh Housing Society Scam (2002), 138 allegations of, 58 bhrashtachar hatao (remove
welfare, 112 ideology of, 105, 109–11	corruption) movement, 116
nationalization program proposed by, 108 party split and rise of, 105–09 Pledge to People, 112 plenary session in Bombay, 109 secularism, socialism, and minority	bribery of politicians, 58 coal allocations scam, 139, 141–42 158, 160 as consequence of economic liberalization and reforms 192
rights, 109–11	and corrupt state, 58-60
Tasks Before the Organization, 112	Delhi Commonwealth Games (2010), 138, 152
Congress Forum for Socialist Action	demonstrations against, 57
(CFSA), 77n17, 126n88	exposure of, 58
Congress Party. See Indian National	Fodder Scam, 208
Congress	food grains scam in UP, 139
Congress Socialist Party (CSP), 57	global levels of, 209
Congress Working Committee (CWC), 87n114, 110	Group of Ministers (GOM) committee for
Constitution of India	investigation of, 143
amendments of	handling of the L. N. Mishra case
25th Amendment, 113	59
during the Emergency, 111 parliament's power for, 113	Indira Gandhi's abuse of state mechanisms, 92
Article 31 of, 113	in Indonesia, 237
Article 352 of, 69, 71	JP demonstrations against, 61
Article 368 of, 113	Maruti factory near Gurgaon, 58
Article 370 of, 23, 231	Pondicherry License Scam, 58–59
Fundamental Rights, 113	sale of trade licenses for private
objectives of, 113	favors, 58
Part III of, 113	corrupt state narrative
consumption-investment balance, 210	and credibility crisis, 4–6, 57–64
308	• • • •



crystallization of, 137–40	authoritative positions of power in
exposure of, 61	the UPA, 31
handling of the Mishra case, 59	distribution and salience of power
national-level collective action, 4	among, 27
scandals and, 58-60	exchange of ideas, 51n101
social and political ideals, 5	faith and confidence in Indira
cottage industry, 107	Gandhi's leadership, 68
credibility crisis, in India, 152. See also	goal of, 38n20
cross-national perspectives,	ideational anchoring of, 31
during credibility crises	incentive structures and priorities,
and anti-corruption movement,	31
4, 26	from minority communities, 27
behavior of decision-making elites	in Prime Minister's Office (PMO)
during, 16	153–54
corrupt state narrative and, 4–6,	decision-making, 7, 9, 23, 25, 214
57–64	behavioral psychology of, 25
determinants of government	during credibility crises in India, 16
behavior during, 4	"fast" system of, 26
re-establishment of, 26	government decision-making, 2, 5
and rise of	drivers of, 19
IAC, 140–43	in India, 227, 244–47
JPM, 60–62	Indira Gandhi's executive power to
technocrats authoritative positions	monopolize, 53, 69, 229
of power during, 43	Kahneman and Tversky approach
visions of, 31–34	to, 25–26
crony capitalism, 186, 191, 194, 204,	monopolization of, 9
208–09	power and, 25–31
cross-national perspectives, during	preceding the Emergency, 67
credibility crises	"slow" system of, 26
in Brazil, 233–35	during the UPA government, 197
in Bulgaria, 241–42	decision-making behaviors
in developing democracies, 232–44	anti-social, 28
in Indonesia, 237–39	pro-social, 28
in Malaysia, 239–41	risk-seeking, 26, 29
in Romania, 243–44	Delhi Commonwealth Games (2010)
in Turkey, 235–37	scam, 138, 152
	Kalmadi, Suresh, 139
Dasgupta, Sugata, 36n13, 92	V. K. Shunglu Committee report
decision-makers	on, 139
	···, ···,



#### INDEX

democracy-authoritarianism Election Commission of India (ECI), dichotomy, 19 8, 20, 157, 188, 230 democratic "backsliding", 19 electoral business cycles, 18 Emergency of 1975, 5, 14n11, 247 democratic liberty, 99 demonetization policy (2016), 23, aftermath of, 102-04 under Article 352 of the Indian 142, 215n17, 249n14 Desai, Morarji, 55, 67, 77n16, 85n106, Constitution, 69, 71 105, 107-08, 128n100 Congress Party government's Deshmukh, Nanaji, 65 institutionalization of, 6, 29 Deshmukh, Vilasrao, 160 constitutional amendments during, developing democracies, 2, 4, 6, 13, 111 16-18, 37n16, 227 decision-making process, 67 declaration of, 70, 73, 100 cross-national perspectives in, end of, 116-17 232 - 44Dey, Nikhil, 206 functioning of, 53 Dhar, D. P., 59, 78n27 government proclamation of, 54 Dharia, Mohan, 93 Indira Gandhi's declaration of, 53-54 Dhar, P. N., 65, 67–68, 70, 73, 74n2, institutionalization of, 66 92-93, 98, 106, 113 justification for, 95 prediction of "gimmicky" politics, partisans proclamation of, 69-73 policy mechanism, 6 Dhawan, R. K., 71-72 role of ideology in the case of, 89 Twenty-Point Program, 103 dictatorship, 6 Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee entertainment industry, 228 (1970), 58epistemic communities, 17, 21, 31 disloyal opposition, 171n36 Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 235, 237, division of power, within the 253n49 ethnic nationalism, 242-43 government, 137, 156 Dragnea, Liviu, 243 European politics, 33 Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Euroskepticism, 242 (DMK), 62, 137, 159, exogeneity, of the ideas of technocrats, 176n109 104 - 17Drèze, Jean, 204-06, 208 extra-judicial killings, 14n11 Dwivedi, Janardhan, 156 federal bureaucracy, 4 economic liberalization, 22, 32, 196-Federalist Papers, The, 230 200, 235 Federation of Indian Chambers of mechanisms of, 182, 186 Commerce and Industry education, socializing role of, 42n42 (FICCI), 143, 156



#### INDEX

Fernandes, George, 116 fight against corruption, 137, 183, 187 financial crisis of 1991, 196-200 flailing state, notion of, 32 Fodder Scam, 208 food grains scam, in UP, 139 Foreign Affairs, 115 foreign direct investment (FDI), 161, 163 foreign exchange, rationing of, 192 Foreign Exchange Regulation Act 1973 (FERA), 114 freedom of speech and expression, freedom of the press, 6, 53 free-market, 21 free trade agreement (FTA), 163 Fundamental Rights, 111, 113, 131n134 Gadkari, Nitin, 141, 185 Galinksy, Adam, 27

Gandhi, Aditi, 225n118 Gandhi, Indira, 6, 9, 20, 23, 27-28, 235-36, 245-46 absolute political power in India, 54 abuse of state powers, 53 Allahabad High Court judgment against, 66-67 appeal against the Allahabad High Court judgment, 68 campaigning in Gujarat, 67 centralized policymaking power, 115 concepts of the nation, 105 Congress government led by, 10 Congress Party and power of, 52-56

Congress Party ideology under, 91 constitutional amendments during the Emergency, 111 correspondence between Dorothy Norman, 126n87 corrupt campaign practices, 62, 172n41 corruption scandals, 54 credibility crisis for, 61 decision-making style, 93 de facto presidential powers, 10 defensive position on governmental corruption, 79n31 dissolving of National Assembly, 110 electoral sweep in 1971, 228 electoral victory over Morarji Desai, 55 executive power to monopolize decision-making, 53, 69, 229 harnessing of state power to reshape society, 229 ideas of secularism, socialism, and the representation of minorities, 55 ideological fixations in economic matters, 108 imposition of Emergency, 5-6, 29, 53-54,69 under Article 352 of the Indian Constitution, 69, 71 instructions to crush JPM demonstrations, 65 JP letter to, 64 kitchen cabinet, 56, 71 leadership of, 25



#### **INDEX**

linking of RSS to fascism, 97	
illiking of Noo to fascisin, 97	Maruti factory in Gurgaon, 58
meeting with JP, 64	Gandhi, Sonia, 1, 10, 28, 135-36,
moral right to rule, 69	141, 143, 146, 155–56, 163,
My Reminiscences of 'Bapu'	183–84, 206, 212
(1957), 95	as chairperson of UPA, 27
plans to suppress the JPM, 71	de facto parallel cabinet, 31
populism of (see under populism)	as longest-serving Congress
populist strategy, 56	Party president in Indian
power in the ruling Congress	history, 169n7
government, 115	positions of power during the
premiership of, 24	UPA government, 31
return to power, 45n60	proposal of reforms to anti-
rise to power, 54–56, 77n17, 90	corruption measures, 144
suppression of	social welfare schemes, 173n64
anti-corruption JPM, 53, 56	garibi hatao (remove poverty)
civil liberties, 53	campaign, 90, 111, 116
freedom of the press, 53	General Anti-Avoidance Rule
Ten-Point Program, 107	(GAAR), 161
Twenty-Point Program, 103	general election results, 37n15, 55
Gandhi, Mahatma, 92, 95, 115	general insurance industry,
killing by Hindu nationalist	nationalization of, 107
Nathuram Godse, 99	"ghar wapsi," process of, 251n29
Gandhi Peace Foundation, 69	Giri, V. V., 129n108
Gandhi, Rahul	global financial crisis of 2008, 94, 140,
emergence in the government's	194–95, 209
faceoff with the IAC, 157	global levels of corruption, 209
India Against Corruption (IAC)	Gokhale, H. R., 70, 113
movement, 148–58	Golak Nath case (1967), 111, 132n134
parliamentary speech on August	Golwalkar, M. S., 110
27, 2011, 158	good governance, 5
role in the Congress and the	goods and services tax (GST), 249n14
government, 165–66	government-business alliance, 18
UPA's views on IAC relationship	government in "paralysis," notion of, 152
with, 166	gram raj (village self-government),
views in favour of the Lokpal bill,	78n19
156	Grievance Redressal bill, 159
Gandhi, Rajiv, 45n63, 200-01	gross domestic product (GDP), 61
Gandhi, Sanjay, 67, 72, 87n119	Group of Ministers (GOM)
countering of rallies of the JPM, 68	committee, 143

312



#### INDEX

2G scam, 139, 149-50, 152 Gul, Abdullah, 236 Gulen, Fethullah, 236-37 alliance of non-Congress parties against Congress party, 160 habeas corpus case of 1976, 130n126 Haksar, P. N., 56, 90, 106-08, 113, anti-corruption demonstrations 116, 128n101, 128n105 across India, 141 "Harijan" (Scheduled Caste) welfare, against Congress party, 167 approach of supra-level activism, 112 Hazare, Anna, 3, 137, 142, 144, 148, 187 160, 188 arrest of Anna Hazare, 148-58 arrest of, 148-58 August 15 deadline, 154-55 fast-unto-death, 137, 149 backing from opposition parties, presentation of the Lokpal bill, 149 citizens' anger at corruption, 140 coalitions of support, 141-43 release from imprisonment, 156 Hedgewar, Keshav Baliram, 91 composition of, 141-43 Hindu cultural customs, 91 Comptroller and Auditor General Hindu faith, 90-91 (CAG) Reports, 138–40 Hindu nationalism, 64, 90, 91, 119n8 conflation of economic Hindu nationalist politics, 249n11 liberalization and Hindu superiority, doctrine of, 97 corruption, 192 Hindu, The (newspaper), 66 credibility crisis and rise of, Hindutva, 81n60, 163, 229 140-43 ideology of, 231 Delhi Commonwealth Games mobilizations of the late 1980s (2010) scandal, 138 and early 1990s, 82n60 demand of jurisdiction of Lokpal over PMO, 154 hoarding and black-market practices, demonstrated outside the homes human capital, 204, 207 οf Human Rights Watch, 251n32 Gandhi, Sonia, 167 Husain, Zakir, 129n108 Singh, Manmohan, 167 drive to formally politicize, 168 ideas in political behavior, role of, election victory in 1971, 9 21 - 25end of, 159-68 ideological homogenization, 230, 236 final wave of, 158-68 import licensing, 192 first wave of, 143–48 India Against Corruption (IAC) government divisions, IAC movement, 3, 5, 30, 135, 137, pressure, and the joint committee, 143-48



government paralysis and	Indian Administrative Service (IAS),
negotiations, 143–68	206
Hazare, Anna, 137	Indian citizenship, 231
institutionalization of an anti-	Indian Civil Service. See Indian
corruption ombudsman,	Administrative Service (IAS)
137	Indian Council for Research on
Kejriwal, Arvind, 137–38	International Economic
leadership of, 146–47	Relations (ICRIER), 221n79
Lokpal (anti-corruption	Indian federalism, 230
ombudsman), 137	Indian nation
mobilization against the	concept of, 228
Congress-led government,	under Narendra Modi's BJP
160	government, 229
NAC-PMO stand-off, 147	Indian National Congress, 161
negotiations with government over	alliance of non-Congress parties
Lokpal, 155	against, 160
failure of, 160	concepts of the secular Indian
policy prescriptions, 159–68	nation, 10, 30, 33
political opposition's support of,	immediate aftermath of the
149	Emergency, 102–04
public demonstrations at Jantar	proclaiming the Emergency,
Mantar in Delhi, 138, 144,	94–102
167	factions of
public support for, 145	"organization" faction (O),
Rahul Gandhi's intervention on	55, 62
the Lokpal debate, 148–58	"requisitionist" faction (R), 55
Ramdev's role in, 185	56, 90
RSS-BJP support for, 183-84	general election performance
second wave of, 148-58	(1951–71), 54
"Sense of the House" resolution,	Gujarat election results, 67
158	idea of secularism, 76n7
and shrinking credibility of the	ideological opposition to the JPM
government, 153	102
standoff with UPA, 165	ideology under Indira Gandhi, 91
storming of Delhi's South Block,	as India's "Grand Old Party," 1
167	and Indira Gandhi's power, 53–56
targeting of government, 159-68	institutionalization of an internal
UPA government's response to, 6,	Emergency, 6
165, 196	political capital of, 67



political strength of, 54 politicians in key decision-making positions, 30 pro-government demonstrations, 68 Right to Information (RTI) bill, 204 secular nationalism, 23 social security schemes, 204 Soviet Union patronage of, 75n6 split of, 90, 105–09 suppression of the JPM, 10, 12, 33 ideological drivers of, 91–94 justification for, 104	Indira hatao (remove Indira) campaign, 111 Indonesia, credibility crises in, 237–39 anti-corruption demonstrations, 237 bailout fund for Century Bank, 238 demonstrators' criticism against the government, 238 exposure of corruption scandals, 237 ideological fault lines, 238 Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu, 238
Syndicate faction in, 107	pancasila (five principles), 238 People's Representative Council
Ten-Point Program, 107	(DPR), 238
Indian national movement emergence of, 119	Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 238
notion of	solvency crisis of Century Bank,
cultural, 119n8	237–38
religious, 119n8 territorial, 119n8	Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 237–38
Indian policymaking, technocracy of, 199	industrial licensing, 192 for private sector, 108
Indian politics	information technology (IT), 38n19
clash of interests between	institutional politics, in India
majorities and minorities,	alternative explanations to, 18–21 idea of, 16–18
dirigiste political economy, 213	politics of ideas and crisis, 21–25
fragmentation of, 9	power and decision-making,
history of, 1	25–31
intra-government struggle, 17	visions of credibility, 31-34
one-party dominance, 20	integrity of the nation, 102
RSS influence on, 100	intra-government struggle, 17
study of, 46n72	Islamic ethics, 235
Indian Railways, 116	promotion of, 253n49
India–Pakistan War (1971), 54, 102, 114, 251n30	Iyer, V. R. Krishna, 68
"India Shining" campaign (2004),	Jaitley, Arun, 185
203–06, 211	Jammu and Kashmir (J&K)



cancellation of Hindu pilgrimage,	Mukherjee's perspective on, 92
231	opposition parties' support for,
detention of politicians and	62–63, 96
citizens, 231	public unrest, 29
integration with Indian nation, 231	purpose of, 62
Reorganization Act, 231	relation with RSS, 63-64
revocation of Article 370 in, 231	religious nationalism mobilized
semi-autonomous status, 231	under, 97
Janaagraha (force of the people),	rise of, 58
224n106	credibility crisis and, 60-62
Jana Sangh, 62, 91, 97, 99–100, 109,	RSS activists of, 97
117	spread of, 61
Janata Dal (U), 160	support and composition of, 62–64
Janata Front, 67, 81	suppression of ideological others
Jan Lokpal Bill, 138, 141, 160, 163,	within, 24
179n157, 188, 192, 225n116	Jethmalani, Ram, 185
implementation of, 168	job creation, 233
NAC's criticism of, 159	Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC)
jansunwaai (social audit), 207	on allocation and pricing of
Jayakar, Pupul, 92, 120n14	telecom licenses and 2G
Jayaprakash Narayan movement	spectrum, 174n78
(JPM, 1974–75), 5–6, 9, 53,	JP. See Narayan, Jayaprakash
56-57, 89, 110, 140	judiciary-parliament stand-off, 111
anti-corruption agenda of, 97, 99	
arrest of JPM leaders and activists,	Kahneman, Daniel, 25-26, 47n73
69	Kalmadi, Suresh, 139
Charter of Demands, 66	arrest of, 152
confrontations with the	Kapoor Commission, 59, 87n117
Government, 64–69	Kapoor, Coomi, 70, 125n82
Congress government suppression	Kapoor, Yashpal, 60
of, 10, 12, 33, 63, 95, 113	Kejriwal, Arvind, 137–38, 141–42,
ideological drivers of, 91–94	144, 147, 160, 168, 207
justification for, 104	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 168
Congress's ideological opposition	politicization of the IAC, 168
to, 102	Swaraj, 138, 169n10
crackdown on, 63	"Kemalist" institutions, Turkey, 235,
Indira Gandhi'instruction to	254n51
crush, 65	Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala,
march to the parliament, 66	132n138
316	



#### INDEX

Lok Sabha (Lower House), 54, 96, Knightian uncertainty, 26, 48n79 Krishnamachari, T. T., 59 105, 136, 153, 168 Krishna, S. M., 159 Lok Sangharsh Samiti, 69 Kumar, A. K. Shiva, 205-06 Lukas, Anthony, 103 Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 233 Kumaramangalam, Mohan, 56, 76n11, 108, 113, 131n133, 132n138, 219n69 Mahalanobis, P. C., 106, 127n99 Maintenance of Internal Security Act Lakatosian sense, 23 (MISA), 69-70, 102 amendment of, 102 Lal, Bansi, 58 L.C. Golak Nath v. State of Punjab, detainees arrested under, 102 132n134 mobilization against right-wing Left Front parties, 136–37 organizations, 102 sections 16A and 18 of, 102 left-wing populism, 229 liberalization in India, 246 Malaysia, credibility crises in, 239–41 liberalization reforms, anti-terrorism and anti-sedition implementation of, 18, 31, legislation, 240 38n19, 178n132, 187, 189, Barisan Nasional (BN) 192-93, 195, 200, 202, 209, government, 239 211, 216n41, 222n91 Bersih (clean) movement license-permit-quota raj, 197 government response to, 239 license raj, 107 public demonstrations, 239 controversial 2008 election, 239 Little, I. M. D, 198 Lokayukta (state-level ombudsman), emergence of a two-party bloc, 240 140-41, 163 Mohammed, Mahathir, 240 jurisdiction of, 158 personalization of party Lokpal (anti-corruption factionalization, 240 ombudsman), 140–41 politics of division and alienation establishment of, 144 of out-groups, 239 grievance redressal, 159 privatization schemes, 239 idea of, 172n51 Razak, Najib, 239 ultra-Malay nationalism, 239 institutionalization of, 62, 137 to investigate cases of political United Malays National corruption against Organization (UMNO), ministers, 62 239-41 investigatory powers, 149 Malaysian United Indigenous Party Jan Lokpal bill, 138, 141, 160, 168, (Bersatu), 240 179n157, 188, 225n116 Malkani, K. R., 103

317

Mandal Commission, 208

jurisdiction of, 158



Mander, Harsh, 145, 158, 206	addition of the retroactive tax to
Manipur People's Party, 160	the budget, 177n128
market-based capitalism, 205	General Anti-Avoidance Rule
market competitiveness, 23	(GAAR), 161
market liberal ideas, stability of,	perspective on the JPM, 92
38n19, 200–03	Mulyani, Sri, 238
Maruti factory, Gurgaon, 58	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
mass communications, 228	(MCD), 138
"master narratives" of Indian	My Reminiscences of 'Bapu' (1957), 95
nationalism, 94	,
Mattis, Jim, 247n2	Nair, T. K. A., 158
Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan	Narain, Raj, 60
(MKSS), 207	Narayan, Jayaprakash, 5, 57, 99, 168.
Mehta, Om, 71–72, 103	See also Jayaprakash Narayan
Menon, Krishna, 59	movement (JPM, 1974–75)
merit-based recruitment, principle	anti-corruption movement, 57, 61
of, 4	breaking away from the Congress,
Middle East, 237	57
Ministry of Commerce and Industry,	confrontation with the prime
58–59	minister, 78n18
minority rights, 229	demonstrations against corruption,
protection of, 115	61
Mishra, L. N., 58–59, 65, 70	detention under Maintenance
Mishra, S. N., 77n17	of Internal Security Act
Modi, Narendra, 12, 20, 171n33,	(MISA), 69
228–29, 232	gram raj (village self-government),
BJP government under, 249n18	78n19
consolidation of political power	intellectual and political evolution,
under, 228	57
economic order under, 229	involvement in social activism, 57
Kashmir decision, 231	letter to Indira Gandhi, 64
revocation of Article 370, 23	meeting with Indira Gandhi, 64
Mohammed, Mahathir, 240	rally at
Monopoly and Restrictive Trade	Gandhi Maidan in Patna, 66
Practices (MRTP), 114	Ramlila Maidan in Delhi, 69
Moraes, Dom, 101, 128n101	relation with Indira Gandhi, 92
Motherland newspaper, 103	Sarvodaya movement, 57
Mukherjee, Pranab, 86n112, 92,	National Advisory Council (NAC), 8,
133n149, 149, 153, 159, 194	31, 136, 144, 145, 155–56, 161
318	



#### INDEX

Common Minimum Program (CMP), 204criticism of the Lokpal bill, 159 denunciation of the government's land acquisition bill, 159 establishment of, 212 Working Group on Transparency, Accountability, and Governance, 187 National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI), 204, 206–07 National Coordination Committee (NCC), 66National Democratic Alliance (NDA) "India Shining" campaign (2004), 203-06 reliance on pseudo trickle-down effects, 204 national economic slowdown, 231 nationalism importance of, 115 master narratives of, 94 notion of, 46n69 Nationalist Congress Party, 160 National Population Register (NPR), 232 National Register of Citizens (NRC), 232, 251n30 National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NREGA), 175n91, 207, 211 National Works Program, 131n128 nation, concept of Congress's, 23, 30, 31-34 immediate aftermath of the Emergency, 102-04 Nehru-Mahalanobis conceptualization, 106

populism and, 89–91 proclaiming the Emergency, 94-102 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 54, 59, 94-95, 105, 115 New York Times, 103 Niira Radia tapes, publication of, 170n16 Nijalingappa, S., 107-08 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 224n106 Norman, Dorothy, 121n32, 124n72, 126n87 Nuclear Suppliers Group, 174n82 Nuland, Victoria, 156 Nurkse, Ragnar, 199, 220n75 Odebrecht scandal (Brazil), 234 Official Secrets Act of 1923, 224n110 one-party dominance, 20 Oresharski, Plamen, 241-42 Orwell, George, 228 Pande, B. D., 73 paradoxical positionality, 63 party-government relationship, 173n64 Patel, Ahmed, 156, 159 Patel, Praful, 160 Patel, Rajni, 70 Patwardhan, Anand, 82n63 Peevski, Delyan, 242 Pendleton Act of 1883, 4 Peoples' Democratic Front (PDF), 160 people's power, 62 People's Struggle Committee. See Lok Sangharsh Samiti people versus the corrupt elite, 228



## INDEX

Planning Commission of India, 8,	"thin-centered" ideology, 117
161, 181, 189, 196, 213	right-wing, 229
industrialization planning	twin pillars of, 229
mechanisms of, 114	populist politics, 228
under the UPA government, 200	and movements, 30, 46n67, 46n69
Poisson distribution, 246	pork barrel politics, 2
Polanyian double transformation, 11,	power
15n16, 19, 31, 33, 213	centralization of, 27
policymaking power, division of, 10	decision-making, 25–31
policymaking, roles in India's social	of domestic institutions, 42n43
and economic development,	perception of
30	objective, 27
political–business alliance, 186, 209	subjective, 27
political capital, 27, 61, 67, 197, 207	salience of, 27
political community, creation of, 31	state elites' sense of, 29
political contestation, 24	Praja Socialist Party (PSP), 130n116
political decentralization, 63	Prasad, H. Y. Sharada, 73, 90, 92,
political disequilibria, 26	129n105
political economy, 2, 16, 18, 39n24,	"presumptive" losses, notion of, 191
61, 197–99, 213, 227	Prime Minister's Economic Advisory
political party ideology, 31	Council (PMEAC), 177n124
political science, 28	Prime Minister's House (PMH), 67, 71
politics of ideas in India	Prime Minister's Office (PMO), 11,
past and present, 227-32	31, 143, 151, 161, 181, 197,
polyarchy, concept of, 19, 30	204, 212
polycentric power center, 135–36	decision-makers in, 153-54
Pompeo, Mike, 228	pro-government demonstrations, 68
Pondicherry License Scam, 58, 59	progressive socialist policies, 132n135
populism	pro-social behaviors, 28
Indira Gandhi's, 24, 33, 90	public and private sector strikes, 116
and concepts of the nation,	public auditing, of official claims, 207
89–91	public information exchange, 207
garibi hatao (remove poverty)	public-private partnerships (PPPs),
campaign, 111	187, 209–10, 211
party split and rise of	public-sector institutions, quality of,
Congress (R)	206
ideology, 105–09	public welfare, state mechanisms of, 212
policy measures, 114	Putin, Vladimir, 253n49



Quit India movement (1942), 57	withdrawing of support for the
	JPM, 117
Radhakrishna, K. S., 62	Rawat, Harish, 151
Rai, Vinod, 139, 170n20, 172n41, 189	Ray, S. S., 59, 70–72, 113
Raja, A., 149, 174n78	Razak, Najib, 239, 240
Rajan, Raghuram, 177n128, 229-30	Reddy, Brahmananda, 72
Rajya Sabha (Upper House), 99, 101, 169n5, 182, 183	religious nationalism, 64, 91, 94, 99, 112
Ramdev, Baba, 168, 184	Hindutva, 81n60
association with BJP, 185	religious nationalist groups, 10, 24, 63,
beaten and chased from Delhi in	86n112, 91, 95, 103, 110, 141
the night by police, 185	religious nationalist organizations
call to social and political boycott	crackdown on, 103
of government, 168	government's targeting of, 103
issue of "black money," 185	rent extraction
role in the IAC, 185	deal-making between businesses
Ram, Jagjivan, 66, 68, 76n11, 93, 115	and politicians, 32
Ram, Tulmohan, 58	mechanism of, 18
Rangarajan, C., 198, 200	rent maximization, 38n20
Rao, Koka Subba, 132n134	rent-seeking motivations, of political
Rao, P. V. Narasimha, 115, 197, 202,	elites, 22
246	rent-seeking politicians, 46n72
Rashtriya Janata Dal, 160	Reserve Bank of India (RBI), 20, 140,
Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS),	189
5, 63–64, 70, 110, 182	right-of-center parties, coalition of, 91
fomenting of communal riots and communal hatred, 100	rights-based movements, 11, 203–06, 208
Hindu nationalism, 91	civic activism in, 31
history of, 99	rights-based reform movements, 186
influence on Indian politics, 100	Right to Education (RTE), 164
as key mobilization vehicle for the	Right to Information (RTI) bill, 137,
JPM, 96	204, 206–07, 222n94
mobilization of, 101	right-wing parties
Motherland newspaper, 103	ban on, 69
as non-political social	discovery of weapons in the offices
organization, 81n60	of, 103
relation with JPM, 63–64	right-wing populism, 229
support for the IAC, 183	right-wing religious nationalists, 10,
as threat to India's identity, 99	30, 33, 86n112



#### INDEX

risk-seeking behaviors, 26, 29 Sen, Amartya, 204–05 "Sense of the House" resolution, 158 Ritambhara, Sadhvi, 142 Romania, credibility crises in, 243-44 separation of powers, among diverse Democratic Alliance of parties, 212–13 Hungarians in Romania Seshan, T. N., 188 (UDMR), 243 Shah, Amit, 251n30 Shah Commission, 72, 74n2, 86n110, Dragnea, Liviu, 243 Liberal-Democrat Alliance 100, 103 (ALDE), 243 Shamim, M., 100 Sharma, Shankar Dayal, 117n2 Social Democratic Party (PSD), 243 Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 54, 58, 106 Rousseff, Dilma, 233 Shekhar, Chandra, 65, 93, 130n115 Odebrecht scandal, 234 Sibal, Kapil, 147, 158, 160 Roy, Aruna, 145, 156, 158–59, 206–07 Singh, Charan, 117 Singh, Dalijeet, 139 rural development, 137 rural poverty, 61 Singh, Digvijaya, 178n142 rural-urban divide, 62, 66 Singh, Krishna Ballabh Prasad Narayan, 117 Samajwadi Party, 38n20 Singh, Manmohan, 1, 3, 6, 8, 10–11, Santhanam Committee (1975), 58, 66 23, 27–28, 135, 137, 141, 146, findings to combat corruption, 62 154, 159, 162, 188, 192, 199, implementation of, 62 212, 220n75, 245-46 Sanyukta Socialist Party (SSP), 62 coal portfolio, 160 sarsanghchalak, 142 corruption scandals, 139 sarvadharma samabhava, 90 India's Export Trends and the Sarvodaya movement, 57 Prospects for Self-Sustained Growth, 199 satyagraha (non-violent demonstration), 99 intellectual lineage of, 198 Scheduled Castes (SCs), 55, 111-12, on jurisdiction of Lokpal over PMO, 154 123n50 secular Indian nation, concept of, 10, support for business and market opening, 178n132 secular nationalism, 12, 23-24, 73, 89, support for the removal of, 153 90, 104, 115, 119n8, 122n48, tenure as finance minister and 196, 214n3 prime minister, 199 secular-religious nationalism, 228 Singh, Swaran, 115 secular-religious nationalist Singh, V. P., 200 divergence, 228 Sinha, Jagmohanlal, 60 self-determination, 57 social emancipation, program of, 112



social equality, 57	state power, 62
social incentives, 205	centralization of, 229
socialism	state-sanctioned assault, against
educational programme, 108	India's Muslims, 232
and minority rights, 94	Subramanian, Arvind, 230
as a political tool for governing in	Supreme Court of India, 20, 230
India, 106	decision in 2G embezzlement case,
socialist economy, 229	174n78
social justice, 3, 111	hearing of the prime minister's
social learning, 44n59, 51n101	appeal against the
social provisioning, 205, 210	Allahabad High Court
social psychology, 12, 28, 48n85	judgment, 68
social security, 175n91, 204–05	judgment on Gandhi's appeal, 68–69
social service delivery	L.C. Golak Nath v. State of Punjab,
and accountability, 186	132n134
state mechanisms of, 212	on parliament's right to amend
social value orientation (SVO), 48n85	the fundamental right to
social welfare issues, 233	property, 131n134
socioeconomic development, 2, 16,	striking down of the ordinances on
136, 187	bank nationalization, 111
concept of, 31–34	Swamy, Subramanian, 125n82,
role of state institutions in, 32	134n155
Soni, Ambika, 161	Swaraj, Sushma, 185
South Commission, 197–98, 221n78	Syrian Civil War, 254n50
Soviet Union	
breakup of, 246	Tandon, B. N., 59, 92-93, 126n87
patronage of the Indian Congress,	Tarlo, Emma, 75n3, 87n119
75n6	technocrats, 91
state-led industrialization, 106	defined, 51n101
special interest groups, 17, 32, 245	exogeneity of the ideas of, 104
special interest lobbies, mobilization	marketist, 30-31, 32
of, 19	market liberal, 200
Spock, Benjamin, 98	in policymaking roles, 30
state-controlled economy, 111, 114	positions of power during the 2012
state elites	credibility crisis, 43n44
legacies of, 28	reformist, 31
sense of power, 29	social reformist ideas, 32
state-led social welfare programs, 32	in UPA government, 186
Statement of Objects and Reasons, 102	Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), 137
	323



## INDEX

Telecom Regulatory Authority of	authoritative positions of power,
India (TRAI), 190	181
Ten-Point Program, 107	backlash of wrong fiscal policies,
Thaper, Raj, 75n4	194
trade barriers, 107	balance-of-payments crisis (1991),
trade nationalization, 116	189
Transaction of Business Rules, 72	coalition of, 136–37
trickle-down economics, 23	Common Minimum Program
Trinamool Congress (TMC), 159,	(CMP), 204
165, 167	contracts pertaining to the 2G
Turkey, credibility crises in, 235–37	telecommunications
anti-corruption demonstrations in	spectrum, 189
Gezi Park, 235	corruption scandals in, 188
anti-corruption movements, 235	decision-makers authoritative
centralized power under Erdogan,	positions of power in, 31
237	decision-makers in, 136
corruption in public tenders, 235	decision-making power in India
"dark circles" and "criminal gangs,"	during, 197
236	diverse decision-makers and
Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 235, 237	perspectives, 182–95
Gul, Abdullah, 236	market liberal perspective,
Gulen, Fethullah, 236–37	182, 189–95
Gulen movement, 236	secular nationalist perspective,
intra-AKP unity, 237	182–86
Justice and Development Party	social reformist perspective,
(AKP), 235–36	182, 186–89
"Kemalist" institutions, 235	economic growth strategy, 191
political and corruption crises, 235	elite decision-making in, 181
proposals for anti-corruption	exogeneity, 196
legislation, 236	first term (2004–09), 137
Tversky, Amos, 25–26, 47n73	government–party dynamic, 137
Twenty-Point Program, 103	IAC agitation. See India Against
Twenty Tolk Trogram, 100	Corruption (IAC)
United Progressive Alliance (UPA),	movement
3, 9, 247	ideational checks and balances,
arbitrary power of, 11	212–14
association of the IAC wave with	inter-coalition factions, 164
the religious nationalist	liberal technocrats in, 186
right, 185	market liberal idea carriers
-	



#### INDEX

financial crisis (1991) and economic liberalization, 196-200 stability of, 200-03 party-technocratic government, 51n105 Polanyian double transformation, 11, 15n16, 19, 31, 33 polycentric institutional environment in, 33 polycentric power center, 135-36 push to promote market liberal economic reforms, 167 on relationship between the IAC and Rahul Gandhi, 166 response to IAC (2011-12), 6, 196 role in rights-based movements of the 1990s and early 2000s, 204 scale and exposure of the corruption scandals, 138 second term (2009-14), 137 secular nationalists in, 182 social and economic development, 180 - 81social reformist idea carriers "India Shining" and rightsbased movements, 203-06 stability of, 206-11 state leadership positions in, 27 unity of India, 90

Unlawful Activities Prevention Act
(UAPA), 232
UPA–IAC standoff (2012), 165
US–India Civilian Nuclear
Cooperation Agreement, 140, 174n82
utility, economic theories of, 28

Vadra, Robert, 179n150
Vaishnav, Milan, 91
Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 129n114, 163–64, 249n11
Varshney, Ashutosh, 36n12, 119n8, 229, 249n12
Veerangana Dal, 172n48
V. K. Shunglu Committee report, on CWG scam, 139
volonté générale (general will) of the people, 46n70, 117n1, 228
vote maximization, 38n20

wage inequality, 196
Walton, Michael, 225n118
Wanchoo, K. N., 58
wants, construction of, 22
welfare state
citizen-oriented, 32
development of, 19, 211, 213

Yadav, Chandrajit, 115 Yadav, Sharad, 185 Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 237–38