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India Strategy

Dealing with Uncertainty - Part 1: The Forthcoming General Elections

MORGAN STANLEY RESEARCH

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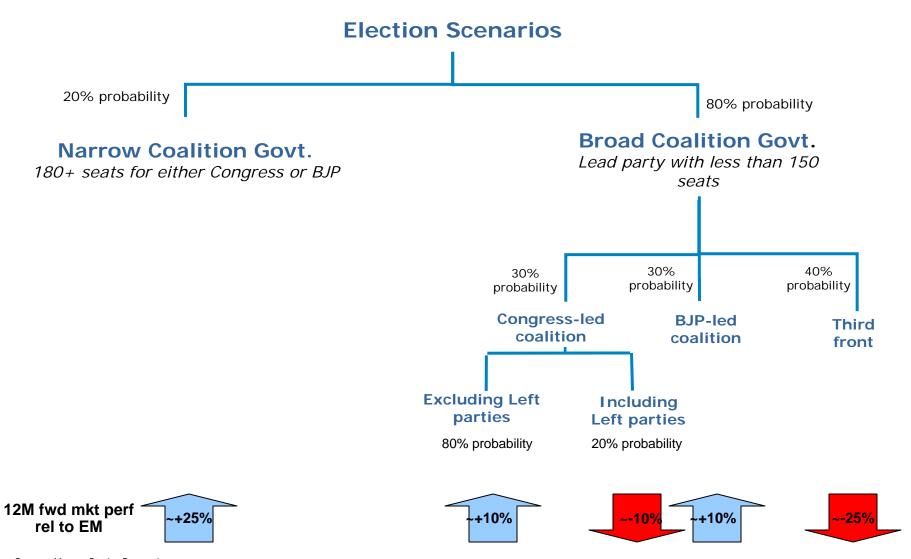
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Dealing with Uncertainty - Part 1: The Forthcoming General Elections

- The market's performance in the coming months hinges on two key factors: how the world shapes up and the general election results in May. The former will more or less determine absolute returns while the latter may play a greater role in relative returns in 2009 and beyond.
- So why are the elections important? The best chance for India to partly overcome the impact of global slowdown is that the government boosts infrastructure spending. Add to this the bad fiscal situation. This makes funding of a spending program using public debt very difficult and hence as a corollary government will need to privatize assets or raise multi-lateral agency loans. The next general elections become unduly important for the market. If we get a fragmented verdict from the electorate, it could hamper policymaking, which in turn could have negative implications on growth and the markets. A third government will likely struggle to push forward a growth agenda whereas a narrow coalition government led by either the Congress or the BJP will likely surprise positively with reform.
- Why are the outcomes uncertain? Recent state elections have produced mixed results and suggest that forthcoming general elections are too close to call. Hitherto, it was safe to assume that the incumbent would lose elections. However, since the end of 2007, 6 out of 11 incumbent governments have won elections compared to just 8 out 31 in the preceding five years.
- Is the historical pattern of pre-election performance likely? Given the lack of predictability surrounding these elections and their importance to the market, the probability of a pre-election rally looks low. Post elections, depending on the outcome, the market could go either way. Historically, over the past 15 years, the market has rallied ahead of elections in anticipation of a narrow coalition government and sold off post election since each successive government has been a broader coalition than the previous one. On an average, over the past four polls spanning 13 years, the BSE Sensex has risen 15% in the 4 months preceding the elections. Ultimately, whether the market sustains its post election move will depend on how the new government formulates its economic package.
- What should investors expect? We are not psephologists but still take a shot at possible election outcomes and attach probabilities to each outcome. Accordingly, there appears to be a 40% chance of a result that the market may not like. See page 3 for a chart on possible outcomes.
- What is the problem with a bad election outcome? Investors need to be most wary of a third front government. The country has had three instances of third front governments. The economic performance during those short-lived governments was not something to write home about.
- What's priced in? From our conversations with clients, the market appears to be pricing in a broad coalition government led by one of the two large national parties (Congress or BJP). The market is therefore likely to react more violently if we get one of the extreme outcomes (a relatively narrow coalition) or a third front government or a government with the Left parties supporting it. By our calculations there is a better than one in two chance of getting any one of these.
- What should investors monitor in the run up to the elections? Regional parties (defined loosely here as non-BJP and non-Congress) have gained prominence in national politics over the past 10 years with a greater-than-50% share in the national vote and nearly half the parliament seats in 2004. They are likely to retain their dominance over the traditional national parties and hence play a critical role in government formation. To that extent, pre-poll alliances will be crucial to election results. Investors should keep an eye on how national parties form their alliances in the run up to the general elections.
- Conclusion: The event is known but the outcomes are unknown. This is a typical investment challenge. Our approach is to wait for the outcome before we reduce defensiveness in our portfolio. The reason is that the probability of downside and extent of such a downside appears to be outweighing the probability of upside and the extent of the upside (put together, of course).

Election scenarios and market outcomes

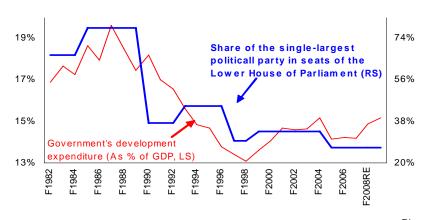


Regional parties could be critical again

The rising prominence of regional parties has complicated Indian politics. The impact on development is also being felt given the varying priorities of coalition partners in broad coalition governments.

	1977-80	1989-91	1996-98
Coalition name	Janata Party + Allies	Janata Dal + Allies	United Front
Average GDP growth	2.6%	5.7%	6.1%
BSE Sensex returns	Started in 1979	85%	5%
No of months the Govt. lasted	24	19	22
No. of Prime ministers	2	2	2

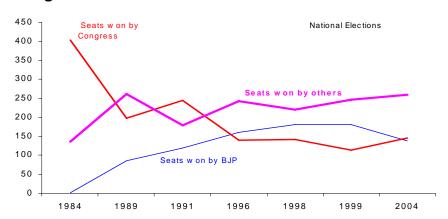
Weak Government = Weaker Development



Regional Parties at the Helm of Affairs

Year	ВЈР	Vote share Congress	Others	ВЈР	Seat Count Congress	Others
1984	7.7%	49.1%	43.2%	2	404	137
1989	11.4%	39.5%	49.1%	85	197	261
1991	20.0%	36.6%	43.4%	120	244	179
1996	20.3%	28.8%	50.9%	161	140	242
1998	25.6%	25.8%	48.6%	182	141	220
1999	23.8%	28.3%	48.0%	182	114	247
2004	22.2%	26.7%	51.2%	138	145	260

Regional Parties Gain Share in National Vote/Seats



Sources: RBI, Budget documents, Election commission, Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Research Please note RE: Revised documents

Markets do well before elections but may be not this time

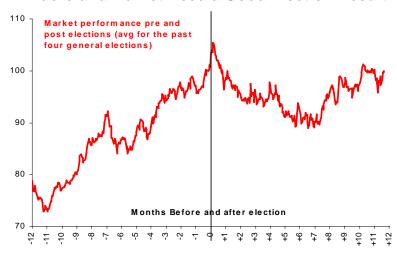
		Lead Party in	Govt's share in	Lead Party's Share in	P/B at Election							
E	ections	Govt	total seats	Alliance	time	-6M	-3M	-1M	1M	3M	6M	12 M
May-04 2	.004	INC	58.9%	45.3%	3.4	27.5%	-0.7%	4.5%	-14.1%	-17.2%	-3.7%	7.5%
Oct-99 1	999	BJP	54.9%	61.1%	3.8	25.7%	13.5%	-2.5%	-2.2%	15.1%	15.7%	-12.5%
Mar-98 1	998	BJP	50.6%	66.2%	3.5	-6.5%	5.1%	11.7%	10.2%	-9.7%	-14.6%	-0.9%
May-96 1	996	JD	44.6%	19.0%	3.3	25.0%	5.9%	-3.3%	0.2%	-5.0%	-23.6%	4.3%
Jun-91 1	991	INC	51.6%	87.1%	3.2	6.4%	8.1%	0.0%	9.8%	41.8%	48.1%	142.9%
Nov-89 1	989	JD	48.1%	54.8%	7.3	-2.8%	-2.1%	-7.5%	12.6%	-0.6%	14.6%	73.7%
Dec-84 1	984	INC	78.8%	NA	NA	9.9%	3.3%	4.0%	8.5%	29.8%	70.3%	102.1%
Jan-80 1	980	INC	67.6%	NA	NA	-3.3%	0.4%	2.7%	3.3%	7.8%	6.0%	26.5%
C	Overall average			10.2%	4.2%	1.2%	3.5%	7.8%	14.1%	43.0%		
Α	Average for coalition governments			10.4%	4.4%	0.6%	1.3%	-3.5%	-2.3%	14.4%		

Market Performance Pre and Post Elections



Sources: Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Research

Macro and Market Need a Good Election Result



Incumbency is a lesser curse?

28 out of 42 sitting governments have been voted out of power since 2002 whereas 6 out of 11 incumbents have been voted back to power over the past 13 months.

Year	State	Elected Party	Incumbent Party	Who is Winning?
2002	Uttar Pradesh	BSP	Samajw adi Party+BSP	++
2002	Gujarat	BJP	BJP	Incumbent
2002	Himachal Pradesh	Congress	ВЈР	++
2003	Jammu & Kashmir	PDP	Nat. Conference	++
2003	Chattisgarh	ВЈР	Congress	++
2003	Delhi	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2003	Madhya Pradesh	BJP	Congress	++
2003	Meghalaya	Congress	Manipur State Congress	++
2003	Mizoram	Mizo Nat Front	Mizo Nat Front	++
2003	Nagaland	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2003	Rajasthan	BJP	Congress	++
2003	Tripura	Left Front	Left Front	++
2004	Andhra Pradesh	Congress	TDP+ BJP	++
2004	Arunachal Pradesh	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2004	Karnataka	Janata Dal	Congress	++
2004	Maharashtra	Congress + NCP	Congress	++
2004	Orissa	BJD + Allies	BJD	++
2005	Bihar	Janata Dal	RJD	++
2005	Haryana	Congress	INLD	++
2005	Jharkhand	Congress	President's Rule	++
2006	Assam	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2006	Kerala	CPI(M)	Congress	++
2006	Pondicherry	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2006	Tamil Nadu	DMK	ADMK	++
2006	West Bengal	CPI(M)	CPM	++
2007	Uttaranchal	BJP	Congress	++
2007	Punjab	SAD- BJP	Congress	++
2007	Manipur	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2007	Uttar Pradesh	BSP	BJP+BSP	++
2007	Goa	Congress	Congress + NCP	Incumbent
2007	Himachal Pradesh	BJP	Congress	++
2007	Gujarat	BJP	BJP	Incumbent
2008	Meghalaya	UDP	Congress	++
2008	Tripura	CPI(M)	CPI(M)	Incumbent
2008	Nagaland	NPF	NPF	Incumbent
2008	Karnataka	BJP	JD-Congress Alliance	++
2008	Rajasthan	BJP	Congress	++
2008	Delihi	Congress	Congress	Incumbent
2008	Mizoram	Congress	Mizo Nat Front	++
2008	Chhattisgarh	BJP	BJP	Incumbent
2008	Madhya Pradesh	BJP	ВЈР	Incumbent
2008	Jammu & Kashmir	National Congress	Congress	++

Sources: Parliament of India, Election commission, Morgan Stanley Research Please note others include the union territories

Which states matter the most (State-wise Lok Sabha composition)

	Lok Sabha Seats	BJP	Congress	Others	Vacant Seats	Total	State Assembly Ruling Party
1	Uttar Pradesh	8	9	55	8	80	BSP
2	Maharashtra	11	13	23	1	48	Congress + NCP
3	Andhra Pradesh	0	30	10	2	42	Congress
4	West Bengal	0	6	36		42	Left Democratic Front
5	Bihar	5	3	26	6	40	BJP + JD (U)
6	Tamil Nadu	0	10	29		39	DMK + Allies
7	Karnataka	11	9	3	5	28	ВЈР
8	Madhya Pradesh	19	5	0	5	29	ВЈР
9	Gujarat	13	12	0	1	26	ВЈР
10	Rajasthan	19	4	0	2	25	Congress
11	Orissa	7	2	11	1	21	BJD + Allies
12	Kerala	0	0	20		20	Left Democratic Front
13	Assam	2	9	3		14	Congress
14	Punjab	3	2	8		13	SAD+BJP
15	Jharkhand	0	6	8		14	President's rule
16	Chhattisgarh	8	2	0	1	11	ВЈР
17	Haryana	1	8	0	1	10	Congress
18	National Capital Territory Of Delhi	0	6	0	1	7	Congress
19	Jammu & Kashmir	0	2	2	2	6	National Conference
20	Others*	0	3	3		6	
21	Uttaranchal	2	2	1		5	ВЈР
22	Himachal Pradesh	1	3	0		4	ВЈР
23	Arunachal Pradesh	2	0	0		2	Congress
24	Goa	1	1	0		2	Congress + NCP
25	Manipur	0	1	1		2	Congress
26	Meghalaya	0	2	0		2	Congress
27	Tripura	0	0	2		2	Left Democratic Front
28	Mizoram	0	0	1		1	Congress
29	Nagaland	0	0	1		1	NPF
30	Sikkim	0	0	1		1	Sikkim Democratic Front
	Total	113	150	244	36	543	

Sources: Parliament of India, Election commission, Morgan Stanley Research Please note others include the union territories. There are in all 37 seats vacant in Lok Sabha



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