

In this Part...

- 18. President
- 19. Vice-President
- 20. Prime Minister
- 21. Central Council of Ministers
- 22. Cabinet Committees
- 23. Parliament

- 24. Parliamentary Committees
- 25. Indian Parliamentary Group
- 26. Supreme Court
- 27. Judicial Review
- 28. Judicial Activism
- 29. Public Interest Litigation

CHAPTER 18

President

Articles 52 to 78 in Part V of the Constitution deal with the Union executive. The Union executive consists of the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister, the council of ministers and the attorney general of India.

The President is the head of the Indian State. He/she is the first citizen of India and acts as the symbol of unity, integrity and solidarity of the nation.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The President is elected not directly by the people but by members of electoral college consisting of:

1. the elected members of both the Houses of Parliament;
2. the elected members of the legislative assemblies of the states; and
3. the elected members of the legislative assemblies of the Union Territories of Delhi and Puducherry¹.

Thus, the nominated members of both the Houses of Parliament, the nominated members of the state legislative assemblies,

the members (both elected and nominated) of the state legislative councils (in case of the bicameral legislature) and the nominated members of the Legislative Assemblies of Delhi and Puducherry do not participate in the election of the President.

The 104th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019 has not extended further the nomination of Anglo-Indian members to the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies. In other words, the amendment discontinued the provision of special representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies by nomination. Consequently, this provision ceased to have effect on the 25th January 2020.

Further, where an assembly is dissolved, the members cease to be qualified to vote in the presidential election, even if fresh elections to the dissolved assembly are not held before the presidential election.

The Constitution provides that there shall be uniformity in the scale of representation of different states as well as parity between the states as a whole and the Union at the election of the President. To achieve this, the number of votes which each elected member of the legislative assembly of each state and the

¹This provision was added by the 70th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992 with effect from June 1, 1995.

Parliament is entitled to cast at such election shall be determined in the following manner:

- Every elected member of the legislative assembly of a state shall have as many votes as there are multiples of one thousand in the quotient obtained by dividing the population of the state by the total number of the elected members of the assembly². This can be expressed as:

Value of the vote of an MLA =

$$\frac{\text{Total population of state}}{\text{Total number of elected members in the state legislative assembly}} \times \frac{1}{1000}$$

- Every elected member of either House of Parliament shall have such number of votes as may be obtained by dividing the total number of votes assigned to members of the legislative assemblies of the states by the total number of the elected members of both the Houses of Parliament. This can be expressed as:

Value of the vote of an MP =

$$\frac{\text{Total value of votes of all MLAs of all states}}{\text{Total number of elected members of Parliament}}$$

An illustration of the value of votes of each Member of the Legislative Assemblies of the states, total value of votes of each of the states, the value of votes of each Member of Parliament, the total value of votes of the Members of Parliament and the grand total of value of all the members in the electoral college for the presidential election, 2022 is given in Table 18.4.

The President's election is held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the voting is by secret ballot. This system ensures that the successful candidate is returned by

the absolute majority of votes. A candidate, in order to be declared elected to the office of President, must secure a fixed quota of votes. The quota of votes is determined by dividing the total number of valid votes polled by the number of candidates to be elected (here only one candidate is to be elected as President) plus one and adding one to the quotient. The formula can be expressed as:

Electoral quota =

$$\frac{\text{Total number of valid votes polled}}{1 + 1} + 1$$

Each member of the electoral college is given only one ballot paper. The voter, while casting his/her vote, is required to indicate his/her preferences by marking 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. against the names of candidates. This means that the voter can indicate as many preferences as there are candidates in the fray.

In the first phase, the first preference votes are counted. In case, a candidate secures the required quota in this phase, he/she is declared elected. Otherwise, the process of transfer of votes is set in motion. The ballots of the candidate securing the least number of first preference votes are cancelled and his/her second preference votes are transferred to the first preference votes of other candidates. This process continues till a candidate secures the required quota.

All doubts and disputes in connection with election of the President are enquired into and decided by the Supreme Court whose decision is final. The election of a person as President cannot be challenged on the ground that the electoral college was incomplete (ie, existence of any vacancy among the members of electoral college). If the election of a person as President is declared void by the Supreme Court, acts done by him/her before the date of such declaration of the Supreme Court are not invalidated and continue to remain in force.

Some members of the Constituent Assembly criticised the system of indirect election for the President as undemocratic and proposed the idea of direct election. However,

²According to the 84th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2001, the expression 'population' means the population as ascertained at the 1971 census, until the relevant figures for the first census taken after 2026 have been published.



the Constitution makers chose the indirect election due to the following reasons³:

1. The indirect election of the President is in harmony with the parliamentary system of government envisaged in the Constitution. Under this system, the President is only a nominal executive and the real powers are vested in the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister. It would have been anomalous to have the President elected directly by the people and not give him/her any real power.
2. The direct election of the President would have been very costly and time and energy-consuming due to the vast size of the electorate. This is unwarranted keeping in view that he/she is only a symbolic head.

Some members of the Constituent Assembly suggested that the President should be elected

³Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume IV, pp. 733–736

by the members of the two Houses of Parliament alone. The makers of the Constitution did not prefer this as the Parliament, dominated by one political party, would have invariably chosen a candidate from that party and such a President could not represent the states of the Indian Union. The present system makes the President a representative of the Union and the states equally.

Further, it was pointed out in the Constituent Assembly that the expression ‘proportional representation’ in the case of presidential election is a misnomer. Proportional representation takes place where two or more seats are to be filled. In case of the President, the vacancy is only one. It could better be called a preferential or alternative vote system. Similarly, the expression ‘single transferable vote’ was also objected on the ground that no voter has a single vote; every voter has plural votes.

The various presidential elections held so far are summarised in Table 18.1.

Table 18.1 Elections of the Presidents (1952–till now)

Sl. No.	Election Year	Victorious Candidate	No. of Votes Secured (%)	Main Rival Candidate	No. of Votes Secured (%)
1.	1952	Dr. Rajendra Prasad	507400 (83.81)	K.T. Shah	92827 (15.3)
2.	1957	Dr. Rajendra Prasad	459698 (99.35)	N.N. Das	2000 (0.4)
3.	1962	Dr. S. Radhakrishnan	553067 (98.24)	Ch. Hari Ram	6341 (1.1)
4.	1967	Dr. Zakir Hussain	471244 (56.23)	K. Subba Rao	363971 (43.4)
5.	1969	V.V. Giri	420077 (50.22)	N. Sanjeeva Reddy	405427 (48.5)
6.	1974	Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed	756587 (80.18)	Tridev Chaudhuri	189186 (19.8)
7.	1977	N. Sanjeeva Reddy	—	Unopposed	—
8.	1982	Giani Zail Singh	754113 (72.73)	H.R. Khanna	282685 (27.6)
9.	1987	R. Venkataraman	740148 (72.29)	V. Krishna Ayyer	281550 (27.1)
10.	1992	Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma	675564 (65.86)	George Swell	346485 (33.21)
11.	1997	K.R. Narayanan	956290 (94.97)	T.N. Sheshan	50431 (5.07)
12.	2002	Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam	922844 (89.58)	Laxmi Sehgal	107366 (10.42)
13.	2007	Ms. Pratibha Patil	638116 (65.82)	B.S. Shekhawat	331306 (34.17)
14.	2012	Pranab Mukherjee	713763 (68.12)	P.A. Sangma	315987 (30.15)
15.	2017	Ram Nath Kovind	702044 (65.65)	Meira Kumar	367314 (34.35)
16.	2022	Droupadi Murmu	676803 (64.03)	Yashwant Sinha	380177 (35.97)

• QUALIFICATIONS, OATH AND CONDITIONS

Qualifications for Election as President

A person to be eligible for election as President should fulfil the following qualifications:

1. He/she should be a citizen of India.
2. He/she should have completed 35 years of age.
3. He/she should be qualified for election as a member of the Lok Sabha.
4. He/she should not hold any office of profit under the Union government or any state government or any local authority or any other public authority. A sitting President or Vice-President of the Union, the Governor of any state and a minister of the Union or any state is not deemed to hold any office of profit and hence qualified as a presidential candidate.

Further, the nomination of a candidate for election to the office of President must be subscribed by at least 50 electors as proposers and 50 electors as seconders. Every candidate has to make a security deposit of ₹15,000 in the Reserve Bank of India. The security deposit is liable to be forfeited in case the candidate fails to secure one-sixth of the votes polled. Before 1997, number of proposers and seconders was ten each and the amount of security deposit was ₹2,500. In 1997, they were increased to discourage the non-serious candidates⁴.

Oath or Affirmation by the President

Before entering upon his/her office, the President has to make and subscribe to an oath or affirmation. In his/her oath, the President swears:

1. to faithfully execute the office;
2. to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law; and
3. to devote himself to the service and well-being of the people of India.

⁴The presidential and vice-presidential Elections Act of 1952, as amended in 1997.

The oath of office to the President is administered by the Chief Justice of India and in his/her absence, the seniormost judge of the Supreme Court available.

Any other person acting as President or discharging the functions of the President also undertakes the similar oath or affirmation.

Conditions of President's Office

The Constitution lays down the following conditions of the President's office:

1. He/she should not be a member of either House of Parliament or a House of the state legislature. If any such person is elected as President, he/she is deemed to have vacated his/her seat in that House on the date on which he/she enters upon his/her office as President.
2. He/she should not hold any other office of profit.
3. He/she is entitled, without payment of rent, to the use of his/her official residence (the Rastrapati Bhavan).
4. He/she is entitled to such emoluments, allowances and privileges as may be determined by Parliament.
5. His/her emoluments and allowances cannot be diminished during his/her term of office.

In 2018, the Parliament increased the salary of the President from ₹1.50 lakh to ₹5 lakh per month^{4a}. Earlier in 2008, the pension of the retired President was increased from ₹3 lakh per annum to 50% of his/her salary per month⁵. In addition, the former Presidents are entitled to furnished residence, phone facilities, car, medical treatment, travel facility, secretarial staff and office expenses upto ₹1,00,000 per annum. The spouse of a deceased President is also entitled to a family pension at the rate of 50% of pension of a retired President, furnished residence, phone facility, car,

^{4a}Vide the Finance Act, 2018, with effect from 1st January, 2016. This Act amended the President's Emoluments and Pension Act, 1951.

⁵The President's Emoluments and Pension Amendment Act of 2008.



medical treatment, travel facility, secretarial staff and office expenses upto ₹20,000 per annum.

The President is entitled to a number of privileges and immunities. He/she enjoys personal immunity from legal liability for his/her official acts. During his/her term of office, he/she is immune from any criminal proceedings, even in respect of his/her personal acts. He/she cannot be arrested or imprisoned. However, after giving two months' notice, civil proceedings can be instituted against him/her during his/her term of office in respect of his/her personal acts.

TERM, IMPEACHMENT AND VACANCY

Term of President's Office

The President holds office for a term of five years from the date on which he/she enters upon his/her office. However, he/she can resign from his/her office at any time by addressing the resignation letter to the Vice-President. Further, he/she can also be removed from the office before completion of his/her term by the process of impeachment.

The President can hold office beyond his/her term of five years until his/her successor assumes charge. He/she is also eligible for re-election to that office. He/she may be elected for any number of terms⁶. However, in USA, a person cannot be elected to the office of the President more than twice.

Impeachment of President

The President can be removed from office by a process of impeachment for 'violation of the Constitution'. However, the Constitution does not define the meaning of the phrase 'violation of the Constitution'.

The impeachment charges can be initiated by either House of the Parliament. These charges should be signed by one-fourth members of

the House (that framed the charges), and a 14 days' notice should be given to the President. After the impeachment resolution is passed by a majority of two-thirds of the total membership of that House, it is sent to the other House, which should investigate the charges. The President has the right to appear and to be represented at such investigation. If the other House also sustains the charges and passes the impeachment resolution by a majority of two-thirds of the total membership, then the President stands removed from his/her office from the date on which the resolution is so passed.

Thus, an impeachment is a quasi-judicial procedure in the Parliament. In this context, two things should be noted: (a) the nominated members of either House of Parliament can participate in the impeachment of the President though they do not participate in his/her election and (b) the elected members of the legislative assemblies of states and the Union Territories of Delhi and Puducherry do not participate in the impeachment of the President though they participate in his/her election.

It must be noted here that no President has so far been impeached.

Vacancy in the President's Office

A vacancy in the President's office can occur in any of the following ways:

1. On the expiry of his/her tenure of five years.
2. By his/her resignation.
3. On his/her removal by the process of impeachment.
4. By his/her death⁷.
5. Otherwise, for example, when he/she becomes disqualified to hold office or when his/her election is declared void.

When the vacancy is going to be caused by the expiration of the term of the sitting President, an election to fill the vacancy must be held before the expiration of the term. In

⁶No person except Dr. Rajendra Prasad has occupied the office for two terms.

⁷So far two Presidents, Dr. Zakir Hussain and Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, have died during their term of office.

Military Powers

He/she is the supreme commander of the defence forces of India. In that capacity, he/she appoints the chiefs of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. He/she can declare war or conclude peace, subject to the approval of the Parliament.

Emergency Powers

In addition to the normal powers mentioned above, the Constitution confers extraordinary powers on the President to deal with the following three types of emergencies:

- (a) National Emergency (Article 352);
- (b) President's Rule (Article 356 & 365); and
- (c) Financial Emergency (Article 360)

(a) National Emergency: The President can proclaim emergency in the entire country or in any part of it on the following grounds:

- (i) War or
- (ii) External aggression or
- (iii) Armed rebellion

The President acquires the following extraordinary powers during a national emergency:

- (i) He/she can modify the pattern of the distribution of financial resources between the Union and the states.
- (ii) He/she can suspend the Fundamental Rights of citizens except the right to life and personal liberty (Article 21) and the right to protection in respect of conviction for offences (Article 20).

(b) President's Rule: It is also known as a state emergency or a constitutional emergency. It can be proclaimed by the President on the following grounds:

- (i) Failure of constitutional machinery in the states (Article 356) or
- (ii) Failure to comply with or to give effect to directions given by the Union (Article 365)

The President acquires the following extraordinary powers when the President's rule is imposed in a state:

(i) He/she can assign to himself all or any of the functions of the state government and all or any of the powers vested in the governor or anybody or authority in the state.

(ii) He/she can declare that the powers of the state legislature shall be exercisable by or under the authority of the Parliament.

(iii) He/she can authorise, when the Lok Sabha is not in session, expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of the state, pending the sanction of such expenditure by the Parliament.

(c) Financial Emergency: The President can proclaim financial emergency if he/she is satisfied that the financial stability or credit of India or any part thereof, is threatened.

During a financial emergency, the President can issue directions for the reduction of salaries and allowances of all or any class of persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union, including the judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts.

VETO POWER OF THE PRESIDENT

A bill passed by the Parliament can become an act only if it receives the assent of the President. When such a bill is presented to the President for his assent, he/she has three alternatives (under Article 111 of the Constitution):

1. He/she may give his assent to the bill, or
2. He/she may withhold his/her assent to the bill, or
3. He/she may return the bill (if it is not a Money bill) for reconsideration of the Parliament. However, if the bill is passed again by the Parliament with or without amendments and again presented to the President, the President must give his/her assent to the bill.

case of any delay in conducting the election of new President by any reason, the outgoing President continues to hold office (beyond his/her term of five years) until his/her successor assumes charge. This is provided by the Constitution in order to prevent an 'interregnum'. In this situation, the Vice-President does not get the opportunity to act as President or to discharge the functions of the President.

If the office falls vacant by resignation, removal, death or otherwise, then election to fill the vacancy should be held within six months from the date of the occurrence of such a vacancy. The newly-elected President remains in office for a full term of five years from the date he/she assumes charge of his/her office.

When a vacancy occurs in the office of the President due to his/her resignation, removal, death or otherwise, the Vice-President acts as the President until a new President is elected. Further, when the sitting President is unable to discharge his/her functions due to absence, illness or any other cause, the Vice-President discharges his/her functions until the President resumes his/her office.

In case the office of Vice-President is vacant, the Chief Justice of India (or if his/her office is also vacant, the seniormost judge of the Supreme Court available) acts as the President or discharges the functions of the President⁸.

When any person, ie, Vice-President, chief justice of India, or the seniormost judge of the Supreme Court is acting as the President or discharging the functions of the President, he/she enjoys all the powers and immunities of the President and is entitled to such emoluments, allowances and privileges as are determined by the Parliament.

⁸For example, when President Dr. Zakir Hussain died in May, 1969, the then Vice-President, V.V. Giri was acting as the President. Soon after V.V. Giri resigned to contest the election of the President. Then the Chief Justice of India, M. Hidayatullah worked as the officiating President from 20 July, 1969 to 24 August, 1969.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

The powers enjoyed and the functions performed by the President can be studied under the following heads:

1. Executive powers
2. Legislative powers
3. Financial powers
4. Judicial powers
5. Diplomatic powers
6. Military powers
7. Emergency powers

Executive Powers

The executive powers and functions of the President are:

- (a) All executive actions of the Government of India are formally taken in his/her name.
- (b) He/she can make rules specifying the manner in which the orders and other instruments made and executed in his/her name shall be authenticated.
- (c) He/she can make rules for more convenient transaction of business of the Union government, and for allocation of the said business among the ministers.
- (d) He/she appoints the Prime Minister and the other ministers. They hold office during his/her pleasure.
- (e) He/she appoints the attorney general of India and determines his/her remuneration. The attorney general holds office during the pleasure of the President.
- (f) He/she appoints the comptroller and auditor general of India, the chief election commissioner and other election commissioners, the chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission, the governors of states, the chairman and members of finance commission, and so on.
- (g) He/she can seek any information relating to the administration of affairs of the Union, and proposals for legislation from the prime minister.
- (h) He/she can require the Prime Minister to submit, for consideration of the council

of ministers, any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but, which has not been considered by the council.

- (i) He/she can appoint a commission to investigate into the conditions of backward classes.
- (j) He/she can appoint an inter-state council to promote Centre-state and inter-state cooperation.
- (k) He/she directly administers the union territories through administrators appointed by him/her.
- (l) He/she can declare any area as scheduled area and has powers with respect to the administration of scheduled areas and tribal areas.

Legislative Powers

The President is an integral part of the Parliament of India, and enjoys the following legislative powers.

- (a) He/she can summon or prorogue the Parliament and dissolve the Lok Sabha. He/she can also summon a joint sitting of both the Houses of Parliament, which is presided over by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.
- (b) He/she can address the Parliament at the commencement of the first session after each general election and the first session of each year.
- (c) He/she can send messages to the Houses of Parliament, whether with respect to a bill pending in the Parliament or otherwise.
- (d) He/she can appoint any member of the Lok Sabha to preside over its proceedings when the offices of both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker fall vacant. Similarly, he/she can also appoint any member of the Rajya Sabha to preside over its proceedings when the offices of both the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman fall vacant.
- (e) He/she nominates 12 members of the Rajya Sabha from amongst persons

having special knowledge or practical experience in literature, science, art and social service.

- (f) He/she nominated (before 2020) two members to the Lok Sabha from the Anglo-Indian community. However, the 104th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019 has discontinued this provision.
 - (g) He/she decides on questions as to disqualifications of members of the Parliament, in consultation with the Election Commission.
 - (h) His/her prior recommendation or permission is needed to introduce certain types of bills in the Parliament. They are: (i) a bill involving expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of India, (ii) a bill for the alteration of boundaries of states or creation of a new state, (iii) a money bill, (iv) a bill that imposes or varies any tax or duty in which states are interested, (v) a bill which varies the meaning of the expression 'agricultural income' as defined for the purposes of the enactments relating to Indian income tax, (vi) a bill which affects the principles on which sums of money are or may be distributable to states and (vii) a bill that imposes any surcharge on any specified tax or duty for the purpose of the centre.
- Further, a state bill imposing restrictions on the freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse with that state or within that state can be introduced in the legislature of the state only with the previous sanction of the President.
- (i) When a bill is sent to the President after it has been passed by the Parliament, he/she can:
 - (i) give his/her assent to the bill, or
 - (ii) withhold his/her assent to the bill, or
 - (iii) return the bill (if it is not a money bill) for reconsideration of the Parliament.

However, if the bill is passed again by the Parliament, with or without amendments, the President has to give his/her assent to the bill.

(j) When a bill passed by a state legislature is reserved by the governor for consideration of the President, the President can:

- (i) give his/her assent to the bill, or
- (ii) withhold his/her assent to the bill, or
- (iii) direct the governor to return the bill (if it is not a money bill) for reconsideration of the state legislature. It should be noted here that it is not obligatory for the President to give his/her assent even if the bill is again passed by the state legislature and sent again to him/her for his/her consideration.

(k) He/she can promulgate ordinances when the Parliament is not in session. These ordinances must be approved by the Parliament within six weeks from its reassembly. He/she can also withdraw an ordinance at any time.

(l) He/she lays the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General, Union Public Service Commission, Finance Commission, and others, before the Parliament.

(m) He/she can make regulations for the peace, progress and good government of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu and Ladakh. In the case of Puducherry also, the President can legislate by making regulations but only when the assembly is suspended or dissolved.

Financial Powers

The financial powers and functions of the President are:

(a) Money bills can be introduced in the Parliament only with his prior recommendation.

- (b) He/she causes to be laid before the Parliament the annual financial statement (ie, the Union Budget).
- (c) No demand for a grant can be made except on his recommendation.
- (d) He/she can make advances out of the contingency fund of India to meet any unforeseen expenditure.
- (e) He/she constitutes a finance commission after every five years to recommend the distribution of revenues between the Centre and the states.

Judicial Powers

The judicial powers and functions of the President are:

- (a) He/she appoints the Chief Justice and the judges of Supreme Court and high courts.
- (b) He/she can seek advice from the Supreme Court on any question of law or fact. However, the advice tendered by the Supreme Court is not binding on the President.
- (c) He/she can grant pardon, reprieve, respite and remission of punishment, or suspend, remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence:
 - (i) In all cases where the punishment or sentence is by a court martial;
 - (ii) In all cases where the punishment or sentence is for an offence against a Union law; and
 - (iii) In all cases where the sentence is a sentence of death.

Diplomatic Powers

The international treaties and agreements are negotiated and concluded on behalf of the President. However, they are subject to the approval of the Parliament. He/she represents India in international forums and affairs and sends and receives diplomats like ambassadors, high commissioners, and so on.

Thus, the President has the veto power over the bills passed by the Parliament⁹, that is, he/she can withhold his/her assent to the bills. The object of conferring this power on the President is two-fold—(a) to prevent hasty and ill-considered legislation by the Parliament; and (b) to prevent a legislation which may be unconstitutional.

The veto power enjoyed by the executive in modern states can be classified into the following four types:

1. Absolute veto, that is, withholding of assent to the bill passed by the legislature.
2. Qualified veto, which can be overridden by the legislature with a higher majority.
3. Suspensive veto, which can be overridden by the legislature with an ordinary majority.
4. Pocket veto, that is, taking no action on the bill passed by the legislature.

Of the above four, the President of India is vested with three—absolute veto, suspensive veto and pocket veto. There is no qualified veto in the case of Indian President; it is possessed by the American President. The three vetos of the President of India are explained below:

Absolute Veto

It refers to the power of the President to withhold his assent to a bill passed by the Parliament. The bill then ends and does not become an act. Usually, this veto is exercised in the following two cases:

- (a) With respect to private members' bills (ie, bills introduced by any member of Parliament who is not a minister); and
- (b) With respect to the government bills when the cabinet resigns (after the passage of the bills but before the assent by the President) and the new cabinet advises the President not to give his assent to such bills.

In 1954, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad withheld his assent to the PEPSU Appropriation

⁹'Veto' is a Latin word that connotes 'forbid'.

Bill. The bill was passed by the Parliament when the President's Rule was in operation in the state of PEPSU¹⁰. But, when the bill was presented to the President for his assent, the President's Rule was revoked.

Again in 1991, President R Venkataraman withheld his assent to the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill. The bill was passed by the Parliament (on the last day before dissolution of Lok Sabha) without obtaining the previous recommendation of the President.

Suspensive Veto

The President exercises this veto when he/she returns a bill for reconsideration of the Parliament. However, if the bill is passed again by the Parliament with or without amendments and again presented to the President, it is obligatory for the President to give his assent to the bill. This means that the presidential veto is overridden by a re-passage of the bill by the same ordinary majority (and not a higher majority as required in USA).

As mentioned earlier, the President does not possess this veto in the case of money bills. The President can either give his/her assent to a money bill or withhold his/her assent to a money bill but cannot return it for the reconsideration of the Parliament. Normally, the President gives his/her assent to a money bill as it is introduced in the Parliament with his/her previous permission.

Pocket Veto

In this case, the President neither ratifies nor rejects nor returns the bill, but simply keeps the bill pending for an indefinite period. This power of the President not to take any action (either positive or negative) on the bill is known as the pocket veto. The President can

¹⁰The Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) was merged into the Punjab State in 1956.



exercise this veto power as the Constitution does not prescribe any time-limit within which he/she has to take the decision with respect to a bill presented to him/her for his/her assent. In USA, on the other hand, the President has to return the bill for reconsideration within 10 days. Hence, it is remarked that the pocket of the Indian President is bigger than that of the American President.

In 1986, President Zail Singh exercised the pocket veto with respect to the Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill. The bill, passed by the Rajiv Gandhi Government, imposed restrictions on the freedom of press and hence, was widely criticised. After three years, in 1989, the next President R Venkataraman sent the bill back for reconsideration, but the new National Front Government decided to drop the bill.

It should be noted here that the President has no veto power in respect of a constitutional amendment bill. The 24th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1971 made it obligatory for the President to give his assent to a constitutional amendment bill.

Presidential Veto over State Legislation

The President has veto power with respect to state legislation also. A bill passed by a state legislature can become an act only if it receives the assent of the governor or the President (in case the bill is reserved for the consideration of the President).

When a bill, passed by a state legislature, is presented to the governor for his/her assent, he/she has four alternatives (under Article 200 of the Constitution):

1. He/she may give his/her assent to the bill, or
2. He/she may withhold his/her assent to the bill, or
3. He/she may return the bill (if it is not a money bill) for reconsideration of the state legislature, or
4. He/she may reserve the bill for the consideration of the President.

When a bill is reserved by the governor for the consideration of the President, the President has three alternatives (Under Article 201 of the Constitution):

1. He/she may give his/her assent to the bill, or
2. He/she may withhold his/her assent to the bill, or
3. He/she may direct the governor to return the bill (if it is not a money bill) for the reconsideration of the state legislature. If the bill is passed again by the state legislature with or without amendments and presented again to the President for his/her assent, the President is not bound to give his/her assent to the bill. This means that the state legislature cannot override the veto power of the President. Further, the Constitution has not prescribed any time limit within which the President has to take decision with regard to a bill reserved by the governor for his/her consideration. Hence, the President can exercise pocket veto in respect of state legislation also.

Table 18.2 summarises the discussion on the veto power of the President with regard to Central as well as state legislation.

Table 18.2 Veto Power of the President at a Glance

Central Legislation	State Legislation
With Regard to Ordinary Bills	
1. Can be ratified	1. Can be ratified
2. Can be rejected	2. Can be rejected
3. Can be returned	3. Can be returned

Central Legislation	State Legislation
With Regard to Money Bills	
1. Can be ratified	1. Can be ratified
2. Can be rejected (but cannot be returned)	2. Can be rejected (but cannot be returned)
With Regard to Constitutional Amendment Bills	
Can only be ratified (that is, cannot be rejected or returned)	Constitutional amendment bills cannot be introduced in the state legislature.

ORDINANCE-MAKING POWER OF THE PRESIDENT

Article 123 of the Constitution empowers the President to promulgate ordinances during the recess of Parliament. These ordinances have the same force and effect as an act of Parliament, but are in the nature of temporary laws.

The ordinance-making power is the most important legislative power of the President. It has been vested in him/her to deal with unforeseen or urgent matters. But, the exercise of this power is subject to the following four limitations:

1. He/she can promulgate an ordinance only when both the Houses of Parliament are not in session or when either of the two Houses of Parliament is not in session. An ordinance can also be issued when only one House is in session because a law can be passed by both the Houses and not by one House alone. An ordinance made when both the Houses are in session is void. Thus, the power of the President to legislate by ordinance is not a parallel power of legislation.
2. He/she can make an ordinance only when he/she is satisfied that the circumstances exist that render it necessary for him/her to take immediate action. In the *Cooper case*¹¹, (1970), the Supreme Court held that the President's satisfaction can be questioned in a court on the ground of malafide. This means that the decision of the President to issue an
3. His ordinance-making power is coextensive as regards all matters except duration, with the law-making powers of the Parliament. This has two implications:
 - (a) An ordinance can be issued only on those subjects on which the Parliament can make laws.
 - (b) An ordinance is subject to the same constitutional limitation as an act of Parliament. Hence, an ordinance cannot abridge or take away any of the fundamental rights¹².
4. Every ordinance issued by the President during the recess of Parliament must be laid before both the Houses of Parliament when it reassembles. If the ordinance is approved by both the Houses, it becomes an act. If Parliament takes no action at

ordinance can be questioned in a court on the ground that the President has prorogued one House or both Houses of Parliament deliberately with a view to promulgate an ordinance on a controversial subject, so as to bypass the parliamentary decision and thereby circumventing the authority of the Parliament. The 38th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1975 made the President's satisfaction final and conclusive and beyond judicial review. But, this provision was deleted by the 44th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1978. Thus, the President's satisfaction is justiciable on the ground of malafide.

3. His ordinance-making power is coextensive as regards all matters except duration, with the law-making powers of the Parliament. This has two implications:
 - (a) An ordinance can be issued only on those subjects on which the Parliament can make laws.
 - (b) An ordinance is subject to the same constitutional limitation as an act of Parliament. Hence, an ordinance cannot abridge or take away any of the fundamental rights¹².
4. Every ordinance issued by the President during the recess of Parliament must be laid before both the Houses of Parliament when it reassembles. If the ordinance is approved by both the Houses, it becomes an act. If Parliament takes no action at

¹¹*Cooper vs. Union of India* (1970).

¹²The definition of 'law' contained in Article 13 expressly includes ordinances.



all, the ordinance ceases to operate on the expiry of six weeks from the reassembly of Parliament. The ordinance may also cease to operate even earlier than the prescribed six weeks, if both the Houses of Parliament pass resolutions disapproving it. If the Houses of Parliament are summoned to reassemble on different dates, the period of six weeks is calculated from the later of those dates. This means that the maximum life of an ordinance can be six months and six weeks, in case of non-approval by the Parliament (six months being the maximum gap between the two sessions of Parliament). If an ordinance is allowed to lapse without being placed before Parliament, then the acts done and completed under it, before it ceases to operate, remain fully valid and effective.

The President can also withdraw an ordinance at any time. However, his/her power of ordinance-making is not a discretionary power, and he/she can promulgate or withdraw an ordinance only on the advice of the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister.

An ordinance like any other legislation, can be retrospective, that is, it may come into force from a back date. It may modify or repeal any act of Parliament or another ordinance. It can alter or amend a tax law also. However, it cannot be issued to amend the Constitution.

The ordinance-making power of the President in India is rather unusual and not found in most of the democratic Constitutions of the world including that of USA, and UK. In justification of the ordinance-making power of the President, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that the mechanism of issuing an ordinance has been devised in order to enable the Executive to deal with a situation that may suddenly and immediately arise when the Parliament is not in session¹³. It must be clarified here that the ordinance-making power of the President has no necessary connection with the national emergency envisaged in Article 352. The President can issue an ordinance

even when there is no war or external aggression or armed rebellion.

The rules of Lok Sabha require that whenever a bill seeking to replace an ordinance is introduced in the House, a statement explaining the circumstances that had necessitated immediate legislation by ordinance should also be placed before the House.

The Supreme Court's judgement relating to the ordinance-making power of the Governor in the *D.C. Wadhwa case*¹⁴ (1986) is worth mentioning here. In that case, the court pointed out that between 1967–1981, the Governor of Bihar promulgated 256 ordinances and all these were kept in force for periods ranging from one to fourteen years by re-promulgation from time to time. The court ruled that successive re-promulgation of ordinances with the same text without any attempt to get the bills passed by the assembly would amount to violation of the Constitution and the ordinance so re-promulgated is liable to be struck down. It held that the exceptional power of law-making through ordinance cannot be used as a substitute for the legislative power of the state legislature.

PARDONING POWER OF THE PRESIDENT

Article 72 of the Constitution empowers the President to grant pardons to persons who have been tried and convicted of any offence in all cases where the:

1. Punishment or sentence is for an offence against a Union Law;
2. Punishment or sentence is by a court martial (military court); and
3. Sentence is a sentence of death.

The pardoning power of the President is independent of the Judiciary. The President while exercising this power, does not sit as a court of appeal. The object of conferring this judicial power on the President is two-fold: (a) to keep the door open for correcting any judicial errors in the operation of law; and,

¹³Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume VIII, p. 213.

¹⁴*D.C. Wadhwa vs. State of Bihar* (1986).

(b) to afford relief from a sentence, which the President regards as unduly harsh.

The pardoning power of the President includes the following:

1. Pardon It removes both the sentence and the conviction and completely absolves the convict from all sentences, punishments and disqualifications.

2. Commutation It denotes the substitution of one form of punishment for a lighter form. For example, a death sentence may be commuted to rigorous imprisonment, which in turn may be commuted to a simple imprisonment.

3. Remission It implies reducing the period of sentence without changing its character. For example, a sentence of rigorous imprisonment for two years may be remitted to rigorous imprisonment for one year.

4. Respite It denotes awarding a lesser sentence in place of one originally awarded due to some special fact, such as the physical disability of a convict or the pregnancy of a woman offender.

5. Reprieve It implies a stay of the execution of a sentence (especially that of death) for a temporary period. Its purpose is to enable the convict to have time to seek pardon or commutation from the President.

Under Article 161 of the Constitution, the governor of a state also possesses the pardoning power. Hence, the governor can also grant pardons, reprieves, respites and remissions of punishment or suspend, remit and commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence against a state law. But, the pardoning power of the governor differs from that of the President in following two respects:

1. The President can pardon sentences inflicted by court martial (military courts) while the governor cannot.
2. The President can pardon death sentence while governor cannot. Even if a state law prescribes death sentence, the power to grant pardon lies with the President and not the governor. However, the governor

can suspend, remit or commute a death sentence. In other words, both the governor and the President have concurrent power in respect of suspension, remission and commutation of death sentence.

In *Kehar Singh* case^{14a} (1988), the Supreme Court examined the pardoning power of the President and laid down the following principles:

1. The petitioner for mercy has no right to an oral hearing by the President.
2. The President can examine the evidence afresh and take a view different from the view taken by the court.
3. The power is to be exercised by the President on the advice of the union cabinet.
4. There is no need for the Supreme Court to lay down specific guidelines for the exercise of power by the President.
5. The exercise of power by the President is not subject to judicial review except where the presidential decision is arbitrary, irrational, *mala fide* or discriminatory.

CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT

The Constitution of India has provided for a parliamentary form of government. Consequently, the President has been made only a nominal executive; the real executive being the council of ministers headed by the prime minister. In other words, the President has to exercise his/her powers and functions with the aid and advise of the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar summed up the true position of the President in the following way¹⁵:

"In the Indian Constitution, there is placed at the head of the Indian Union a functionary who is called the President of the Union. The title of the functionary reminds of the President of the United States. But beyond the identity of names, there is nothing in

^{14a}*Kehar Singh vs. Union of India* (1988).

¹⁵*Constituent Assembly Debates*, Volume VII, pp. 32-34.



common between the form of government prevalent in America and the form of government adopted under the Indian Constitution. The American form of government is called the presidential system of government and what the Indian Constitution adopted is the Parliamentary system. Under the presidential system of America, the President is the Chief head of the Executive and administration is vested in him. Under the Indian Constitution, the President occupies the same position as the King under the English Constitution. He is the head of the State but not of the Executive. He represents the nation but does not rule the nation. He is the symbol of the nation. His place in administration is that of a ceremonial device or a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known. He is generally bound by the advice of his ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice. The President of the United States can dismiss any secretary at any time. The President of the Indian Union has no power to do so, so long as his ministers command a majority in Parliament".

In estimating the constitutional position of the President, particular reference has to be made to the provisions of Articles 53, 74 and 75. These are:

1. The executive power of the Union shall be vested in President and shall be exercised by him/her either directly or through officers subordinate to him/her in accordance with this Constitution (Article 53).
2. There shall be a council of ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President who 'shall', in the exercise of his/her functions, act in accordance with such advice (Article 74).
3. The council of ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha (Article 75). This provision is the foundation of the parliamentary system of government.

The 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1976 (enacted by the Indira Gandhi Government) made the President bound by

the advice of the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister¹⁶. The 44th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1978 (enacted by the Janata Party Government headed by Morarji Desai) authorised the President to require the council of ministers to reconsider such advice either generally or otherwise. However, he/she 'shall' act in accordance with the advice tendered after such reconsideration. In other words, the President may return a matter once for reconsideration of his/her ministers, but the reconsidered advice shall be binding.

In October 1997, the cabinet recommended President K.R. Narayanan to impose President's Rule (under Article 356) in Uttar Pradesh. The President returned the matter for the reconsideration of the cabinet, which then decided not to move ahead in the matter. Hence, the BJP-led government under Kalyan Singh was saved. Again in September 1998, the President KR Narayanan returned a recommendation of the cabinet that sought the imposition of the President's Rule in Bihar. After a couple of months, the cabinet re-advised the same. It was only then that the President's Rule was imposed in Bihar, in February 1999.

Though the President has no constitutional discretion, he/she has some situational discretion. In other words, the President can act on his/her discretion (that is, without the advice of the ministers) under the following situations:

- (i) Appointment of Prime Minister when no party has a clear majority in the Lok Sabha or when the Prime Minister in office dies suddenly and there is no obvious successor.
- (ii) Dismissal of the council of ministers when it cannot prove the confidence of the Lok Sabha.
- (iii) Dissolution of the Lok Sabha if the council of ministers has lost its majority.

¹⁶In the original Constitution, there was no such specific provision in Article 74.

Table 18.3 Articles Related to President at a Glance

Article No.	Subject-matter
52.	The President of India
53.	Executive power of the Union
54.	Election of President
55.	Manner of election of President
56.	Term of office of President
57.	Eligibility for re-election
58.	Qualifications for election as President
59.	Conditions of President's office
60.	Oath or affirmation by the President
61.	Procedure for impeachment of the President
62.	Time of holding election to fill vacancy in the office of President
65.	Vice-President to act as President or to discharge his functions
71.	Matters relating to the election of President
72.	Power of President to grant pardons etc., and to suspend, remit or commute sentences in certain cases
74.	Council of ministers to aid and advise the President
75.	Other provisions as to ministers like appointment, term, salaries, etc.
76.	Attorney-General of India
77.	Conduct of business of the Government of India
78.	Duties of Prime Minister in respect to furnishing of information to the President, etc.
85.	Sessions of Parliament, prorogation and dissolution
111.	Assent to bills passed by the Parliament
112.	Union Budget (annual financial statement)
123.	Power of President to promulgate ordinances
143.	Power of President to consult Supreme Court

Table 18.4 Presidential Election, 2022 (Value of Votes of elected MLAs and MPs)¹⁷

SI. No.	NAME OF STATE/ UNION TERRITORY	NUMBER OF ASSEMBLY SEATS (ELECTIVE)	POPULATION (1971 CENSUS)	VALUE OF VOTE OF EACH M.L.A.	TOTAL VALUE OF VOTES FOR THE STATE
1	ANDHRA PRADESH	175	27800586	159	$159 \times 175 = 27825$
2	ARUNACHAL PRADESH	60	467511	8	$008 \times 060 = 480$
3	ASSAM	126	14625152	116	$116 \times 126 = 14616$
4	BIHAR	243	42126236	173	$173 \times 243 = 42039$
5	CHHATTISGARH	90	11637494	129	$129 \times 090 = 11610$
6	GOA	40	795120	20	$020 \times 040 = 800$

(Contd.)

¹⁷This information is obtained from the official website of the Election Commission of India.

SI. No.	NAME OF STATE/ UNION TERRITORY	NUMBER OF ASSEMBLY SEATS (ELECTIVE)	POPULATION (1971 CENSUS)	VALUE OF VOTE OF EACH M.L.A.	TOTAL VALUE OF VOTES FOR THE STATE
7	GUJARAT	182	26697475	147	$147 \times 182 = 26754$
8	HARYANA	90	10036808	112	$112 \times 90 = 10080$
9	HIMACHAL PRADESH	68	3460434	51	$51 \times 68 = 3468$
10	JHARKHAND	81	14227133	176	$176 \times 81 = 14256$
11	KARNATAKA	224	29299014	131	$131 \times 224 = 29344$
12	KERALA	140	21347375	152	$152 \times 140 = 21280$
13	MADHYA PRADESH	230	30016625	131	$131 \times 230 = 30130$
14	MAHARASHTRA	288	50412235	175	$175 \times 288 = 50400$
15	MANIPUR	60	1072753	18	$018 \times 60 = 1080$
16	MEGHALAYA	60	1011699	17	$017 \times 60 = 1020$
17	MIZORAM	40	332390	8	$008 \times 40 = 320$
18	NAGALAND	60	516449	9	$009 \times 60 = 540$
19	ODISHA	147	21944615	149	$149 \times 147 = 21903$
20	PUNJAB	117	13551060	116	$116 \times 117 = 13572$
21	RAJASTHAN	200	25765806	129	$129 \times 200 = 25800$
22	SIKKIM	32	209843	7	$007 \times 32 = 224$
23	TAMIL NADU	234	41199168	176	$176 \times 234 = 41184$
24	TELANGANA	119	15702122	132	$132 \times 119 = 15708$
25	TRIPURA	60	1556342	26	$026 \times 60 = 1560$
26	UTTARAKHAND	70	4491239	64	$064 \times 70 = 4480$
27	UTTAR PRADESH	403	83849905	208	$208 \times 403 = 83824$
28	WEST BENGAL	294	44312011	151	$151 \times 294 = 44394$
29	NCT OF DELHI	70	4065698	58	$058 \times 70 = 4060$
30	UT OF PUDUCHERRY	30	471707	16	$016 \times 30 = 480$
TOTAL		4033	543002005		= 543231

(A) VALUE OF EACH VOTE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT:

TOTAL MEMBERS -

LOK SABHA (543) + RAJYA SABHA (233) = 776

VALUE OF EACH VOTE = $\frac{5,43,231}{776} = 700$

(B) TOTAL VALUE OF VOTES OF

776 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT = $700 \times 776 = 5,43,200$

(C) TOTAL ELECTORS FOR THE

PRESIDENT ELECTION = MLAs (4033) + M.Ps (776) = 4809

(D) TOTAL VALUE OF VOTES OF 4809 ELECTORS FOR

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2022 = $5,43,231 + 5,43,200 = 10,86,431$

CHAPTER 19

Vice-President

The Vice-President occupies the second highest office in the country. He/she is accorded a rank next to the President in the official warrant of precedence. This office is modelled on the lines of the American Vice-President.

ELECTION

The Vice-President, like the President, is elected not directly by the people but by the method of indirect election. He/she is elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament.¹ Thus, this electoral college is different from the electoral college for the election of the President in the following two respects:

1. It consists of both elected and nominated members of the Parliament (in the case of president, only elected members).
2. It does not include the members of the state legislative assemblies (in the case of President, the elected members of the state legislative assemblies are included). Explaining the reason for this difference, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar observed:²

"The President is the head of the State and his/her power extends both to the

administration by the Centre as well as to the states. Consequently, it is necessary that in his/her election, not only members of Parliament should play their part, but the members of the state legislatures should have a voice. But, when we come to the Vice-President, his/her normal functions are to preside over the council of states. It is only on a rare occasion, and that too for a temporary period, that he/she may be called upon to assume the duties of the president. That being so, it does not seem necessary that the members of the state legislatures should also be invited to take part in the election of the Vice-President".

But, the manner of election is same in both the cases. Thus, the Vice-President's election, like that of the President's election, is held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the voting is by secret ballot.

All doubts and disputes in connection with election of the Vice-President are inquired into and decided by the Supreme Court whose decision is final. The election of a person as Vice-President cannot be challenged on the ground that the electoral college was incomplete (i.e., existence of any vacancy among the members of electoral college). If the election of a person as Vice-President is declared void by the Supreme Court, acts done by him/her before the date of such declaration of the Supreme Court are not invalidated (i.e., they continue to remain in force).

The various vice-presidential elections held so far are summarised in Table 19.1.

¹The original Constitution provided that the Vice-President would be elected by the two Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint meeting. This cumbersome procedure was done away by the 11th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1961.

²Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume VII, p. 1001.