Gujarat Development Model
A Reality Check

Prometheus Publications
PREFACE

For some time now, both the print and the electronic media have whipped up a sustained rhetoric about the ‘phenomenal and all round development’ that is claimed to have taken place in the state of Gujarat under the ‘charismatic’ leadership of Mr. Narendra Modi, the BJP Chief Minister of the state. This orchestrated campaign has been intensified particularly after Mr. Modi was anointed as the prime ministerial candidate of the BJP for the ensuing Lok Sabha polls. Not only the media, even the leading industrial houses and corporate barons have thrown in their weight behind Mr. Narendra Modi to lead the country towards ‘development’ in line with the Gujarat model from the seat of power at Delhi.

Given the totally polarized opinions for and against Mr. Modi, there is an urgent need to scrutinize these claims objectively and find out the truth on a scientific footing in the interest of vast masses of the people. Even though there are many write-ups on Gujarat, what is needed is a thorough and dispassionate
objective analysis, free from any preconception. This book is precisely an attempt at just that.

We hope that the readers will be able to judge for themselves the quantum of truth or falsehood that lies in the propaganda barrage in favour of Mr. Modi. We very much welcome all opinions and suggestions for improvement of our analysis.

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‘Development’ - a catchphrase of every party

The ‘Gujarat Development Model’ has been in the national spotlight for some time now and has gained more momentum after Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi was anointed the BJP’s PM candidate. India Inc. - a term used by the media to refer to the corporate sector in India - has been quite generous in showering praises on Mr. Modi.

Sizeable sections of the general public - hit hard by the UPA’s reign of corruption, scams, rising income disparities, rising prices, crimes against women and non-performance - fondly hope that the Gujarat story is true or at least, partially true. There is a palpable willingness to accept the ‘Gujarat success story’, especially among the urban educated sections. Internet is already swarmed with a large number of likes, tweets, comments, blogs and sites in Mr. Modi’s favour.

The relentless, aggressive and hitech campaign machinery of Mr. Modi - carefully engineered by hired PR (Public Relations) firms such as Washington-based Apco Worldwide and Delhi-based Mutual PR, and supported by IT whizkids close to Mr. Modi - cover mainstream and social media, 3D speeches, LED & LCD projector equipped raths, NaMo TV, ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ summits etc.. And the story has been sold quite effectively so far. Now, this machinery is working overtime in the election season.

For the same reason that too much is being said, the story does warrant a serious and critical examination. It is important to bear in mind that such development models are not new in India’s public discourse. In the past, we have had ‘Nehru Development Model’, and more recently ‘Chandrababu Naidu (former AP CM) Development Model’. At present,
we have a ‘Bihar Development Model’, ‘Kerala Development Model’ and also ‘Tamilnadu Growth Model’ apart from ‘Gujarat Development Model’. There have been comparisons between these models on a range of indicators with diverse conclusions.

The reason why every mainstream party across the political spectrum of India is forced to harp on development is because of the great churn among the people for relief, however small, from the grinding problems of life. As Prime Minister Manmohan Singh himself admitted ‘India happens to be a rich country inhabited by very poor people’. Consider the following facts, culled from official sources:

- Nearly 3 lakh farmers have ended their lives in the last 18 years;
- 1 in every 3 young graduates is unemployed in India. The largest majority of the employed workers today - 68% of the total employed workforce - are casual workers who come cheap and don’t get any social security cover;
- India is among the top 15% counties in the world in high inflation rate. Food inflation is alarmingly high at 12% per year for the last 5 years. As a result, the prices of essential commodities have touched the sky.
- Every 20 minutes, a woman is raped in India and 40% of them are young girls less than 18 years;

These are not just statistics. These are a mirror to the stark and tragic reality of this country. So, there is an earnest need to find out if the Gujarat model really helps the cause of crores of common people as is claimed. Thus, what follows is certainly not intended to be a dry academic exercise in statistics but an attempt to find the correct way forward towards deliverance from the crushing problems of life.
So, for a balanced appraisal of the Gujarat model, efforts have been made to primarily refer to authentic sources such as Planning Commission, National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), Census Bureau as well as Gujarat government sources.

Equally important is to have a clear understanding of what is meant by development and whose development it refers to. A few questions help define the right context:

- Does it mean better roads, water and electricity?
- Does it mean better climate for investment, better Return on Investment (RoI) for domestic and foreign investors, better Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Per Capita Income?
- Does it mean eradication of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment, universal and free access to health and education, control of price rise?
- Does it mean better skill development?
- Does it mean better safety and security of women, less crimes, cultural development?
- Does it mean a combination of everything above?
- Most importantly, is it possible to have a development model that does **everything** to **everyone** – the big businesses, the middle classes and the working masses?

This booklet intends to provide answers to these questions to help assess where the Gujarat model really stands.

Here is how we will go about the evaluation. We will begin with a reality check on the claims of the Modi government on development and governance. We will subsequently examine Mr. Modi’s performance on socio-economic and human development fronts. Finally, we will
compare and contrast the Gujarat development model with development models pursued successfully elsewhere in the world in order to identify which model India really needs.

**Is Congress a credible option before the people?**

First of all, a key fuel that has immensely helped run the Modi campaign machine is the atrociously disastrous rule of the Congress-led UPA in the last two Lok Sabha terms. The mass anger against the (mis)governance of the UPA is very evident if you go by the recent assembly poll results. In fact, the burning issues of price rise, crimes against women and corruption scandals actually resulted in the extraordinary drubbing of the Congress in the recent assembly polls in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Delhi. The last-ditch populist measures like the Food Security Bill or the Right to Education Act have failed to cut ice with the voters who have seen through the Congress game plan.

The Congress’ penchant for *dynastic politics* is only offering more fodder to the BJP cannon. As a desperate face saving measure, the Congress has refrained from naming Mr. Rahul Gandhi as the PM candidate citing ‘tradition’ but only after opinion polls showed that he is not even second in the race to the PM post. But, this move doesn’t rule out Rahul’s coronation as the PM if UPA really wins majority. Rahul has himself said this in Amethi recently.

Some of the Congress-ruled states like Rajasthan (till recently ruled by the Congress) and Uttarakhand fare **worse** than Gujarat on many fronts such as Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP), GSDP growth rate, poverty levels, installed power capacity, life expectancy and school drop-out rate.
The anti-Sikh riots in 1984 under the Congress rule and the miserable rate of conviction of the perpetrators despite 3 decades of ‘investigation’ make the Congress equally culpable of the same charge that they make about Mr. Modi’s role in 2002 Gujarat riots.

Muslims continue to languish in pitiable conditions even in Congress-ruled states as borne out by the Sachar committee report despite the ‘secular’ façade of the Congress. This is further buttressed by Dr. Mehmud ur-Rehman Committee report which says 60% Muslims in Congress-ruled Maharashtra live below poverty line, they comprise just 4.4% in government jobs and are ‘as good as non-existent’ in the state IAS cadre.

It is an open truth that goondaism and criminalization of politics were started by the Congress and picked up by other parties.

Finally, during 60 years of the Congress rule, as a popular saying goes, rich have become richer and poor have become poorer due to the policies of the Congress. Now, Mr. Modi is asking for ‘60 months for the BJP’. So, the most important question is: has Mr. Modi pursued any fundamentally different policy than that of the Congress, has the Gujarat model done anything essentially different & can Mr. Modi’s brand of politics really reverse the process? Let’s examine.

**Reality check on Gujarat**

Interestingly, the reality check on the Gujarat success story reveals certain glaring anomalies between the talk and the walk as shown below. We hope to engage the reader in a dispassionate and reasoned dialogue through this journey.
FDI, Capital inflows & Exports

In the recent ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ summit of 2013, Mr. Modi stated that ‘Gujarat has become the global gateway to India’. In the 2011 summit alone, agreements worth a mindboggling Rs.20.83 lakh crores were signed between the Gujarat government and the industrialists from India & abroad.

Let’s keep aside the debate on whether FDI is a valid parameter to measure development and rather, focus on the veracity of the claim. The Department of Industry Policy & Promotion (DIPP) study reveals that Gujarat’s share in actual cumulative FDI inflows to India between 2000 to 2013 - coinciding with Mr. Modi’s rule - was only 4%. Gujarat garnered only Rs. 39,000 crore out of the cumulative national FDI inflow of 9.1 lakh crore (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RBI Regional Office</th>
<th>States Covered</th>
<th>% of Total FDI inflows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mumbai</td>
<td>Maharashtra, Dadra &amp; Nagar Haveli, Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>Delhi, part of UP &amp; Haryana</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chennai</td>
<td>Tamilnadu, Pondicherry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More significantly, Gujarat’s share in the FDI kitty has been on the decline in the last 3 financial years: from 3.4% in 2011 to 2.9% in 2012 to 2.4% till Jan, 2013 (see Table 2).

<p>| Table 2: Gujarat’s share in FDI inflows for the last 3 years |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FDI inflow amount (Rs. Crore)</th>
<th>FDI inflow %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-12</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012-13</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While MoUs (Memorandum of Understanding – a bilateral agreement between two entities expressing common intention & line of action) close to Rs.21 lakh crore were signed in the 2011 summit, a study by Gujarat state government itself shows that just above 1% of the promised investments have actually come in so far. Curiously, the promised investment figures for the 2013 edition are not available on the Vibrant Gujarat portal.

Even though Mr.Modi claims a large number of foreign investors to the ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ summits, a look at the statistics available on the official website shows that the number of domestic investors is significantly higher than foreign players.

In an interview with The Economist in Sep 2012, Mr.Modi stated: `We are the only state to put our policy draft on the net. We invite people to go through our draft policy to give suggestions. Then we discuss, then we finalise. Have you heard of this, such a democratic way?’ But, a relevant question pops up: Why did Gujarat government stop giving out any MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) figures of the Vibrant Gujarat Global Investors Summit especially after eyebrows were raised over the state's poor project implementation?

In Aug 2013, statistics from the Ministry of Corporate Affairs revealed a surprising fact. In terms of capital inflow due to the creation of new private companies in 2011-12, Gujarat came only 5th behind Maharashtra, Delhi, Tamilnadu and hold your breath, West Bengal where even Ratan Tata was forced to beat a hasty retreat due to farmer
protests! So, is Gujarat really a preferred destination for new entrepreneurs (see Table 3)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Capital Inflow (Rs. Crore)</th>
<th>Total Capital Inflow %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>6,371</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>4,260</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>2,102</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>1,616</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This trend is confirmed in Oct 2013 by another study carried out by the Global Initiative for Restructuring Environment and Management (GIREM) and DTZ, a property services company. The study found that Bangalore has emerged as the ‘hottest business destination in India’ on the basis of infrastructure, human capital, city culture and basic quality of living. Ahmedabad came 8th in the list of 21 business destinations with Chennai, Mumbai, Pune, Indore, Bhubaneshwar and Coimbatore racing ahead.

While Gujarat is indeed a leading exporter in gems & jewellery, pharma products, textiles and chemicals, with an overall contribution of about 22% to the total exports from India, it is still behind Maharashtra. More importantly, the President of the Federation of Indian Export Organisations (FIEO) has recently articulated that ‘Compared to other states where the percentage of exports from manufacturing is a mere 20, in Gujarat, it is 80’.

So, the bottom-line is, Gujarat’s leading position in exports is because of exporting most of what’s produced and not by producing too much.
A World Bank report expects India to receive around Rs.4.4 lakh crore worth of NRI remittances by the end of 2013, the most by any country in the world. Since one in every five Indian Americans is a Gujarati, it raising the prospects of NRI-driven inflows in Gujarat significantly. However, an IIM Bangalore study in 2011 reveals that around 40% of the NRI remittances actually flow to Kerala, Punjab and Goa. Gujarat ranks only 7th in terms of NRI remittances.

**Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP)**

‘Gujarat has maximum contribution towards the country’s GDP,’ Mr.Modi claims (IBN Live, 18 Jun 2013). However, Gujarat’s contribution to GDP of the country in 2012 was only 7.3%.

Again, let’s keep aside the debate on whether GDP is a good indicator of development to focus only on verifying the claim. A close scrutiny of data published by the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) – which works with the Directorates of Economics & Statistics of respective state governments - reveals that Gujarat stands **fifth** in terms of state-wise GSDP in 2011-12 with Maharashtra, UP, AP and TN ahead of Gujarat (see Table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>GSDP (Rs. Crore)</th>
<th>Contribution to GDP %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>12,48,000</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>6,84,000</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>6,55,000</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>6,39,000</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,12,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>83,54,000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Planning Commission report shows that under Mr. Modi’s rule, between 2004 and 2012, Gujarat witnessed a GSDP growth of **10.1%** which is higher than the national GDP growth rate of **8.3%**. But, the same report further shows that in the same period, Maharashtra grew at 10.8% and Tamilnadu at 10.3%. It is significantly behind Nitish Kumar’s Bihar, which grew at 11.4% during this period (see Table 8).

**Table 8: Gross State Domestic Product Growth (2004-2012)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Average Growth %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. Vidyut Joshi, economist and former vice-chancellor of Bhavnagar University, points out that Gujarat GDP growth was up to **16%** during some of the previous non-Mr. Modi regimes. Worse, Gujarat stands **5th** in terms of annual growth rate in 2011-12 which is a serious blow to Mr. Modi’s claim of the growth rate of Gujarat’s economy being the highest.

In terms of per capita income, Gujarat fares worse coming in a poor **9th** in the country which means an average person in Gujarat earns lesser than his counterparts in 8 other states.

**Revenue vs. Public Debt of Gujarat**

Public debt of a state refers to the total debt of the state government raised through bonds, securities etc.. Quoting RBI report on state finances published in Jan 2013, Modi supporters have pointed out that Gujarat’s total outstanding debt is only **4th** in the country at Rs.1,76,490
croe led by Maharashtra, UP and WB in 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} position respectively – all three being non-BJP ruled states. Further, citing Planning commission databook released in Dec 2013, they state that Mr.Modi has actually brought down the public debt to GSDP ratio by about 14 percentage points from 38.8 to 25.2 in 10 years (2001 to 2011).

These achievements look remarkable. Let us dig deeper to find out where Gujarat stands in comparison with other states in India.

While Gujarat is 4\textsuperscript{th} in public debt, it is only 4\textsuperscript{th} in revenue receipts as well. But, more importantly, the top 3 states have 1.5 to 3 times more population than Gujarat. It is very likely that larger states will have larger debt and smaller states will have smaller debt. Hence, the measure of per capita debt (debt per person) ensures a better comparison in such cases and significantly, Gujarat emerges as the state with highest per capita debt among all the major states in India. In other words, on an average, Gujarat is borrowing more money than rest of the states in India.
Even though Mr. Modi’s Gujarat has brought down the public debt to GSDP ratio by 14 percentage points in 10 years, its current ratio is still worse than 12 other states and also the national average as per the same planning commission statistics. In fact, some other states have
done much better than Gujarat in reducing the public debt to GSDP ratio. For example, Orissa has cut down this ratio by a massive 51 percentage points while Bihar has achieved a commendable 36 percentage points reduction (see Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Ratio in 2001</th>
<th>Ratio in 2011</th>
<th>Reduction (percentage points)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Power Sector, 24-hour electricity & Solar Power**

Indeed, Gujarat is considered as an ‘energy surplus’ state. All sources put together, Gujarat produces about 14,000 MW power of which about 2,000 MW is surplus. It has sold its surplus power to states like Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab, Delhi and Maharashtra. Gujarat supplies near 24-hour electricity to its large cities and towns as well as some of the 18,000 villages. The Centre has endorsed ‘Jyotigram Yojana’ of Gujarat government in the 12th Five-Year plan (2012-17) to supply round-the-clock, high-quality, three-phase power.

However, there are some dark spots. The latest census of 2011 shows 11 lakh homes in the state still have no power source. Of these, about 15% are in the urban areas. The census data further reveals that, in terms of percentage of households using electricity as their primary source of lighting, Gujarat ranks only 11th among Indian states led by Delhi at 99.1%. In fact, all the southern states which were below Gujarat in 2001 have raced ahead of Gujarat in 2011 (see Table 5).
### Table 5: Households with electricity as the primary source of lighting (Census 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electrified houses (% in 2001)</th>
<th>Electrified houses (% in 2011)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>93.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>90.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Planning Commission data on Energy shows that Gujarat has **slipped** from 2\textsuperscript{nd} to 4\textsuperscript{th} position between 2003 and 2009 in terms of total energy available. In terms of total installed capacity, Gujarat’s share to the nation in the 10 years during Modi’s tenure (2001 to 2011) has come down from 7.5\% to 7.2\%.

Mr. Modi is credited with transforming the loss-making Gujarat State Electricity Board into a profit-making body by curtailing power theft and increasing power generation and improving the overall power situation in Gujarat. However, Transmission & Distribution (T&D) losses in Gujarat – despite reduction - still remain higher than the southern states. In fact Gujarat, at 24\% T & D losses, comes a poor 15\textsuperscript{th} at the all India level.

The power tariff in Gujarat is higher than in many other states because much of its power is sourced from private players at higher rates. The highest cost per unit was paid to China Light and Power India (CLP India), a private power producer in Gujarat, as per the written reply by Gujarat energy minister in Oct 2013. It shows that Gujarat bought 717 million units (23\% of the power bought from private players) from CLP India at an average rate of **Rs 11.44 per unit** between September 2012-
July 2013. This is almost double the rate at which the same company had sold power a year ago. Between September 2011-July 2012, CLP India sold 2,567 million units of power to the state at a rate of Rs 5.84 per unit.

As a result, the cost of electricity is higher in Gujarat than the rest of India. Consider these facts:

- In terms of average tariff per unit for agriculture, Gujarat comes a poor 17th in the list of states/UTs and fares a lot worse than the national average. While Gujarat charges the farmers Rs.1.76 per unit, the national average is Rs.1.01 per unit.
- Domestic consumers too pay a high price for power in Gujarat. Again, Gujarat comes a poor 21st in the ranking and fares worse than the national average. While Gujarat charges Rs.3.73 per unit, the national average is Rs.3.20 per unit.
- The rapport between Mr.Modi & power companies is so close that, industry too does not get cheap power in Gujarat even during the era of so-called industrialisation. In terms of average tariff per unit for industry, Gujarat fares worse than the national average with a still poorer 22nd in ranking. While Gujarat charges Rs.5.32 per unit, the national average is Rs.4.97 per unit (see Table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Gujarat Avg (Rs.)</th>
<th>All India Avg (Rs.)</th>
<th>Gujarat’s Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr.Modi is credited with providing electricity to all villages but Mr.Modi’s PR website narendramodi.in admits that 100% rural
Electrification had been achieved even before Mr. Modi’s tenure. Mr. Modi’s Jyotigram Yojana delinks 3-phase electricity supply to agricultural consumers from single-phase electricity to residential, commercial and industrial consumers to ensure 24-hour single phase supply to residential, commercial and industrial consumers.

But, does it ensure 24-hour 3-phase power supply to agriculture? Gujarat energy minister Saurabh Patel himself says the government has promised 10 hours of electricity to farmers for agricultural purposes and is delivering on it. However, Praful Senjaliya, a farmer leader in Saurashtra associated with the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, disagrees. ‘Farmers have never got 10 hours electricity…The main problem is that electricity that is supplied for around five to eight hours is only at night and odd times.” he says. It is significant to note that Bharatiya Kisan Sangh is itself a Sangh Parivar outfit thus lending credibility to the charge.

It would be incomplete if a mention is not made on solar power initiatives of the Gujarat government. It is commendable that Gujarat accounts for nearly 60% of India’s solar power capacity. Charanka solar park in Gujarat is currently Asia’s biggest solar plant, producing 214MW. However, it should be kept in mind that due to skewed central energy policy that lays more stress on nuclear power than solar power, solar power capacity in India constitutes less than 1% of the total installed capacity. Even in Gujarat, despite the apparent thrust on solar power, it is still about only 3% of the total installed capacity in Gujarat.

Just as the case with regular power, solar power is also costlier in Gujarat compared to other states like MP since is procured from private players at a higher rate. A written reply by the state energy minister
shows that Gujarat procured 1,256 million units of power from solar power producers at a whopping cost of **Rs 14 per** unit during the year between September 2012- July 2013.

So, it’s a bit too early to celebrate. Rajasthan is currently behind Gujarat by about 300MW but it can overtake Gujarat if the proposed 4000 MW plant – largest in the world- comes up near Sambhar Lake in Rajasthan in 3 years as planned.

**Road network**

A World Bank study in 2010 says exemplary reforms in Gujarat's highway sector should be replicated by Indian states to establish an ‘enabling framework’ for creating ‘efficient governance’. The Ministry of Road Transport and Highways statistics show that 90% of the roads in Gujarat are asphalted, next only to Punjab. Hence, whenever the talk of infrastructure development in Gujarat comes up, the first and the quick response from Mr.Modi admirers would be ‘look at Gujarat roads’.

Let us look at the state-wise statistics of the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways for a reality check. It would be astonishing to note that as of 31st Mar 2011, road length per one lakh population as well as road length per 100 sq.km. area in Gujarat are **below** the national average.

While Gujarat has about 80 km of road per 100 sq.km area, the all India average is about **143 km**. Gujarat comes a very poor **19th** in the list of states headed by Kerala at 518 km. While Gujarat has about 259 km of road per one lakh population, the all India average is about **388 km**. Gujarat comes a still poorer **23rd** in the list of states (see Table 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9: Average Road Length (km)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22
In terms of the total length of state highways, Gujarat stands an impressive third behind Maharashtra and Karnataka. But, let’s dig deeper. Between 2009 and 2011, there has been absolutely no addition to the total length of state highways in Gujarat. In terms of PWD roads, Gujarat comes fifth behind even the under-developed Rajasthan.

Is it because Gujarat has lot of barren land unfit for human habitation where constructing roads would be either unviable or useless or both? No. As per the ‘Wasteland Atlas of India’ published by National Remote Sensing Centre, ISRO, Gujarat has only about 11% wasteland. It is below the national average of 15% and 9 other states including the neighbouring Rajasthan (27%) have a higher percentage of wasteland.

Road repairs and potholes are a big business in Gujarat. Due to the nexus between local politicians and unscrupulous road contractors, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) pays more for road repairs than the civic body of Mumbai, even though Mumbai has almost twice the population of Ahmedabad.

An AMC enquiry this year to find out the reasons for the poor condition of Ahmedabad roads revealed that the contractors were not just cutting corners but also submitting the same purchase bills for a number of road contracts. Third party inspections done by private consultants proved to be useless.

Significantly, on 12 Sep 2013, the Gujarat High Court issued notice to the state government's Roads and Buildings (R&B) Department as well as other authorities concerned over the poor quality of roads in the
state. A division bench of Chief Justice Bhaskar Bhattacharya and Justice J B Pardiwala was hearing a PIL, in which the petitioner group had argued that a 10-km stretch of road near Chhota Udepur repaired at a cost of Rs.5 crore had started tearing off within four months of its laying. Justice Pardiwala observed that ‘condition of 90 per cent of the roads in Ahmedabad was poor’. If this the condition of roads in the state capital, the road conditions in other places in the state can be left to the reader’s imagination.

In a further embarrassment to Mr.Modi’s claim on good roads, Ahmedabad Mirror started a campaign ‘Hole of shame’ in Aug 2013, to name and shame the city’s worst potholed roads. Huge potholes in Ramdevnagar, Bhuyangdev, Satellite Shopping Center, Gota Flyover and other places were photographed and uploaded to the Mirror site by citizens.

**Labour Situation**

Mr.Modi’s oft-repeated claims on high employment generation are at odds with the Socio-Economic survey conducted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics of his own government. The survey shows that the ratio of workers to total population in Gujarat is about the same as the national average.

A study by Dr.Atul Sood, Centre for the Study of Region Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Delhi in his book ‘Poverty amidst prosperity’ shows that in spite of increasing profitability and growing investment in manufacturing sector, the aggregate employment in Gujarat has remained stagnant. Since manufacturing in Gujarat has been capital intensive, it is characterized by:
• Low employment generation - Gujarat’s contribution to India’s manufacturing employment has also remained almost stagnant over the **three decades**, in spite of **doubling** its share in Gross Value Added.

• Slow growth in wages – a mere **1.5%** in the decade of 2000 when all-India wages grew by **3.8%**.

• Increasing use of contract workers - increased from **19%** to **34%** from 2001 to 2008.

• Overall reduced position of workers in the manufacturing sector - lower wages despite high production when compared to Haryana, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu.

As per the Annual Survey of Industries – the principal source of data on the industrial sector - Gujarat ranks **fourth** in the country with regards to employment since Maharashtra, TN, AP had employed more people in industrial production in 2010-11.

While Mr.Modi claims that the state had lost zero man days to labour unrest, the Economic Survey for 2010-11 of the Union Finance Ministry showed that Gujarat had the **highest** number of strikes and other forms of labour unrest.

As per the National Sample Survey Organisation report for 2011-12, the condition of casual workers in Gujarat is absolutely pathetic. They earn a **lesser** daily wage than the national average in both urban and rural areas. All southern states pay better than Gujarat. Even poorer states like Bihar and Rajasthan are above Gujarat. An urban casual labourer earns Rs.145 in Gujarat against the national average of Rs.170 and Gujarat is sixth from the bottom. A rural casual labourer earns Rs.113 in Gujarat against the national average of Rs.139 and Gujarat is third from the bottom.
Top-ranked Kerala pays more than double to an urban daily wage earner and nearly three times to a rural daily wage earner compared to Gujarat (see Table 10 & 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Daily wage (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Daily wage for Rural Casual Workers (2011-12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Daily Wage (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The story is just as appalling for regular workers. A rural salaried worker gets Rs.254 per day as against the national average of Rs.299, with Bihar yet again outstripping Gujarat at Rs.412. And the story of urban Gujarat is still worse. An urban salaried worker in Gujarat makes Rs.320 per day as against the national average of Rs. 450. Bihar, at Rs.412, again fares better than Gujarat (see Table 12 & 13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Daily wage (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranking</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Daily Wage (Rs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
<td><strong>254</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Daily wage for Rural Regular Workers (2011-12)

This is how the working classes - which form the largest chunk of the population and form the backbone of any developmental work - fare in Gujarat.

‘Diamonds are forever’ as a popular saying goes. But not for the workers of the world’s largest diamond cutting and polishing industry in Gujarat. Surat is termed as the ‘diamond city of India’. But, more than 8 lakh people cut and polish diamonds – mostly on daily wages and without medical allowance, Provident Fund or casual leave - in largely unregulated sweatshops which employ 50 to 200 workers each.

There are about 10,000 diamond cutting units in Gujarat as per Vibrant Gujarat portal. But only about 600 units are registered under the Factories Act. The reason is quite obvious: the owners need not extend social security benefits to their workers and need not fear that their working conditions may be regulated by the government. A UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) report in Dec 2009 estimates that between 60 to 70 percent of the workers even in the large and registered units are temporary or contract workers. What to speak of medium and small factories?
In Aug 2013, Business Standard reported that despite the diamond industries doing well and despite several representations to the Modi government, wages for diamond workers have not been increased over the past three years.

What about abolition of child labour in Gujarat despite the legal ban on child labour? A study conducted by the People’s Training and Research Centre (PTRC) found that a large number of children were employed in the agate (semi-precious gemstones) industry, and despite repeated petitions, the Modi Government ignored it. Further, the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) found that a large number of children were forcibly employed in Banaskanta, Sambarkanta and Patan districts in the BT cotton industry.

In Apr 2013, CNN-IBN made an exposé with hidden camera on the cotton ginning factories in Kadi, Gujarat’s ‘cotton district’ where children - smuggled in from Rajasthan - operated dangerous machines and inhaled cotton dust all day.

**Unemployment**

Mr.Modi’s website narendramodi.in gushes that unemployment in Gujarat is the lowest in the country citing a Chandigarh Labour Bureau report.

But, the reality is that unemployment is a menace plaguing Gujarat. As per the Gujarat labour minister Saurabh Patel himself, there are 8.3 lakh youth registered on employment exchanges, out of which 6.34 lakh youth were registered in the last 2 years or about **1000 youth every day**! If the unregistered and unemployed are counted, unconfirmed reports suggest that unemployment is anywhere between 25 lakh to 30 lakh!
MSMEs (Micro, Small, Medium Enterprises) in Gujarat

Speaking at the ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ Summit 2013, Mr. Modi said that small-scale industry was the growth engine for Gujarat. He further stated: ‘Growth of the SME sector nationally is 19% whereas in Gujarat SME sector is growing at 85%. This is the sector which has helped the state to generate maximum employment.

He was right on one count. MSME (Micro, Small, Medium Enterprises) segment is the largest employer in Gujarat accounting for 25 lakh jobs. But, the growth figure he talks about is simply not true. As per the Socio Economic Review, 2012-13 from the department of Economics & Statistics of his own government, there were 3,12,752 MSME units in Gujarat in 2006. Only 1,40,587 units were added in the next 6 years till Dec, 2012. How does this amount to 85% growth?

There is a darker side of the story. Between 2001 and 2006, 57,690 units were either closed or non-traceable out of a total 2,87,520 units of 20% of the units as per 4th All India MSME census. Also, in 2012 alone, the number of sick units in Gujarat rose by 6,257.

Water management & Irrigation

Mr. Modi had, in his speeches in New Delhi and Kolkata recently, made claims regarding supply of piped water for long distances, thanks to the Narmada projects.

But while he was on a campaign selling his model of governance few months back in summer, Gujarat was facing a severe drought that left Saurashtra and Kutch regions parched and people battling odds to get even a pot of drinking water (HT, 14 Apr 2013).
The water situation in half of the state worsened with the onset of summer as big and small water reservoirs had dried up, forcing women in rural area to trek long distances, sometimes two to three km everyday for water. That Jetpur town in Rajkot district got water supply once every 10 days only, reflects the severity of the crisis. Amreli was worse getting water once every 15 days. Protests and bandhs were the order of the day in affected areas. Amreli had observed a total bandh on the issue of non-supply of water. Women taking out protest marches with empty water pots were common scenes in the affected areas (India Today, 14 Apr 2013).

Thanks to 11 good monsoons from 2001 to 2011, the state government appears to have taken the situation lightly. Two major projects - Sardar Sarovar Dam on Narmada river and Kalpsar project - conceived to solve drinking water problems of scarcity-prone regions, have not progressed as per schedule.

75% of the canal network of Sardar Sarovar Project still remains to be completed by the state government. During Keshubhai Patel’s rule in 1998, the Kalpsar project was conceived to build a reservoir with a dam in the Gulf of Khambhat to harness flood waters of nine rivers. But, it is still in the study stage mode even after 14 years since it was first conceived.

On March 26, the Revenue Minister Anandi Patel declared that there was a water scarcity in about 4,000 villages and towns in 10 districts of Saurashtra, Kutch and north Gujarat. Even though the state government could have anticipated the situation of scarcity in last June itself as many areas of Kutch and Saurashtra had deficient rain, it did not take any preemptive measures to avert the situation.
‘Though we are yet to ascertain production loss due to deficient rain, it must be between 15% to 20% in cash crops and about 20% in other crops including vegetables in Saurashtra and Kutch area,’ a state agriculture department official said. He said the Rabi season had witnessed 15% less sowing compared previous year due to less rains this year.

Dr. BS Suran, Chief General Manager at the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) points out Gujarat has irrigated only 36% of its total cropped area of nearly 115 lakh hectares. Even within this small irrigated area, more than 80% land is irrigated by wells and tube wells and not by large dam projects which are only limping towards completion. As per the Planning Commission, Gujarat is only 13th in state-wise ranking in total irrigated land as a percentage of the potential irrigable land and it is below the national percentage.

**Agriculture**

Agriculture is yet another area that has undergone transformation if Mr. Modi is to be believed. A paper prepared by 3 experts for International Water Management Institute (IWMI) and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) says that from 2000-01 to 2006-07, the Gujarat State Domestic Product for agriculture grew by 9.6% per annum, when during the same period the corresponding Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for agriculture at the all-India level grew by only 2.9%. Thus, it declared, Gujarat has grown more than 1.5 times above its Eleventh Plan growth target, and three times the all India figure making the authors wonder if Gujarat model could be the way forward for other states.
However, a later study by the Institute of Resource Analysis and Policy (IRAP), Hyderabad released in early 2010 titled ‘Gujarat's agricultural growth story: exploding some myths’, showed the claim of ‘high growth in the early years of the new millennium’ of 9.6% per annum is misleading and distorted. The study says the real ‘miracle growth’ in Gujarat's agriculture history occurred during 1989 to 1999 i.e., before Mr.Modi took over, when it grew by 10%. But between 2001 and 2009, the actual growth was 4% against the claim of 9.6%.

The latest data for the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-12), as recorded in the ‘State of Indian Agriculture’ report of the Department of Agriculture, shows that the GSDP for Gujarat agriculture is 4.8% per annum - in line with IRAP study. Worse, it was less than several other states, including Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. Year-wise figures also suggest that volatility in agriculture had set in (see Table 14).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: GSDP Growth in Agriculture (2007-12)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>State</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
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<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>Jharkhand</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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The data from the Gujarat government’s own Economics and Statistics department is more damning: from 2005-06 to 2010-11, growth in GSDP in Agriculture and Allied sector is 3.44% only!
The latest Socio Economic Review of Gujarat government acknowledges that the foodgrain production recorded a decrease of around 8 lakh tons in the year 2011-12 compared to 2010-11.

The volatility that remained in Gujarat agriculture is in good measure due to Gujarat’s high dependence on rainfall – 64% of the area was rain fed, which was higher than the all-India figure of 60%.

A study by Gursharan Singh Kainth, Director, Guru Arjan Dev Institute of Development Studies found that another important measure in agriculture - the growth rate in productivity - had actually gone down in Gujarat during the two decades. It was 4.7% in 1991 to 2000 and went down to 3.4% in the next decade, 2001 to 2010. Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and even, Odisha experienced a higher growth rate.

It is very important to note that the growth in agriculture in Gujarat has been achieved not by creating more jobs in agricultural sector but by corporatization of agriculture which benefits huge agri-businesses. The Modi government changed the policy on land use by abrogating the rule that a farmer has to stay within 8km of the farm which was intended to prevent absentee landlordism and land grab by huge businesses.

Further, on the 17 May, 2005, the Modi government issued a resolution allowing mega-corporations to start corporate farming. Up to 2000 acres of Common Property Resources namely forests, pastures and common grazing lands can be appropriated by these mega-corps for 20 years for a mere Rs. 500 security deposit, and no interest for the first five years (following which, they have to pay only Rs. 40 per acre till the eleventh year, and Rs. 100 henceforth).
This has led to non-local, non-farming corporate agro-industries to capture rural land markets, and severely deprive the local communities. There has been a dramatic increase in land holdings over 20 hectares (increased by over one percent) in the last decade. At the same time, as per NSSO figures, agricultural sector which employs over 50% of Gujarat’s workforce has suffered an overall drop of 1.6% in employment from 2005 to 2010.

Corruption

Mr. Modi boasts of a clean public record unblemished by any accusations of corruption at a personal level. But, is the case of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh any different at a personal level? Even West Bengal CM Mamata Banerjee, Bihar CM Nitish Kumar, Karnataka CM Siddaramaiah, Madhya Pradesh CM Shivraj Singh Chauhan, Chhattisgarh CM Rama Singh do not face any accusations of corruption and are blemishless at a personal level.

At the India Today Conclave 2011, Mr. Modi was asked about the situation of corruption in Gujarat, and he replied that it is on the deathbed and has no chances of revival.

However, Mr. Modi’s claim is rather diluted by the fact that Gujarat does not have a Lokayukta. Anti-corruption crusader Anna Hazare had taken Mr. Modi to task on this matter. Moreover, the Gujarat government has steadfastly tried to checkmate any move by the governor Kamala Beniwal to establish a Lokayukta. Justice RA Mehta's appointment as the state Lokayukta by the governor was unsuccessfully challenged by Mr. Modi's government first in the Gujarat High Court and later in the Supreme Court. But, Justice RA Mehta himself saw the writing on the
wall: it would be impossible to function with a reluctant government. And, he promptly refused to assume office.

To curtail the powers of the governor, the Gujarat government recently introduced a new Lokayukta Bill but the bill seeks to grant all powers regarding the appointment of the state Lokayukta to the Chief Minister, ending the role of the Governor and the Chief Justice of the High Court. While the bill is pending approval with the governor, Mr.Modi government recommended retired judge of Gujarat High court Justice DP Buch as the Lokayukta without consulting the governor and he has taken office in Dec 2013. How effective he will be, remains to be seen.

In comparison, Karnataka Lokayukta looks like a dream come true. Note that much of the muck and rot in the BJP-ruled Karnataka was dug out by the relentless work done by the Karnataka Lokayukta, Justice Santosh Hedge, which even resulted in the Karnataka Chief Minister Mr.Yeddyurappa cooling his heels in jail. In the absence of such an ombudsman for the last 10 years, the claim that Mr.Modi’s rule is corruption-free sounds hollow.

On the contrary, Mr.Modi has demonstrated that he is quite tolerant of corruption. A senior minister in the Narendra Modi government, the Water Resources and Agriculture minister Babu Bokharia, was sentenced to three years imprisonment by a court in Porbandar in the Rs 54-crore illegal limestone mining case of 2006. But he continues to be the minister.

The Minister of State for Labour Purshottam Solanki has been accused of corruption in the award of contracts for fishing in 58 reservoirs, when he was State Fisheries Minister in the previous Modi government, without going through the tendering process. A special court in
Gandhinagar then entrusted the probe to the Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) in May 2013. The same Mr. Solanki had been indicted by the Srikrishna Commission in the 1993 Mumbai riots.

**Bonhomie between Modi government & Corporate houses**

The Gujarat growth story assumes real significance when seen in the light of the growing affinity between the Modi government and corporate houses. The euphemism ‘business friendly Chief Minister’ reveals less than it hides.

Take the case of Tata’s Nano project. In Nov, 2008, a leaked Cabinet note of the Modi government says that the government agreed to provide a soft loan of **Rs 9,570 crore at an interest of 0.1%** to set up the project, allowed deferred repayment spread over 20 years besides meeting infrastructure development costs, a reduced power tariff rate and even meeting the shifting cost of **Rs 700 crore** for bringing machinery and equipment from Singur to Sanand in Gujarat. To put it in perspective, the loan to the Tatas constituted about a **quarter** of the Gujarat government’s annual budget in 2008.

The state government has granted exemption to the Tata Motors even in the payment of stamp duty for the 1,100 acres of land given at a subsidised price of Rs 400.65 crore to be paid in 8 equal installments at 8% compound interest with a moratorium of two years. No charge for transferring the land from agriculture to non-agricultural purpose and no registration fees. The government would meet the entire infrastructure cost of developing roads, electricity and gas supply as well as provide an additional 100 acres of land for a township for the Tata employees.
Other facilities given to the Tatas include provision of 200 KVA power supply up to the project receiving station, exemption from electricity duty, 14,000 cubic meters per day of water supply at the project site.

R.K. Misra, winner of the prestigious ‘Lead India’ campaign by The Times of India in 2008 and founder of SAHYOG, a social welfare organisation, arrived at an incredible figure of **Rs.30,000 crore** by monetizing the exemptions and facilities extended to the Tatas by Modi government as mentioned in the cabinet note.

But, these incredible sops have created only about 4-5 thousand jobs. And, moreover, the sales of the ‘world’s cheapest car’ have dwindled badly. Nano sales currently are at about 2500 cars per month against the plant capacity of 15,000 to 20,000 cars. In Nov 2013, Ratan Tata, former chairman of Tata group, himself admitted that Tata Motors didn’t market the car well resulting in its failure to sell.

That’s one revealing case of how public money has been spent in Gujarat.

Let’s consider Adani group led by Gowtam Adani which is among the largest beneficiaries of Mr. Modi’s economic policies. Adani committed Rs.15,000 crore in the very first Vibrant Gujarat summit in 2003 when other members of the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) were not so sure in the wake of the 2002 communal riots. In return, the Adani group has landed plum deals in infrastructure development like ports and power from the Modi government.

Moreover, in 2011 and 2012, the Modi government purchased more than 20,000 MU (million units) from the Adani group at an extra 63 paise per unit and thus, causing an estimated loss of Rs.1347 crore to the exchequer. During Mr. Modi’s tenure, the group has grown from a
modest Rs.3000 crore revenue in 2000 to a massive **Rs.47,000 crore empire** in 2013 becoming the largest coal importer in India.

Land was allotted to big business houses at ridiculously low rates. Land allotted to the Adani Group for the Mundra Port & Mundra Special Economic Zone (SEZ) at rates ranging between Re.1 to Rs.32 per square metre as the state revenue minister himself admitted in the assembly in Mar 2012. No wonder that, when Wharton India Economic Forum in the US cancelled Mr.Modi’s live video keynote address following strong protests by a section of students and professors, the Adani Group, the event’s ‘platinum’ sponsor, promptly cancelled its sponsorship.

Speaking at the India Today conclave in March 2013, Mr.Modi patted his own government for having brought ‘professionalism’ into the functioning of State-run PSUs. In the same month, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India (CAG) came down heavily on the Gujarat government and state PSUs in its audit report on the PSUs for bestowing undue favours on large corporate entities including Reliance Industries Ltd (RIL), Essar Power Ltd and Adani Power Ltd (APL). A review of the last three audit reports of the CAG showed that such irregularities cost the State PSUs **Rs.4,000 crore**. The report further said the government tweaked rules to grant land to automaker Ford India and engineering and construction major Larsen and Toubro, resulting in the loss of revenue.

The CAG audit further noted that 80 hectares of land at Hazira was allotted in Sep 2007 to Larsen & Toubro for setting up a nuclear power ancillary plant at a ridiculously low price of about Rs.700 per square metre – **3 times** lesser than the rate proposed by State Land Valuation Committee (SLVC). A further 60 hectares of land was allotted at same concessional rate of Rs.700 per square metre 2 years later as well when
land prices were constantly going up. Similar favours were doled out to Essar Steel too. CAG estimates the total loss of revenue of about Rs.400 crore - ten times lesser than the revenue loss of Rs.40 crore due to Aam Admi Party’s move to provide free water in Delhi - about which the same BJP is shouting over the roof top.

Similarly, the government allotted about 40 hectares of land to real estate developer K Raheja at Rs.470 per square metre. again way below the market rate.

It is quite understandable that, in Nov 2012, Gujarat topped the list of 20 major states in India in terms of ‘economic freedom’ as per the report on ‘Economic Freedom Rankings of the States of India 2012’ by Cato Institute, Washington DC and Indicus Analytics, New Delhi. As economists Ajitava Roy Chowdhury and Aviroop Sarkar put it, economic freedom here means freedom for the private enterprise and not for all. A recent report of global investment banker Goldman Sachs published in Nov, 2013 also expressed a similar view that ‘Equity investors tend to view the BJP as business-friendly and the BJP's prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi as an agent of change’. Another report from credit-rating firm Moody’s in Jan 2014 echoed the same sentiment that Modi should offer a more business-friendly policy that will further support investment.

So, the great paradox of today’s Gujarat under Mr.Modi is that the corporates get sops and subsidies beyond their best dreams and workers get a raw deal beyond their worst nightmares. This raises an important question – whose interests does the Gujarat development model espouse and who fund and peddle the Gujarat story?
Socio-Economic Indicators and Human Development Index

The socio-economic indicators in Gujarat tell a different tale from the Vibrant Gujarat story being pushed by Mr Narendra Modi. Interestingly, these are the ‘inconvenient truths’ on which the rhetoric of the propaganda juggernaut of Mr. Modi and his government gets quiet subdued. A Planning Commission report in June 2013 on Gujarat indicated that the state's growth may not be as ‘inclusive’ as Mr. Modi claims. Let us examine in greater detail.

Infant & Maternal mortality

From 2001 to 2008, Gujarat reduced its infant mortality rate by 10 points from 60 to 50. But many other states did much better: Maharashtra IMR down 12 points from 45 to 33; Tamilnadu down 18 points from 49 to 31, and Karnataka lower by 13 points, from 58 to 45. The national rate came down 13 notches from 66 to 53 (see Table 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>Reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As per the latest Sample Registration System (SRS) Bulletin published by the Registrar General, India in Sep 2013, Gujarat still ranks a poor 14th in the state-wise ranking of infant mortality rate which becomes 20th if the Union Territories are counted.
It would seem mothers in Gujarat are not better taken care of than their newborns. Between 2004-06 and 2007-09, the maternal mortality rate (MMR) in Gujarat fell by 12 points from 160 to 148. Many other states did much better: Kerala brought down MMR by 14 points from 95 to 81; Tamilnadu by 14 points from 111 to 97 and, Maharashtra by as many as 26 points from 130 to 104 (see Table 16).

| Table 16: Maternal Mortality Rate (per 1000) |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| State            | 2004-06 | 2007-09 | Difference |
| Kerala           | 95      | 81      | 14       |
| Tamilnadu        | 111     | 97      | 14       |
| Maharashtra      | 130     | 104     | 26       |
| **Gujarat**      | **160** | **148** | **12**   |

**Education & Literacy**

In 2001, Mr. Modi had a stated ‘vision’ of a 100% literate state by 2010. As per naredraMr.Modi.in website, he dreams of a Gujarat where there is 100% enrolment and zero drop-out every year. But, Census 2011 statistics reveal that in literacy, Gujarat actually slipped from the 17th position in 2001 to the 18th position in 2011 during Mr. Modi’s period. **11 states** have made better progress than Gujarat in improving literacy rates in the last decade. It includes Bihar, UP, J&K and Odisha apart from some far eastern states (see Table 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17: Literacy Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>State</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the BJP in Gujarat claims to have achieved 100% enrolment in primary schools, the flash statistics 2011-12 of District Information System for Education (DISE) under the Department of School Education
and Literacy expose the actual reality. Gujarat’s Gross Enrolment Ratio at Primary Level i.e., the number of school-going children in classes 1-5 as a percentage of total number of children in the age group of 6-11 years is below the national average earning it a poor 22nd rank in the list of states and union territories.

Worse, Gujarat’s Gross Enrolment Ratio at Upper Primary Level i.e., the number of school-going children in classes 6-8 as a percentage of total number of children in the age group of 12-14 years is a poor 69% against the national average of 81%, earning it the 32nd rank in the list of states and union territories or 4th from the bottom (see Table 18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Upper Primary</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Drop-out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>110%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>119%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Gross enrolment ratio can be more than 100% due to inclusion of over-aged or under-aged children enrolled in school in the given level.

Dropout rates in schools are unacceptably high at 58% in Gujarat compared to the national average of 49%. Pupil-teacher ratios are higher than the national average, especially in senior classes - at intermediate levels there are 52 students for every teacher in Gujarat compared to the national average of 34.

Higher education seems to be in doldrums in Gujarat. The All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) 2011-12 by the HRD Ministry has revealed that the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER - ratio of youth between 18-23 years studying in higher education to their total population) of 17.6 is lower than the national average of 20.4. It is much below equally advanced states like Tamil Nadu (38.2) and Maharashtra (27.4). Also,
Gujarat has only 25 colleges per 1 lakh youth between 18-23 years of age. It is just half of the top-ranked AP which has 48 colleges per 1 lakh youth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
<td><strong>17.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18A: Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education in 2011-12

GER is the ratio of youth between 18-23 year studying in higher education to their total population

In a recently published paper ‘Analysis of State of Education in Gujarat’, JNU researcher Sourindra Ghosh compared the Gujarat’s expenditure on education as a proportion of its GSDP with the rest of India and found that it had fallen below the national average in 2000 and is falling at higher rates since then, during Mr.Modi’s reign.

**Public Health**

Sandeep Sharma, another JNU researcher, found that health expenditure as a share of total expenditure in Gujarat was lower than the national average for the period of 1999 to 2010, and it was much lower than other states with comparable economic growth such as Tamilnadu and Maharashtra.

In fact, Sharma notes that health expenditure as a share of total expenditure had reduced from 4.25% in 1990-1995 to just 0.77% in 2005-2010. In terms of ranking, Gujarat occupied the fourth position
from the **bottom** during 2005-2010 period in terms of allocation for health in the State budget.

**Women Empowerment, Sex Ratio, Crimes Against Women**

At a FICCI ‘ladies’ meet in Apr 2013, Mr.Modi attributed the ‘success’ of the Gujarat model of development to the empowerment of women. But his anecdotes of Jasuben Shah, the pizzeria owner, who apparently gave Pizza Hut a run for its money and the women behind the Amul milk cooperative revolution, are more exceptions than pointers to a deeper trend. By most parameters, women in the state have not had it easier than their counterparts in the rest of India.

Consider sex ratio. Planning Commission figures show that Gujarat comes a poor 10th in sex ratio and is below the national average. During Mr.Modi’s rule, the sex ratio in Gujarat dropped from 921 in 2001 to 918 in 2011 while the national average improved from 933 to 940 during the same period. More disturbing is that the **girl child ratio has worsened from 964 in 2001 to 890 in 2011** (see Table 19 & 20).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 19: Sex Ratio (per 1000 Men)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 20: Girl Child Ratio (per 1000 Boys)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In school, girls in Gujarat have a poorer gender parity in enrolment than the national average. Nationally, 94 girls are enrolled in elementary and in secondary school, for every 100 boys. In Gujarat, the numbers drop to 88 girls in elementary, and 84 in secondary school.

Nationally, women constituted about 20% of the organised workforce according to labour ministry data. In Gujarat, this rate has persistently hovered between 13% and 15% over the past decade.

Mr. Modi has claimed that Gujarat is safe for women. Barring the 2002 riots, Gujarat’s official crime rate in some cases such as dowry deaths are indeed low when compared to the national average, but it does have a more than fair share of crimes against women in most other cases as per the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) statistics for 2012 (see Table 21).

| Table 21: Crimes Against Women in Gujarat (NCRB – 2012) |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Crime                          | No of cases | Ranking |
| Cruelty by Husband or his relatives | 6658   | 6      |
| Kidnapping & Abduction of Women  | 1527   | 8      |
| Assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty | 745    | 14     |

However, a cursory glance at the conviction rates narrates a frightening story about how crime against women goes largely unpunished in Gujarat. For every type crime against women, Gujarat’s conviction rate is way below the already low national conviction rate (see Table 22).

<p>| Table 22: National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) – 2012 |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Crime Against Women             | Conviction Rate |
|                                | Gujarat | India | Ranking |
| Dowry Deaths                    | 0.0     | 31.9  | Lowest |
| Assault with intent to outrage modesty | 1.6     | 23.5  | Lowest |
| Rape                            | 15.3    | 23.1  | 20     |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cruelty by Husband or his relatives</th>
<th>3.5</th>
<th>14.8</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping &amp; Abduction of Women</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insult to the modesty of Woman</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NCRB data further shows that Gujarat had **473** reported cases of rape and **11 states** including Uttarakhand have done better than Gujarat in preventing crimes against women. While Gujarat’s performance is better when compared to bigger states like TN, AP, Maharashtra etc., the problem lies in speedy delivery of justice. On 23 Jan this year, a gang-rape victim consumed poison before a judicial magistrate inside courtroom in Ahmedabad. The case of the hapless 30-year old victim had been dragging along for more than 6 years. A month later, another 26-year old rape victim attempted suicide in the Gujarat High court due to delay in justice as her case was dragging on for 5 years without any end in sight.

Mr.Modi’s own council of ministers has just **2** women members. The number was the same in his 2007 council as well. One of them in the 2007 ministry, Mayaben Kodnani, served as the women and child development minister. But, this ‘empowered’ woman was forced to resign in 2009 on the charges of presiding over the gruesome massacre of women and children and large-scale rape in her constituency Naroda Patiya during the 2002 carnage. Later, she was convicted and given a 28-year sentence in 2012 by a special court, which pronounced her as the ‘kingpin’ of the carnage billed as the ‘the largest single case of mass murder’ during the 2002 Gujarat riots.

It is estimated that at least **250** girls and women had been gang raped and then burned to death during the 2002 riots. The Concerned Citizens' Tribunal headed by Justice VR Krishna Iyer, former judge, Supreme Court of India, noted that ‘in most instances of sexual
violence, the women victims were stripped and paraded naked, then gang-raped, and thereafter quartered and burnt beyond recognition... The leaders of the mobs even raped young girls, some as young as 11 years old. The young girls were made to remove their clothes in front of 1,000-2,000 strong mobs who humiliated and terrorised the girls. Thereafter, they were raped by 8-10 men. After raping them, the attackers inserted sharp swords, knives or hard objects into their bodies to torture them before burning them alive.’

**Life Expectancy**

As for health indicators, life expectancy in Gujarat is a massive 7.5 years lower than in Kerala. In fact, life expectancy in Gujarat is 66.8 years and is close to the all-India average of 66.1 in 2006-10 (Registrar General of India). The average Gujarati dies 2.5 years earlier than the average Punjabi. 7 states including Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamilnadu among 15 major states are ahead of Gujarat (see Table 23).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 23: Life Expectancy (2006-2010)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>State</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gujarat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Poverty, Hunger, Malnutrition & PDS**

Planning Commission figures (using Suresh Tendulkar methodology) indicate poverty in Gujarat reduced from 31.6% to 23% between 2004-05 and 2009-10, a drop of 8.6 percentage points. However, in the same period Maharashtra reduced its poverty level by 10.5 percentage points from 24.5% to 14%. Madhya Pradesh and Tamilnadu both reduced
poverty by 12 percentage points during this period. Gujarat’s rank in poverty reduction is a poor 11th among 20 major states (see Table 24).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2005 (%)</th>
<th>2010 (%)</th>
<th>Reduction (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another NCAER report has brought out that Gujarat along with Orissa and Bihar is among the states with ‘high’ levels of hunger, as compared to Tamilnadu, West Bengal and even, Uttar Pradesh, where hunger is ‘moderate’.

Gandhiji had once said: ‘Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man you have seen, and ask yourself if this step you contemplate is going to be any use to him.’ Mr. Modi has a penchant for invoking the name of Gandhiji in his speeches but do these words influence his government’s policy decisions?

As per the National Family Health Survey – 3 (2005-06) in Gujarat, every second child below 5 years, every third woman and every second adolescent girl was underweight. Recently, in Oct 2013, the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) found that despite the government’s claim of providing supplementary nutrition to the targeted children between the year 2007 and 2012, the monthly progress report as on March 2012 states that every third child was underweight. Gujarat ranks a poor 19th in the list of states. Also, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Maharashtra and Uttarakhand have fared better than Gujarat in the same period in reducing malnutrition levels (see Table 25).

<p>| Table 25: Malnutrition Level (2007-11) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2007 (%)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Reduction (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It pointed out that **1.87 crore** people had been deprived of the benefits of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme to promote holistic development of children, expectant and lactating mothers and adolescent girls. The state actually needed about 75,000 Anganwadi centres which are most essential for the delivery of these services but only **67%** are functional. The scrutiny revealed that supplementary nutrition (of 800 calories and 20-25 grams protein per day) failed to reach **63%** of the beneficiaries.

Gujarat Women and Child Development Minister Vasuben Trivedi has admitted that at least 6.13 lakh children in 14 districts in Gujarat were malnourished or extremely malnourished as of August 2013. The government has not released the data for the remaining 12 districts.

The State of the Children Report 2012 from UNICEF confirms it. According to the Global Hunger Index Policy Research Institute, Gujarat is **one of the 5 hungriest states** in India. But, in an interview with Wall Street Journal in Aug, 2012, Mr.Modi was asked what he was doing to check malnutrition. Incredibly, he declared that ‘Gujarat is a middle-class state. The middle-class is more beauty conscious than health conscious.’ He went on to say that that if a mother tells her daughter to have milk, the daughter would refuse saying she will get fat. So, in
Mr. Modi’s Gujarat, overcaution about food and not the lack of food, is the cause of malnutrition. You can choose to believe it.

While many States have been improving their Public Distribution System (PDS) over the last five years, Gujarat is one of the worst-performing Indian states on two aspects of the PDS: it has a low and falling per capita PDS consumption, and has among the highest rates of food grain diversion (diverting the food meant for PDS to open markets), according to an analysis of National Sample Survey Organisation data by economist Reetika Khera of IIT-Delhi. By the way, falling per capita PDS consumption is not an indication of rising affluence. Tamilnadu, with a universal PDS and higher per capita income than Gujarat, has higher per capita PDS consumption, and far fewer leakages.

Mr. Modi has criticised that the National Food Security Bill is not expansive enough. But, the irony is that the bill is expected to cover roughly 77.24 lakh families in the State which is more than twice the number of families – at 31.7 lakh - which get subsidised grain from Gujarat government.

Astoundingly, Gujarat-based Anna Adhikar Suraksha Abhiyan (AASA) found in a survey that the BPL list (Below Poverty Line families) has not been updated in Gujarat since 1998 and half the names on that list are fake, leading to the exclusion of thousands of genuinely poor and vulnerable households.

The Planning Commission report on health, education and infrastructure 2013 too reveals that poorer states, like Odisha, did better than Gujarat in lifting people from below the poverty line. Odisha reduced poverty by 20% as opposed to Gujarat’s 8.6% in the same
period. Significantly, poverty reduction among STs and Muslims is among the **lowest** in Gujarat, a fact confirmed by the UNDP as well.

**Sanitation & Drinking water**

The Economic Survey 2012-13 of the Ministry of Home Affairs has laid bare the poor condition of sanitation in Gujarat. If you look at the number of households having access to safe drinking water, Gujarat was at 14th position in 2001. This includes taps, hand pumps and tube wells. But, after 10 years of Mr.Modi’s rule, in 2011, Gujarat slid further to 15th position.

The Gujarat state government has claimed that ‘Gujarat is free from manual scavenging’ in an affidavit as far back as in 2004. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) survey in 2006 commissioned by the same government, however, identified **12,000 people** carrying ‘night soil’. Even more paradoxically, while claiming Gujarat to be scavenger-free, the state government has also been availing central grants for the rehabilitation of scavengers.

The census 2011 figures are equally revealing. As many as **52 lakh** households in the state have no toilet. Over **64 lakh** households do not have any drainage facility. The CAG report for Mar 2012 mentioned above points out that 18,321 anganwadis (37% of the functional anganwadis) in the state are without toilets.

**Household Air Pollution in Gujarat**

The kitchens in India are found to be filled with highly polluted air, way beyond World Health Organisation (WHO) safe limits. This is as per the study released in Dec 2013 by a team of global experts led by Sri Ramachandra University (SRU), Chennai.
The experts further pointed out that a majority of these highly polluted households are located in poor rural communities and burn solid fuels such as firewood and cow dung in inefficient devices, often in kitchens that are poorly ventilated. Concentrations of particulate matter, gases, and, in some settings, toxic metals such as arsenic and fluorine (from use of coal) have been shown to be more than 10 times higher than commonly used WHO health guidelines. In India, an estimated 400,000 deaths from acute lower respiratory infection (ALRI) in children younger than 5 years and 34,000 deaths from chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) in women are attributed annually to household solid fuel use.

The exposure for household air pollution (HAP) even in the states with cleaner kitchens such as Tamilnadu is almost five times more than the WHO safe limit. But, Gujarat’s home makers breathe much more polluted air in their kitchens – more than ten times the safe limit.

**Human Development**

Let us now summarise on the overall human development in Gujarat. As per the Human Development Report 2011 of the Planning Commission, Gujarat did improve its Human Development Index (HDI) from 0.466 in 2000 to 0.527 in 2008 but, still slipped from 10th to 11th position since many other states (led by Kerala) recorded better improvement. Specifically, six states (Delhi, Goa, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, HP) recorded higher change in HDI in this period when compared with Gujarat.

Dr. Atul Sood sums it up thus: It is significant to note that the State expenditure in social sectors, both as a percentage of GSDP and as a percentage of total expenditure, has declined more than the average
decline in other comparable States and stands below the national average pointing to a **clear shift** in the priorities.

**Status of Muslims in Gujarat**

While this article intends to deal with Mr.Modi’s claims and the reality of Gujarat development story irrespective of religion, it would be incomplete without specific mention of the status of Muslims in Gujarat since the Gujarat government under Mr.Modi has often remarked that Muslims have benefitted from his development mantra.

While the Sachar committee report has brought out that Muslims in India are worse off than SC/STs, the NCEAR report quoted above shows that Muslims in Gujarat fare even worse. Over 60% of Muslims in Gujarat live in urban areas. At the national level, urban Muslims are 6% poorer than SC/STs. In Gujarat, they are **41% poorer** than their SC/ST counterparts. Muslims make up the most deprived social group in Gujarat.

Mr.Modi claims 20-25% of Muslims in Gujarat voted for him in the last assembly elections in Dec, 2012. However, there are 4 seats in Gujarat where Muslim population is about 40%. The average vote share of the Congress and the BJP are almost the same at about 45% and they bagged two seats each. This does not point to a great shift in voting trends though some Muslims might have voted for Mr.Modi out of fear. Again, six Muslim Congress candidates polled more votes in their respective constituencies than the share of Muslims in the population indicating that they got some non-Muslim votes as well.

Meanwhile, a couple of Muslim clerics have made statements which some newspapers have dubbed as ‘praising’ Narendra Modi. But to a discerning eye, they appear more like an indictment of the Congress
than a blanket endorsement of Mr.Modi. Sunni cleric Maulana Mehmood Madani, general secretary of Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind, said more Muslims died in UP & Rajasthan than in Gujarat. Shia cleric Maulana Kalbe Sadiq, an All India Muslim Personal Law Board member, recently said he could ignore Mr.Modi’s past if he mends his ways. How these words tantamount to ‘praise’ is anybody’s guess. Also, both scholars have clarified that their statements should not be construed as support to Mr.Modi.

Mr.Modi does boast of a few vocal Muslim supporters. This is hardly surprising. Because, The Economist in its 14 Dec 2013 edition made a significant observation that Mr.Modi’s pro-business reputation has brought him support from a small number of wealthier Muslims.

On his part, Mr.Modi too has made some overtures towards Muslims like ‘Sadbhavna fast’ or his recent statement in Patna that ‘Hindus and Muslims should fight poverty instead of each other’ to suit his current political exigency. But these moves have failed to cut ice the minority community which remains unconvinced about his real motives.

While Mr.Modi is singing praises of Sardar Patel and is trying to lay a claim to his legacy, Rajmohan Gandhi, former governor of West Bengal and a noted biographer of Patel has said the country's first home minister would not have accepted Mr.Modi as his ideological heir and would have been very pained with his behaviour towards Muslims. Significantly, on 26 Oct 2013, New York Times has said its editorial that ‘India is a country with multiple religions... Mr.Modi cannot hope to lead it effectively if he inspires fear and antipathy among many of its people’.
Suicides

The National Crimes Record Bureau statistics show that the suicide rate in 2012 in Gujarat at 11.8% is marginally higher than the national average of 11.2%. A staggering 13,655 suicides were reported in Gujarat in the last three years — an average of 12 every single day — as per the Gujarat government data. Rajkot is among the top 3 suicide cities of India.

In 2012, Gujarat was second in the country in terms of suicides by housewives led by Madhya Pradesh.

Mr. Modi had few years ago declared that there were no suicides by farmers in Gujarat. But, in the last decade, 641 debt-ridden farmers committed suicide in Gujarat because of crop failures and lack of help from the state government. In a reply to an RTI query, Gujarat government has stated that 135 farmer suicides took place between 2008 and 2012.

But, Magan Patel, president of the Gujarat unit of Bharatiya Kisan Sangh (BKS) says that the figure is ridiculously low and the actual number is much higher since ‘in many cases, the relatives of the deceased farmers had not approached the police or the police had not mentioned the exact reason for the deaths’. Rakesh Sharma, a film-maker who has made a documentary on the suicides in Saurashtra adds: ‘The issue is that the police do not record the deaths accurately and then, it is an uphill task for the families to correct the inaccurate records’.

Crime Rate

Mr. Modi has openly declared that the Gujarat Police have kept the crime rate down to a very low level and Gujarat is indeed considered
safer than many other states. While Gujarat is riot-free after 2002, is it, at least largely, crime-free?

In terms of IPC crime rate (crimes booked under Indian Penal Code per one lakh population), Gujarat with 216.0 was **above** the national average of 195.3. 19 states including UP, Bihar, WB and Maharashtra have done better than Gujarat in preventing such crimes. Moreover, the incidence of these crimes in Gujarat has **gone up** by 5.5% when compared to 2011 and it is **above** the national average of 2.7%. 19 states including AP, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Chhattisgarh and Punjab have done better than Gujarat in controlling these crimes (see Table 26).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Change from 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>176.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td><strong>216.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.5%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>195.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of SLL crime rate (crimes booked under Special & Local Laws per one lakh population), Gujarat with 387.1 was **above** the national average of 306.2. 22 states including AP, WB and Maharashtra have done better than Gujarat in preventing such crimes.

The NCRB records for 2012 further show that Gujarat had the **third** highest number of reported cases of crime.

Let’s look at the elected representatives from Mr.Modi’s party. In all, **32** BJP MLAs are facing criminal cases including Amit Shah, Home Minister and a close confidante of Mr.Modi. One can argue that Mr.Modi can’t
be held responsible for their actions but how did they get tickets and more importantly, why do they continue in positions of power?

**How credible and inclusive is the Gujarat Model?**

Let us now take a look at how credible and inclusive is the Gujarat Model as seen by the economists and independent bodies of repute.

**Raghuram Rajan panel report on development**

In a devastating setback to the Gujarat development story, a new development index formulated by a panel led by the RBI governor Raghuram Rajan has identified Gujarat as a ‘less developed’ state, while ranking Odisha and Bihar along with eight others as ‘least developed’ and Goa and Kerala among the seven ‘relatively developed’ states.

The panel has developed a multi-dimensional index of backwardness based on monthly per capita consumption expenditure, education, health, household amenities, poverty rate, female literacy, percent of SC-ST population, urbanisation rate, financial inclusion and connectivity. Gujarat is ranked 12th in the list of states based on this development index.
However, Mr. Modi-backers tried to trash this report based on the note of dissent by Dr. Shaibal Gupta, a member of the Rajan Panel. Dr. Gupta, a Patna-based economist, felt that per capita state domestic product is a better indicator than per capita monthly expenditure since it takes into account, the savings as well. But the report has also listed the states by per capita state domestic product and even in that, Gujarat fares equally badly coming in 12th in the country. More importantly, Dr. Gupta himself has clarified that the note of dissent does not dismiss the report and both the report and the note have to be seen in a positive light.
Amartya Sen vs. Jagdish Bhagwati on Gujarat Model

In July 2013, Nobel Laureate economist and Bharat Ratna Amartya Sen said the Gujarat development model suffered from weaknesses on the social side and could not, therefore, be considered a success. Elaborating further he said ‘Gujarat is behind, particularly on the social side — lower educational pace, lower life expectancy, greater gender inequality, a busted healthcare system that has not worked so well. What has been rather efficient in business has not been so efficient on things that we are trying to concentrate in India — to have a healthy educated labour force.’ Dr.Sen further said that India's prime minister could not be someone who generates fear in a large minority population.

While Prof.Sen upholds that India should invest more in social infrastructure to raise productivity and accelerate growth, in sharp contrast, noted economist Prof. Jagdish Bhagwati believes that helping big businesses to achieve high growth (i.e., high GDP) will create enough resources for investing in the social sector and has praised the Gujarat model. In other words, while Prof.Sen argues that growth has to ‘trickle up’ from the base, Prof.Bhagwati argues that growth has to ‘trickle down’ from the top.

Prof.Bhagwati has mentioned that Gujarat experienced a higher rate of growth in literacy during 1951-2011 than Kerala. But this cannot be considered a fair comparison because, in the Census of 1951, Kerala was 2.2 times more literate than Gujarat. When a state achieves such a high literacy rate when compared with its peer, obviously its further growth rate can’t remain equally high.
Dr. Indira Hirway, Director and Professor of Economics at the Center for Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad contests the way Prof. Bhagwati used the data. She points out that 7 other states including Orissa, Rajasthan and UP have achieved a much higher rate of growth in literacy during the same period.

She further notes that the decadal growth in literacy of 18% in Gujarat during 2001-2011 (period of Mr. Modi’s rule) only took the state to a poor 16th among the major 20 states in India. Similarly, while Prof. Bhagwati argued that the Infant Mortality Rate has decreased in Mr. Modi’s Gujarat, Dr. Indira points out that 7 other states are ahead of Gujarat in the decline of IMR since 1970.

Prof. Bhagwati’s colleague at Columbia University and economist with a similar outlook, Dr. Arvind Panagariya, too has paid rich tributes to Gujarat success. Dr. Panagariya feels that with a high and rapidly rising per-capita income, Gujarat has a significantly lower poverty ratio than India as a whole and it is fast declining (Gujarat Miracle, Tol, 22 Sep, 2012). But Dr. Hirway has picked gaping holes in his argument:

- As Dr. Panagariya mentioned, poverty in Gujarat has declined much faster during 2005 – 2010 than during the preceding 5 years. Despite that, Gujarat ranks 11th among the major 20 states in terms of decline in poverty. Also, in urban areas, where 43% people live, there was clear deceleration. In 2005-10, the urban poverty ratio declined only by half the rate when compared the preceding 5 years.
- Given Dr. Panagariya’s view, the investment in social sector should have been high if Gujarat had attained an impressive growth. However, as per RBI reports, the per capita state public expenditures on health and education have been much less in
Gujarat than in India and in many other states. In 2009-10, for example, the per capita state expenditure on health and education was Rs. 1148 and Rs.293 respectively, and the state stood 17th and 16th respectively among the major 20 states in India. The state had stood 6th in both health and education expenditure a decade ago.

Dr. Hirway makes an emphatic conclusion: The root cause for this low public expenditure on health and education perhaps lie in the high spending on subsidies and incentives to attract corporate sector investments in industries and infrastructure. This high spending has resulted in (a) limited spending on public health and education and (b) increased power of the industrialists to suppress wages.

**Does ‘trickle-down effect’ really work?**

Independent of Gujarat story, the justification offered by protagonists of high growth is that it will bring in prosperity to everybody, the so-called ‘trickle-down effect’. Do facts confirm this theory?

In a nutshell, trickle-down theory is based on the premise that, the benefits of economic policies that help the wealthy trickle down to everyone else. Normally, these policies mean tax cuts to the big businesses. The assumption is that the extra money due to tax cuts will be used to invest in business, expand production, and hire more workers which will lead to more money in the hands of those in lower income brackets as well. The increased purchasing power will drive demand, further stimulate production and economy, as a whole, improves. Trickle-down economics is often associated with the policies of the US president Ronald Reagan in the 1980s.

If trickle-down economics worked, then lower tax rates during the Reagan period should have increased the lowest income levels. In fact,
the exact opposite has occurred. Income inequality actually worsened. Between 1979 and 2005, household income (after tax) rose 6% for the bottom fifth of income earners. That sounds good, until you see what happened for the top fifth – a stupendous 80% increase in income. The top 1% saw their income triple. Instead trickling down, prosperity actually trickled up! (Source: Steven Greenhouse, The Big Squeeze, pp.6-9)

Let us take another instructive illustration. In the 10 years between 2001 and 2011, India enjoyed a high GDP growth rate except during global financial crisis in 2008. India was the 13th largest in the world by nominal GDP in 2001 but climbed up to 10th position in 2011. During the same period, as per Forbes, the number of dollar billionaires (people with $100 crore or more personal wealth) in India went up from 4 to 55. Their combined wealth too went up from a mere $14 billion ($3.5 per head) to a whopping $247 billion ($4.5 per head).

But, in the same period, India’s ranking in the United Nations Human Development Index – a composite measure for the overall wellbeing of the people which includes life expectancy, literacy, education, standards of living, and quality of life in the countries worldwide – slipped from 115 to 134. Alarmingly, there is a clear indication of the ‘jobless growth’, as the growth in the number of regular workers nearly halved in 5 years between 2005 and 2010 when compared to 5 years between 2000 and 2005. And, there is a palpable trend of ‘casualisation’ of labour which means more and more people are being employed as casual workers who can be hired and fired at will rather than as regular salaried workers. Nearly 80% of all the new jobs created in 5 years between 2005 and 2010 were casual in nature (see Table 27).
Commenting on the income inequality in India, International Monetary Fund (IMF) Chief Christine Lagarde recently said: ‘In India, the net worth of the billionaire community increased 12-fold in 15 years, enough to eliminate absolute poverty in this country twice over’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter (wrt India)</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World ranking in GDP (nominal)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Dollar Billionaires</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita wealth of Dollar Billionaires</td>
<td>$3.5B</td>
<td>$4.5B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Ranking in Human Development Index</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth in the number of regular workers*</td>
<td>11.5M</td>
<td>5.9M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The figures are for 2000-05 and 2005-10 respectively.

The high growth theorists overlook a few key factors, rather conveniently, which not only deter but positively prevent the percolation of wealth from the top to the bottom:

(a) Tax evasions by the corporates that run into lakhs of crores of rupees every year,
(b) Lop-sided priorities of the governments which favour the corporate castles and not the man on the street,
(c) All pervading corruption that ensures that even the meager allocation of funds do not reach the intended beneficiaries. Former PM Rajiv Gandhi had once said that only 15 paise from a rupee that is allocated actually reaches the true beneficiaries. Mr. Rahul Gandhi now says that it is only 10 paise,
(d) Poor planning and implementation of development projects
(e) Joblessness, contractualisation and casualisation of labour, wage freeze, and wage cuts despite high growth
Do the facts above not bear out that the underlying fundamental issue is not with wealth creation but with wealth distribution? In fact, in the US where this theory was born, Barack Obama declared in his 2008 presidential campaign: ‘The old trickle-down theory has failed us’.

**CRISIL on Prosperity & Equality in Indian states**

CRISIL Research, India's largest independent and integrated research house, released a report in Nov, 2013 which rated the large states in India on prosperity and equality based on the ownership consumer durables as per the census of 2011. It has some very interesting observations.

According to this study, Punjab is the most prosperous, Kerala the most equal and Maharashtra has the highest per capita income. Gujarat is 6\textsuperscript{th} in prosperity, 7\textsuperscript{th} in equality and 3\textsuperscript{rd} in per capita income - not an impressive record for all the hype generated in the media. However, it is among the only 3 states in the ‘high prosperity, high equality’ cluster behind Punjab & Kerala but the gulf between these 2 states and Gujarat is a huge 14-15 points. The report also points to the high inequality between the capital state Ahmedabad and rest of the state of Gujarat.

**The best core infrastructure award goes to...**

In Dec 2012, IBN7 along with Outlook gave away IBN7 Diamond States Awards to states in various categories namely education, healthcare, employment, environment, womens' empowerment, core infrastructure, water & sanitation, poverty reduction and citizen security. Let us see the winners:

- Punjab won the best core infrastructure award for building up road networks, construction of bridges, road connectivity and
infrastructure facilities. Interestingly, the same award was won by Gujarat in 2011 but Punjab pipped Gujarat to the top spot in 2012.

- Kerala won the best state award in education and health
- Maharashtra won the award for creating most employment opportunities, water supply and sanitation
- Jammu & Kashmir won the top honours for poverty alleviation
- Tamilnadu was adjudged the best in women’s empowerment
- Overall, Maharashtra was declared the top diamond state followed by Tamilnadu.

Gujarat had the sole consolation on winning in the citizen security category.

**How was Gujarat before Mr. Modi?**

A highly urbanised Gujarat is also home to India's largest business and trading community, which has always been enterprising and industrious much before Mr. Modi became chief minister. Historically, Gujarat's coastal cities served as ports and trading centers in the Nanda, Maurya, Satavahana and Gupta empires as well as Western Kshatrapas period.

Gujarat, the world's largest producer of processed diamonds, was already home to the world's largest Greenfield refinery in Jamnagar. Gujarat State Petroleum Corporation Ltd (GSPCL) - India's only State Government-owned oil and gas company - was founded in 1979. Essar had its fully integrated steel plant in Hazira and had laid the foundation for its oil refinery in Vadinar by the 1990s. The state-run Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation had built several industrial parks including those in Ahmedabad, Vapi and Vadodara. The world’s largest ship breaking yard in Alang was already operational.
The milk revolution had been engineered by Varghese Kurien several decades earlier. ‘Gujarat started riding the high curve of industrialisation within just a decade of being formed in 1960’ says Sebastian Morris of IIM-Ahmedabad. In the 1980s and 1990s, as India’s manufacturing grew at 5.5% and 8.1%, respectively, Gujarat had touched 6.6% and 9%.

In fact, the sad reality is that in certain areas as given below, Gujarat took a turn towards the worse after Mr.Modi took charge. The following table summarises the fall in certain key indicators of development during Mr.Modi’s tenure (see Table 28):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Before Mr. Modi’s Tenure</th>
<th>During Mr. Modi’s Tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Development Index (HDI) ranking</td>
<td>10th position in 2001</td>
<td>11th position in 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy rate</td>
<td>17th position in 2001</td>
<td>18th position in 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households having access to safe drinking water</td>
<td>14th position between 2001</td>
<td>15th position in 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installed power capacity as a % of total national capacity</td>
<td>7.5% in 2001</td>
<td>7.2% in 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth in agriculture output</td>
<td>10% in the decade before Mr. Modi</td>
<td>4% in Mr. Modi’s decade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth in agricultural productivity</td>
<td>4.7% in the decade before Mr. Modi (1991-2000)</td>
<td>3.4% in the decade of Mr. Modi’s rule (2001-2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita state expenditure on health</td>
<td>6th in 2000</td>
<td>17th in 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita state</td>
<td>6th in 2000</td>
<td>16th in 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is equally important to note that:

- 100% of the villages in Gujarat were already electrified before Mr. Modi came to power.
- 85% of the roads in Gujarat were already paved before Mr. Modi took this up to about 90%.

So, do we see really any evidence of a radically differentiating development in Gujarat under Mr. Modi to warrant a great celebration or to transplant at a national level?

**Key questions on Development**

We had raised a few important questions at the beginning about the concept and nature of development. Having probed and dissected the Gujarat Model to a reasonable depth, let us now proceed to conclude on these critical questions.

**What is the development model that we need?**

The development model that India needs is, in reality, the reverse of what Mr. Modi is talking about. It should be ‘common man centric’ rather than ‘corporate centric’ and have the following objectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic needs</th>
<th>Fulfill the basic needs, including food, education, health and employment of the marginalized and exploited sections who constitute the <strong>largest</strong> majority of the population as well as the middle classes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>Provide <strong>equal</strong> opportunities in education and employment without discriminating on the basis of sex, religion, caste, language, region or economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing to achieve 100% enrolment in education and 100% employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Completely <strong>separate</strong> religion from state, education and social affairs and make it an individual affair. Mete out severe punishment to the criminals responsible for communal riots no matter how high &amp; mighty they are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>Ensure freedom of expression and more importantly, freedom of <strong>dissent</strong>. Ensure democratic rights and practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Provide economic <strong>stability</strong> and thus, create a sense of economic <strong>security</strong> for the poor and the middle classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>Set up anti-corruption ombudsman like the <strong>Lokayukta</strong> and completely desist from political interference into its functioning. Bring <strong>both</strong> the government and corporates under the purview of the Lokayukta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes</td>
<td>Ensure severity and more importantly, <strong>certainty</strong> of punishment to crimes against humanity and especially, crimes against women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>Ensure that <strong>all</strong> infrastructure development initiatives are undertaken by state enterprises with strict auditing of transparency, accountability and efficiency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are not dreamy illusions, utopias, idealist fancies or quixotic extremes. There are countries that have indeed made it possible. Let us examine development models which have attempted at such a comprehensive development within capitalism.

In the 1950s, many capitalist countries adopted ‘Welfare State’ programs arguably to detract people from the increasing charm of
socialism. A welfare state is expected to play a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. Nordic Countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland) spent about 30% of their GDP in social welfare and reduced absolute poverty levels by 4-5 times in 30 years (1960-90). The famed ‘Nordic Model’ adopted in these countries included free education, universal healthcare, public pension schemes and graded taxation.

But then, high social expenditure means a breeding ground for corruption, right? Wrong. In the annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) Ranking by Transparency International for 2012, all the five Nordic countries come out ‘very clean’ figuring among the top 11 countries in the world.

The World Happiness Report 2013 released by the United Nations General Assembly measures **happiness** and **well-being** in countries based on six key factors namely GDP per capita, healthy life expectancy, someone to count on, perceived freedom to make life choices, freedom from corruption, and generosity. **All** the five Nordic countries figure among the top 10 ‘happiest’ nations in the world including the top 3 slots.

Similarly, free health schemes were introduced in the UK, Canada and France. The public education system was strengthened even in the USA. Mass immunization programmes led to elimination of mass-killer diseases such as Cholera, Small pox and Influenza.

Now that the socialist camp has been almost completely dismantled, the social welfare measures in capitalist countries have been almost completely **given up** in the era of globalisation and whatever remains, owes its existence to public pressure.
Now, this is the kind of development model that we need. Of course, it does cost money but how much? Let’s put things in the right perspective:

- Consider 2G scam. CAG estimated that it caused a loss of Rs.1,76,000 crore to the exchequer so that a handful of corporate houses could benefit. This amount is enough to provide free and compulsory education to all education-deprived children between 8 and 14 years of age for 5 years. This amount is enough to construct 250-bed general hospitals in every Taluk of the country. This amount is enough to build 200 dams similar in capacity to Alamatti dam.

- Consider tax breaks. The Statement on Revenue Foregone, annexed to each annual budget, details the tax waivers given by the central government. For 2011-12 alone, the aggregate revenue foregone from central taxes (both direct and indirect) was a massive Rs 5.3 lakh crore out of which 93% was due to the tax breaks, incentives and stimulus packages given to the corporates. In the 9-year rule of the UPA, these tax waivers have accrued to Rs 30 lakh crore!

- Consider black money. Economist Friedrich Schneider estimates that the total size of India’s black money is about 25% of India’s GDP. This was confirmed last year, when the CBI director AP Singh mentioned that the black money stashed abroad in tax havens like Switzerland, Mauritius etc. amounts to $500 billion or Rs. 30 lakh crore - more than sufficient to wipe out hunger and poverty from India.

As you can see, the problem is not money but political will. It’s an open secret that the corporates liberally fund political parties so that they can reap policy fruits when subservient governments are formed. MC Joshi
committee, formed by the central government under the pressure of the massive anti-corruption protests that swept the country in 2011, has estimated that the country's two major national parties (in an obvious reference to the Congress and the BJP), spend between Rs 10,000 crore - Rs 15,000 crore annually on election expenses alone. So naturally, the governments are **destined** to be corporate-centric in their approach. This explains the lack of political will.

On the other hand, if development means the development of capitalism in India, the BJP is **no** match for the Congress. Setting up of large scale public sector companies, nationalization of banks, core infrastructure development – the Congress has done it all to stabilize and strengthen capitalism and hugely benefit the industrial houses in India since independence at the cost of the vast masses of the working people. But, both the Congress as well as the BJP rank as miserable failures when they are evaluated on the plank of all-round development of the weak, the poor and the marginalized as outlined above.

**Does mere economic development mean progress?**

It is true that, in terms of infrastructure especially in roads, water and electricity, Gujarat has done well. The NCAER report mentions (and we have shown above) that 90% of roads in Gujarat are paved, almost 100% villages have been electrified and 86% have piped water. However, as clearly borne out by facts, Mr.Modi’s real contribution compared to his bloated claims is unarguably modest.

But mere economic development does not mean progress if human thinking and human culture do not keep pace with it. History teaches us an important lesson: Every great economic advancement in society was
preceded by an equally great advancement in thought and culture which acted as the fuel for change.

The great strides taken by Europe in all spheres including the economy during the period of renaissance were preceded by the infusion of democratic and secular concepts of equality, liberty, fraternity along with humanist ethics and morality as opposed to the old, absolutist feudal concepts and ethics.

Rousseau’s discourses on Inequality among Men, Political Economy, Arts & Sciences, Education and Languages, Voltaire’s ideas on freedom of expression, separation of religion and state, freedom of religion, Adam Smith’s ‘Wealth of Nations’ etc. provided the necessary base of new thought. Petrarch’s poetry, Michelangelo’s sculptures, Da Vinci’s paintings, Shakespeare’s plays, Byrd’s music, Victor Hugo’s novels etc. provided the necessary cultural moorings. These new ideas and values liberated man; unleashed his creativity and the rest is, as we know today, a glorious period of human history.

The Gujarat riots in 2002, for which Mr. Modi remains unrepentant, reeks of perversion, depravity and beastly degradation of the worst kind as recorded by the Concerned Citizens' Tribunal. True, burning of a coach carrying kar sevaks in Godhra is highly condemnable. 31 people have already been convicted in the case by a trial court in 2011 and the matter is now pending with Gujarat High Court. But, pregnant women stabbed in the stomach, young girls stripped, raped and burnt - do any of these reflect a great culture no matter what the so-called provocation is? This is the culture that Mr. Modi has sought to condone with his ‘every action has an equal and opposite reaction’ theory.
History teaches another important lesson: when the culture of a society stoops to a low level, the society can’t sustain itself for long. The mighty Roman Empire collapsed under its own deadweight of immoral filth rather than due to the fighting skills of the foreign invaders. The mighty Germany under Hitler killed millions of innocent Jews across Europe – by shooting, by starving, by gassing, by torturing or by extreme labour. Its famed military, seeped in such moral decay, was vanquished by the relatively less-armed but morally well-grounded Soviet Red army and the German Fascism was totally defeated.

Is real development possible in the current stage of capitalism?

It is noteworthy that Capitalism has never really recovered from the great recession that engulfed the world in 2008. Many European countries are in vicious debt traps and are unable to find their way out. The US is still struggling with an ailing economy and has suffered the ignominy of a shutdown forcing 8,00,000 (or 30%) government employees to go on unpaid leave recently.

In India, the capacity of all industries to generate jobs – including the IT sector which contributes the lion’s share of engineering jobs– is drastically falling even as ever larger number graduates pour out of the campuses. As per AICTE, in engineering, the number of graduates has doubled from 6 lakh to 12 lakh in the last 5 years. As per NASSCOM, the IT sector’s employment generation capacity fell by half during the same time – from 3 lakh to 1.5 lakh jobs.

It is important to understand why this happens. The capitalists amass wealth by maximising profit. What is profit? It is the surplus value created by workers in excess of the labour cost. Labour cost is the sum
total of cost of raw materials & machinery, operational & administrative costs and most importantly, wages. Hence, more the capitalists accumulate wealth, more squeezed are the working people with lesser money in their pockets. This results in a drop in their purchasing power. If the purchasing power of the people falls, more goods remain unsold in the market since the prices are fixed by capitalists to earn maximum profit. So there is stockpiling of goods. If there is no off-take of goods in the market, the capitalists stop production. So industries get closed rendering millions jobless. This is a tragic irony of capitalism – overproduction leads to job losses instead of cheaper and more universal distribution.

On the other hand, as the scope for maximum profit dwindles, the capitalists try to cut production cost by reducing manpower and opting for technology-driven production. So unemployment soars further. This is another tragic irony of capitalism – better technology leads to job losses instead of better quality of life to all members of society.

Bereft of employment, income of the households dips even lower, causing further market squeeze leading to recession and ultimately, depression. This has been the vicious cycle in the history of capitalism.

It does not mean technology per se has to be opposed or discarded. It only means that adequate, viable and time-bound measures for planning and implementation of rehabilitation should be taken for the affected people before new technology is deployed. But, given the working mechanism of capitalism as mentioned above, this can not and will not happen.
Capitalists make maximum profit, workers get less wages

Industries get closed. Workers thrown out.

Workers' purchasing power reduced

Overproduction sets in. Capitalists stop production to avoid losses

Goods are unsold as workers have less money in their pockets

Capitalist production cycle that leads to recession/depression

Capitalists resort to technology & automation to reduce costs. Less workers are needed

Industries get closed. Workers thrown out.

Overall purchasing power of the society falls as joblessness soars

Overproduction sets in. Capitalists stop production to avoid losses

Goods are unsold as less workers have money in their pockets

Technology-driven Capitalist production leads to recession/depression
Thus, industrial recession and joblessness are congenital diseases of capitalism. As explained above, as capitalism looks for newer ways to earn more profit, the modern industries constantly seek further automation and create fewer jobs. For instance, the top 8 Indian companies have a combined revenue of about 20% of India’s GDP. However, they employ only just over 0.1% of the total Indian workforce.

So, the era of industrialisation that heralded the dawn of capitalism, liberated serfs from the feudal bondages and generated massive employment is long past its end. Today, it is the era of transnational corporate monopolies on the one hand and contractualisation & casualisation of labour on the other hand. So, any claim of ‘industrialisation’ today – either by the ‘Marxists’ of West Bengal or the Modi-led saffron brigade in Gujarat – can it be trustworthy?

In summary, Mr.Modi is the blue-eyed boy of the Corporates, has provided some corporate-driven sops in civic amenities and infrastructure to the middle class to get their vociferous backing but has left the poor and the marginalized almost completely out of his development agenda. This, in nutshell, is the ‘Gujarat development model’.

‘Able administrator’

Mr.Modi has already been hailed by many corporate heads as an ‘able administrator’. Mr.Modi himself is never tired of repeating that he believes in ‘minimum government and maximum governance’. At the recent BJP National Council Meeting, he unveiled his ‘vision’ for the country promising ‘good governance’ - blueprint for his party’s manifesto for the Lok Sabha elections.
Remember how the BJP used the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) report on 2G scam to batter the UPA. But, in Mar 2013, the same CAG criticized the BJP government in Gujarat for imprudent fiscal management. It has underlined a need for greater professionalism and accountability in the functioning of the government and asked it to be more alert and responsive.

- Poor debt management - The national auditor has said the state government has incurred **41%** higher debt than the previous fiscal and burdened the exchequer with heavy interest liability at a higher rate. The state government had taken a loan of Rs 15,083 crore to adjust the deficit of Rs 11,027 crore, leaving a negative balance of **Rs 3,645** crore.

- Average return on investments - It has invested Rs 39,179 crore in corporations, boards, government companies, rural banks and joint ventures. In the last five years, the average return on this investment was **0.25%** while the state government has paid interest at the rate of **7.75%** on its borrowings.

- Huge variation under every major head of account - In the roads and buildings department, Rs 957.95 crore was allocated for constructing offices, but not even half the amount was spent for various reasons. Sighting many such examples, CAG has observed that there is wide variation, practically under every major head of account.

- Lack of efficiency in Finance and public sectors – CAG found the finance and public sectors to be the least efficient. For example, savings under each major heads clearly suggest non-performance of government departments, for which no reasons have been given.
As we have already mentioned quoting the same CAG report, many large corporate houses - Reliance, Adani, Essar and others - benefited from the largesse doled out by the Modi government. This is not the first time the Modi government has come under harsh criticism from the CAG over its ‘financial prudence’. In the previous year, the CAG report had listed irregularities worth Rs 16,700 crore in drilling, purchase and sale of gas by state petroleum enterprise GSPC and alleged undue favours to corporations. The CAG audit report for the year ending March 2011 also slammed public sector units owned by the Gujarat government for financial irregularities to the tune of over Rs 4,000 crore.

So, does Mr. Modi’s governance not show a clear pattern of favouring mega corporates at the cost of state exchequer?

Let’s turn to another important aspect of Mr. Modi’s governance. In July 2013, Mr. Modi was in the eye of a storm for his controversial ‘puppy remark’ that was widely condemned for comparing victims to puppies. He had said ‘If someone else is driving a car and we're sitting behind, even then if a puppy comes under the wheel, will be painful or not? Of course, it is.’

Let’s keep aside the debate on whether Mr. Modi instigated this violence or not. But, if he could not take the driver’s seat at such a critical juncture and could not take minimum necessary actions to stop this carnage, how can he be called an able administrator?

It is true that Mr. Modi has not been indicted by any court of law in India so far. On 26th Dec, 2013, an Ahmedabad court rejected the protest petition of Zakia Jafri - wife of ex-MP Ehsan Jafri who was killed in the 2002 Gujarat riots - over Mr. Modi’s alleged complicity in the riots. A
relieved Mr. Modi chose the moment to express his ‘grief’, ‘sadness’, ‘misery’, ‘pain’, ‘anguish’, ‘agony’ over such ‘mindless violence’ and ‘inhumanity’ on twitter. But, it is important to highlight three points here:

1. The responsibility to protect the lives of the citizens in a state and to ruthlessly curb criminals who disturb communal harmony lies primarily with the Chief Minister. Has Mr. Modi fulfilled even a modicum of this responsibility? National Human Rights Commission described the response by the state government as a ‘comprehensive failure’. The Economist – hardly a critic of Mr. Modi – too said Mr. Modi’s response to the riots was not adequate and admitted that he has a ‘nasty past’. In 2005, the US revoked Mr. Modi’s visa, on the basis that ‘he was responsible for the performance of state institutions’.

In a far more severe indictment, a team of experts in history and contemporary affairs from UK & Australia, classified Gujarat riots as ‘a classic example of politically motivated state terrorism’ in their acclaimed book ‘Contemporary State Terrorism – Theory & Practice’ which is a study of the ways in which states/countries across the globe employ terrorism as a political strategy of internal governance or foreign policy.

2. Moreover, can Mr. Modi be absolved of the moral responsibility for the killing of innocents while he was the chief minister of the state just because he has expressed ‘grief’? The BJP has often clamoured for the resignation of many heads of the Congress central and state governments in the past over alleged failure in discharging their
responsibility. They recently bayed for the blood of Mr. Somnath Barti, Delhi Law Minister of Aam Admi Party due to his alleged tampering of evidence.

Let us use the same yardstick on Mr. Modi. Apart from the victims of 2002 riots & human rights activists, even some Gujarat IPS officers have alleged that (a) evidences are tampered with, in 2002 riots (b) Mr. Modi directed the police to adopt a soft stand towards the rioters (c) the killing of Mr. Haren Pandya, former home minister and bitter critic of Mr. Modi was a political murder (d) the fake encounters of Sohrabuddin, Ishrat Jahan and others were politically motivated. Is it impertinent to ask how did Mr. Modi continue to cling on to CM post despite these allegations rather than relinquishing the post to ensure a free and fair probe? Moreover, how did the BJP anoint Mr. Modi as the PM candidate rather than living up to the standards that they seek in others?

3. The due process of law over Mr. Modi’s alleged involvement in Gujarat riots is far from over. The verdict is from a lower court and the complainants have already decided to move the High Court.

**Popularity of Mr. Modi**

There is no dearth for opinion polls which claim that the popularity of Mr. Modi is soaring and so, they predict that he would be the next PM of the country. Let’s dissect these claims.

**Mr. Modi has won 3 successive elections!**

True, Mr. Mr. Modi has won three successive elections in Gujarat. But, Jyoti Basu in West Bengal was the Chief Minister for 23 years, more
than **double** Mr.Modi’s tenure. Manik Sarkar in Tripura has won 4 consecutive elections. Sheila Dikshit in Delhi – till the humiliating defeat suffered by the Congress in the recent elections - had scored 3 successive election victories. Tarun Gogoi in Assam also has achieved a hat-trick of victories. Successive Congress governments in Maharashtra have won the elections thrice. Mr.Modi’s party colleagues Shivraj Singh Chauhan in Madhya Pradesh, Raman Singh in Chhattisgarh have won three elections each. Apart from Mr.Modi, Madhav Sinh Solanki of Congress holds the record for most terms as the Chief Minister of Gujarat, both having served four terms.

**‘Modi wave’ in the recent state elections**

The BJP lost no time in attributing its recent success in state elections in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and to a lesser extent in Delhi to ‘Modi wave’. BJP president Rajnath Singh said the party gained from popularity of its prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi and ‘also’ of the chief ministerial candidates.

A careful analysis - rather than passionate chest thumping – will reveal the truth.

In Delhi, BJP’s vote share has come down by more than **3** percentage points (from 36.8% to 33%) in 2003 when compared with 2008. This is after being out of power for more than 15 years and amidst a massive anti-Congress wave thanks to high prices, scams and lack of safety for women during Congress rule. Importantly, out of the six constituencies that Mr.Modi held rallies in, only two elected BJP candidates. So, the highly successful entry of Aam Admi Party (AAP) in Delhi elections, which ate into BJP vote share as well, shows that people are definitely looking for an alternative beyond the Congress and the BJP.
In Chhattisgarh, BJP not only lost a seat when compared to 2008, but also lost 5 out of 12 assembly constituencies where Mr. Modi has campaigned in. While the vote share of the BJP has remained practically the same, the Congress vote share has gone up by more than 1 percentage point.

In Madhya Pradesh, BJP is itself a divided house in giving the credit of victory to Mr. Modi and even, senior leader LK Advani chose to attribute the victory in MP to popularity of Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chauhan. Shivraj Singh Chauhan is not seen to be wholeheartedly attributing the victory to Mr. Modi’s ‘popularity’.

In Rajasthan, the deep resentment that people carried about the Congress under Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot turned into a vote for the BJP and contributed in a big way to the BJP’s victory. ‘Modi factor’ did work to an extent but was the secondary contributing factor. Despite that, it is worth noting that nearly 6 lakh voters chose the NOTA (None of the above) option in Rajasthan – highest among all states.

Unlike Delhi, the other states lacked a third alternative projected as ‘credible’ by the media. But based on Delhi results, would it be unreasonable to say that the lack of a third alternative worked in BJP’s favour much more than the so-called ‘Modi Wave’?

‘Mr. Modi is popular among netizens’

Rajeeka Kacheeria, the head of BJP Gujarat’s IT cell, says that 4000-5000 people are involved in re-tweeting Mr. Modi's tweets, and spreading his word. She says that his online followers are genuine.

And yet, soon after Mr. Modi’s spin machine declared that he crossed a million followers on Twitter (and is at 2.5 million as of Oct, 2013), the
hype was somewhat deflated when a member of the BJP’s IT cell admitted that almost 40% of Mr. Modi’s followers were fake. A number of online tools – twitteraudit.com, Fake Follower Check on statuspeople.com, socialbakers.com to name a few - provide an analysis of twitter accounts. A query on statuspeople.com on Mr. Modi’s username (@narendramodi) in the second week of Oct, 2013 shows 76% fake, 18% inactive and only 6% real users. The results from socialbakers.com were no less damaging with 80% users found to be fake while twitteraudit.com gave Mr. Modi a poor audit score of only 32%. Interestingly, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s ‘PMO India’ too has about 57% fakers as per socialbakers.com.

More importantly, the problem of fake followers has become a $300 million per year industry today. There are websites which sell followers. For instance, fiverr.com sells 1000 twitter followers for $5, firststeppromotions.com offers 500 facebook ‘likes’ for $15 or 5,000 YouTube views for $10. ‘Twitter followers is most sought-after service. Usually, at the base level, the followers are created by computer.’ says John Galtman of Buy More Followers. There are Indian companies that offer 1000 facebook likes for Rs.650 or 10,000 twitter followers for Rs. 5,000. So, today, if you have the money, you can get online followers!

In any case, it is evident that Mr. Modi has tried to leverage the power of social media. The Congress and even, the Aam Aadmi Party are still catching up. But, given that internet penetration in India is just about 6% and every 3 out of 4 users are urban, does the ‘popularity’ of Mr. Modi on the Web really extend to the rural poor?
Work of hired PR firms

Mr. Modi’s propaganda orchestra is ‘professionally’ managed. After all, the PR firm Apco Worldwide earned Rs. 15 lakh per month from Gujarat government for peddling stories around ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ and there are evidences that it was actually in-charge of Mr. Modi’s image building as well (Financial Express, 22 Oct, 2013). The ‘Friends of Gujarat’ group, formed just 10 months after Apco signed the deal, supplements the propaganda effort. Apco has the ‘distinction’ of taking image-boosting contracts from Nigerian Dictator Sani Abacha, Corruption-accused Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Russian billionaire with mafia links, Mikhail Khodorkovsky.

In the run-up to the ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ jamboree, in Gujarat, hardly a week passes without the government doling out print and television ads countrywide carefully articulated by the PR firms, showcasing Modi’s dramatic plans to turn around economy or to install a tall statue of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel etc..

So, they know their job well and how!

Changing face of Media houses

The increased coverage of Mr. Modi in the print and electronic media points to clear shift in strategy of leading media houses in India. Critical remarks by scribes on Mr. Modi are increasingly being met with intolerance by the managements. Let us take some excerpts from the Outlook article in its 3 Feb, 2014 edition.

When Thiru Veerapandian – anchor of prime-time Sun TV programme ‘Vibhada Medhai’ for 17 years - expressed that people must think before they voted for the BJP’s prime ministerial candidate Narendra
Modi, he would probably not have imagined he would be shunted out. But, the axe did fall.

Siddharth Varadarajan had to quit as editor of The Hindu in October 2013, as the new board of directors at the newspaper felt that the ‘Modi wave’ was being underplayed in the newspaper.

Hartosh Singh Bal, former political editor of the weekly Open magazine, whose his articles have been critical of Mr. Modi, was relieved of his post. ‘It was conveyed to me by my editor that my exit was due to political pressure,’ says Bal.

Former editors of Forbes (India), one of Network 18’s magazines, have commented on instructions to go soft on Mr. Modi. Four of them, including Indrajit Gupta, quit last year. All television channels, magazines and the online paper owned by the group are learnt to have been instructed to carry material promoting Mr. Modi; voices of protest are learnt to have been stifled or silenced.

Former NDTV and Headlines Today journalist-turned-academic Sandeep Bhushan, throws more light on how the television media is covering Mr. Modi. He reveals based on the feedback of several past and serving employees of Network 18 that a heavy-duty ‘go-soft-on-Modi’ campaign is underway within the group. He says that ‘on the news floor, in both CNN-IBN and IBN7, every journalist knows that there are orders to rein in anti-Modi stories’ and traces the change of stance in IBN7 to Mr. Mukesh Ambani picking up stakes in the media group.

The social media houses too are exhibiting the same change of heart. Raheel Khursheed, Twitter’s head of news, politics and government in India was sacked after a few old tweets of his against Mr. Modi were dug up to demand his removal.
In many instances, pro-Modi propaganda is masquerading as reportage. On Oct 27, the Hindi daily Divya Bhaskar had a banner headline: ‘Nehru didn’t attend Patel’s funeral’, a statement attributed to Mr.Modi. In fact, Nehru did attend the funeral. Two days later, the newspaper simply retracted the report. No elaboration. Why the newspaper did not verify facts or at least apologise for the bloop? Another one from firstpost.com, CNN IBN’s new portal: ‘Delhi on Sunday witnessed a public the likes of which it had not seen in decades, thanks to Modi’s ‘rock-star’ image that created a maddening frenzy’. Yet another so-called report on the website gushes: ‘Patna blasts showed Modi’s leadership, Nitish’s ineptness.’

The changing stance in Indian Media Houses is forming a potent force to elevate Mr.Modi to the top post and in the process, distorting the face of reality and striking at the root of democracy and freedom of speech.

**Cloud of suspicion hovering over Mr.Modi**

The cloud of suspicion around Mr.Modi has obstinately hung on despite persistent efforts by his ‘professionally’ run campaign machine. Here are a couple of important episodes which raise questions over Mr.Modi’s conduct that he cannot simply duck.

**In the line of political fire - Gujarat IPS officers**

The explosive revelations by the suspended IPS officer DG Vanzara, the former DIG, Anti-Terrorism Squad, Gujarat Police, who has been in jail for the past six years for his role in four fake encounter cases has put Chief Minister Narendra Modi in a fix. Here are a few key excerpts:

“I would like to categorically state in the most unequivocal words that the officers and men of Crime Branch, ATS and Border Range, during the
period of years between 2002 and 2007, simply acted and performed their duties in compliance of the conscious policy of this government”

“I have been observing right from the year 2002 that Shri Amitbhai Shah as MoS, Home, has been completely mismanaging a sensitive department like Police which would have been handled more carefully in the context of Godhra train burning, post-Godhra riots and the resultant rise of Jehadi terrorism in Gujarat... Shri Amitbhai Shah introduced a much despised British policy of divide and rule and... use the officers and throw them by deliberately spreading misinformation about them”

“I am sorry to say that my god (Narendra Modi) could not rise to the occasion under the evil influence of Shri Amitbhai Shah who usurped his eyes and ears and has been successfully misguiding him ... since last 12 years”

Another suspended IPS officer, Sanjiv Bhatt, former DIG, Gujarat Police, who made a fiery yet daring accusation that Mr. Modi instructed bureaucrats and top cops to allow Hindus to vent out their anger against the minority community during post-Godhra riots, had voiced the same concern on this attitude of Mr. Modi ‘to use and dump his followers’ when he wrote an open letter after BJP MLA Dr. Maya Kodnani was sentenced to 28 years imprisonment in Naroda Patiya case: “You (Mr. Modi) must have been apprised about the punishment meted out to your loyal lieutenants Dr. Maya Kodnani and Babu Bajrangi, as well as the misguided foot-soldiers of misconceived Hindutva, who have now been condemned to spend a life in prison. Was it perchance that you smartly distanced yourself from all these unfortunate people at an opportune moment?”
Even, RB Sreekumar, the highest ranking officer in Gujarat police as Director General of Police, has not been spared for deposing against the Modi government before the Nanavati-Shah Commission looking into the 2002 riots and for informing the Commission on how the police administration was made to compromise by the government during the riots. After Mr.Modi expressed ‘grief’ over 2002 riots, RB Sreekumar wrote an open letter asking Mr.Modi to stop persecuting whistleblower IPS officers including Rahul Sharma (DIG, Gujarat police), Sanjiv Bhatt and himself, and instead “initiate departmental action against DGP and senior officers in Home department, who deliberately did not act upon specific intelligence assessment reports...to prove your sympathy of riot victims”. It may be remembered that the tech savvy Rahul Sharma, an engineer from IIT Kanpur, had procured and analysed the phone call details from late February to early March, 2002 and submitted the same in the form of two CDs before both Nanavati Commission and UC Banerjee commission which ultimately helped in the arrest of Dr.Maya Kodnani.

Two other IPS officers came in the line of political fire for doing their duty. Kuldeep Sharma, a 1976-batch Gujarat-cadre IPS officer could have become Gujarat police chief but for his brush with Chief Minister Narendra Modi. His crime was to submit an interim report of the Sohrabuddin Sheikh fake encounter case before the Supreme Court, which led to the arrest of 3 senior IPS officers and finally led to the doors of Gujarat minister of state for home Amit Shah. Later, Sharma was given a non-descript assignment as the MD, Gujarat State Sheep and Wool Development Corporation. His ACR (Annual Confidential Report) too was downgraded by CM Narendra Modi without assigning any specific reason which would deny him promotion. He moved the
CAT (Central Administrative Tribunal) fighting for justice. Sharma went on record saying he was pressurised by Mr. Modi and Amit Shah to go slow against rioters during 2002 and to arrest internationally acclaimed danseuse Mallika Sarabhai – who has been a bitter critic of Modi government - in an alleged human trafficking case. Later, he went on central deputation and finally, just two months before his retirement, the Delhi High Court cleared the way for his promotion as DGP, Bureau of Police R&D.

Rajnish Rai, DIG, CID (Crime) - who had investigated Sohrabuddin fake encounter case and arrested 3 erring IPS officers – had clearly linked the murders of Sohrabuddin and his aide Tulsiram Prajapati with Amit Shah. Rai, however, was removed from the investigation and his bosses promptly downgraded his ACR against which Rai approached CAT accusing his bosses of toeing the political line given by Amit Shah. A month later, however, Modi government offered an olive branch to Rai by expunging adverse remarks made in his ACR to put a lid on the embarrassing CAT inquiry.

Now, these police officers are senior enough to know the consequences of speaking out. So, is it justified to simply brush away the charges and evidences of so many high ranking officers as ‘congress conspiracy to defame Mr. Modi’? What have these officers really gained by their actions? Vanzara continues to languish in jail even after 6 years; Sanjiv Bhatt is suspended and continues to live under a perceived threat to life; RB Sreekumar – a highly decorated officer - was denied promotion, Rahul Sharma was charge sheeted for floating Official Secrets Act when he submitted the phone call CDs to Nanavati Commission and even though both of them got relief through CAT, they continue to be hounded even today. Kuldeep Sharma went on deputation and Rajnish
Rai went on a long study leave probably being aware that it would be difficult to work with a vengeful government.

There is a clear pattern at work here. Any police official who takes his work seriously and tries to dig up murky details gets hounded. So, the important question is: what is Mr. Modi really trying to hide?

‘Snoopgate’ scandal

In November 2013, two media portals known for investigative journalism Cobrapost and Gulail made an explosive revelation that in 2009, then Home Minister of Gujarat Amit Shah and his team stalked a woman for their ‘Saheb’. It may be remembered that, in 2005, Cobrapost (along with Aaj Tak) had exposed 11 MPs accepting money to ask questions in the Parliament which led to their eventual expulsion.

Disregarding the woman's privacy, the Gujarat police allegedly snooped on the young architect in 2009 on the orders of Amit Shah in what has come to be known as ‘snoopgate scandal’. The media portals revealed the phone conversations between Shah and the cop in-charge of snooping G L Singhal. Amit Shah acted at the behest of a person, whom he addresses as ‘Saheb’ (in an apparent reference to Mr. Modi), and ordered Gujarat IPS officer G L Singhal to stalk the woman and give him real-time update on her movement. Singhal, who is currently out on bail in Ishrat Jehan case, has handed over the tapes of conversations between him and Shah to CBI.

The conversations recorded between August 4, 2009 and September 6, 2009, reveal the desperation of Amit Shah's 'Saheb' to know every details about the woman. When she was tracked, she was in Bangalore while her parents lived in Gujarat. She was followed everywhere - shopping malls, restaurants, ice-cream parlours, gyms, cinema halls,
hotels and airports. When she boarded a flight, a cop was put on flight so that the cops didn't miss out on her.

Not just her phone, but those of her family and friends were tapped too. Saheb, as mentioned in tapes, had appointed independent spies to stalk the woman.

Another person who came under Shah's radar was senior IAS officer Pradeep Sharma, then Municipal Commissioner of Bhavnagar. That was because he was said to have been meeting with the young woman. His phones were tapped too.

Significantly, Sharma without the knowledge of being tailed, filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court in Dec 2011, stating that he is being victimised since (a) he had the knowledge of the ‘intimacy’ shared by Mr.Modi with a young lady architect and (b) his younger brother Kuldeep Sharma, a senior IPS officer in the state, had unmasked many misdeeds of Modi government since Godhra riots.

The BJP is rubbing the report saying the woman was tailed as per the request of her father. After the snooping controversy raged, a press note by the woman's father was circulated, in which the father says he had long-standing relations with Mr.Modi and hence he had orally requested him to take care of his daughter.

But, if the woman was protected at the behest of her own father, what was the threat she was facing and why is that not made public? Will the inquiry commission set up by the Gujarat government be able to function independently and reveal the truth as the Centre’s commission has been a non-starter till date?
RTI in Gujarat

RTI activists like Trupti Shah, and Rohit Prajapati describe how they were repeatedly stonewalled when they tried to get details of spending on some of Mr. Modi’s pet schemes. Their RTI application was about the government’s claim of providing employment to 65,000 people during the Swami Vivekananda Employment Week. Trupti Shah believes that in reality, the figure was very small. They were also not provided with details on the travelling expenditure of the Chief Minister and other ministers. The government has even declined to make available information on the Tata Nano project under RTI making the plea that it concerned business secrets. In fact, the incredible sops offered by the Gujarat govt to the tune of Rs.30,000 crore was made public only by a leaked cabinet note. Expectedly, Mr. Modi ordered an inquiry into the leakage of the document.

Mr Amit Jethwa, an RTI activist had filed numerous RTI applications and a PIL against illegal mining in Gir forest region, the last home of Asiatic lions. He was shot dead on July 20, 2010. Dinu Bogha Solanki, the BJP MP from Junagarh, has been named in the CBI charge sheet filed in Dec, 2013.

Shadow of Fascism?

Nobel Laureate economist Amartya Sen, Award-winning English writer Amitav Ghosh and Jnanpith awardee Dr. UR Anantha Murthy have two things in common: One, they have stated publicly that Modi would not be their choice for PM post. Two, their statements not only made news but also provoked a severe backlash.

Demands were raised to strip Prof. Sen of his Bharat Ratna. Ghosh became the target of rightwing Internet bashing. Dr. Anantha Murthy
was probably subjected to the worst abuse, not only from the spokespersons of the BJP, but from Modi supporters who sent him money to leave the country in total disregard to his contributions to language and culture.

Today, any criticism of Mr. Modi even when backed with evidence or made by eminent people of stature is shrugged off by the hardcore Modi backers as ‘paid’ or ‘congress-backed' propaganda to ‘malign’ Mr. Modi.

The harsh treatment meted out to dissenting IPS officers in Gujarat – not to speak of civilians - speaks volumes of freedom or the lack of it under Mr. Modi. Workers’ strikes at Reliance Textile Industries, Apollo Tyres, and more recently in July 2013, Bombardier Transportation were declared illegal by the Gujarat government.

Dr. UR Anantha Murthy sums it up: “Modi supporters are now behaving like Fascists, like the Fascists in Germany during Hitler”.

Yes, the Congress too is guilty of fascist measures in overt or covert ways such as the Emergency of 1975. But, don’t the above facts – taken together with the covert role of the Media houses in campaigning for Mr. Modi - prove that the shadow of Fascism is looming larger? Let us not forget that democracy and freedom are the prime casualties wherever fascism takes roots.

**Modi for PM – is the decision democratic?**

The BJP accuses the Congress of indulging in an undemocratic dynastic politics and boasts that even a tea seller can become PM candidate in the BJP. But, when Mr. Modi was anointed PM candidate, was it done following even minimum democratic norms?
Firstly, the way the BJP has treated its allies within NDA on the question of PM candidate shows a ‘big brother’ attitude. The BJP itself made it clear that naming a prime ministerial candidate is its **prerogative**, and that the party’s allies will have to abide by its choice when the party spokesman Shahnawaz Hussein said ‘The Prime Minister will be ours, but the choice will be yours, this won’t do’. Consequently, Janata Dal (United) – a key NDA ally - which subsequently broke away from the NDA accused the BJP of **refusing** to listen to their problems and suggestions on the question of PM candidate. Shiv Sena too was only ‘informed’ and not consulted when Mr.Modi was anointed PM candidate.

True, the allies are free to go if they don’t like but the democratic norm in a coalition of unequal parties is that the bigger party (a) consults and involves the smaller parties in devising strategies and policies, (b) listens to and respects their views even while differing with them. But, the attitude displayed by the BJP raises serious questions about the BJP’s commitment to democratic values, norms and traditions.

Secondly, in India, the PM is **not** directly elected by the people. The party which attains majority in the polls elects the PM in the Parliament. This is the established democratic norm in the parliamentary system of democracy. In fact, Dr.BR Ambedkar, the architect of Indian Constitution, was immensely concerned over the political culture of laying down the liberties at the feet of so-called great men or ‘to trust them with powers which enable them to subvert their institutions.’ He even warned that ‘hero worship in politics is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship’.

So, by declaring Mr.Modi as the PM candidate ahead of elections, is the BJP not subverting this sacrosanct principle of democracy? People, who
wish to see Mr. Modi as the PM, are now constrained to vote for any candidate fielded by the BJP in their respective constituencies even if they do not like the candidate. Is this a democratic way of functioning at all?

**Modinomics vs. Manmohanomics**

Most often, when the Modi brigade is cornered in arguments, their favourite escape hatch is – ‘If not Modi, who else?’ Another form of the same hatch is – ‘You speak only against Modi. Is the Congress any better?’ You can see this technique in use in blogs, comments and tweets all over the internet and even those who can see through the ‘Modi hype’, fail to adequately respond to this.

The reasons are not difficult to see. As we have outlined earlier, the Congress-led UPA rule has been so terrible, that even seasoned spokespersons of the Congress find it hard to defend the indefensible.

But, the most important question is: **Is there any fundamental difference between ‘Manmohanomics’ and ‘Modinomics’?** As amply demonstrated in this booklet, both the Congress and the BJP are the parties of the corporates, propped up by the corporates and working for the corporates. Both the NDA and the UPA have vigorously campaigned for and implemented the same corporate-centric economic policies of **globalisation, liberalisation** and **privatisation** with only minor changes in tactics. While the Congress does it quite openly, the BJP does it while reciting the mantra of ‘Swadeshi’.

Hence, if we need to seriously ponder over the alternative, we will have to look beyond both the NDA and the UPA. Extending it further in the same vein, we will have to look beyond the regional political outfits
which represent and protect the interests of the regional money bags and satraps. We will come to the alternative in a moment.

**A few questions to Mr. Modi**

A few simple questions will help us assess whether Mr. Modi’s development model will be in any way different from the Congress model:

1. If Mr. Modi becomes the PM, will he give up the policies of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation - initiated by the world imperialist-capitalist clique in which Indian corporate class is an active party in decision making, and introduced in India by the Congress - that has already proven to be disastrous to the farmers, workers and large sections of middle class in the country?
2. If Mr. Modi becomes the PM, will he and his party **stop** taking money from the corporates which, if not done, inevitably obliges them to pursue pro-corporate policies?
3. If Mr. Modi becomes the PM, will he take up **people-centric** development as outlined in this booklet and give up his corporate-centric approach?
4. If Mr. Modi becomes the PM, will he be able to **eliminate** poverty, hunger, malnutrition, unemployment, crimes against women and other socio-economic-cultural maladies given that his own state Gujarat fares so poorly on these fronts?
5. If Mr. Modi becomes the PM, will he give up the communal agenda of the RSS, given his own track record and the organic link between the RSS, the parent body and the BJP, its political front?

We leave it to the discerning reader to arrive at the answers to these questions.
A word about the Left

It is time the Left parties do some serious introspection. In the more than 3 decades of Left rule in West Bengal and Tripura or in its intermittent rule in Kerala, has the Left really tried to devise, project and creatively implement a radically different and refreshingly \textit{pro-people} model of development in contrast to the Gujarat Development Model or other \textit{pro-corporate} development models?

Apart from some sporadic barbs here and there, has the Left really tried to come up with a comprehensive and critical review of the Gujarat Development Model which can clear the mass mind of the cobweb of lies and hoaxes served in the name of Gujarat development?

Way forward

Here are a couple of notions in the mindset of the educated middle class that need to be seriously questioned: ‘We need a messiah to deliver us from evil’ and ‘our tryst with democracy starts and ends with voting’. A realisation that these are absolutely \textit{wrong} notions will help lead us to the actual alternative.

We have seen messiahs come and go but the lot of the people has only gotten worse. Mr.Modi – even if he succeeds in becoming the PM - would be no exception given that he’s pursuing the \textit{same} economic policies of the Congress and more aggressively at that.

So, it is important to realise that the real power to change the course of our destiny lies \textit{not with a messiah, not by mere changing of one government with another, but with the people}; in our unity; in our struggle for our common cause; in people’s united, sustained and democratic movements cutting across religion, caste, region or
language demanding real development and compelling the rulers to comply with this mandate of the people.

Of course, this is not a simple task. But, certainly, it is not impossible either. Each one of us who thinks our future is in our hands has to be a crusader for change. First of all, the myth of Gujarat’s development needs to be busted – among our friends, colleagues, relatives. This booklet does provide ample ammunition for it. Second, organise the like-minded individuals into groups to discuss, grasp, outline and demand a pro-people development model. Even, social networking sites should be leveraged. This is the way to develop an organised network of peoples’ struggle committees to infuse momentum for a successful mass action.

The massive people’s movements that erupted in the Arab world uprooted dictators saddled in power for decades. The massive people’s movements spread all over India in the aftermath of the Delhi gang rape forced the government to frame stringent laws resulting in death sentence to the convicts by a fast track court within a year – unprecedented in the history of this country. This trend has to be sustained, nurtured and advanced by all conscious citizens of the country.

So, people’s movement is our real hope; our only weapon. A meaningful and effective participation by the people in the governance of the nation on a continuous basis rather than once-in-5-years is possible only by strengthening people’s unity. We need to transcend the artificial barriers of religion, caste, region or language, and forge a rock solid united force. That alone can be really be people’s alternative.
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